Ancient Sexuality
Part Two



Prepared by Robert G. Bedrosian

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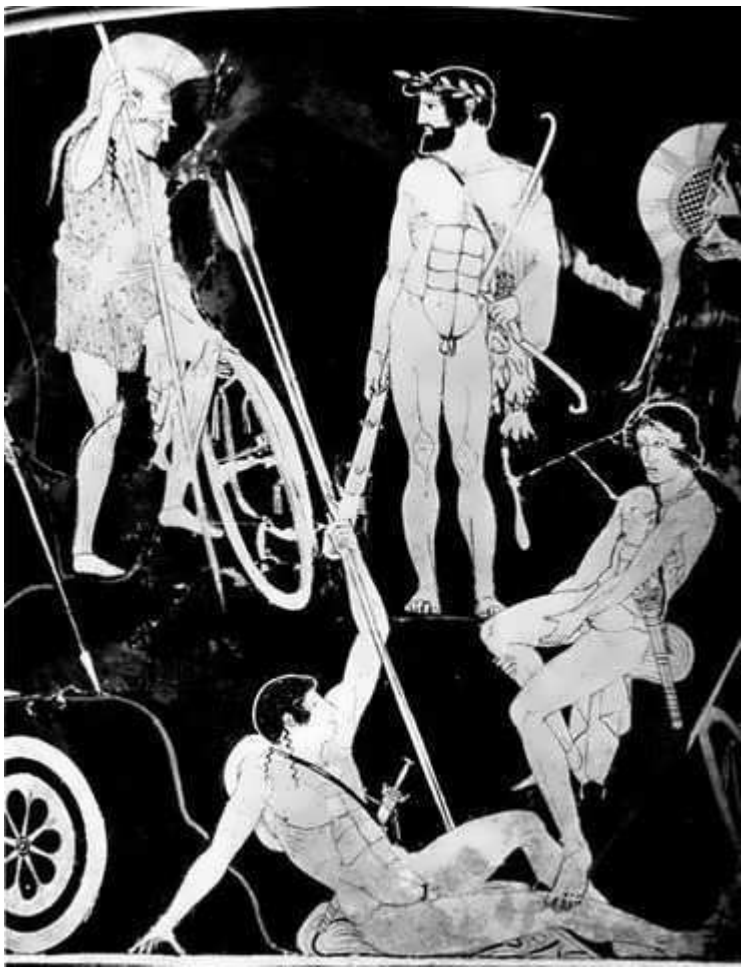
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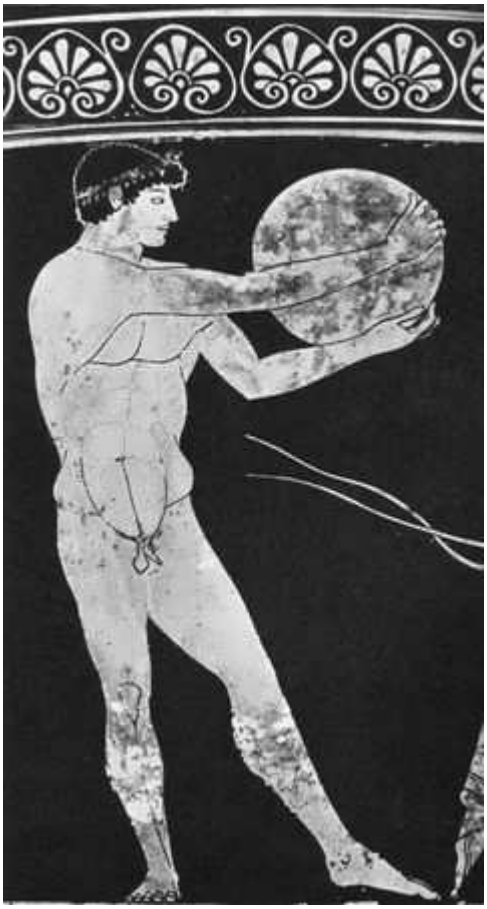
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GREEK ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN: THE MYTHOLOGICAL EVIDENCE[1]

By P. WALCOT

I

Students today demand that what they are taught or what they discuss is 'socially relevant'. A topic appears to exhibit social relevance when it is related to some issue currently reckoned important and the subject of controversy. No topic at present is thought more socially relevant than the role of women in society. Extra-mural students can vote with their feet as undergraduates cannot, and it is significant how regularly the brochures of university extra-mural departments in Britain have come to feature courses with titles such as 'Women's Studies', 'New Horizons for Women', 'Images of Women', and 'Women Speak'. Teachers of Classics have not been reluctant to devise their own courses on women in antiquity, and it is my impression that no university in North America is without a course of this type, while postgraduate seminars covering the same field of interest seem to have become firmly established throughout Western Europe. Books, articles, and notes on women and ancient society abound, and the resultant bibliography grows more and more daunting each year.[2]

A consequent increase in understanding has been inevitable, and the 'facts' are now reasonably clear when it comes to the women of fifth- and fourth-century Athens. The crucial clues to understanding are offered by

(1) the obsession of the Athenian male with his personal honour;

(2) the need of the man of honour to defend against injury or insult any woman under his protection;

(3) and the belief that prevention is much superior to cure.

Although ultimately it is likely to be the threat of physical retaliation which protects women, society will function much more smoothly if violence is just a last resort and not a norm of behaviour. In fact there existed in Athenian society three 'safety-valves' which served to safeguard the integrity of women and so to ease the obligation on the part of male relatives to swing into violent action in defence of their women.

These safety-valves were

(1) the practice of arranging a daughter's marriage as soon as, or not too long after, the girl attained puberty and became sexually aware.[3] This was more than simply marrying the girl off in her teens so that the responsibility for her protection was extended to another. To put

it bluntly, the marriage was arranged when the girl became sexually active since she could then indulge her sexuality within the context of legitimate marriage and experience no compulsion to tempt, or to be tempted by, others.

(2) the dowry system which it is a mistake to see as merely the ancient equivalent of our wedding presents. A good dowry meant a good marriage and, given the prospect of a good marriage, a girl would have behaved herself and was unlikely to do anything prejudicial to that prospect. But why should a daughter have bothered about her reputation if her parent could not afford a generous dowry and, as a consequence, she had little hope of contracting an adequate marriage? In other words, the dowry was a form of control, being for a daughter what a legacy was for a son, and we all know today how the elderly may exploit what is to be inherited as a means of calling to order potential heirs to the estate.

(3) the confinement of women to the home, a restriction on a woman's freedom of action which we find it most awkward to accept, although we have no way of being certain how far social reality corresponded to the social ideal of female seclusion.

What is certain, however, is that the life of the Athenian woman was not quite as depressing as what has been outlined above might suggest, for the expectations of women in antiquity were considerably more modest than those of their modern counterparts in the Western World today, and it is thwarted expectations which lead to frustration and resentment. What is no less significant is the fact that men and women in the Greek world led distinct and separate lives, not demanding, for example, that husband and wife share much in the way of pleasure together, so that the wives were excluded from symposia and males from a number of exclusively feminine festivals. In short, the Greeks anticipated the answer found by those black groups today whose members appear to have achieved self-fulfilling and happy lives by rejecting integration with white society in favour of a policy of separatism which stresses distinctively black qualities.

We may both know and understand more about the position of women in Athenian society than we did until recently, but our knowledge and understanding remain far from perfect. For instance, what evidence we have refers essentially to the mores of what may be termed middle-class Athenians. It might be argued, however, that this limitation is no handicap since the formulation and the maintenance of morality is the preserve of the middle-class. The really wealthy can afford to flout conventional morality, while the poor will have very little interest in a conception of marriage which was remarkably Victorian in its concern for property rights and the necessity to guarantee legitimate

male heirs.[4] More serious a weakness in understanding is our failure to explain with total conviction why the Athenians were so mistrustful of women, why they were so suspicious, bothered, and edgy, and why they were always prepared to think the very worst of any woman. Was it because the Athenian male thought women weak and feeble and so held them in contempt? Or was it because he found women to be strong and effective and so regarded them with fear? The Homeric poems reveal which of these alternative answers is to be preferred. The deception of the king of the gods by his wife Hera in the *Iliad* and the words of Hermes in the *Odyssey* when he surveys the lovers Aphrodite and Ares trapped in bed together[5] demonstrate the devastating power of the female and the male's inability to resist that power; the passages also show the nature of woman's power. If even Zeus succumbs and is deceived by passion, and if Hermes is ready to endure the ridicule of all the gods and goddesses provided he can enjoy the charms of Aphrodite, it is because of the immense power that the female wields through her sexuality, and what follows will attempt to illustrate from further evidence offered by Greek mythology how compulsively a fear of woman's sexuality did condition Greek attitudes towards women.

II

The Greeks believed women to be incapable of not exercising their sexual charms and that the results were catastrophic, irrespective of whether or not women set out to cause trouble deliberately or acted in a blissful ignorance of what they were doing. Such is the picture presented by Greek mythology. But in order to appreciate the mythological evidence a preliminary word must be said about the two ways in which such material is regularly interpreted. For many social anthropologists mythology has the function of explaining and thereby justifying particular customs and attitudes. Thus Greek wives were required to be totally faithful, whereas husbands might amuse themselves outside the home with those other than their wives.[6] The same double standard of morality applied in heaven, Hera remaining chaste if not absolutely devoid of sexual guilt,[7] however many the liaisons of her husband Zeus, and so the pattern of human behaviour was validated and sanctioned by the actions of the deities. To the psychologist, however, the purpose of myth is different: the myth is a 'waking dream' and it is under analysis, in actual dreams, or in myths that man gives expression to the basic fears and anxieties which he otherwise keeps suppressed deep in his subconscious. In other words, the study of myth may uncover fundamental emotions, and so it has been suggested that it is a residual fear of giant-like parents who fondly nibble away at the limbs of children 'good enough to eat' which is expressed in the story

of that gigantic cannibal Polyphemus.[8] In fact these two ways of looking at myth are not mutually exclusive and, as we shall see, myth may both explain attitudes as well as expose deep-seated traumas.

But where are we to begin a survey of evidence whose richness forces us to be highly selective? That woman's appetite for sex was voracious and therefore pernicious is clearly implied by a tradition which would appear to go back as early as the seventh century B.C., since we first know of it from a fragment ascribed to the poet Hesiod's *Melampodia*.[9] The tradition told how Zeus and Hera had one of their usual squabbles, this time as to whether the man or the woman had the greater pleasure from intercourse, and turned for a solution to the prophet Teiresias as Teiresias possessed the unique qualification of having been at different times variously male and female. The reply of Teiresias did not please Hera, for he claimed that the woman derives ten-times as much enjoyment from intercourse as the man. This is a remarkable opinion for more than simply one reason: first, it is man who is popularly thought to enjoy intercourse the more, a prejudice also reflected in the concept of the frigid woman; secondly, even if it is felt that woman's pleasure was the greater, no one surely would be inclined to argue that woman's pleasure was greater to the extent of measuring ten-times as much as a man's. Such a story says something staggering about the sexuality of women and is hardly flattering in the light of the Greek virtue of *sophrosyne* or (basically sexual) moderation. As a comment on women there is only one other remark likely to occasion a comparable offence today. In Aristophanes' *Clouds* Right Logic stresses the value of *sophrosyne*, pointing out that it was because of his *sophrosyne* that the hero Peleus won the hand of the goddess Thetis (verses 1067ff.). But she went off and left Peleus, retorts Wrong Logic, 'for he was not a *hybristes* ('lustful' is the translation of Liddell & Scott) and pleasant to spend the night with in bed: a woman likes it rough!' (verses 1068–1070). There could be no more blatant a statement of man's belief that women are to be overwhelmed by brute force, a belief which man adopts in order to compensate for his own instinctive fear of the other sex. 'Get them before they get you' seems the basic principle.

If women are obsessed with sex and deadly for men, it all goes back to Pandora, the first woman, whose story is related by Hesiod in both his poems from the late eighth century B.C. to have survived in their entirety, the *Theogony* (verses 535ff.) and the *Works and Days* (verses 47ff.). This is the story of how Zeus, tricked into selecting the inferior portion of the sacrifice by the Titan Prometheus, retaliated by having the first woman Pandora prepared and presented to Prometheus' stupid brother Epimetheus. Although warned by Prometheus never to receive a gift from Zeus, Epimetheus seems to have succumbed to the woman's

wonderous beauty and took her in. She in due time, and for no apparent reason, removed the lid from a storage jar which housed all the evils now afflicting mankind. These escaped and so man's life is wretched and man himself miserable (*Works and Days*, 83ff.).

For Hesiod Pandora is a 'beautiful evil' (*Theogony*, 585), her splendid exterior but corrupt interior matching the share of the sacrifice with which Prometheus had first deceived Zeus (*Theogony*, 535–55), for this consisted of attractively packaged but quite useless bones. Her character is clearly indicated by the 'gifts' she received from the god Hermes, the mind of a bitch and a deceitful nature (*Works and Days*, 67) and lies and stealthy words (verse 78). Typically she is 'tarted up' so that she can exploit her wiles more effectively. Epimetheus is the weak male, and his folly in accepting Pandora confirms the meaning of his name 'Afterthought' and the contrast with his trickster brother Prometheus or 'Forethought'. 'Eve was framed' reads a feminist slogan and so too perhaps was Pandora, for she seems to have had little or no idea of what she was doing when what one can only presume was regarded as an innate tendency on the part of women not to leave well alone led her to take the lid from the jar and release the evils. The consequences for men of her curiosity were devastating and permanent. A number of real-life Pandoras or close sisters of Pandora are featured in the writings of the historian Herodotus, and these and their actions as described by Herodotus certainly confirm the accuracy of Hesiod's portrayal of their ancestress.[10]

With Homer and Hesiod Greek literature begins, but much of our knowledge of mythology is derived not from literary texts but from Greek art which takes many of its themes from this source. Two of the myths which are often to be seen depicted in the sculptural decoration of a Greek temple are the battle between the Gods and the Giants and the fight between the Lapithae and the Centaurs, and both myths have a symbolic force in representing the clash between order and civilization on the one hand and chaos and violence on the other. A third myth of comparable significance available to the artist and one known, for example, from the Parthenon, the temple of Apollo at Bassae, and the Mausoleum was the Amazonomachy or battle between Greeks and Amazons, a race of warrior-women as monstrous in their own fashion as the snake-limbed Giants or half-horse Centaurs and a race just as expressive of the forces which threaten to destroy civilized life. For Aeschylus in his *Supplices* the Amazons are 'flesh-devouring' (verse 287), and the affinity to 'nature' which the Amazons share with the Centaurs is also suggested by their historical counterparts, the Maenads or female worshippers of Dionysos who again function in a wild, isolated setting, devour flesh, and pose a threat to 'culture' as symbolized by the Greek polis.

Wherever the Amazons are located by the Greeks, whether it is somewhere along the Black Sea in the distant north-east or in Libya and the furthest south, it is always beyond the confines of the civilized world. The Amazons exist outside the range of normal human experience and it is, in my opinion, crass folly to attempt an identification with an actual people, be it Hittites, Scythians, or 'bow-toting mongoloids'.[11] The Amazons are fantasy creatures, the type of predatory woman or domina; they are everything a woman ought not to be and they define the norm and the acceptable by setting that norm on its head; they illustrate the appalling consequence of woman usurping what is properly man's role and emphasize man's fear of any attempt at such a usurpation.

In the ancient world men were the warriors – except for the Amazon daughters of Ares and their marginal status is underlined by the fact that they were not equipped as normal soldiers were, that is, as heavily armed infantrymen but fought as mounted archers. They challenged and defied woman's function as wife and as mother, the first by rejecting the institution of marriage and preferring to mate with neighbouring men just once a year, and the second by inverting the practice by which daughters rather than sons were exposed on birth, for they were reputed to bring up the girls they conceived but to kill or mutilate the boys, a custom guaranteed to arouse castration anxieties in men. The popular etymology of their name would make them 'breastless' and certainly the amputation of the right breast represents a denial of motherhood and an unwillingness to pander to male concepts of feminine beauty.[12] The Amazons were formidable opponents in battle, and it need Achilles to vanquish the Amazon queen Penthesilea before Troy and the other two renowned victors over the Amazons were none other than the heroes Heracles and Theseus. But to defeat an Amazon by itself was insufficient to re-establish the supremacy of the male, for such a creature must also be sexually humiliated, which is why the ninth labour of Heracles was to secure the girdle of queen Hippolyte, the loss of this garment symbolizing her sexual submission, and why Theseus carried off an Amazon variously named as Antiope and Hippolyte – rape is yet another violent response on the part of the sexually insecure. Such an idea is probably in the background of the story recorded in the lost epic *Aethiopis* that Achilles killed Thersites when abused by that scoundrel because of his reputed love for Penthesilea.

Another eastern queen, the legendary Omphale of Lydia, turned the tables on Heracles, and revealed the depths to which even the greatest of the Greeks might sink when subjected to the control of a woman. Forced to serve as Omphale's slave, Heracles suffered the ultimate humiliation of being made to wear women's clothes. It was a woman,

moreover, who finally brough about the hero's death, his wife Deianeira or 'Man destroyer'. It was sexual jealousy which persuaded Deianeira to send Heracles a poisoned robe. She did this, however, in the hope of rekindling her husband's love and in no way to do him any kind of harm, and her chosen instrument was a garment, that epitome of the woman's task of spinning and weaving. It is, of course, heavily ironic that so superb a sexual athlete as Heracles should in the end be brought to the point of death by a loving wife, but the very innocence of Deianeira reminds us yet again of the perils posed by a woman and that woman need not be a Helen or her sister Clytemnestra. But let us turn now from mortals or the semi-divine to woman writ large in the alluring shape of the goddess Aphrodite.

III

When Hera deceived Zeus in the *Iliad*, the deception took place on Mount Ida overlooking Troy. This is also the setting of the myth related in the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*, which tells how the goddess of love Aphrodite appeared in the guise of a Phrygian princess to the hero Anchises, how they slept together, and how as a result their son Aeneas was conceived. What we have here is a form of the birth-myth and in relating a birth-myth the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is comparable to the better known *Hymn to Hermes*. These two poems are alike in another respect also; neither is devoid of humour. In the *Hymn to Aphrodite* the goddess is made to fall in love with a mortal man by a Zeus who is having his own back (verses 45ff.); when she puts in her appearance before Anchises she tells a long lying story to explain her presence, claiming to be a Phrygian princess carried off by Hermes, and in this way depicts herself as a virgin anxious for legitimate marriage and a potential bride whose father will supply a lavish dowry (verses 107ff.). All this is highly ironic as surely is also Aphrodite's explanation – she had had a Trojan nurse – of why she knows Trojan speech (verses 113–15), an explanation scarcely required by the demands of realism but yet a further indication of the duplicity of the female in pursuit of sexual adventure. When their union is on the point of consummation Aphrodite persists in posing as a blushing maid (verses 155–7), and there is rather a delicate touch as Anchises gently strips the ornaments and clothes from the goddess (verses 162–6). Subsequently, however, all is very different: when Aphrodite drops her disguise Anchises is terrified (verses 172ff.) and the standard situation is reversed, for here it is the male who has been seduced and is racked with fear, and here it is the female who refuses any permanent arrangement and the male who is not to disclose the secret of a son's birth.

At the beginning of the *Hymn* Athene, Artemis, and Hestia are listed (verses 7ff.) as the three deities able to resist the persuasion and deceit practised by Aphrodite. All three are, therefore, virgin goddesses. Artemis is the huntress goddess and hunting is associated with ritual purity and sexual abstinence as the hunter tries to relieve his sense of guilt at the slaughter of fellow creatures. It is agriculture, the antithesis of hunting, which provides the language of copulation. It is significant that the most 'professional' virgin in Greek mythology, Atalanta, is a huntress. Hestia is the goddess of the hearth and its purifying fire, although Jean-Pierre Vernant is not satisfied to explain Hestia's virginity in terms of the purity of fire.[13] Having reminded his reader that Hestia rejected marriage with Poseidon or Apollo and received in recompense the honour of a place in the centre of the house (verses 24–30), Vernant proceeds to argue that 'through the goddess of the hearth, the function of fertility, dissociated from sexual relations ..., can appear as an indefinite prolongation of the paternal line through the daughter, without a "foreign" woman being necessary for procreation'. For the French scholar Hestia had a special quality of a special appeal to the Greek male, and the same I believe to be true of the goddess Athene and possibly to an even greater extent.

As the patron saint of Athens Athene commanded the devotion of the Athenians just as the Mother of God commands the devotion of Orthodox Greeks today. For the Orthodox the Virgin Mary is an ideal to which women must aspire and part of her perfection lies in the fact that she not only gave birth to the perfect son but did so by a process of immaculate conception which eliminated sex from the relationship. The 'macho' Mediterranean male, really terrified of women and seeing sex as a trap, 'sublimates' in the sense that he finds in a female beyond this earthly world, whether that female be Athene in antiquity or the Virgin Mary today, a woman who can satisfy his emotional needs without his being exposed in any way to the temptation and danger offered by sex. It is as if he has attained a state wished for by Jason in Euripides' *Medea* (verses 573–5) and by Hippolytus in Euripides' tragedy of the same name (verses 616ff.), a state in which the deity has not bothered with women, a curse and snare for men, but has arranged the propagation of the human species through some other means. This wish is uttered with an equal fervour by Milton's Adam in *Paradise Lost* (10.888ff.):

> Oh! Why did God,
> Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
> With spirits masculine, create at last
> This novelty on earth, this fair defect
> Of nature, and not fill the world at once

With men, as angels, without feminine,
Or find some other way to generate
Mankind?

The words are addressed to Eve, who, like Pandora, was a 'fair defect', and if they sound almost pathological in their intensity, we must bear in mind Milton's succession of marriages (and daughters?), the ambivalence which critics have detected in the poet's appraisal of Eve, and at the same time his dependence for inspiration on the muse Urania, a dependence on a further sexless deity best illustrated by the passionate invocation of Urania with which the seventh book of *Paradise Lost* opens.[14]

Athene had no real mother but was born from the head of Zeus, as Hesiod tells us in his *Theogony* (verses 886ff. and 924–6). She was a goddess of war, a strictly masculine occupation, and her appearance was decidedly martial if not 'butch'. Her preference for the male is most aggressively displayed in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* when she votes out of sheer prejudice in favour of the acquittal of Orestes, claiming

It is my task to render final judgement here.
This is a ballot for Orestes I shall cast.
There is no mother anywhere who gave me birth,
And, but for marriage, I am always for the male
With all my heart, and strongly on my father's side.
(verses 734–8, translated by Richmond Lattimore)

The trial of Orestes was held on the Areopagus of Athens or the Hill of Ares, and we also learn from the *Eumenides* that it acquired this name because the Amazons made it their centre when they invaded Attica (verses 685–90). The Areopagus then was both the centre of the defeated Amazons and the place where the deed of Orestes, his act of matricide, was vindicated. On each of these occasions the Areopagus witnessed the frustration of the feminine principle, the victors being Theseus, the national hero of Athens, and Athene, the patron saint of that city, respectively.

In the first poem of Theocritus Anchises appears in a brief list of those brought to a 'sticky end' by the goddess Aphrodite (verses 105–7). The reference, as so often with Alexandrian poetry, is elusive, but it would seem that Anchises was punished, presumably for revealing the identity of his lover (cf. *Hymn to Aphrodite*, 281–8), and that this punishment took the form of his being stung by bees.[15] There is a particular reason why bees should have been incensed by Anchises' dalliance with Aphrodite, and that reason takes us back finally to the Greek male's fear of sex and consequent predilection for the virginal. The Greeks chose to equate the good wife and the bee, and it is

misleading for us to believe that this equation applied merely to the work to be completed by the good wife and the bee, such as is implied by Ischomachus in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* (7.32ff.; cf. Phocylides frag. 2, 6–8). The seventh poem of Semonides of Amorgos shows that the good wife was also like the bee in her indifference to sex. This seventh-century satire on women refers various types of women to corresponding animals such as the sow, vixen, bitch, and so on. But there is in addition one identification of human and animal which is flattering to the human, and that human is the woman related to the bee (verses 83ff.). This kind of wife increases the prosperity of the house, grows old dear to a husband who is likewise dear to her, and is the mother of splendid children. Other women may be obsessed with sex, and the donkey-woman, for example, accept any partner when it comes to sex (verses 48–9) and the ferret-woman be mad for the bed of love (verse 53),[16] but the bee-woman 'experiences no pleasure sitting among women when they tell stories about sex' (verses 90–91).[17] The *sophrosyne* (see above, p. 40) of bees was proverbial, Lloyd-Jones tells us, and they were prudish to the extent of attacking those who used scent; we learn, moreover, from Liddell & Scott that the word *melissa* was used of priestesses and in Neo-platonic philosophy referred to '*any pure, chaste being*, of souls coming to birth'. And then we remember Virgil's fourth *Georgic* and the *bugonia*, and we begin to appreciate that the ancients, and indeed their successors until well into the Middle Ages, had some most peculiar ideas about the generation of bees[18] and the sex-life and sexual tastes of these insects in general. No less strange were many of their ideas about women, as I have attempted to illustrate, drawing upon the myths of Pandora, the Amazons, Aphrodite, and Athene. This representative rather than exhaustive range of the evidence provided by Greek mythology is sufficient, I hope, to confirm that Greek attitudes towards women were conditioned by man's fear of woman's sexuality.

NOTES

1. This paper is based upon a lecture given to school and undergraduate audiences at Eton College and at various universities in this country and the States.

2. An updated version of the bibliography published in *Arethusa* 6 (1973) is to appear early in 1984 in *Women in the Ancient World: the Arethusa Papers* (S.U.N.Y. Press Classical Series). The two studies since 1973 which students are likely to find most helpful are Roger Just, 'Conceptions of Women in Classical Athens', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 6 (1975), 153–70 → John Gould, 'Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens', *JHS* 100 (1980), 38–59. *Femme et Mythe* (Paris, 1982) by Georges Devereux consists of a number of papers written from very much the point of view of a Freudian (see *G & R* 31 (1984), 103–4).

3. The evidence is conveniently collected by M. L. West in his note on verse 698 of his edition, *Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford, 1978).

4. An example of the wealthy flouting convention is provided by the Athenian Callias who, according to Herodotus (6.122), allowed his daughters to choose their own husbands. As for the poor, note Aristotle's question, 'Who could prevent the wives of the poor from going out when they want to?' (*Politics*, 1300a).

5. *Il.* 14. 159ff. and *Od.* 8.339–42.

6. See Eur. *Medea*, 244–7 and *Electra*, 1036–40.

7. See *Il.* 14.294–6, lines which emphasize the desirability of marrying a daughter off as soon as possible.

8. See Thalia Feldman, *Arion*, Autumn 1965, 493–4 n. 10. Cf. also Justin Glenn, *G & R* 25 (1978), 141–55. On women in Greek myth and psychoanalysis, see Ada Farber, *Psychoanalytic Review* 62 (1975), 29–47.

9. Frag. 275 (Merkelbach-West). This myth is discussed in detail by Luc Brisson, *Le Mythe de Tirésias* (Leiden, 1976); see also Carlos García Gual, *Emerita* 43 (1975), 107–32.

10. See A. Tourraix, *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 2 (1976), 369ff.

11. Thus K. A. Bisset, *G & R* 18 (1971), 150. The latest consideration of the Amazons by a feminist writer is Page duBois, *Centaurs and Amazons* (Ann Arbor, 1982).

12. For the female breast as an erotic object, see Douglas E. Gerber, *Arethusa* 11 (1978), 203–12.

13. *Myth and Thought among the Greeks* (London, Boston, Melbourne, and Henley, 1983), pp. 127ff. My quotation is taken from pp. 133–4.

14. Cf. Maud Bodkin, *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry* (Oxford, paperback edition 1963), pp. 153ff.

15. See A. S. F. Gow's note on verse 106f. in his edition, *Theocritus* (Cambridge, 1950).

16. See Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species, Semonides on Women* (London, 1975) on line 53 (pp. 77–8).

17. Cf. Helen F. North, *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977), 36–7.

18. Still of interest as a survey of 'ancient apicultural lore' is B. G. Whitfield, *G & R* 3 (1956), 99–117; rather more exciting is Marcel Detienne in *Myth, Religion and Society* (Cambridge and Paris, 1981), pp. 95–109, who remarks that 'the Greek conception of the bee (*melissa*) was based on a model which, in essential features, remained unchanged for over fifteen centuries. The *melissa* was distinguished by a way of life which was pure and chaste and also by a strictly vegetarian diet (compare the Amazons?). . . . the bee showed a most scrupulous purity; not only did it avoid rotting substances and keep well away from impure things, but it also had the reputation of extreme abstinence in sexual matters' (p. 98).

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IDEOLOGY AND "THE STATUS OF WOMEN" IN ANCIENT GREECE

MARILYN KATZ

ABSTRACT

This essay investigates the constitution of the principal research question on women in ancient Greece, namely, the status of women in ancient Athens, and attempts to formulate a historiography for it under three headings. "Patriarchy and Misogyny" reviews the history of the question, from the time of its canonical formulation by A. W. Gomme in 1925, back to its initial constitution as a scholarly question by K. A. Böttiger in 1775, and up to its conceptualization in contemporary and feminist scholarship. This section concludes with a statement on the historiographical inadequacy of this research question, and suggests that a historiographically appropriate formulation must be based on a reconsideration of the ideology which informed the initial constitution of the research issue.

"Women in Civil Society" investigates the ideological underpinnings of the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholarly orthodoxy, concluding that it was founded on a historiographical tautology—with the example of women in ancient Athens providing the basis for eighteenth-century views on women's exclusion from civil society, and with the latter serving as the foundation for the investigation of women in ancient Greece. This section concludes with a discussion of some recent work in which the areas of investigation have been reformulated, but notes the overall exclusion from this work of issues having to do with race and sexuality.

"Race, Culture, and Sexuality" takes up the treatment of women in ancient Greece by Christoph Meiners who, in 1778, was one of the earliest to bring together considerations of cultural (later equivalent to racial) particularity with that of women's status. This section goes on to show how the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century reformulations of ancient medical theory generated the notions of race and sex as biological essences, and invented also, and also with reference to ancient Greece, a theory of sexual degeneracy. This section concludes with a discussion of the current debate in the scholarly literature of the nature of sexuality, and in particular, of homosexuality, in Greek antiquity, and notes that this discussion has inadequately integrated questions having to do with female sexuality in antiquity and modernity.

Is a "History of Women" possible? Does Woman exist? The first of these provocative questions was the title of a 1984 collection of essays by French feminists[1]; the second was addressed recently by the British feminist, Denise Riley.[2] With

1. *Une Histoire des femmes est-elle possible?*, ed. Michelle Perrot (Paris, 1984).

2. Denise Riley, *"Am I That Name?" Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History* (Minneapolis, 1988).

some exceptions, such challenges to the category of research have not disrupted the smooth surface of the study of women in antiquity, which, as Marilyn Skinner observed in 1986,[3] was incorporated readily into the field of classics, and defined according to existing parameters of scholarly investigation.[4]

The dominant research question in the field, centered around the "status" of women in ancient Athens, has in fact only recently been fully redefined, but without developing an adequate historiographic basis for it. That is to say, we now know that the status question is the wrong one, but we have not made clear why this is so, nor do we have a clear understanding of why the study of women in Greek antiquity was originally formulated around this issue. The object of this essay is to provide this missing historiography, to identify the ideological parameters that informed the constitution of the original research question, and to suggest that the new reformulation, centered around women in Greek society, must itself be modified in order to incorporate an analysis of female sexuality in ancient Greece.

I first investigate the constitution of the dominant research question in the field, under the heading of "Patriarchy and Misogyny." I trace the origins of this question back to the late eighteenth century, and I take note of the continuing force of this paradigm. In section II, "Women in Civil Society," I examine the ideological basis of this hegemonic discourse, arguing that it derives from the eighteenth-century debate over women's place in civil society, where the example of the women of ancient Athens served a legitimating function within a wider political framework. I conclude this section with a treatment of recent challenges to the traditional interpretive paradigm for the study of women in ancient Greece.

In the last section, "Race, Culture, and Sexuality," I begin with an analysis of the phrase "oriental seclusion." I then take up the theory of the constitution of woman as a separate race, based on eighteenth-century reevaluations of ancient medical theory, within the context of the development of racial theory overall. I go on to argue that the subsequent development, at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, of a separate discourse on sexual pathology was initially concerned almost exclusively with women and

3. Marilyn Skinner, "Classical Studies, Patriarchy and Feminism: The View from 1986," *Women's Studies International Forum* 10 (1987), 181–186.

4. In the following essay I have not attempted to be comprehensive: some books or articles are discussed in detail; many other important items are omitted altogether. My discussion is restricted to works which I consider representative of the principal analytic approaches, and which are useful for demonstrating the theoretical and ideological premises of the various interpretive methods. For a survey of women's studies in classics, readers may consult one or more of a number of older and more recent review artic → M. B. Arthur, "Review Essay: Classics," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 2 (1976), 382–403; P. Culham, "Ten Years after Pomeroy: Studies of the Image and Reality of Women in Antiquity," *Helios* n.s. 13 (1986), 9–30; E. Fantham, "Women in Antiquity: A Selective (and Subjective) Survey 1979–84," *Echos du monde classique. Classical news and views* 30 (1986), 1–24; M. Skinner, "Classical Studies vs. Women's Studies: *Duo moi ta noêmmata*," *Helios* 12 (1986), 3–16; M. Skinner, "Rescuing Creusa: New Methodological Approaches to Women in Antiquity," *Helios* n.s. 13 (1986), 1–8; and Amy Richlin, "Hijacking the Palladion," *Helios* 17 (1990), 175–185 (= *Gender and History* 4 [1992], 70–83).

homosexuals, and was only extended to other groups subsequently. In the development of this discourse, too, the men and women of ancient Greece figured prominently; I discuss the current controversy over homosexuality in ancient Greece in the context of the historiographic parameters that have defined it. I conclude the essay with some remarks concerning the direction of future research.

I. PATRIARCHY AND MISOGYNY

The hallmark of the approach I shall examine is its focus on "woman" as a category and its preoccupation with the question of status. I have classified it under the heading of "patriarchy and misogyny" in order to highlight the concern with dominance and subordination which informs it throughout, but which is often hidden from view.

In a famous polemic the historian A. W. Gomme in 1925[5] described the then prevailing orthodoxy as the view that the status of women in ancient Athens in the classical period was an "ignoble" one by comparison with their position in the Dorian states of the same period, and with that in the earlier, archaic period (89). Most contemporary discussion of the question has taken its start from this essay and from the similar chapter on "Life and Character" in Kitto's *The Greeks* (1951).[6]

A more complete account of the *communis opinio* of the time, however, may be gleaned from the sections on "Die Frauen" in the second edition of Beloch's 1893 *Griechische Geschichte*.[7] The Ionians, according to Beloch, under the influence of the neighboring peoples of Asia Minor, inaugurated the exclusion of women from the public sphere and their confinement to the home and to the company of female friends. The Athenians adopted the practice from their fellow Ionians, but among non-Ionian Greeks women retained the freedom they had enjoyed in Homeric times. Prostitution—inspired by the example of the Lydians—sprang up among the Ionians as the inevitable corollary to the seclu-

5. A. W. Gomme, "The Position of Women in Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C," here cited from the reprint in Gomme, *Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford, 1937), 89–115.

6. H. D. F. Kitto, *The Greeks* (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1951). For contemporary discussion, see D. C. Richter, "The Position of Women in Classical Athens," *Classical Journal* 67 (1971), 1–8; Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1975), 58–62; R. Just, "Conceptions of Women in Classical Athens," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 6 (1975), 153–170; Arthur, "Review Essay: Classics"; J. Gould, "Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100 (1980); E. Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity* [1981], transl. Maureen B. Fant (Baltimore, 1987); P. Walcot, "Greek Attitudes towards Women: The Mythological Evidence," *Greece & Rome* 32 (1984), 37–47; and D. Cohen, "Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens," *Greece & Rome* 36 (1989), 3–15.

7. Karl Julius Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2nd ed. Here cited from the second edition as follows: I.1 (Strassburg, 1912); II.1 (Strassburg, 1914); III.1 (Berlin, 1922); IV.1 (Berlin, 1925).

sion of well-born women, and the practice of homosexuality developed along with it (I.1, 406–408).

The Ionian practice of seclusion became more widespread in Athens during the fifth century, at just the time when democratic ideals of liberty were institutionalized: "it was as if the women had wanted to devise a counterweight to their husbands' boundless strivings for freedom" (II.1, 159). Athenian men now turned to the company of hetairas ("female companions"[8]) for the female intellectual stimulation which they had "sought at home in vain" (*ibid.*). These "emancipated" women flourished especially among the Ionians, their aspirations toward freedom nourished by the Ionian exaltation of learning and instigated by the cloistered lives of ordinary free women (*ibid.*, 160).

By the fourth century, under the influence of their fathers and husbands, a few women rejected traditional roles and turned to the study of philosophy; the notion of marriage for the sake of children began to yield to an ideal of companionate union for mutual fulfillment. This development was resisted vigorously, and it gave rise to expressions of misogyny, but mostly from "crybabies [whose] wives were too good for them." Hetairas continued to play an important role, and functioned as companions for almost all of the important men of this period (III.1, 434).

In the Hellenistic period the lives of ordinary women remained restricted, and hetairas retained a prominence in Athens which was later transferred to Alexandria. But the hetaira in her role as symbol of female emancipation was eclipsed by a new type of woman—the Hellenistic queen of the Macedonian and Alexandrian realms (IV.1, 416–420).[9] The example of her life of complete freedom within the court influenced the Greek world at large, leading to such developments as the extension of citizenship rights (proxeny), the institutionalization of education for women, the possibility of unaccompanied travel abroad, and the refinement of manners in social intercourse between the sexes.

Gomme was not the first to dispute what came to be regarded as the orthodoxy on women in ancient Greece. The principal elements of his perspective may already be found in Friedrich Jacobs's *Beiträge zur Geschichte des weiblichen Geschlechtes*, which was published in 1830.[10] Jacobs remarked that in his own time the question of women's status among the ancient Greeks was a debated issue: "Some have regarded women's position in Greece as demeaned, in the manner characteristic of barbarians; others have disputed this interpretation; and a third group thinks that the housewife was little esteemed and loved, but that hetairas by contrast, because of their education, enjoyed love and respect"

8. The term is the feminine of *hetairos* meaning "companion"; the Greek plural is *hetairai*, sometimes Latinized to *hetaerae*. Gomme suggests the translation "*demi-mondaine*" (*Essays in Greek History*, 105); and Beloch renders *hetairai* as "Damen der Halbwelt" (III.1:434).

9. For the most recent discussion of these women, see S. B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt: From Alexander the Great to Cleopatra* (New York, 1984).

10. Friedrich Jacobs, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des weiblichen Geschlechtes*, in *Abhandlungen über Gegenstände des Alterthums* (Vermischte Schriften vol.4; Leben und Kunst der Alten vol. 3 [Leipzig, 1830]), 157–554.

(161). Jacobs divides his own treatment of the issue into an introductory section on marriage, followed by a discussion of "the Greek woman," and concludes with a lengthy section on "The Hetairas."

In disputing the claim that ancient Greek, and especially Athenian, women were (1) regarded with contempt, (2) secluded, (3) uneducated (with the exception of the hetairas), and (4) unfree and unequal until the advent of Christianity (228), Jacobs cites the evidence of "Christian" sentiments among the pagans, and expressions of misogyny by the Church fathers. Thus, he argues, the disparagement of women was no more characteristic of pagan thinking than was their high regard inherent in Christianity. Jacobs goes on to discuss Homer and Hesiod, characterizing the *Odyssey* as "a love song to Penelope" (234), and arguing in general that the archaic picture gives us representations of both good and bad women. If the latter predominate in Hesiod, this has to do both with the poet's view of life, in which evil predominates over good, and with "the nature of things," rather than with "a contempt for the gender predominating in his time" (241). It is in "the nature of things," Jacobs argues, that as long as there are two sexes there will be two kinds of women, but praise of the good woman will be remarked less frequently than blame of the bad (229, 242).

Concerning the claim that women in ancient Greece were secluded and uneducated, Jacobs argues that restriction to home life was a matter of custom rather than law (254, 273), and that similar practices have been the rule all over western Europe up to the present time. Furthermore, if seclusion originated in the Orient, it was nonetheless consistent with Christian belief and practice, albeit in a milder form (255). The housebound life of the Athenian matron, and the tradition attested in Thucydides of silence about even her virtues, means that we have little evidence about women's education. But girls' training was in all likelihood entrusted to their mothers, who instructed them in the domestic arts and "womanly wisdom"; and their education was completed by their husbands, as Hesiod and, above all, Xenophon make clear (248ff.).

Overall, Jacobs insists, the Greek woman's intelligence and moral sensibility was sufficiently developed so that she was not an object of her husband's contempt (251), and he cites Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* in defense of his claim that the Athenian wife was regarded with respect (205–206). And while recognizing the existence of a misogynistic and antimarriage tradition,[11] he nevertheless concludes that the ancient Greeks in Athens and elsewhere recognized the moral worth of wives and marriage and honored the "sanctity" of this union (314).[12]

The interpretive framework which guides Jacobs's judgments on ancient Greek women is set forth in his first chapter, "A General View of Marriage," in which he defends the general proposition that marriage is ideally a social institution representing "a union and interpenetration of the physical and moral strivings of human nature" which finds its fullest and most complete realization

11. See especially his discussion of Meiners, 206–210.

12. For the argument that "die Ehe bei den Hellenen als ein unter göttlicher Obhut gestelltes Institut, sein Gedeihen von den Göttern erwartete," see 180–183.

in society at large, but whose first elements are represented by the marital union (165–166). To the man belongs the right of rule, derived from the fact of his physical and intellectual superiority, and to the woman, on account of her sense for order and beauty, as well as her capacity for detail, belongs both "the authority and duty to execute the laws set down by the man" (167–168). And he concludes: "it is a general rule that it is proper for the woman to obey the man" (187).[13]

If one compares the premises and conclusions of Jacobs's essay with those of Gomme and Kitto, the similarities are striking. All agree that, as Gomme puts it, "Athenian society was, in the main, of the normal European type."[14] Jacobs would not have disputed Gomme's contention that "there is no reason to suppose that in the matter of the social consequence and freedom of women Athens was different from other Greek cities, or the classical from the Homeric age" (114). Like Gomme, Jacobs subscribed to the view that "Greek theory and practice [did not] differ fundamentally from the average . . . prevailing in mediaeval and modern Europe" (115). Gomme claims, "when Theognis said, 'I hate a woman who gads about and neglects her home,' I think he expressed a sentiment common to most people of all ages" (115). This is similar to Jacobs's comments on a fragment of Menander in which a husband admonishes his gadabout wife that the courtyard door is the customary limit of a freeborn woman's realm: "in Berlin and Vienna, in Paris and London a husband in such a situation would say to his wife: 'within the limits of your house your tongue may have free reign; beyond the door your realm ends.'"[15]

Kitto remarks, "The Athenian had his faults, but preeminent among his better qualities were lively intelligence, sociability, humanity, curiosity. To say that he habitually treated one-half of his own race with indifference, even contempt, does not, to my mind, make sense."[16] Jacobs found the view that ancient Greek women were tolerated only as a necessary evil, and that romantic love was directed only toward the educated hetaira, similarly incredible: "such is the harshness then, with which, it is claimed, the stronger sex exercised its mastery; such is the ignominy that the weaker sex tolerated in a land which we have been accustomed from childhood to revere as the cradle of culture, among a people whom we have been accustomed to regard as the patrons of all that is beautiful, great and masterful."[17]

There is striking continuity, then, in both the tone and the terms in which the argument against the orthodoxy of women's seclusion in ancient Athens was formulated over the course of the century which lies between Jacobs and Gomme. I shall suggest below that this continuum is even longer, stretching

13. "Das es der Frau gezieme dem Manne zu gehorchen, galt allgemein."

14. Gomme, "The Position of Women," 99, n.2.

15. Jacobs, *Beiträge*, 264. Compare Gomme's statements about this same fragment, in "The Position of Women," 99.

16. Kitto, *The Greeks*, 222.

17. Jacobs, *Beiträge*, 243–244.

across the two hundred years from 1775 to 1971 and beyond. But how did the orthodoxy itself come into being, and on the basis of what evidence?

Jacobs in 1830 was concerned, at the most general level, to refute the contention of Christoph Meiners that "Homer makes it incontestably clear that women in the earlier period were as little regarded as in the later, and no less secluded [then] than later," a notion which Meiners explained on the basis of a postulated kinship between Greeks and Slavs.[18] Jacobs regarded as similarly misguided Thöluck's idea that "the female sex, whose status among the pagans was low, was first through Christendom accorded a human dignity similar to that of men" (224). And he objected as well to de Pauw's claim "that the hetairas, who were accustomed to attend the schools of the philosophers, were infinitely better educated than the women of standing, who perhaps never spoke [their] language correctly" (246), and to Böttiger's contention "that Athenian men kept their wives secluded; that this was a dominant custom; that Athenian women sighed under 'oriental harem-slavery'" (224).[19]

Karl August Böttiger, who served as Director of the Museum of Antiques in Dresden in the early nineteenth century, was the author of *Sabina, or Morning Scenes in the Dressing-Room of a Wealthy Roman Lady* (Leipzig, 1806), and thereby the founder of the genre of "antique domestic literature."[20] His novel was adapted to the Greek situation in 1840 by Wilhelm Adolf Becker, who in *Charicles* recounts the adventures of an Athenian youth of the same name who, in the waning years of the fourth century b.c.e., having been ensnared as an adolescent by a hetaira in Corinth, goes on as a young adult to marry the young and beautiful heiress, Cleobule.

Becker appended to *Charicles* an excursus on "The Women," in which he acknowledged that "a variety of views have been entertained on the social position of the Greek women, and their estimation in the eyes of the men. The majority of scholars have described them as despicable in the opinion of the other sex, their life as a species of slavery, and the gynaeconitis [women's quarters] as a place of durance little differing from the Oriental harem; while a few writers have stoutly contended for the historic emancipation of the fair sex among the Greeks" (462).

While arguing overall that "the truth lies between the contending parties,"

18. *Ibid.*, 224. I discuss this idea more fully below.

19. Jacobs appears to be referring to Böttiger's claim, in his 1796 essay, "Waren die Frauen in Athen Zuschauerinnen bei den dramatischen Vorstellung?," that the question should be referred to the Greeks' general practice of secluding their women and confining them "zur orientalischen Haremssclaverei," a practice which, Böttiger says, "no one who [has read Lucian] would regard as exaggerated" (*Kleine Schriften*, ed. Sillig, vol. I [Leipzig, 1837], 295); Böttiger also cites Meiners ("Betrachtung über die Männerliebe der Griechen, nebst einem Auszuge aus dem Gastmahle des Plato," in *Vermischte Philosophische Schriften*, vol. I [Leipzig, 1775]), who there remarks on the similarities between certain Greek and Oriental customs, including seclusion of women in the harem (68).

20. According to Frederick Metcalfe, in the "Translator's Preface" to Becker, *Charicles or Illustrations of the Private Life of the Greeks* (London, 1866), vii. All subsequent citations of *Charicles* are from this translation.

Becker goes on to defend, on the basis of an extensive consideration of the evidence from the poets, orators, and philosophers, and from vase-paintings as well, the view that the women of the classical period "were less respected and more restrained [than in the heroic era], and that the marriage relationship was less tender and endearing" (462).

Becker's picture, although tempered in many cases by qualifications, may be summarized as follows: in the classical period "the women were regarded as a lower order of beings, neglected by nature in comparison with man, both in point of intellect and heart; incapable of taking part in public life, naturally prone to evil, and fitted only for propagating the species and gratifying the sensual appetites of the men" (463). "The only *arete* [virtue] of which woman was thought capable . . . differed but little from that of a faithful slave" (464). "[Women's] education from early childhood corresponded to the rest of their treatment . . . their whole instruction was left to the mother and the nurses, through whose means they obtained, perhaps, a smattering *en grammasi* [of letters], and were taught to spin and weave, and similar female avocations. . . . Hence there were no scientific or even learned ladies, with the exception of the hetaerae" (465). "The gynaeconitis, though not exactly a prison, nor yet an ever-locked harem, was still the confined abode allotted, for life, to the female portion of the household" (465). "Marriage, in reference to the procreation of children, was considered by the Greeks as a necessity enforced by their duties to the gods, to the state, and to their ancestors. . . . Until a very late period, at least, no higher considerations attached to matrimony, nor was strong attachment a frequent cause of marriage. . . . Sensuality was the soil from which . . . passion sprung, and none other than a sensual love was acknowledged between man and wife" (473). As to the wife's household duties: "the province of the wife was the management of the entire household, and the nurture of the children; of the boys until they were placed under a master, of the girls till marriage" (490). At another point, he notes: "still it is an unquestionable fact that in many cases the wife was in reality the ruling power in the house, whether from her mental superiority, domineering disposition, or amount of dower" (493). Becker concludes with a consideration of the "double standard": "the law imposed the duty of continence in a very unequal manner" (494), noting that "infidelity in the wife was judged most sharply," and that the law required an adulterous wife to be divorced (494).

This is, then, the nineteenth-century orthodoxy on the status of women in ancient Greece, formulated on the basis of an extensive consideration of the evidence. The matter was, of course, far from settled. In the second half of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth, articles, dissertations, and monographs on the subject of women's status proliferated, and a complete bibliography on the topic for this century would run to more than fifty items.

In section II, I shall argue that beneath both the question of women's emancipation in ancient Greece and that of their purported seclusion we can detect the operation of a specific politico-philosophical framework. The lineaments of this

ideological perspective, however, particularly in the years after 1850, have most often lain hidden from view. This, I suggest, is because, once the orthodoxy gained widespread currency, its origins in a specific philosophical discourse were ignored, and the scholarly dispute was conducted on the basis of its particulars. Before proceeding to a discussion of this framework, however, I want to turn my attention to some works by the current generation of scholars in the field of women's studies in Greek antiquity.

Pomeroy's 1975 *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves* was the first full-length study of this generation to take the question of women in antiquity seriously as a scholarly issue. In the decades immediately preceding, in the anglophone world at any rate, the discussion had degenerated into a succession of articles repeating Gomme's arguments of 1925 and upholding his views, always with the same reassurances that "the attitude toward women among the Athenians was much the same as among ourselves,"[21] and sometimes with patronizing references to "a healthy strain of misogyny and misogamy running through Greek literature" or "a quite normal measure of husbandly jealousy" on the part of Athenian men, defended as reasonable on the basis of ancient Greek women's supposed sexual licentiousness.[22] Otherwise, research on women had become confined to the dissection of the minutiae of quotidian reality, in a manner reminiscent of Plato's remarks about women's familiarity with "weaving and watching over rising cakes and boiling pots" (Republic V.455c), or of Böttiger's study on the use of pocket-handkerchiefs by Greek ladies.[23]

Pomeroy divided her treatment of women in ancient Greece into a discussion of the female divinities of the Olympian pantheon, followed by chapters on women in the Homeric period, in the Archaic Age (800–500 b.c.e.), and a section of women in ancient Athens, divided into chapters on women in Greek law, private life, and images of women in literature. As the chapter headings indicate, Pomeroy did not call into question the historiographic validity of the category "woman," nor did other scholars in the field who took up research on this subject. In the discipline of history, by contrast, Natalie Zemon Davis had suggested already in 1976 that "we should be interested in the history of both women and men, [and] we should not be working only on the subjected sex any more than an historian of class can focus exclusively on peasants."[24] But in

21. M. Hadas, "Observations on Athenian Women," *Classical Weekly* 29 (February 3, 1936), 97–100, citation 100; cf. L. R. Shero, "Xenophon's Portrait of a Young Wife," *Classical Weekly* 26 (October 17, 1932), 17–21; C. Seltman, "The Status of Women in Athens," *Greece & Rome* ser.2 (1955), 119–1➡ D. C. Richter, "The Position of Women in Classical Athens," *Classical Journal* 67 (1971), 1–8.

22. Richter, "The Position of Women," 5, 7. Cf. Richter's view that "the young wives [of ancient Athens] were as undisciplined a bevy of nymphs as Hellas ever reared," *ibid.*, 7.

23. An exception to this general rule was the study of women's status in ancient law, which the nature of the subdiscipline obliged scholars to discuss in a wider sociocultural context.

24. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History in Transition: The European Case," *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976), 83–103, citation 90.

classics, surveys conceptualized similarly to that of Pomeroy have continued to appear and now exist in the major European languages.[25]

Pomeroy did, however, raise a number of important questions about how to conceptualize the study of women, and some of these have continued to dominate the discussions of theory and methodology in classics. First, she noted the presence of male bias or of the masculine point of view in many of the sources, both primary and secondary. This indisputable fact about ancient sources—of material authored by women we have only the fragments of a few women poets—has even led recently to the recommendation that the study of women in antiquity be refocused away from literature to culture more generally, on the grounds that "the study of women in ancient literature is the study of men's views of women and cannot become anything else."[26]

The notion that texts authored by men represent a "male" point of view is widely shared.[27] This idea, however, not only introduces an artificial distinction between text and culture, but also implicitly relegates women to an entirely passive role in patriarchal society—a view which could hardly be substantiated with reference to our own culture, and which is furthermore easily discredited through the comparative study of women in contemporary traditional, patriarchal societies.[28]

Second, Pomeroy took note of the tendency in the scholarly literature to "treat women as an undifferentiated mass," without introducing distinctions having to do with "different economic and social classes" and with "categories of [citizenship]" (that is, full citizens, resident aliens, and slaves).[29] This was often, but by no means always the case. Radermacher, for example, had specifically remarked that his conclusions applied only to citizen women, and that women of the lower classes lived a very different kind of life.[30] And the debate overall, as we have seen, was generally constructed with reference to a status difference between hetairai (noncitizens) and legitimate wives. In addition, al-

25. C. Mossé, *La femme dans la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1983); E. Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, transl. M. B. Fant. (Baltimore, 1987); W. Schuller, *Frauen in der griechischen Geschichte* (Konstanz, 1985); G. Clark, *Women in the Ancient World*, Greece & Rome: New Surveys in the Classics 21 (Oxford, 1989); Roger Just, *Women in Athenian Law and Life* (New York, 1991).

26. Phyllis Culham, "Ten Years after Pomeroy," citation 15.

27. For example, Roger Just, "Conceptions of Women in Classical Athens," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 6 (1975), 153–170, esp. 154, and Just, *Women in Athenian Law*, 4; John Gould, "Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100 (1980), 38–59, esp. 38.

28. Cf. Nicole-Claude Matthieu's critique of the anthropologist Edwin Ardener's notion of women as a "muted group" (E. Ardener, "Belief and the Problem of Women," in *The Interpretation of Ritual*, ed. J. S. LaFontaine [London, 1972], 135–158), and of the biological essentialism implied by the concept: "there is no 'autonomous female way of seeing'; there is no woman's way of seeing on the one hand and man's way of seeing on the other; there is only that of the society as a whole": "Homme-Culture et Femme-Nature?," *L'Homme* 13 (1973), 101–113, citation 112. Both Just and Gould draw freely on Ardener in constructing their own analytic paradigms.

29. Pomeroy, *Goddesses*, 60.

30. Ludwig Radermacher, "Die Stellung der Frau innerhalb der griechische Kultur," *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Freunde des Humanistischen Gymnasiums* 27 (1928), 16.

most no information survives on women of other classes, and it is this that accounts for the absence of studies discussing them in the scholarly literature. But in any case, the historiographical difficulties in writing the history of women are not met simply by accounting for the factor of class or status, as the following discussion will show.

Finally, when addressing herself to the question of "the dispute over status," Pomeroy argued that "the wide divergence of scholarly opinion" resulted from "the genre of the evidence consulted" (1975, 60). The same argument informed an essay by Just published in the same year, who remarked that "the real basis of the divergence of opinion is, however, an evidential one," and was subsequently taken up by Gould in 1980 who, despite his recognition that "the explanation . . . is largely a matter of methodology," goes on to discuss women in classical Athens under the traditional rubrics, law and custom/myth.[31]

I argued against this view in 1976, suggesting instead that "the shifting currents of opinion" should be attributed to the influence of ideology, namely that "behind the debate on women's status in Athens there can be detected an apologia both for the patriarchal bias of modern society and for the liberal pretensions of the ancient and modern democratic ideal."[32] As the present study makes clear, I continue to subscribe to that view, believing now, however, that a less simplistic understanding of ideology and its functions must be applied to the question. In addition, it is even more clear now, as I also argued in 1976, that radically different assessments of the same material abound in the literature and indeed continue to proliferate.

To cite just two examples from current literature: Eva Keuls, in *The Reign of the Phallus*, assembles a formidable array of evidence to demonstrate that: "In the case of a society dominated by men who sequester their wives and daughters, denigrate the female role in reproduction, erect monuments to male genitalia, have sex with the sons of their peers, sponsor public whorehouses, create a mythology of rape, and engage in rampant saber-rattling, it is not inappropriate to refer to a reign of the phallus. Classical Athens was such a society."[33] Mary Lefkowitz, by contrast, finds that "[Greek] myth portrays marriage and motherhood, with all the difficulties they involve, as the best conditions most women desire, and in which women can be best respected by society and happiest in themselves," and goes on to suggest that "Greek men may not have been so concerned with repressing women as protecting them."[34]

The question of women's status in ancient Athens, then, as well as the character and interpretation of their "seclusion," continues to be debated in the

31. Roger Just, "Conceptions of Women," 154; cf. 157; John Gould, "Law, Custom and Myth," 38–59, citation 39.

32. Arthur, "Review Essay: Classics," 382–403, citation 383.

33. Eva Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1985), 1.

34. Mary Lefkowitz, "Epilogue," in *Women and Greek Myth* (Baltimore, 1986), 133–136, citations 133, 134. Cf. also the same author's *Heroines & Hysterics* (Baltimore, 1981), *passim*.

scholarly literature,[35] and surveys on women in ancient Greece continue to appear.[36] But the question of the historiographic adequacy of the category "woman" has not been addressed by classicists in the anglophone world. I raised it myself tentatively, in 1982,[37] concluding "the problem . . . is not so much that we are coming up with the wrong answers as that we are asking the wrong questions."[38]

But it was Pauline Schmitt-Pantel who first posed the question in a trenchant and challenging manner, in her contribution to the 1984 volume edited by Perrot, *Une Histoire des femmes est-elle possible?* In her essay, Schmitt-Pantel contended: "an assessment of the last ten years' great profusion of studies demonstrates, in my view, that any treatment of Greek women as an isolated category leads to a methodological impasse."[39] I shall return below to Schmitt-Pantel's discussion of the *sortie* from this impasse. But now I want to turn to the historiographic issue which she raised, and which has only recently been theorized adequately for the field of Greek antiquity.

Josine Blok in 1987[40] and Beate Wagner-Hasel in 1988 and 1989[41] both argued that, in Blok's words, "the 19th century provided the paradigm that was to define inquiry on women in antiquity until far into the 20th century" (2). Blok's analysis is important; it deserves further discussion and debate from the perspective of the historiography of woman as a category in history. But her interpretation is insufficiently particularized to the specifics of the history of women in Greek antiquity to make it useful in the present context.

In this respect Wagner-Hasel's recent interventions – based on her 1980 Berlin dissertation[42] – are more compelling, in that they are organized around a specific critique of the nineteenth-century opposition between the public and private spheres and its applicability to the ancient Greek social order. I want to draw attention here in particular to a remark that Wagner-Hasel makes in passing and on which, with one important exception to be discussed below, she does not expand: the debate over the status of women in ancient Greece, she says, "is not only an attempt to reconstruct a bygone way of life, it is also a discourse

35. For example, David Cohen, "Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women." See also Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1991), 171–202.

36. For example, G. Clark, *Women in the Ancient World.*

37. M. B. Arthur, "Women and the Family in Ancient Greece," *Yale Review* 71 (1982), 532–547.

38. *Ibid.*, 535.

39. Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, "La différence des sexes," 105.

40. Josine Blok, "Sexual Asymmetry: A Historiographical Essay," in *Sexual Asymmetry: Studies in Ancient Society*, ed. Josine Blok and Peter Mason (Amsterdam, 1987), 1–57; first published in Dutch in 1984.

41. Beate Wagner-Hasel, "Das Private wird politisch," in *Weiblichkeit in geschichtlicher Perspektive*, ed. Ursula A. J. Becher and Jörn Rüsen (Frankfurt, 1988); "Frauenleben in orientalischer Abgeschlossenheit? Zur Geschichte und Nutzanwendung eines Topos," *Der Altsprachliche Unterricht* 2 (1989), 18–29.

42. Published in a revised and expanded form as *Zwischen Mythos und Realität: Die Frau in der frühgriechischen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1982).

over woman's place in modern bourgeois society which had its beginnings in the Enlightenment and has continued up until the present time."[43]

II. WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

In recent years, feminist political scientists like Carole Pateman[44] and Susan Moller Okin[45] have argued that the theory of the liberal democratic state, the study of which has flourished recently in mainstream political science, has remained unaffected by feminist theory. This is not to say that "women's issues" have not been addressed. But, as Pateman notes, "the underlying assumption is that questions which have been taken up as 'women's issues' can be embraced and incorporated into mainstream theory" (1989, 2). She goes on to argue that feminist theory introduces a new and challenging perspective into this discourse. For "feminism does not, as is often supposed, merely add something to existing theories and modes of argument" (1989, 14). Rather, feminist theory demonstrates that "a repressed problem lies at the heart of modern political theory—the problem of patriarchal power[46] or the government of women by men" (1989, 2).

To be more specific: classical social contract theory, on which the contemporary theory of civil society is based, is founded on the Lockean premise of freedom and equality as a birthright. This birthright constitutes men as individuals possessing a natural political right, and "as 'individuals' all men are owners, in that they all own the property in their persons and capacities over which they alone have right of jurisdiction."[47] These free and equal individuals form a political association through a social contract which establishes obligations and to whose authority its members accede by means of their consent to be governed.

Women, by contrast, are understood to agree to subordinate themselves to their husbands, a subjection which has "a Foundation in Nature,"[48] and though husband and wife "have but one common Concern; . . . it being necessary that the last Determination, *i.e.* the Rule, should be placed somewhere, it naturally falls to the Man's share as the abler and stronger."[49] As Pateman observes: "the contradiction between the premise of individual freedom and equality, with its corollary of the conventional basis of authority, and the assumption that women

43. Wagner-Hasel, "Frauenleben," 19.

44. Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women* (Stanford, 1989). For a recent discussion of Pateman's work overall in the context of political theory, see Anne Phillips, "Universal Pretensions in Political Thought," in *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates*, ed. M. Barrett and A. Phillips (Stanford, 1992), 10–30.

45. Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton, 1979).

46. I shall not embark here upon a definition of the term "patriarchy," an understanding of which, despite its widespread popular currency, requires a thoroughgoing historiographic and political analysis. For some preliminary remarks on a contrast between "paternal" and "fraternal" patriarchy, see Pateman, *Disorder*, 35–36.

47. *Ibid.*, 10.

48. John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Eng., 1967), 191–192 (I.47–48).

49. *Ibid.*, 339 (II.82).

(wives) are naturally subject has . . . gone unnoticed. . . . [Yet] if women are naturally subordinate . . . then talk of their consent or agreement to this status is redundant."[50]

Locke did not specifically theorize women's subordination, but Rousseau's theory of the social contract, based on the premise that man, in passing from the state of nature to civil society, loses his natural liberty but gains both civil liberty and moral freedom,[51] did explicitly justify it. Rousseau, who like other Enlightenment thinkers, as Wagner-Hasel says, "developed the theoretical foundations for the interrelationship between ancient and modern democracy, and regarded as their models Attic generals like Pericles or Roman Senators of Cicero's kind,"[52] modeled his "people's assembly" on the *comitia tributa* ("tribal" or popular assembly) of the ancient Romans, drawing certain additional features from the constitution of the Spartans.

Rousseau generally regarded ancient Sparta as "the example that we ought to follow."[53] But in *Émile*, published, along with *The Social Contract*, in 1762, it was classical Athens that provided the paradigm for the incorporation of women into the ideal state. There, Rousseau expanded upon arguments which he had first advanced in the 1758 "Letter to M. d'Alembert on the Theater," where he remarked that "the ancients had, in general, a very great respect for women."[54] And he explained in more detail:

> Among all the ancient civilized peoples [women] led very retired lives; they did not have the best places at the theatre; they did not put themselves on display; they were not even always permitted to go; and it is well known that there was a death penalty for those who dared to show themselves at the Olympic games. In the home, they had a private apartment where the men never entered. When their husbands entertained for dinner, they rarely presented themselves at the table; the decent women went out before the end of the meal, and the others never appeared at the beginning. There was no common place of assembly for the two sexes; they did not pass the day together. This effort not to become sated with one another made their meetings more pleasant. It is certain that domestic peace was, in general, better established and that greater harmony prevailed between man and wife than is the case today.[55]

Among others, Mary Wollstonecraft, in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), argued against Rousseau's views. There she insisted that the confinement of women's instruction to such frivolities as Rousseau had envisioned, would produce "weak beings . . . only fit for a seraglio!"[56]

50. Pateman, *Disorder of Women*, 213. Cf. also her chapters, "Women and Consent" and "Feminism and Democracy," in *Disorder of Women*, 71–89; 210–225. For a theoretical critique of John Stuart Mill's theory of sexual egalitarianism, see Susan Moller Okin, "John Stuart Mill, Liberal Feminist," in *Women in Western Political Thought*, 197–223.

51. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, transl. M. Cranston (Baltimore, 1978), 64–65 (I.8).

52. Wagner-Hasel, "Das Private wird politisch," 26.

53. Rousseau, "Letter to M. D'Alembert on the Theatre," in *Politics and the Arts*, transl. Allan Bloom (Glencoe, Ill., 1960), 133.

54. *Ibid.*, 48.

55. *Ibid.*, 88–89.

56. Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: An Authoritative Text. Backgrounds. The Wollstonecraft Debate. Criticism*, ed. Carol H. Poston, 2nd ed. (New York, 1988), 10; cf. 29.

The question of women's status in ancient Greece, and of the extent and meaning of their "seclusion," then, did not originate in the nineteenth century, nor was it raised first by scholars of classical antiquity. Rather, as the above citations indicate, it formed part of the intellectual currency of the eighteenth century, and played an important role in the general debate over the form and nature of civil society. Furthermore, some of the specific terms of this discourse were set in the eighteenth century. Rousseau, for example, had remarked in 1758 that women in the ancient world were "respected" and that this was connected with their having led "very retired lives." What is more, the formulation of the question itself relied on a certain circular logic: Rousseau in 1758 cited the example of women in ancient Athens to substantiate his views on women's nature; Jacobs in 1830 relied on the eighteenth-century view of women's nature to authenticate his interpretation of the ancient evidence.

It is only in the last ten years or so that the "status" model has been challenged as a research paradigm, and this has been achieved principally by introducing a discontinuity between the ancient conception of the relationship between *polis* (city-state) and *oikos* (household) and the analogous modern distinction between "public" and "private." The landmark 1979 study on the question, Sally Humphreys's "*Oikos* and *Polis*," treats the opposition in Athenian society and culture overall, showing that such modern distinctions as that between the political and economic spheres are misleading when applied to ancient Athens. Humphreys foregoes discussion of women's status as such, but treats aspects of women's incorporation in and exclusion from the functioning of the sociocultural totality. In addition, she makes the important observation that "the separation of men and women in social life meant that in a sense the public world of the city reached into the house."[57]

Others have followed Humphreys's lead. Beate Wagner-Hasel, in an equally important 1982 full-scale study of women in early Greek society, proceeds from the premise that "the first question of determining the status of the particular members of a society must always be [constituted] first as the question of the character of this society itself—its social, political, and economic structure."[58] Both Humphreys and Wagner-Hasel emphasize the importance of applying ethnographic and anthropological models to the study of ancient Greece, and in 1981 and 1982, I used analogies drawn from the anthropology of contemporary traditional Mediterranean societies to redraw the conceptualization of women in ancient Greece under the heading of "a divided world."[59]

57. S. C. Humphreys, "*Oikos* and *Polis*," in *The Family, Women and Death: Comparative Studies* (London, 1983), 1–21, citation 16. See also D. Cohen, "Public and Private in Classical Athens," in *Law, Sexuality, and Society*, 70–97.

58. Wagner-Hasel, *Zwischen Mythos und Realität*, 5. See also her extensive discussion of public and private spheres, their relationship to the social and economic structure of the polis overall, and women's roles, in *ibid.*, section B, 67–272.

59. In a talk presented on April 3, 1981 at Wesleyan University to the Department of History Faculty Seminar, "Marx and History," under the title, "Ideology and the 'Status' of Women in Ancient Greece" and in "Women and the Family." For a fuller discussion, see Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society* (1991), esp. 14–69.

Helene Foley in 1981 drew attention to the inadequacy of interpreting ancient Greek tragedy in accordance with a concept of *oikos* and *polis* as equivalent either to nature and culture or private and public, and proposed a reading overall in which *oikos* and *polis* "are mutually defining institutions; order in one sphere is inextricably related to order in the other."[60] And Froma Zeitlin, in a important 1985 study, extended the analysis of Greek drama to embrace the generation itself of the categories "masculine" and "feminine."[61]

The study of women in antiquity, then, has evolved over the last ten years or so from "the history of women" to the "history of 'gender,'" as Schmitt-Pantel has observed recently, adding that the concepts "sexual asymmetry, social relations between the sexes, and gender" now serve as the "basis for further progress."[62] But there are other dimensions to this history which are not adequately comprehended through the reorientation around the newer categories. I am referring in particular to questions regarding the constitution of the self, or more specifically, the constitution of the gendered or sexual self. These have been discussed recently, but the close relationship of this work to the study of women is sometimes obscured by its association with separate subfields within the discipline of classics—namely, those of ancient Greek medicine and ancient Greek sexuality.

In reviewing recent work in this field in 1989, under the title "Sexuality and the Body in Ancient Greece," I argued that the ancient Greeks had played an important part in the constitution of our own discourse on sexuality. I also noted that our postulated kinship with the Greeks had been "formulated in terms of the racial theories that pervaded . . . discourse everywhere" in the nineteenth century, and according to which the ancient Greeks were understood to constitute "a first rate race" (in the words of Disraeli, who travestied the racial theories of the time in *Lothair*).[63]

These fields of study have expanded dramatically in the last few years, such that one might plausibly claim that the contested domain of scholarly discourse has shifted from that of women in the ancient Greek world to that of sexuality in antiquity. In this area, dominant paradigms of interpretation have been challenged, and contributions to the current dispute over the correct constitution of the research question proliferate in the scholarly literature in both classics and other disciplines. But a confusion has also resulted, in my opinion, from

60. Helene Foley, "The Conception of Women in Athenian Drama," in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Foley (New York, 1981), 127–168, citation 156.

61. Froma Zeitlin, "Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama," *Representations* 11 (1985), 63–94. On the opposition between masculine and feminine in Greek culture, see also Schmitt-Pantel, "La différence des sexes," 101 and *passim*.

62. P. Schmitt-Pantel, "Women and Ancient History Today," in *A History of Women in the West*. I: *From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*, transl. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 464, 466.

63. Marilyn Katz, "Sexuality and the Body in Ancient Greece," *Métis. Revue d'anthropologie du monde grec ancien* 4 (1989), 155–179 (= *Trends in History* 4 [1990], 97–125), citation 155. The manuscript of this essay was submitted in 1987, before the appearance of Cohen's important contribution to this topic, on which see below.

a failure to distinguish adequately between what I call "cultural racism" and its sexist analogue, and "scientific racism" and sexism. The distinction itself is a historiographic issue, and I set forth here the general lines along which I think such a historiography would be constituted.[64]

III. RACE, CULTURE, AND SEXUALITY

Semonides, an elegiac poet of the seventh century b.c.e., writes that "from the first, god made the mind of woman [a thing] apart"; Hesiod, an epic poet of the same period, spoke of "the race of women" (*genos gynaikôn*).[65] This notion of a "race" (*genos*) of women was part of a general predisposition in Greek thought and Greek society towards sexual dimorphism, and this feature too of ancient Greek culture has been readily assimilated to later, as well as to current oppositions between male and female and masculine/feminine.

The modern history of that distinction, however, is significantly conditioned by the nineteenth- and twentieth-century discourse on race and sexual degeneracy, where the men and women of ancient Greece often figured as exemplars. The historiography of the question of sexuality in ancient Greece has been constructed (and, at that, only recently) around the dispute over homosexuality, however, without reference to the concepts of race or to the history of the construction of female sexuality. In the following section, therefore, I offer a different paradigm, taking my start from the notion of the "oriental seclusion" of ancient Greek women.

The very term "oriental seclusion" should have warned us against attempting to interpret it outside the ideological context in which it arose—a context which cannot be eliminated simply by dropping the adjective and referring to "seclusion" instead, as we have all been inclined to do, in recognition of the now embarrassing overtones of the phrase. But adjustments in usage, while salutary from a political point of view, also constitute evasions from the historiographic perspective.

The metaphor of the seraglio or harem originated in the seventeenth century, developed a widespread currency in the eighteenth century, and forms part of the general history of what Edward Said has called *Orientalism*.[66] When Mary Wollstonecraft, in her discussion in 1792 of women's education, referred to the "seraglio," she was drawing on an idea that was current in the popular culture of the time. For example, Montesquieu, in his *Persian Letters of 1721*,[67] had

64. I provide a fuller discussion in my monograph in progress, "Women and Ideology in Ancient Greece: A Historiographic Essay."

65. On which see Nicole Loraux, "Sur la race des femmes et quelques-unes de ses tribus," *Arethusa* 11 (1978), 43–87 (= Loraux, *Les enfants d'Athéna: Idées athéniennes sur la citoyenneté et la division des sexes* [Paris, 1981], 75–117).

66. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), whose study is limited to "the Anglo-French-American experience of the Arabs and Islam, which for almost a thousand years together stood for the Orient" (17).

67. Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, transl. C. J. Betts (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1973).

constructed a fictional visit from two Persian travelers, who lodged with him and shared their correspondence with their wives and chief eunuchs in the Persian seraglio. As Kleinbaum noted, "Montesquieu used the confinement of women in a seraglio as a metaphor for the enchainment of humanity under a despotism. The yearning of the women in the harem for liberty and sexual expression is symbolic of the yearning of all humanity for freedom."[68]

Orientalism, whose initial and principal object was the Arabs and Islam (roughly, the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire), appears in what Said calls its "Romantic" form, in Mozart's 1782 opera, "The Abduction from the Seraglio." There, it is the Pasha who in the end has something to teach the Europeans about the virtues of forgiveness.[69] This is Orientalism with a strong undercurrent of humanism, in which the threat of the European girls' consignment to the seraglio as harem-prisoners functions within the metaphorical context of the Enlightenment ideal of individual liberty. But a very different kind of Orientalism came into being at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Modern Orientalism, as Said calls it, while built upon "a set of structures inherited from the past," was distinctive in that it was now placed "on a scientific and rational basis."[70]

Said is referring to the science of comparative linguistics, first systematized in Franz Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik* (Comparative Grammar) of 1833, but originated in Britain by William Jones, who in 1786 had hypothesized linguistic affinities among Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. Comparative linguistics established the scientific basis for displacing the idea of the unity of mankind with the model of a prehistoric family unity among European peoples, set off from their Semitic relatives. And it thus provided the grounds for the development of the theories of cultural, and, eventually, racial superiority.

Christoph Meiners was a professor of philosophy and university reformer at Göttingen in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the first of his four-volume *History of the Female Sex*,[71] published in 1788, Meiners discriminates among a variety of "nations," establishing a general antithesis between the "inferior nations of Mongol origin" (I.5) and those of the Europeans; in between lie the negroes, Asiatics, Orientals (that is, Ottoman Empire), and Slavon nations (Russia, the Balkan states, and so on), in that order. Celts, Greeks, and Romans are accorded highest status on the scale, making the transition to the Europeans.

Meiners's discussion "of the state of the female sex among the Greeks" falls

68. Abby R. Kleinbaum, "Women in the Age of Light," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. R. Bridenthal and C. Koonz (Boston, 1977), 217–235, citation 221. Cf. Pateman, *Disorder of Women*, 24.

69. At the critical moment, the Pasha discovers that the captive Spaniard nobleman Belmonte is the son of his worst enemy, but frees him nonetheless, telling him, "if you simply become more humane than your father then my action is rewarded" (142).

70. Said, *Orientalism*, 122.

71. Christoph Meiners, *History of the Female Sex* (Hannover, 1788–1800); hereafter cited in the English translation by F. Shoberl (London, 1808), by volume and page number.

into three sections: a brief introduction, a long central section on the classical period and the laws of Solon, and a shorter concluding segment on Sparta and on Plutarch's *Mulierum Virtutes* (The Virtues of Women). In the introductory section Meiners explains that the Greeks, though originally Slavons, "later became blended with colonies of a nobler race," that is, the Pelasgi, whom Meiners classes as a Celtic tribe (I.259).

It is with reference particularly to their treatment of women that Meiners finds that the Greeks, who "in certain respects so nearly resembled the most spirited and magnanimous nations of our division of the globe" seem more like Slavons or Orientals: "in other points, and especially in its general conduct to the sex, and its laws concerning women, [the Greeks] appeared much more closely allied to the Orientals and to the Slavonic nations of Europe" (I.260).

This overall resemblance, however, applies principally to the Greeks of the heroic or Homeric age, for the discussion of which Meiners draws, not on Homer directly, but on the *De l'origine des lois, des arts, et des sciences* (The origin of laws, arts, and sciences) of the French jurist and historian Antoine Yves Goguet, which was published in 1758.[72] Goguet's was a "progressionist" history, of the type common in the eighteenth century, which traced humanity from its division into tribes following the biblical flood, and proceeded through a discussion of ancient peoples, interspersing contemporary travel reports, on the basis of which, for example, the state of the ancient world generally was believed comparable to that of the American Indians.[73]

"The heroes and kings of the fabulous age," Meiners reports, "had as many children as are contained in the harems of Oriental princes," and "shut up their females after the practice of the Orientals" (I.261). But the Greeks of the classical period betray their Oriental proclivities chiefly in their opinion "that lawful wives were not even destined for pleasure, but merely for the procreation of children," in their propensity "for consorting with female slaves or concubines, and also with public courtezans," and in "the Oriental vices and propensities of the Athenian women" (I.266, 275, 272). Thus, "the Athenian females [too] . . . were continually shut up and excluded from the society of men"; the *Gynaikia* were restricted with "locks, bolts, and watchmen," and this practice contributes to Meiners's general conclusion that "the Athenians and most of the other Greeks coincided in general with the Orientals in their estimation and treatment of women" (I.276, 277, 278).

Meiners's *History of the Female Sex* represents an example of what I call "cultural racism," in which resemblances among peoples are determined on the basis of language, conformation, and disposition, as well as by the index of

72. And also, according to Margaret T. Hodgen, in *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1964), "widely read and translated" (497), appearing in an English language version in 1761 (Edinburgh).

73. It was this type of history whose full secularization was made possible by the discovery of the science of linguistics. See Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, 478–511 on secularization, and on linguistics and secularization, Maurice Olender, *The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion and Philology in the Nineteenth Century*, transl. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

"treatment of females," (I.12–13) and particularities in cultural characteristics are referred to the influence of "climate."[74] Thus, I disagree with Elisabeth Zeidler Johnson's conclusion that "here [in Meiners] one finds in retrospect [an example of] the timeless invariability of [the theme of] racial differences."[75]

In Meiners's work we also find an example of what we might call, by analogy, "cultural sexism," and his is one of the earliest works in which the two discourses are conjoined. A similar form of "cultural sexism" provided the basis on which women's exclusion from civil society was constructed in the eighteenth century, and entered classical scholarship in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as we saw earlier. Meiners's views on the matter, notwithstanding Jacobs's dispute with him over the particulars of interpretation, are altogether of a piece with this discourse.

I shall allude briefly below to the process by which what I have called "cultural racism" (and of which Meiners is an exemplar) was transformed into "scientific racism." But before considering how racism developed into its scientific or biological form, I want to take up the transformation of the parallel discourse on "cultural sexism" into its scientific/biological version, since this metamorphosis flowed from a rereading, in the late eighteenth century, of ancient medical theory on the difference between the sexes, and it was this same reinterpretation of ancient medical theory that subsequently provided the basis for the transformation of the theory of race.

Rousseau had observed, in the fifth book of *Émile*, that "but for her sex, a woman is a man; she has the same organs, the same needs, the same faculties. The machine is the same in its construction; its parts, its working, and its appearance are similar. Regard it as you will the difference is only in degree."[76] Rousseau is referring here to the premodern understanding of sexual difference, which was constructed in the Renaissance on the basis of Aristotle, the Hippocratic Corpus, and Galen. According to this paradigm, the sexual organs of male and female were homologous, with the ovaries, uterus, and vagina constituting an inverted version of the testes, scrotum, and penis—organs which, in the male were extruded or turned "inside out."[77]

74. In Oriental women, for example, "the climate has implanted an insatiable appetite [for sensual gratification]" (I.102); cf. the reference on 103 to "such constitutions as the women receive from the nature of their climate," which combines with their "want of education" and "seclusion and oppression" to effect their cultural character.

75. Elisabeth Zeidler-Johnson, "*die überzeitliche Regelhaftigkeit der Rassenunterschiede*," ("Die Aufteilung der Menschheitsgeschichte: Christoph Meiners und die Geschichte des anderen Geschlechts als Gegenstand der Geschichtsschreibung in der Spätaufklärung," in *Weiblichkeit in geschichtlicher Perspektive: Fallstudien und Reflexionen zu Grundproblemen der historischen Frauenforschung*, ed. U. Becker and J. Rüsen [Frankfurt am Main, 1988], 202). As my discussion shows, I regard the notion of race, and by implication that of racial difference, as anything but "timeless," "universal," or "transcendent" (*überzeitlich*).

76. *Émile or Education*, transl. B. Foley (London, 1911), 321.

77. See the discussion by Thomas Laqueur, "Orgasm, Generation, and the Politics of Reproductive Biology," *Representations* 14 (1986), 1–41, and especially the drawing of Vesalius (1514–1564), reproduced on 8. Laqueur has since expanded his discussion into a full-length treatment, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). On women in the Enlightenment and medical theory, see, among others, J. H. Bloch, "Women and the Reform of

Although these notions were challenged variously in the seventeenth century, it is not until the end of the eighteenth, when "the natural body itself became the gold standard of discourse,"[78] that the sciences of comparative anatomy and physiology established a fundamental incommensurability between male and female bodies.[79] In 1750 there appeared in Paris a volume entitled, *Quaestio medica: An praeter genitalia sexua inter se discrepent?* (A Medical Question: Whether Apart from their Genitals There Is a Difference Between the Sexes?). And by 1775 the question was beginning to be settled: through studies of skeletal structure Pierre Roussel found that "nature has revealed through that special form given to the bones of woman that the differentiation of the sexes holds not only for a few superficial differences, but is the result of as many differences as there are organs in the body."[80]

In the discourse on this subject, a special importance attached to the uterus, to which it was now claimed there was no analogue in the male, and from whose presence in the female, along with other physiological and anatomical differences, the natural basis for women's social role was deduced. As P. J. G. Cabanis put it, at the end of the eighteenth century, "Nature has not simply distinguished the sexes by a single set of organs, the direct instruments of reproduction: between men and women there exist other differences of structure which relate more to the role which has been assigned to them."[81]

Recent work in the field of classics on the medical theories of the ancient Greeks has shown that

> the medical texts display a remarkable consistency, visible also in vase painting, in their tendency to represent the female body as a variation on a male type. In ceramic iconography, a woman is indicated by hair style, and by the addition of breasts to a human body otherwise characterized with the male chest, hips, arms, and legs. And similarly, in the medical texts the biological difference between the sexes is articulated within a system of fundamental sameness as a distinction primarily of hierarchy.
>
> Furthermore, ancient physiology, based on a theory of flux and the transformation of corporeal essences, regarded blood, milk, and semen as the same essences, derived from nutriment and concocted to different degrees. The male's capacity to concoct nutriment into semen resulted from his hotter and drier constitution, itself a sign of his metaphysical perfection over against the colder and wetter female. Ancient reproductive theory for the most part assigned to both sexes equally the generation of seed, and

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the Nation," in *Women and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. E. Jacobs *et al.* (London, 1979).

78. Laqueur, "Orgasm, Generation, and Politics," 18.

79. See the discussion of this history by Londa Schiebinger, "Skeletons in the Closet: The First Illustrations of the Female Skeleton in Nineteenth-Century Anatomy," *Representations* 14 (1986), 42–82, from which the following examples are drawn.

80. *Système physique et moral de la femme, ou tableau philosophique de la constitution, de l'état organique, du tempérement, des moeurs, & des fonctions propres au sexe*, 12, cited from Schiebinger, and in her translation.

81. Cited by L. J. Jordanova, "Natural Facts: A Historical Perspective on Science and Sexuality," in *Nature, Culture and Gender*, ed. C. MacCormack and M. Strathern (Cambridge, Eng., 1980), 42–69, citation 48.

regarded the female orgasm as the counterpart of the male's, and so equally necessary for the release of the seed and the conception of the fetus.[82]

Work in this field has continued to address itself to the cultural construction of biological difference in the ancient world, and to its homology with parallel discourses on other forms of sexual difference.[83] Informing all of these studies, however, is an awareness of the imperative to understand the development of medical theory within the confines of an ideological totality bounded by the sociocultural parameters of the ancient Greek world. As Thomas Laqueur above all has shown, it was not until "the eighteenth century [that] sex as we know it was invented"[84]—that is, a notion of sexual difference predicated on the thesis of two biologically distinct forms of humanity, male and female, and which I have called "scientific sexism."

In the same period, a parallel discourse about race developed the basis for what I have called "scientific" or "biological racism," that is, a theory about the existence of biologically distinct forms of humanity, distinguished from one another not on the basis of geography, climate, customs, or manners, which are susceptible to change and influence, but on the basis of an inherent and immutable biological essence. By the nineteenth century, these scientific investigations had come to center their attention on the brain and spinal cord; by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and especially under the impact of social Darwinism, such studies had spawned the science of racial hygiene. Although in its beginning phases the movement for racial hygiene had attracted both progressive and reactionary members, by 1930 "it had become difficult to distinguish the rhetoric of racial hygiene from that of official Nazi policy."[85]

"Biological" or "scientific racism" did not come into being as such, then, until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and with reference to a specific scientific discourse. But it merged and interacted readily with the "cultural racism" that had developed concurrently. Although for political purposes the distinction between the two forms is relatively trivial—in our own time as in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—I think it is important from the historiographic point of view to keep them distinct.

An analogous argument can be made for keeping analytically separate the

82. Katz, "Sexuality and the Body," 168, 169. The most important work in this field is represented by the work of Ann E. Hanson, e.g. "The Medical Writers' Woman," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient World*, ed. D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler, and F. I. Zeitlin (Princeton, 1990), 309–337; the collection of essays in S. Campese, P. Manuli, and G. Sissa, *Madre materia: Sociologia e biologia della donna greca* (Turin, 1983); and G. E. R. Lloyd, "The Female Sex: Medical Treatment and Biological Theories in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.," in *Science, Folklore and Ideology: Studies in the Life Sciences in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983), 86–94.

83. See L. Dean-Jones, "Menstrual Bleeding according to the Hippocratics and Aristotle," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119 (1989), 177–192, and the references therein; G. Sissa, "The Sexual Philosophies of Plato and Aristotle," in Schmitt-Pantel, ed., *A History of Women*, 46–81; and G. Sissa, *Greek Virginity*, transl. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

84. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 149.

85. Robert N. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 27, 28.

discourse that developed principally during the nineteenth century on sexual pathology. It overlapped, of course, with that on race, as Gilman has made clear in his studies, and it intersected as well with the discussion of woman as a biologically separate being. But the homology that was developed during the nineteenth century among the black female (with special reference to the "Hottentot Venus"), the lesbian, and the prostitute, and which extended to encompass both female sexuality generally and male homosexuality, was also constituted as a separate and relatively autonomous discourse.[86] Sexual pathology, which by definition is a scientific discourse, should thus be regarded as a subcategory of both scientific racism and scientific sexism, and should be further understood, in my view, as the point at which the two discourses, which otherwise had taken place largely independently, intersected.

The discourse on sexual pathology, belonging principally to the nineteenth century, and having to do almost exclusively with women and/or males conceptualized as abnormal (that is, homosexuals), was extended to encompass male blacks and Jews only to the extent that the latter were themselves regarded as "feminine" or "feminized."[87] Thus, the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries develop an extensive discourse on genitalia and on steatopygia, drawing in part on earlier travel reports, but now elaborating them with a focus principally (though not exclusively) on the female or on the abnormal male.[88]

I shall not pursue further here the subsequent elaboration of this discourse, and its extension to prostitutes and homosexuals, except to note that the discussion concerning both "Greek love" and the "love which dares not speak its name" (that is, male and female homosexuality, respectively) took place originally, as the once-popular designation of the first suggests, as a discussion on the nature of ancient Greek sexuality. And this discussion, like the others we have examined, was predicated on the thesis of a continuity between "the Greeks and us." But the nineteenth-century notion of sexual pathology, like those of scientific racism and sexism, was unknown to antiquity.

To be sure, we can detect precursors of cultural racism and of a cultural sexism in ancient Greece, and in the ancient discussions of sexual practices, too, certain discriminations foreshadowed our own. But overall, there is a radical discontinuity between the ancient and modern discourses on sexuality, including that having to do with sexual "pathology." Current work in classics and other fields which has sought to focus on this discontinuity announces its theoretical and methodological stance through such programmatic titles as Laqueur's "Discovery of the Sexes," referring to the eighteenth century, Halperin's *One Hun-*

86. For details, see the examples and remarks throughout Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, 1985). On the prostitute, see also Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 230–233.

87. On "the Jew [as] a degenerate woman" in Otto Weininger's 1903 *Sex and Character*, see Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of Jews* (Baltimore, 1986), 245–247.

88. See Gilman's chapter on "The Hottentot and the Prostitute," in *Difference and Pathology*, 76–108.

dred Years of Homosexuality,[89] or the volume edited by Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality*.

These ideological gestures, and the arguments constructed on their premises, have given rise recently to a broad-based dispute on the difference between ancient and modern forms of sexuality. Winkler, Halperin, and others on the one side, drawing on the work of Foucault, argue that homosexuality and homophobia in the modern sense were unknown to the ancient Greeks, who formulated discriminations on the basis of roles and practices, rather than with reference to the objects of sexual desire. Thus, the active or "insertive" role in sexuality, whether practiced upon a male or female object, was conceptualized as proper to the male, whereas the passive or "receptive" position, whether taken by a man or woman, was regarded as proper to the female and hence as unmasculine when taken by a man.

The principal challenge to this thesis, which is now regarded as a "new orthodoxy,"[90] is based upon a denial of the claim that there is a discontinuity between "the Greeks and us" in the conceptualization of sexuality, and on an insistence that Greek culture, like our own, constructed a distinction between "homosexuals" and "heterosexuals." Thus, for the ancient Greeks as for us, not only was homosexuality itself a social category, but both they and we "have constructed it similarly."[91]

The principal weakness in this challenge to the orthodoxy—disregarding arguments over the interpretation of particulars in the various texts—lies, in my view, in its failure to take into account the historiographical aspects of the argument. Thus, Halperin's critics do not discuss his principal contention, that the category "homosexual" itself was a product of the late-nineteenth-century discourse on sexual pathology.[92]

The core of the "orthodox" argument is its claim that precisely the terms "social" and "natural" lack continuity across cultures.[93] Or, to put it as Winkler does, in an essay which catalogues a wealth of acts and practices regarded by the ancients as "unnatural": "If sex were simply a natural fact, we could never write its history. . . . But sex is not, except in a trivial and uninteresting sense, a natural fact. Anthropologists, historians, and other students of culture (rather

89. Thomas Laqueur, "Discovery of the Sexes," in *Making Sex*, 149–152; David Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (New York, 1992).

90. For example, David Cohen's reference to "the emergent orthodoxy," in "Debate [with Clifford Hindley]: Law, Society and Homosexuality in Classical Athens," *Past and Present* 133 (1991), 167–194, citation 184, and to "the new orthodoxy" in "Law, Social Control, and Homosexuality," in *Law, Sexuality, and Society*, 171–202, citation 172.

91. John Thorp, "Review Article: The Social Construction of Homosexuality," *Phoenix* 46 (1992), 54–61, citation 61.

92. John Boswell by contrast does address this argument, for example, "Concepts, Experience, and Sexuality," *differences* 2.1 (1990), special issue on "Sexuality in Greek and Roman Society," 67–87.

93. Cf. Halperin's remark, "It is not exactly my intention to argue that homosexuality, as we commonly understand it today, didn't exist before 1892. How indeed could it have failed to exist? . . . Moreover, if homosexuality didn't exist before 1892, heterosexuality couldn't have existed either" (*One Hundred Years*, 17).

than nature) are sharply aware that almost any imaginable configuration of pleasure can be institutionalized as conventional and perceived by its participants as natural. Indeed, what 'natural' means in many such contexts is precisely 'conventional and proper.' The word 'unnatural' in contexts of human behavior quite regularly means 'seriously unconventional' and is used like a Thin Ice sign to mark off territory where it is dangerous to venture."[94]

This contention, it seems to me, would be difficult to refute, and in my view, the principal weakness in the new orthodoxy is not its fundamental thesis, with which I agree, but its failure to address the question of female sexuality. For not only is lesbianism in the modern sense, like male homosexuality, the creation of the modern discourse on sexual pathology, but female sexuality itself, as I noted above, was also reconceptualized in the late nineteenth century through the discourse on sexual pathology.

Joan DeJean has discussed aspects of the history of the construction of lesbianism in her study, *Fictions of Sappho 1546–1937*, which is premised on the claim that "Sappho is a figment of the modern imagination," and argues for the existence of "a special bond between the French literary tradition and the problem of Sappho."[95] What is of principal relevance in the present context, however, is DeJean's discussion of the role played by the conjunction between the science of philology and the rising tide of German nationalism (which I discussed above under the heading "cultural racism") in establishing and promoting the fiction of a passionless Sappho.

In 1816, Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, one of the principal founders of *Altertumswissenschaft*,[96] published *Sappho von einen herrschenden Vorurtheil befreyt* (Sappho Liberated from a Currently Dominant Prejudice),[97] in which he defended the poet against a charge which, as DeJean points out, Welcker forebears discussing in detail and which, in any case, occupied at the time no dominant role in either scholarship or literature.[98] But, as DeJean goes on to show, Welcker's interpretation of Sappho was put forward in the service of the more general theory of positing "an essential bond between male physical beauty, militarism, and patriotism on the one hand and Sappho's chastity on the other."[99] This theory required "the distinction between a completely sensual eros and an eros that is 'if not completely devoid of sensuality, at least blame-

94. John Winkler, "Unnatural Acts: Erotic Protocols in Artemidorus' *Dream Analysis*," in Winkler, *Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1990), 17.

95. Joan DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho 1546–1937* (Chicago, 1989), citations 1, 3.

96. See Hugh Lloyd-Jones, "Introduction" to *Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, History of Classical Scholarship*, transl. Alan Harris (Baltimore, 1982), x-xi.

97. Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, *Sappho von einen herrschenden Vorurtheil befreyt* (Göttingen, 1816).

98. DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho*, 207–208.

99. *Ibid.*, 205. On the relationship between the cult of male beauty and German nationalism, see especially George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison, Wisc., 1985).

less.'"[100] According to Welcker, women were incapable of the latter; in his view, "woman . . . can only know the baser, sensual eros and never its higher form."[101]

What is, in fact, the nature of women's eros? And what was the character of female sexuality in Greek antiquity? The answer to the second of these questions remains an unfinished project for the study of women in ancient Greece. To undertake it would require both a historiography of the question and a consideration of ancient Greek laws of adultery and of ancient conceptualizations of such phenomena as prostitution, rape, and pornography. Some important new research in these areas has appeared, for example Cohen's chapters on adultery,[102] Zeitlin's and Scafuro's essays on rape in Greek myth,[103] and a new volume on pornography edited by Richlin.[104] But a full discussion which takes into account distinctions between our own notions and those of the Greeks awaits formulation.

It has been the point overall of this section to argue that our own understanding of sexuality and of the difference between the sexes has been critically mediated by the nineteenth- and twentieth-century discourses on this same subject. Thus, however much the ancients may appear to resemble or anticipate us, in this as in other areas such as their notions of "woman's place," they were also working within a radically different cultural framework which has been illegitimately assimilated to our own. And it is therefore no less important to the project of understanding our own values than to that of comprehending theirs that we reconstruct the divide which separates the "Greeks" *from* "us."

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The burden of this essay has been, first, to show that the question of women's status in ancient Greece has continued to be addressed in contemporary scholarship in much the same terms as it was formulated in the nineteenth century. Scholars generally, even when they have acknowledged this history in long and ponderous footnotes, have generally stopped at this point, availing themselves of what I shall call the "European seclusion theory"—the notion that their nineteenth-century predecessors developed the foundations of classical scholarship alone in their studies with their books. (One need only think here of the frontispieces frequently prefaced to biographies, depicting the scholar poring over his voluminous tomes in solitary concentration.) In the second section above, I have attempted to demonstrate that the formulation of the question

100. DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho*, 208, citing Welcker, *Sappho*, 15.

101. *Ibid.*

102. "The Law of Adultery," and "Adultery, Women, and Social Control," in *Law, Sexuality, and Society*, 98–132 and 133–170, respectively.

103. Zeitlin, "Configurations of Rape in Greek Myth," in *Rape*, ed. S. Tomaselli and R. Porter (Oxford, 1986), 122–161; Scafuro, "Discourses of Sexual Violation in Mythic Accounts and Dramatic Versions of 'The Girl's Tragedy,'" *differences* 2.1 (1990), special issue on "Sexuality in Greek and Roman Society," 126–159.

104. *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. Amy Richlin (New York, 1992).

of women's status in ancient Greece has a far more complex history, and that its terms were intimately bound up with the eighteenth-century discourse on freedom, the individual, and civil society.

This history is well known, but within the field of classics it is generally relegated to the subdiscipline known as the history of the classical tradition or the classical heritage.[105] Within this framework, not only are the ideological specifics of the tradition widely overlooked,[106] as Martin Bernal lately has made clear,[107] but the discussion of women and their history is largely left out of account, except where it touches on themes having to do with Greek mythology and religion.

What I have tried to show, with reference to the study of women in antiquity, is that its history and historiography are in fact constituted through a complex intersection between classical scholarship and the classical tradition, and that this interpenetration was itself significantly conditioned by the contemporary discussions on language, nationalism, and race. To evaluate this history properly, we must take into account, therefore, not only Rousseau's reading of antiquity, but such further considerations as his contribution to the formation of political theory, and the contemporary rereading and critique of his influence.[108] Furthermore, the exemption of women from civil society in political theory should be understood, not only in terms of the perseverance of patriarchy and a motivated nostalgia for the ancient Greek past, but within the context of eighteenth- century medical inquiry, its rereading of the ancient theory of biology, and its eventual intersection in the nineteenth century with the discourse on language, race, and nationality.

It should be clear that what has interested me here is not the history of ideas, although I do regard it as important to know that a certain continuity can be found among the ideas of, for example, Rousseau, Jacobs, and A. W. Gomme, and that this continuity is based on a shared notion, inherited from the eighteenth century, of women's proper sphere and its correlation with their "nature." Rather, I have been concerned to make clear how the terms of the discussion themselves came into being, and to identify their ideological valences.

Thus, from the historiographic point of view, there is not a "history of women" as such. But there is a history of women in society, as Wagner-Hasel

105. For example, Frank M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 1981).

106. Or relegated to footnotes: see, for example, the remarks on the part played by "contemporary racial thinking" in Matthew Arnold's work, in Turner, *The Greek Heritage*, 20–21, n.4.

107. Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*. Volume I: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece* (London, 1987). I shall not comment on the extensive dispute to which this book has given rise, other than to say that I regard the general burden of the historiographic account as largely correct, notwithstanding the fact that Bernal has sometimes been careless with the evidence.

108. See, for example, the recent discussion by A. Koppelman, "Sex Equality and/or the Family: From Bloom vs. Okin to Rousseau vs. Hegel," which contrasts Susan Okin's and Allan Bloom's views on the implications of Rousseau's theory of the family to contemporary feminist debate on the place of women in the social order. (*Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 4 [1992], 399–432.)

and others have shown, and there is also a history of the gendered individual, as recent studies on sexuality in ancient Greece have demonstrated. In this essay, I have concentrated on the history of the history of women, which, as I have tried to show, still awaits reconstruction in its fullest particulars. This can only be achieved, not by dismissing as outdated what has gone before, but by exposing the ideological foundations of a hegemonic discourse that has dominated the discussion of ancient women, and that continues to make its powerful influence felt in the discussion of women generally as part of civil society at the present moment in history.

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Marilyn A. Katz

Review Essay

Sappho and Her Sisters: Women in Ancient Greece

A **1976 review essay** on "Classics" in *Signs* encompassed ancient Greece, the Hellenistic period, and ancient Rome (Arthur 1976). In that review it was possible to survey the entire field of recent scholarship on women in all of classical antiquity by focusing on one book, one special issue of the journal *Arethusa,* and a handful of articles.[1] The eighteen works under review in this essay, by contrast, represent just a selection of just the books published in just three years on (principally) just women in ancient Greece. Another ten or twelve recent books could easily be added to the list of those reviewed here, since scholarship relevant to the study of women in ancient Greece now includes discussions of gender, the body, sexuality, masculinity, and other topics.[2]

This burgeoning of interest and this plethora of new scholarship are remarkable—especially considering the character and history of Classics as a discipline. Classics encompasses the study of the languages, literatures, histories, societies, and cultures of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The enterprise is associated generally with traditionalism and conservative values—and this is not without reason, for Greek and Latin formed the core of the oldest curricula in the college and university systems, and classical texts constitute the heart of the canon of Western literature that has been the subject of so much recent debate.[3]

Thanks to Jay Katz, David Konstan, and Ann Louise Shapiro for helpful suggestions and comments.

[1] The book was Sarah Pomeroy's *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (1975). The journal was *Arethusa,* vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1973). For a lively review of trends in classical scholarship with reference to *Arethusa,* see Konstan, in press.

[2] Most of these are mentioned in the final section below; some are referenced in notes to other sections of this essay.

[3] There are many specialized studies of both the classical tradition and the history of the university, but Lawrence Levine's *The Opening of the American Mind* (1996) is a recent and accessible discussion of the checkered history of the canon and the place of the classical curriculum within it. As its title indicates, Levine's book was conceived as a rejoinder to Allan

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This debate is not a new one, of course: curricular and pedagogical reform have often targeted the role of Greek and Latin, and this was inevitable, given the position of prestige assigned to classical learning in the Western tradition. In 1827, for example, a committee of Yale University was charged to investigate whether the requirement in ancient languages should be abolished. The resulting 1828 Yale Report returned with a strong answer in the negative and affirmed that classical learning was "a necessary branch of education in the present state of the world."[4] Not only does "classical discipline [constitute] the best preparation for professional study," the report claimed, but, more specifically: "familiarity with the Greek and Roman writers is especially adapted to form the taste, and to discipline the mind, both in thought and diction, to the relish of what is elevated, chaste, and simple" (329).[5]

Beyond this, the study of classical literature, with its models of patriotism, freedom, and right government, was particularly appropriate for the young men of Jacksonian America. Without Classics, the report predicted, "the general standard of intellectual and moral worth [would be] lowered; and our civil and religious liberty jeoparded, by ultimately disqualifying our citizens for the exercise of the right and privilege of self-government" (346). Thus, classical learning was an essential component in the making of a gentleman, and the study of ancient Greek and Latin was from its early days implicated in the moral and social grooming of the young (white) men of America for their roles as the country's economic and political elite. (It is worth remembering that the Yale Report, with its emphasis on the relationship among Classics, citizenship, and liberty, was issued more than a decade before slavery was definitively abolished in Connecticut and almost fifty years before the first black student graduated from Yale College.)[6]

Classics was professionalized as a discipline in this country in the late nineteenth century on the German university model of "the scientific study of antiquity" (*Altertumswissenschaft*). Its focus was on philology, the study of culture through texts, and the flagship journal of the new enterprise was

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Bloom's conservative appeal for a return to traditionalism in education in *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987).

[4] The so-called Yale Report comprised both a longer "Report of the Faculty," which the committee had solicited, and a shorter "Report of the Committee of the [Yale] Corporation."

[5] *American Journal of Science and Arts* 1829, 330. The "professions," in this period, were three: theology, law, and medicine. On the professionalization of Classics, see below.

[6] Slavery was outlawed completely in Connecticut in 1840; Edward Bouchet graduated from Yale in 1874.

the *American Journal of Philology* (*AJP*), founded in 1880 by Basil Gildersleeve at Johns Hopkins University. With the establishment of Classics as a field, the means were at hand for achieving the transformation of the schoolboys of Yale and other colleges into "the old boys of a confraternity that they call philology, *their* philology" (Nagy 1990, 47). Classics became a discipline devoted not just to studying the past but to preserving it—in whatever form that past was construed by the nostalgia of the moment.

By 1987 the past was a hypothesized golden age of "texts and unrefracted facts," before the disruptions of theory and new methodologies, before structuralism, and, especially, before feminism—the new Amazon that had appeared on the scene as "the latest enemy of the vitality of classic texts."[7] A programmatic editorial statement in *AJP* that year announced that the journal's emphasis was "still on rigorous scholarly methods" and that special attention would be paid to research on "linguistics, epigraphy, papyrology, [and] textual criticism."[8] Even without philological training it was not difficult for readers to understand that the editorial board of *AJP* was calling for a return to a traditional, positivist research paradigm and that it was pledging its allegiance to the "objectivist creed."[9]

A response followed swiftly, in the form of a public forum convened at the 1987 annual meeting of the American Philological Association (APA) by the Women's Classical Caucus and in a 1989 volume that addressed "the crisis in Classics" generally.[10] Editorship of *AJP* was moved coincidentally to the University of North Carolina from the Classics department of Johns Hopkins University (although the original affiliation was retained), and the department itself was moribund and in disarray.

Today the reconstituted department at Johns Hopkins is headed by a woman, Giulia Sissa, whose areas of specialization include gender and the history of sexuality.[11] The department's main orientation, aside from its focus on language, is toward anthropology on the one hand and a dialogue with contemporary issues on the other hand.[12] And today the editorial policy

[7] To borrow from the title of John J. Peradotto's "Texts and Unrefracted Facts: Philology, Hermeneutics, and Semiotics" (1989); Bloom 1987, 65. For the latest indictment of feminism and other alleged assassins of classical learning, see Hanson and Heath 1998.

[8] *American Journal of Philology* (1987) 108(3), vii.

[9] See Novick 1988. On positivism and idealism in nineteenth-century classical scholarship, see Blok 1987. On the early nineteenth-century struggle between a hermeneutic and a narrowly text-based approach to classical studies, see Selden 1990.

[10] Culham and Edmunds 1989. For a recent assessment of the persisting "crisis," see Damrosch 1995.

[11] Sissa is the author of *Greek Virginity* (1990).

[12] See its website: http://www.jhu.edu/~admis/catalog/artsci/classics/classintro.html.

of *AJP* acknowledges that "in recent years, *AJP* has been open to a much wider variety of contemporary approaches than was true in the past."[13]

The mini-saga of *AJP* and the Classics department of Johns Hopkins in the last decade is symptomatic of recent changes in the field of Classics as a whole. Philology retains an important place, and its task remains much as Ferdinand de Saussure once defined it: "to establish, interpret, and comment upon texts . . . [to] make use of its own method, which is textual criticism" (1922, 13).[14] But the center of creative focus has shifted so that, for example, when war and politics come up for discussion, the topic is just as likely to be "The Ideology of the Athenian Warrior" as "The Use of Artillery in Fourth-Century Towers," just as likely "Ritual, Social Drama, and Politics in Classical Athens" as "The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fifth Century."

Classics, classicism, and classicists

Feminists had a great deal to do with this shift of focus, especially, insofar as the incorporation of women's studies into Classics functioned as the Panathenaic way by which a variety of new approaches—which had been milling around in the agora of ideas for some time—finally reached the acropolis of respectability.[15] Barbara McManus offers a lively account of the impact of feminism and feminists on the discipline and profession of Classics in her book *Classics and Feminism* (1997). Her discussion encompasses both the practices and the practitioners of classical scholarship, and one chapter includes a practicum—a fine discussion of feminism and Virgil's *Aeneid*.

In her chapters on Classics as a discipline McManus reviews early studies of ancient Greek and Roman women, outlines the new approaches inaugurated by the scholarship of the early 1970s, and then surveys work in the field since 1968. She demonstrates that the nature and focus of classical scholarship have been affected significantly by feminism and feminist per-

[13] This statement no longer appears on the journal's Web site but was posted there as recently as May 1998; cf. the similar, updated statement on the current (August 1999) Web site: http://control.press.jhu.edu/press/journals/titles/ajp.html.

[14] The phrases cited are Watkins's translation (1990, 21).

[15] For example, before the early 1970s not much notice had been taken in the Anglophone world of a group of French scholars (Jean-Pierre Vernant, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, and Marcel Detienne), whose structuralist and sociological interpretations of Greek literature, culture, and history exercised a decisive influence on feminist classicists in the 1970s. Since then, their major works have been translated into English, and Detienne is now Basil Gildersleeve Professor of Classics at Johns Hopkins.

spectives and concludes with a useful outline of current scholarship, noting the recent emphasis on gender, ideology, and sexuality.

McManus explores women's relationship to Classics in her chapters on women as classicists, showing how women's education in the nineteenth and early twentieth century marginalized Classics and how classical education marginalized women. Women's erasure from Classics was more complex than their simple exclusion: the network of (private) women's colleges meant that American women in the nineteenth century had opportunities for study that were closed to their European counterparts during the same period, and Frances Jackson Coppin, a former slave, became a teacher of Latin and Greek after graduating from Oberlin, the first coeducational institution in America.[16] Some (white) women went on to enter the profession of Classics, and from its earliest days women were members of the APA, founded in 1869. McManus shows also how women were incorporated into the profession as "honorary men," consigned to careers at women's colleges and discounted as scholars. She touches on the "ambiguity of women's simultaneous participation in and exclusion from a hegemonic group," a topic that still awaits discussion within a framework that takes account of the elitism of Classics as a site at which race, class, and ethnicity intersect with gender to construct parables and practices of privilege.[17]

The history of women as Classicists is a fascinating story, and McManus tells it with skill and verve, bringing the account up to the skirmishes of the early 1990s in the APA over electoral politics and sexual harassment. In *Gendering Classicism,* Ruth Hoberman reveals a different aspect of the relationship between women and Classics (1997). She discusses six British women writers who were drawn to Classics by its cultural prestige, and she offers access to some intriguing and original early twentieth-century reconstructions of classical antiquity by women.[18] All of them wrote historical fiction set in the patriarchal world of antiquity, and Hoberman argues that in their novels these women appropriated the paternal inheritance of classical antiquity and adapted modernist techniques of refracted consciousness to the project of destabilizing a masculinist vision of ancient Greece and Rome.

Hoberman's book adds an important dimension to the study of the

[16] From the time of its foundation in 1833 Oberlin had admitted women; its doors were opened to "people of color" in 1835, and by 1837 women were allowed to matriculate for the regular college course (rather than the curriculum of education in the domestic arts). On Coppin, see Haley 1993.

[17] See Homans 1986.

[18] Hoberman discusses novels by Naomi Mitchison, Mary Butts, Laura Riding, Mary Renault, Bryher (Winifred Ellerman), and Phyllis Bentley.

classical tradition, a branch of the history of ideas that treats the reconfiguration of the classical heritage by successive generations of poets, artists, and other intellectuals. Some of the novels she discusses, however, seem torn between the project of self-authorization on the one hand and the recuperation of an all-too-familiar archetype of women as primordial essence on the other hand. And while Hoberman is sensitive to this "tension between reinscription and resistance" (179), she does not always distinguish clearly between emancipatory and reactionary strains in these women writers' reinventions of antiquity or attempt systematically to isolate the specifically feminist dimensions of their constructions of the feminine.

Studies of the classical tradition and of the history of classical scholarship are areas with long traditions of research from which both women and considerations of gender conventionally have been absent. McManus's and Hoberman's books are important interruptions of these established dialogues of antiquity with modernity that call into question their masculinist biases and reveal the "blind spots" in their self-definition as enterprises. But much remains to be done before we have an account of Hellenism that situates its obsession with antiquity in an authoritative sociopolitical and gender-specific context or a comprehensive study of classical scholarship that eschews celebratory and commemorative rhetoric in favor of a sustained critical analysis of the development of the discipline.[19]

Compromising Traditions, edited by Judith P. Hallett and Thomas Van Nortwick, constitutes a very different kind of intervention into ongoing critical discourse. It is subtitled *The Personal Voice in Classical Scholarship,* and its nine contributing authors present a variety of autobiographical accounts of their experiences as classical scholars and personalized interpretations of classical works.[20]

The collection was assembled from contributions to panels on "personal voice criticism" presented at national meetings of American and British classical associations; it is conceived as a practicum in a type of criticism that eschews the traditional scholarly stance of objectivity and detachment and incorporates "the critic's own story" into the analysis of classical literature. This is tricky terrain: the move to authenticate subjectivity may end up (also or instead) authorizing various forms of self-indulgence. Not all essays avoid this pitfall, although several include meditations on the practi-

[19] For two otherwise excellent recent studies of Hellenism, see Dowling 1994 and Marchand 1996. A special double issue of the journal *Classical World,* vol. 90 nos. 2–3 (1996), celebrates the life and work of six North American women classicists of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[20] There are opening and closing essays by Thomas Van Nortwick and contributions by Susanna Morton Braund, Vanda Zajko, Charles A. Martindale, Patricia Moyer, Judith P. Hallett, Charles Rowan Beye, and Susan Ford Wiltshire.

cal and theoretical implications of these self-conscious strategies of self-positioning within the critical enterprise. There is less explicit engagement with the idea that the confessional "I" is not itself an unproblematic source of truth that transcends social and ideological constraints but a construct inevitably implicated in the very categories it seeks to resist.[21] But the collection as a whole is an engaging and stimulating set of experimental narratives, and it succeeds in opening up an oppositional discursive space in which many readers—not only classicists, and not only academics—will find identifying points for self-reflections of their own.

The "women" of ancient Greece

"Women," as Denise Riley showed in a now classic text of feminist theory, "is a volatile collectivity in which female persons can be very differently positioned" (1988, 2), and "being a woman," likewise, "is a state which fluctuates for the individual, considering what she and/or others consider to characterise it" (6). Against a variety of reifications of the category of the female Riley raised the paradoxical possibility that there were not any "women" and, if there were, there was no possible history of them (cf. Perrot 1984).

Classical scholars have a particular stake in these theoretical disputes, committed as they are to a discipline in which the women of ancient Greece and Rome have an all-too-long history constructed around a boring and repetitive hypothesized collectivity. From that perspective, the title (*Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*) as well as the content of Sarah Pomeroy's 1975 work announced a rupture with customary practice. Since then, the conglomerate of scholarship on women in antiquity has largely broken down into smaller corporations investigating sexuality, the family, and other topics. But there are periodic efforts at synthesis, too, such as Sue Blundell's *Women in Ancient Greece* (1995) or the multiply-authored Oxford University Press volume on *Women in the Classical World* (1994), which covers both Greece and Rome.[22] Such works inevitably run the risk of homogenizing the women of antiquity into new forms of collectivity, and the two volumes adopt different strategies for endowing their discussions with specificity and texture.[23]

[21] See, e.g., Felski 1989, esp. chap. 3, "On Confession."

[22] The authorial collective comprised Elaine Fantham, Helene Peet Foley, Natalie Boymel Kampen, Sarah B. Pomeroy, and H. Alan Shapiro.

[23] Other comprehensive overviews include Cantarella 1987; Just 1989; Keuls 1993; and Demand 1994. Among recent edited collections of essays, see esp. those in Reeder 1995, which is also a stunningly illustrated exhibition catalog; Hawley and Levick 1995; Rabinowitz and Richlin 1993; and Pantel 1992. For brief surveys, see Katz 1998a and 1998b.

The Oxford volume is subtitled *Image and Text,* and the discussion throughout incorporates visual representations as evidence, rather than merely as illustrations, of textual material. The section on "Maidens" in the chapter "Women in Archaic Greece," for example, treats the choral poetry of Sappho and the "maiden songs" of Alcman together with vase paintings of choruses of dancing maidens and archaic statues of Greek maidens. The organization of Blundell's book is more conventional, similar to that of the first two-thirds of Pomeroy's 1975 volume. Separate chapters discuss topics such as "Women in the Poems of Homer" or "Women in [Classical] Drama"; illustrations are grouped together into two interleaved sections and discussed largely in two brief thematic chapters.

Blundell's volume is a valuable compendium of information, and it is sufficiently inclusive to serve as a comprehensive introduction to its title subject. Her chapter on "Women in Athenian Law and Society," for example, encompasses legal status, dowry, inheritance, marriage and weddings, concubines, adultery, divorce, and political status. Most of these topics are treated in the Oxford volume, too, but more briefly; details on topics like marriage, for example, are not gathered together systematically but tend, instead, to emerge sporadically from discussions of the extensive variety of visual and textual primary sources.

Other differences beyond those of organization, scope, and detail mark these two books as quite distinct. The informing interpretive principle of Blundell's book is that "almost everything we know about Greek women is derived ultimately from a masculine source," and, consequently, "the women of Ancient Greece are to a large extent creatures who have been invented by men" (10). This perspective dominates the interpretation of the evidence, and the overall picture of women that emerges is a predictably gloomy one. The Oxford volume, by contrast, is concerned to reconstruct social life generally in the ancient world and to identify and contextualize women's lives and roles within it. The ancient Greek women of this book seem better integrated into their society and emerge as active participants in the sociocultural life of the ancient polis (city-state), for all of the acknowledged (few) legal restrictions and (many) social constraints to which they were subject.

Both books devote separate chapters to the subjects of Amazons, Spartan women, and women in medical writings, and on these topics and others they can profitably be read in conjunction. The discussion of Amazons in the Oxford volume, for example, shows how the representation of the legendary defeat of this band of women warriors was adapted to the needs of different ideological agendas. Blundell's account of Amazons is somewhat fuller on the details reported by ancient authors, but she eschews

judgment on the meaning of the myths. She recognizes that "the Amazon story seems to have been important to the Athenians" but explains only: "Whatever the reason for this, we can be sure that it had nothing to do with heartwarming messages about the empowerment of women" (61). Here and elsewhere Blundell's interpretations lack subtlety, even if their refreshing bluntness also has a certain appeal.

Both of these books are important contributions to a general understanding of women in ancient Greece, and both are valuable supplements to and correctives of contemporary discussions of ancient Greek civilization that, while including women, ordinarily consign them to a single chapter. These volumes fill out our picture of ancient Greek culture, but through their differences in organization and interpretive approach they also make it clear that the evidence can be made to yield very different reconstructions of the past. Overall, Blundell includes more information and more detail (with the exception of the treatment of women in the Hellenistic period [323–30 B.C.E.], where the chapter in the Oxford volume is fuller, more detailed, and more nuanced). In addition, Blundell's more conventional organization of the material makes it easier to derive a general sense of the evidence, issues, and problems of interpretation affecting women in ancient Greece. But the Oxford volume is more innovative in approach, more challenging in its interpretations, and more in keeping with recent trends in scholarship that aim at understanding the roles of women within a larger sociocultural context and at specifying the changing function of the category of the female within a given society's ideological constructs.

The views of Plato and Aristotle appear regularly in discussions of women in ancient Greece, with those of Plato often examined for traces of protofeminism, and Aristotle's usually condemned as straightforwardly misogynistic. The corpus of surviving works by each of these writers, however, is large, complex, and varied. Thus, comprehensive feminist interpretations of Plato and Aristotle in recent years have been performed by political theorists, by classicists specializing in the history of ancient medicine, and by classicists with specialized training in philosophy.[24] *Feminism and Ancient Philosophy* (1996), edited by Julie Ward, is a recent addition to this substantial literature, although not as new as it might appear, since about half of the articles are reprinted. The volume includes two essays each on Plato and Aristotle, and conflicting interpretations show that the

[24] For interpretations of Plato and Aristotle, see Okin 1979; and Saxonhouse 1985 and 1992. On ancient medicine see Dean-Jones 1994 and many articles by Ann Ellis Hanson. For classicists in philosophy, see Bluestone 1987; Bar On 1994; Tuana 1994; and Freeland 1998.

writings of these philosophers remain contested sites of meaning for feminist theory.[25] There is one essay on women in Stoic philosophy and a group of six essays that examine ways in which aspects of ancient philosophy (principally, ideas in Aristotle) can contribute to contemporary feminist theorizing on women and moral philosophy.[26] Overall, the essays in Ward's collection are not as original or provocative as those assembled by Bat-Ami Bar On (1994). But Ward's volume and others like it show that feminist strategies of interpretation are useful in reinvigorating these master texts of classical antiquity and in identifying within them "traces of resistance" (Bar On 1994, xv) to hegemonic constructions of the female within ancient Greek patriarchy.

Goddess and heroine

The ancient Athenian city-state is often described as a "men's club" on the grounds that women played no significant role in public life; women were, in fact, excluded from participation in those institutions of self-government that loom so large in recent studies of "democracy ancient and modern" (e.g., Ober and Hedrick 1996). But the polis is perhaps better described comprehensively as "a sacrificial community" (Burkert 1985, 256), since ritual and religion were central to all forms of both private and communal life in ancient Athens and all activities in the political, military, and judicial domains were conducted under the auspices of the gods. Women were central to this central aspect of polis life, a fact that is often obscured by descriptions of the ancient city-state that instantiate a double distortion by marginalizing religion into a subsidiary aspect of communal life and then acknowledging women's participation in it as an exception to

[25] Julia Annas, in "Plato's *Republic* and Feminism" (originally published 1976), argues that the equality of sexes proposed in *Republic* V is utilitarian and unconcerned with women's status; Susan B. Levin, in "Women's Nature and Role in the Ideal Polis: *Republic* V Revisited," contests Annas and suggests that, insofar as Plato's proposal is elaborated with reference to the soul, it has significant feminist implications. Daryl McGowan Tress, in "The Metaphysical Science of Aristotle's Generation of Animals and Its Feminist Critics" (originally published 1992), argues that male and female are both causally effective in Aristotle's theory of generation; Kathleen C. Cook, in "Sexual Inequality in Aristotle's Theories of Reproduction and Inheritance," maintains that their contributions are unequal.

[26] Elizabeth Asmis, in "The Stoics on Women," discusses a range of sources from the fourth century B.C.E. through the second century C.E. and argues that the Stoics included women among the "community of the wise." The section on ancient philosophy's contribution to contemporary theory includes essays by Deborah Achtenberg, Marcia Homiak, Patricia Curd, Julie K. Ward, Anne-Marie Bowery, and Martha Nussbaum.

the general rule of their exclusion from the public sphere.[27] Studies of women and the female in the religion and ritual practices of ancient Greece thus contribute not only to an expansion of our knowledge about this fundamental aspect of polis life but also to a reevaluation of women's roles generally in the ancient city-state.

The Panathenaia celebrated the birthday of Athena, the tutelary goddess of the Athenian polis, in the first month of the ritual year; it was only one of about 150 festivals of the gods scattered throughout the ritual calendar, but it was the most important and elaborate of the Athenians' religious observances. Its focus was the presentation to the goddess of a new robe (peplos), which Athenian women wove and offered to her on behalf of the city. The girls and women of Athens also undertook the ceremonial cleansing of the goddess's cult statue and participated in dances, sacrifices, and other celebratory aspects of the festival.

These and other topics on the Panathenaia and the Parthenon are discussed in detail in Jenifer Neils's excellent *Worshipping Athena* (1996). The volume comprises a selection of papers (along with two solicited contributions) presented in connection with the exhibit "Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Athens," whose catalog of the same title is a valuable supplement and complement to the conference papers (1992). An exhaustive discussion by E. J. W. Barber in *Goddess and Polis* examines the weaving of Athena's peplos; Mary Lefkowitz in *Worshipping Athena* is interesting and informative on women's roles in the Panathenaia and other festivals; there is a provocative new reconstruction of Athena's shrines and festivals by Noel Robertson; and other contributors treat such topics as the athletic contests of the festival and its sociopolitical meaning.[28] Of particular interest are two defenses, by Neils and Evelyn Harrison, of the traditional explanation of the Parthenon's east frieze, long thought to represent the procession of Athenian maidens presenting the peplos to Athena. Joan Connelly (1996), in a controversial interpretation, has proposed that it depicts instead the daughters of Erechtheus, a group of heroic sisters who sacrificed themselves to secure the city's safety in a time of crisis, but scholarly opinion on the question of mortals versus immortals remains divided.

These heroines and others are the subject of two recent studies that take

[27] Compare Sourvinou-Inwood's claim: "An articulation such as 'women were excluded from public life in Classical Athens except for the religious sphere' is already not neutral: it is weighted by culturally determined assumptions and implicitly places this religious role in a position of marginality" (1995, 115).

[28] For a more detailed overview of women's roles in ritual and cult, see Zaidman 1992.

up the much-discussed topic of hero and hero cult (e.g., Antonaccio 1995) and add to it the dimensions of gender and the female. Jennifer Larson, restricting her study in *Greek Heroine Cults* to female objects of cultic worship, identifies about 175 heroines; Deborah Lyons, in *Gender and Immortality,* by including the female figures of myth and epic for whom no cult is attested, is able to catalog around 575 heroines. Many of these heroic figures are barely more than names; some, like Iphigenia, Helen, Medea, and Penelope, are familiar from Greek literature; accounts of others, like the daughters of the Athenian hero Leos, are recoverable from a variety of ancient testimonia in both well-known and relatively obscure sources.

Heroines were worshipped most commonly in conjunction with the heroic husbands, fathers, brothers, or sons with whom they were associated, and Larson argues that this pattern replicates family relations characteristic of ancient social life. But there were also what Larson calls independent heroines, usually virgins who sacrificed themselves (or were sacrificed) on behalf of the community. Some of these were invoked as examples of civic virtue and as exemplars for young men setting out on military missions. Larson's study, which is largely descriptive, provides a valuable overall picture of the wide range of female figures who were heroized by the ancient Greeks and the wide variety of contexts (both civic and private) in which they were worshipped.

Lyons is more interested in exploring how gender figures in the well-known pattern of mythic antagonism between god and hero and cultic symbiosis and in how gender affects the relationship of mortals to immortals. Heroines, she finds, are subject to metamorphosis more than heroes, and while heroes occupy an intermediate position between mortals and gods, heroines more readily take on a mediating or intercessory role. Lyons's analyses are more complex than Larson's, but her interpretations are correspondingly more speculative. Taken together, these studies establish that myths and ritual worship of heroines were widespread throughout ancient Greece and that heroines occupied a central place in the religious life of the polis and its many constituent groups (see also Kearns 1998).

Familiarities

The single most salient factoid about women in ancient Greece over the course of the two hundred years or so of popular and scholarly discussion of their status has been their alleged confinement to what used to be called "oriental seclusion." Nowadays the implied ethnocentric analogy with the harems of the Ottoman Empire has been discarded, along with anachronistic comparisons between ancient and modern notions of public and private

spheres.[29] Contemporary scholars acknowledge that, in ancient Greece as in other premodern societies, the household and family were central aspects of women's social lives. But a meaningful understanding of these virtually universal institutions requires particularization within the appropriate historical and sociocultural context. Two recent books undertake this task for ancient Greece, and a third book, by Cynthia Patterson, appeared in summer 1998.

Sarah Pomeroy's *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece* presents new studies on a variety of topics from heredity to death ritual, naming practices, epitaphs, and the family archives of Ptolemaic Egypt; one chapter ("Defining the Family") compares family structure in Athens and Sparta. Cheryl Ann Cox's *Household Interests* treats the Athenian family squabbles that figure so largely in fourth century B.C.E. orations and shows how a pattern of family dynamics and marriage structures can be derived from these disputes over property and inheritance.

Pomeroy's study adopts a diachronic approach and argues, along with other recent work, that "family and kin groupings were fundamental to the political structure of the Greeks" (75) until the Hellenistic period.[30] Citizenship in the classical polis, that is, derived from family membership and was heritable. Kin groupings in Athens and other city-states of the classical period took three principal forms: the smallest and most intimate family, the *oikos,* or household proper; the extended family, or *anchisteia* (close relatives), oriented toward the public sphere, comprised of men, women, and children related by birth, marriage, or adoption, and usually focused, at any one point in time, on three generations; and a fictive brotherhood (phratry) or pseudokinship group, including only men, that functioned as both a religious and political unit. Men predominated in all three forms, Pomeroy argues, and some recent scholarship agrees that patriarchal dominance was particularly marked in the *oikos;* other scholars, however, attach more importance than Pomeroy does to the role of females in the *anchisteia.*

Pomeroy includes intriguing and novel discussions of families noted for athletic excellence and of families of physicians, musicians, actors, priestesses and priests, and artists and sculptors. Of particular interest is her fascinating treatment of funerary foundations in the Hellenistic period, established by the wealthy "to institutionalize offerings to [themselves and] dead members of their family" (108). One was set up by a woman of Thera

[29] For recent studies of the public/private debate in sociology, political theory, and feminism, see Weintraub and Kumar 1997; and Landes 1998.

[30] See Patterson 1994.

in the late third century B.C.E. to honor the Muses, her husband, her deceased sons, and herself, and included a wide variety of family members and apparently unrelated individuals. The example of Epicteta's foundation shows that opportunities for some women to acquire wealth had increased in the Hellenistic period, although it is notable also that male kin predominated and that the original beneficiaries of her foundation were men.

In her study, Pomeroy draws principally on evidence from the orators, inscriptions, and (for Hellenistic Egypt) papyri. The discussion of families in Ptolemaic Egypt is interesting and informative but should be supplemented with Pomeroy's own more exhaustive *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (see also Montserrat 1996). Much of the analysis is oriented around demography, a tool that for Greek antiquity must necessarily serve as a blunt instrument, given the paucity of data; the discussion of female infanticide omits reference to recent disputes on the topic. But Pomeroy's treatment overall substantiates the important claim that the tradition public/private dichotomy does not accurately describe ancient Greek family organization and that it is more appropriately characterized as "public, domestic/public, and domestic/private" (18–19).

Cox's *Household Interests* is an exhaustive and detailed study of a set of texts commonly relied on to substantiate Aristotle's description of the *oikos* as a small, closed holding corporation consisting of husband, wife, their children, slaves, and property. Ideally and as the letter of the law would have it, household property was dispersed to sons in equal shares with the dowry constituting a daughter's share. In the absence of male heirs, a daughter inherited the estate but was married within her father's lineage, to his brother or to a cousin on her father's side. In the absence of heirs (or husbands for an heiress) in the patriline, inheritance devolved on male members of the matriline.

This legal system is well known and figures prominently in most discussions of marriage and inheritance among the ancient Greeks. In actual practice, however, as Cox's innovative study makes clear, things were often quite different. The *oikos* was a structure with fluid boundaries, which were reconfigured often through the institutions of guardianship, adoption, and remarriage and permeated frequently by the influence of a variety of outsiders: friends (both local and foreign), neighbors, lovers (both male and female), and slaves.

Cox's study of marriage patterns shows that neighbors were often selected as affines (in-laws) and that the agnatic (patrilineal) bias in inheritance law was not only manifested through endogamy (in-marriage) but also commonly reinforced through the use of endogamy in the next generation, following the exogamous marriage of a female or the adoption out

of a male. From this perspective women in particular may "appear as no more than pawns" (67). But the agnatic bias often led to rivalry among male heirs, and the result was to promote "the role of the woman [usually a man's sister, but sometimes his widowed mother] in the preservation of the . . . estate" (129). Thus, in contrast to studies that emphasize women's legal inferiority, Cox shows how women "gained power at the private level through their role in inheritance processes and marriage practices" (xvi).

In one intriguing and original chapter, Cox discusses the influence on the *oikos* exercised by nonkinsmen—courtesans, concubines, slaves, friends, neighbors, and foreigners—who often resided within it and who sometimes even took over its management. Throughout her book Cox incorporates illuminating comparisons with social practices and institutions in other cultures of the Mediterranean and early modern Europe.

These two books are important new reconfigurations of our understanding of the family and household in ancient Greece, even if neither can be said to supersede W. K. Lacey's classic *The Family in Classical Greece* (1968). Of the two, Pomeroy's book is briefer, more descriptive, and more accessible to the general reader; Cox's is more detailed and analytical, and directed more toward the specialist, but she also includes a number of helpful summaries and statements of conclusions. And one chapter, "What Was an *Oikos?*" summarizes recent research and adds a wealth of new information and analysis to demonstrate that "the *oikos* was . . . not a static unit and sometimes was not [even] a stable one" (166). For Pomeroy, too, "the family is a dynamic entity that reconfigures itself over time" (23), and, like Cox, Pomeroy draws attention to the effect and power of a man's connections to his maternal line (159). Overall, however, Pomeroy emphasizes strongly the patriarchal character of the ancient Greek family: "the history of the Greek family," as she says, "must be largely the history of an institution dominated by men" (16). Cox's study does not contradict this view, but it shows that women, neighbors, friends, slaves, and other "outsiders" were also major players in the ancient Greek game of family politics.

The "woman" of ancient Greece

The ancient Greeks canonized nine "earthly Muses," and for them, as for us, Sappho's star was the brightest in this galaxy of woman poets.[31] Like other archaic poets of ancient Greece, Sappho survives mostly in fragments—there are one or two complete poems, a dozen or so longer pieces, and some two hundred scraps, one-liners, or, sometimes, just single words.

[31] For recent discussions of the others, see Synder 1989; and Gutzwiller 1998.

Interpretation of Sappho's poetry thus necessarily involves a great deal of reading between and around the lines and inevitably invites speculative reconstruction of poetic context, sociocultural situation, and biographical detail. As the principal female voice to survive from Greek antiquity, Sappho is pressed into service to speak for all women, and the history of ancient, modern, and contemporary commentary on Sappho devolves easily into a study of critical stereotypes of the ancient Greek woman. Sappho's "I" seems always to precipitate our own: there is little discussion of her work that does not, willy-nilly, fall into the category of "personal voice criticism."

Two collections of critical writings by Ellen Greene in the University of California Press series Classics and Contemporary Thought bring together the most interesting new perspectives on Sappho and her poetry of the last thirty years and a decade or so of scholarship on Sappho's "afterlife" (*Nachleben*)—studies of how Sappho has been configured and reconfigured by successive generations of European and American artists, writers, and scholars. No fewer than four new full-length treatments adopt a variety of feminist perspectives to offer a stimulating and original set of interpretations of the writings of Greek antiquity's leading "literary lady."

Reading Sappho presents a broad spectrum of new critical approaches to Sappho. Some essays reassess the biographical and mythical tradition (Mary Lefkowitz, Gregory Nagy); others discard the stereotype of Sappho as artless and spontaneous and analyze her sophisticated manipulation of language and literary convention (Giuliana Lanata, Charles Segal, Page duBois, Jack Winkler). Some writers address the performance context and social function of Sappho's poems, arguing that they were composed for public, largely choral performance (André Lardinois), that they formed the nucleus of a woman's culture (Marilyn Skinner), or that girls' participation in Sappho's circle served either to initiate them into the world of adult female sexuality (Claude Calame, Judith Hallett) or to offer them an alternative, lesbian and female-centered experience of love (Eva Stehle). A final group of essays discusses the specific character of Sappho's erotics: Skinner, Stehle, Margaret Williamson, and Ellen Greene emphasize its construction around intersubjectivity, mutual desire, and reciprocity, and contrast the focus on dominance and submission in representations of masculine desire; Anne Carson sees continuities between Sappho's vision of erotic justice and the poetic tradition generally.

Sappho's Sweetbitter Songs takes up and expands on several of these themes, and Lyn Wilson's concluding chapter on the "Symbolic Realms" created by Sappho's poems is a very effective formulation of the view that

sees Sappho's world as female-centered by contrast with the male domain of "hierarchical, agonistic relations" (188). Most of the discussion is derivative, but Wilson also "hears" the cadences of Sappho's fragments and other archaic poems with a practicing poet's ear, and this results in many sensitive and unusual insights about words, images, and poetic tonality.

The performance contexts and social functions of ancient poetry are elaborated more fully in Stehle's *Performance and Gender,* an innovative, subtly argued, and complex study that combines discussion of ancient testimony with detailed analysis of texts to show how male and female identity are constructed in three principal settings: "community poetry" (largely, choral song), bardic recitations, and symposium songs. Stehle shows how men, through a variety of gender-specific strategies, enact their masculinity and establish their voices as authoritative in both public and private settings. The female choral voice, by contrast, is consistently "deauthorized": women in choral song speak as "subjects [without] control over their bodies" (107) and "stage their own subordinate status in the community" (113). Only through writing do women gain access to authoritative self-representation: in dedicatory inscriptions and in Sappho's erotic verse, poetry is detached from performance, and the textual "I" consequently assumes autonomy and immediacy. Sappho's love poems were composed for presentation to other women, Stehle argues, and the poetry prompted in the recipient a form of imaginative reconstruction that recreated desire and cancelled absence and loss.

Stehle's thesis is challenging: few scholars will be able to read the performance poetry of ancient Greece again without considering the function of gender. But not everyone will agree with her views on the construction of female identity: the fragmentary texts on which the analysis depends are open to other interpretations, and the contexts Stehle reconstructs can be envisioned quite differently. Professions of virginal modesty in Alcman's maiden songs, for example, do not necessarily undercut but may, instead, enhance sexual self-display. And while Stehle rightly discards the notion of Sappho as schoolmistress, priestess, or cult-leader, the singularity of Sappho's poetic voice is not necessarily best explained by hypothesizing a scenario of epistolary exchange for which there is little ancient evidence.[32] The "love-letter" theory, in any case, seems largely irrelevant to Stehle's original and subtle discussion of the poems themselves, in which she ana-

[32] See Parker's discussion, "Sappho Schoolmistress," in *Rereading Sappho* (Greene 1996b). Jesper Svenbro (1993) claims that Sappho's poems were written (perhaps by her), and, like Stehle, compares Sappho's voice to that of inscriptional speech-act markers.

lyzes their communicative strategies and shows convincingly how shifting subject postions within them conscript the audience into an amatory dialogue with the poet.

Jane Snyder's *Lesbian Desire in the Lyrics of Sappho* (1997) treats a different aspect of Sappho's erotics, discussing the construction of its aesthetic around the qualities of grace (*charis*), lushness (*habrosyne*), and intricacy (*poikilia*) and bringing alive, in the analysis of the love poems, the intensity and specificity of their sexual passion. Snyder's chapters include detailed discussions of Sappho's relationship with the goddess Aphrodite, Sappho's revision of Homeric themes, and a wide range of the minor fragments. A final chapter offers an interesting account of Sappho's influence on three modern American lesbian poets: Amy Lowell, H.D. (Hilda Doolittle), and Olga Broumas.

Snyder's book is a masterful and comprehensive treatment of the Sapphic corpus. Informed throughout by scholarly expertise, its straightforward translations and lucid explanations of terminology, meter, and transmission also make the poems accessible to the nonspecialist. (Snyder is also trenchant, concise, and funny on scholarly homophobia.) Her interpretive approach is "woman-centered," and Snyder's focus on lesbian desire results in readings that seem uniquely attuned to the language and themes of the poems themselves. Eschewing direct engagement with the vexed issue of social context and the culturally overcharged "did-she-or-didn't-she" question,[33] Snyder concentrates exclusively on analysis of poetic theme, language and content.

The title of Margaret Williamson's book *Sappho's Immortal Daughters* (1995) derives from the description in a Hellenistic epigram of the poet's songs, to which the book's final chapter is given over. In a series of effective and illuminating analyses, Williamson discusses poetic technique and situates eight of the longer poems and fragments in their literary tradition and cultural context. In her view, Sappho was an aristocratic woman who composed poetry within the politically charged milieu of ancient Lesbos in an era when "the cultivation of beauty in women correspond[ed] to martial prowess in men" (85). Sappho's celebration of homoerotic desire among both girls and women reflects a cultural environment in which women's social identity was eroticized and enacted in a variety of educational, religious, and political settings and in which marriage functioned to forge sociopolitical links among powerful families. Disputing views that would cast women as mere pawns of patrician power politics, Williamson argues that Sappho's poetry and its celebration of female sexuality testify

[33] For Synder's views and speculations on these and other issues, see her *Sappho* (1995).

to women's "active negotiation with social norms" in a world in which "love really [was] on a par with war" (173). A well-chosen set of illustrations complements the discussion, and two of them support the claim that love between women was not marked by the asymmetry of male homoerotic protocols (124–25).

As background to her treatment of sociocultural setting in the book's middle chapters, Williamson's opening chapter presents a fascinating account of the Sappho "legend" among the ancient Greeks and Romans from the fourth-century Greek stories about her male lovers to her celebration as the tenth Muse in Hellenistic times and construction by the Romans as sexually deviant. Chapter 2 is a lucid and informative general account of the process of transmission through which Sappho's poems have reached us and of the conventions that inform the establishment and interpretation of her texts. Overall, Williamson's book is an informed, enlightening, and entertaining discussion of Sappho and most of what is worth knowing about her.

Ten years ago, a pathbreaking study by Joan DeJean showed how sexism and homophobia had shaped reconstructions of Sappho's life and poems (1989). Greene's *Rereading Sappho* brings together a variety of studies conducted mostly since then on Sappho's "afterlife" (*Nachleben*), including an essay by DeJean on Sappho's conscription by German philology into an ideology of "Platonic love." Two chapters by Erika Rohrbach and Susan Gubar adopt conflicting perspectives on the biographical background of H.D.'s Sappho fragments; Elizabeth Harvey discusses Donne's metamorphosis, in "Sappho to Philaenis," of Ovid's heterosexual Sappho ("Sappho to Phaeon") into his own lesbian Muse; and Harriett Andreadis shows how readings of Sappho in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England eventuated in her construction as the chief exemplar of female sexual psychopathogy. An influential and widely cited article by Holt Parker advocates discarding most of the biographical tradition in favor of the view that Sappho's circle, like those of male poets of the period, "was a group of women tied by family, class, politics, and erotic love" (183). And Glenn Most shows how Sappho reception has been dominated by three strategies for reconciling the conflict in the biographical tradition between a Sappho who was a lover of girls and one whose hopeless passion for the legendary ferryman Phaon drove her to suicide.

Glenn Most, Dolores O'Higgins, and Yopie Prins all discuss Sappho's famous fragment 31 ("He seems to me like a god") and its many imitations and transformations. Most shows how the emendation of a single word within it changes the poem's meaning; O'Higgins, comparing the imitation by Catullus, contrasts the Roman poet's "narrative of disintegration"

with Sappho's "drama of seduction" (77–78). And the chapter by Prins, discussing English translations of fragment 31 over the course of four centuries, is a subtle and intriguing discourse on the ultimate impossibility of recuperating fragment 31 into "the simple assertion of Sappho's voice, or feminine voice, or a transcendant lyric voice" (66).

Sappho Is Burning is both a book about Sappho and itself a document of Sappho reception: it reimagines the poet and her context but this time for a uniquely postmodern sensibility. In a series of provocative and original essays, Page duBois interrogates a relationship to classical antiquity that, she argues, is predicated on mastery, narrativization, and the imperative to restore plenitude, to pursue a "dream of wholeness" (63). Sappho's fragmentary "body-in-pieces," her archaic anteriority to the classical norm, her specifically female sexuality, her "Asiatic" hedonism—these are all features of duBois's Sappho, a figure of radical alterity who "disturbs the paradigm of classical order" (177) but who also resists recuperation into feminist and other forms of utopianism and integration.

Drawing on but also contesting a variety of theoretical perspectives from Marx, Freud, and Nietzsche through Benjamin, Lacan, and Foucault, duBois situates a range of Sappho's fragments in relation to different manifestations of ancient and modern constructions of Hellenic coherence. For example, she juxtaposes a provocative reading of fragment 31 against both the fragmented body of the warrior in Homer and the ancient Greeks' own sense of themselves as an original unity dispersed throughout cities, settlements, and colonies. DuBois disputes the postmodern rehabilitation of Plato, arguing that Sappho disrupts his "transcendent and totalizing project" (85), and she contrasts Socrates' invocation of Sappho and his own discourse on love in the *Phaedrus* with the insistent materiality of Sappho's erotics. Discussing other scenes of Platonic philosophy, she shows how Plato both systematically appropriates the feminine and expels the female. In other chapters duBois invokes Foucault as "an exemplar [of] a certain utopian model of eroticism" (162) but also draws on Sappho to contest his focus on "the philosophical subject's drive for austerity and self-mastery" (134).

In her final chapter, duBois discusses the dispute between Asianism and Atticism during the second Sophistic (c. 60–230 C.E.)—the period of supremacy of declamatory rhetoric—showing how Atticism, "the cold, clear light of classical prose and poetry" (176) was configured as a virtuous Attic wife, in contrast to an Eastern style represented as a promiscuous Asian slut. Through Sappho and her distinctly "Asiatic" constructions of pleasure, duBois argues, we can subvert Atticism's "theft of enjoyment" and

recover an ancient version of multiculturalism located, like Sappho herself, at "the very farthest edge of the West, between Europe and Asia" (194).

Sappho Is Burning is a sophisticated, challenging, and exciting book on Sappho and the difference Sappho makes. It will also be easy to criticize—even dismiss—since its style and rhetoric replicate both the fragmentation and excess of its subject matter: for example, "Fragmentary Introduction." But duBois poses a multitude of provocative and important questions about Classics, postmodernism, and "the fiction of subjectivity at its origins" (6), which we would do better to ponder than to discharge with easy answers and facile critiques.

Gender and the body

The plethora of recent scholarship reviewed here embraces an impressively wide range of subjects within the general area of women, gender, and ancient Greece. But there are just as many recent works omitted that study women and gender in traditional areas of research like tragedy, in newly defined fields like masculinity, or in currently "hot" areas like the body and sexuality.[34] *Off with Her Head!* a collection of essays edited by Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger is the only book of those under review that addresses the subject of women's bodies. They are studied here in a variety of ancient and modern traditions under the rubric of decapitation in order to illustrate the thesis that female corporeality is objectified through a process of symbolic beheading. The volume includes essays covering traditions and cultures from Hindu myth through ancient Buddhism, ancient Judaism, early Christianity, and modern Islam. There is a fascinating essay by Molly Myerowitz Levine showing how the manipulation of hair in ancient Greek, Roman, and Jewish cult and culture was governed by gender-specific practices, and one essay by Amy Richlin on cosmetology in ancient Rome, illustrating "the idea that the female body is something that needs to be fixed" (205).

In *Off with Her Head!* the investigation of sexuality is displaced upward, and Freud, whose preoccupations included sexual symbolization, accordingly replaces Foucault as the principal theoretical presence. But it was the publication in 1984 of *L'usage des plaisirs,* the second volume of Foucault's

[34] On tragedy, see, e.g., Wohl 1998; Zeitlin 1995; Rehm 1994; Rabinowitz 1993. On masculinity, see, e.g., Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Loraux 1995; Bassi 1998; Foxhall and Salmon 1998a; and Foxhall and Salmon 1998b. On the body and sexuality, see, e.g., Porter 1999; Monserrat 1998; Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons 1997; Stewart 1997; Wyke 1997; and Kampen 1996.

History of Sexuality (1978–86), that inaugurated the contemporary and ongoing debates on the character and practices of ancient sexuality. Foucault's notorious omission of female desire has provoked feminist critique by classicists as well as others, and his skewed perspective has been corrected now by studies emphasizing the protocols and implications of ancient representations of sexuality and the body or offering new perspectives on sexual violence (Deacy and Pierce 1997).[35]

I I I

Before the 1970s, the scholarly study on the women of ancient Greece was confined largely to the question of their status: high or low, revered or despised. As the books reviewed here show, feminist scholarship in Classics has discarded this issue and has moved on to provocative, illuminating, and innovative reconceptualizations of women, the female, and the feminine in ancient Greek culture, society, and ideology. This rich variety of works and the disparate perspectives on all the subjects discussed make it clear that the corpus of ancient Greek texts and the body of ancient Greek cultural practices continue to engender exciting new knowledge and insights about women in Greek antiquity.[36]

But traces of the old pattern persist—in the tension (evident in several of the interpretive conflicts discussed in this essay) between resituating the women of ancient Greece as subjects within a diverse and varied sociocultural plenitude and constituting them, instead, as objects of patriarchal oppression.[37] Settling the difference is not now any more than before a simple matter of splitting it—of even-handed readings balanced between "on the one hand" and "on the other hand." Rather, the issue, in my view, is to resist the seductions of a "misogyny model" that relies on a literal reading of the cultural text and to which classicists, trained as they are in deference to textual authority, succumb all too easily. For the problem of cultural agency does not easily resolve itself into a question of ideologically conditioned claims to authority—in our own society any more than that of the ancient Greeks. In consigning ancient Greek women to passivity we risk

[35] See Larmour, Miller, and Platter 1998, and in particular the essays by Foxhall ("Pandora Unbound: A Feminist Critique of Foucault's History of Sexuality"), Richlin ("Foucault's History of Sexuality: A Useful Theory for Women?"), and duBois ("The Subject in Antiquity after Foucault").

[36] The best source for up-to-date citations of ongoing research on women in ancient Greece and Rome is Ross Scaife's Web site, "Diotima: Materials for the Study of Women and Gender in the Ancient World," http://www.uky.edu/AS/Classics/biblio.html.

[37] Compare Richlin's contrast between "optimists" and "pessimists" in "The Ethnographer's Dilemma and the Dream of a Lost Golden Age" (1993).

conscription into the very system that we should be contesting. Thus, of the plethora of fine books discussed here, my own favorites are those that disrupt familiar consolidations of ancient Greek women as passive pawns of patriarchy and, while taking account of women's subjectifications, also attempt to retrieve their subjectivities.

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JUDITH M. BARRINGER



Atalanta as Model: The Hunter and the Hunted

ATALANTA PROVIDED rich material for ancient writers and artists. She was the subject of many plays, both tragic and comic,[1] and appears on numerous vases and in sculpture. Ancient authors refer to an Arcadian and a Boeotian Atalanta; they report that Atalanta was the daughter of Iasos or Iasios of Arcadia[2] or

This article has profited from the helpful comments and criticisms of Richard Garner, Robert Albis, Greg Barringer, Eve D'Ambra, and Jerry Pollitt, who gave up vast quantities of time to read various versions of this text, and from those of Sarah Morris and the two anonymous *Classical Antiquity* readers. The Whitney Humanities Center at Yale University provided me with a Richardson and Goldsmith Fellowship in 1993–1994 and with the time, luxury, and good fellowship in which to begin this work. The comments I received from my colleagues there at an early presentation of this work stimulated my thinking in wonderful ways. I am deeply grateful to all of them. I alone am responsible for all errors and omissions.

1. Most are known only by title: tragedies by Aeschylus and Aristias (*TrGF* 9 F 2); comedies (some entitled *Atalantae*) by Strattis, Alexias, Philetaerus, Philyllius, Callias, Euthycles, Epicharmus, and Phormus (for references see S. Radt, *TrGF*, vol. 3 [Aeschylus], 136–37, and R. Kassel and C. Austin, *PCG*).

2. Iasos: Hellanic., as attested by schol. at Ar., *Frogs* 1238; schol. at Eur., *Ph.* 150; Apollod. 3.9.2; Prop. 1.10 uses the patronymic "Iasis." Iasios: Theog. 2.1288–91; Arist., *Historica* 640.44 in V. Rose, *Aristotelis: Fragmenta* (Stuttgart, 1967); schol. at Ap. Rhod. 1.769.73; Call. 3.215–16; Hyg., *Fab.* 80, 99. Arcadia: Hellanic., as attested by schol. at Ar., *Frogs* 1238 and schol. at Ap. Rhod. 1.769 (*FGrH* frag. 162); *Anth. Pal.* 7.413 (Antipater of Sidon); Ael., *VH* 13.1.1–2, 13.1.113. Cf. Eur., *Supp.* 887–89. Sophocles, *OC* 1320–22 states that Atalanta's son, Parthenopaios, was from Arcadia. Propertius 1.13–14 suggests that Atalanta is from Arcadia, and Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 2.185 refers to her as "Nonacrina Atalanta," that is, Atalanta from Nonacrina, an Arcadian town.

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Schoeneus of Boeotia[3] or Maenalus.[4] But at some point, the two tales apparently were conflated, perhaps as early as Euripides' account.[5] Exposed by her father, the infant Atalanta was suckled by a she-bear, and eventually rescued by hunters who raised her to adulthood. Atalanta grew up to be a swift-footed virgin who hunted in the wilds with Artemis.[6] Her misanthropy and eschewal of marriage are frequently mentioned by ancient authors[7] and, well known for her hunting and athletic skills,[8] she was occasionally given the epithet "man-like."[9] Atalanta plays a major role in three myths: the Calydonian Boar Hunt, the wrestling match at the funeral games of Pelias, and a footrace. Scholars have devoted much study to the literary texts, but have given less attention to Atalanta's appearances in Greek vase paintings,[10] although these provide important evidence for understanding ancient Greek culture and its use and manipulation of myth. This article examines the vase paintings of these three myths in the context of ancient Greek initiation rites.

Although the Atalanta vases are of different periods and fabrics, a comparison of the various ways in which the Atalanta myths are used reveals striking similarities across time and distance. Atalanta emerges as the embodiment of ambiguity and liminality, combining aspects of male and female, insider and outsider. This devotee of Artemis is not only a female hunter but also a female ephebe, a paradox sometimes expressed visually by Atalanta's appearance in the guise of other outsiders, particularly Amazons and maenads. This blending of gender roles in myth offers insight into Greek ideas of social roles, gender constructs, and male

3. R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, eds., *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford, 1967) frags. 72, 76; schol. at Eur., *Ph.* 150; schol. at Ar., *Frogs* 1238; schol. at Ap. Rhod. 1.769; Trypho frag. 2(84); Diod. Sic. 4.41.289, 4.65.4, 4.65.7; Ov., *Met.* 10.609, 660; Hdn., Περὶ παρωνύμων 2.895.1–18; Hyg., *Fab.* 173, 185, 244; Opp., *Cyn.* 2.26–27; Lib., *Progymnasmata* 34; Serv., *In Verg. Aen.* 3.113.7–9; Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia* 165.10–11, 189.3; schol. at Hom., *Il.* 2.497b; schol. at Theoc. 3.40–42b. St. Byz., *Ethnika* 596.1–2, 13 and Eust., *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 1.404.21 refer to Schoineus as Arcadian.

4. Eur., *Ph.* 1162 (see Mastronarde *ad loc.*).

5. Escher, *RE* 2, p. 1893, s.v. Atalanta. Escher also suggests that the original tale may have consisted of a single figure of Atalanta, who was then divided, and only later conflated into a single unit once again. The schol. at Theocritus 3.42c retains the distinction, and certainly later authors mention that there were two, e.g., schol. at Eur., *Ph.* 150; schol. at Ap. Rhod. 1.769. Cf. Marcel Detienne, *Dionysos Slain*, trans. M. Muellner and L. Muellner (Baltimore and London, 1979) 30–31.

6. Merkelbach and West (*supra,* n. 3) frag. 72; Eur., *Ph.* 151–153 and schol. *ad loc.*; Call. 3.215–217; Apollod. 3.9.2; Ael., *VH* 13.1.19–20; schol. at Aesch., *Th.* 532d-f, 532i-k; schol. at Hom., *Il.* 2.764.

7. Merkelbach and West (*supra,* n. 3) frag. 73; Theog. 2.1290–94; Apollod. 3.9.2; Ov., *Met.* 10.564–69, who states that she fled men in response to an oracle; Ael., *VH* 13.1.17–18.

8. Xen., *Cyn.* 13.18; Call. 3.215–17; Hdn., *De prosodia catholica* 3, 1.82.20 and 2.37.11; schol. at Theoc. 3.42d; Clem. Al., *Strom.* 4.121.1–2. Apollodorus 3.9.2 reports that two centaurs tried to rape her, but were unsuccessful. Cf. Pl., *Rep.* 620b; Call. 3.222–24; and Proc., *In R.* 2.317.11–13, 2.320.2–3.

9. Cf. Proc., *In R.* 2.317.11–13; Eust., *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 2.88.13, 4.240.20–21.

10. Susan Woodford, *LIMC* 6 (Zürich and Munich, 1992) 414–35, s.v. Meleagros; and John Boardman, *LIMC* 2 (Zürich and Munich, 1984) 940–50, s.v. Atalanta, provide catalogues and stylistic comparisons but do not offer full analyses of the myths based on the written and visual evidence.

perceptions of femininity. Atalanta challenges men in a man's world and therefore presents a threat to the male order, but she is also the object of male desire and subject to male influence and dominance.

RITES OF PASSAGE: MALE AND FEMALE

The activities of Atalanta—the Calydonian boar hunt, wrestling with Peleus, and the footrace—are all typical rites of passage for the ancient Greek youth and maiden. There were very clear roles and rites for boys and girls in ancient Greece. For example, boys participated in the hunt, sometimes performed military service, and made appropriate dedications to Apollo and/or Artemis; girls took part in prenuptial rituals, usually dedicated to Artemis, Hera, or Athena, and then were wed. The social roles are very distinct, yet these gender roles blend at moments of initiation, e.g., boys dress up as girls for certain rites (cf. Plut., *De mul. virt.* 245E), or girls perform typically male activities, such as footraces,[11] the explanation for this inversion being that in order to become one thing, one must first experience the opposite.[12]

Male initiation rites typically included athletics, military training, and sometimes hunting. For example, hunting was part of male initiation in Sparta and on Crete, and perhaps also at Athens. (This is discussed at greater length below.) The Greeks distinguished two types of hunting: immature and mature. The former took place at night, when a youth hunted alone and hunted by means of nets and snares. By contrast, the mature hunt was a collective endeavor that took place during the daylight, when hunters chased down an animal and killed it.[13]

11. E.g., the Oschophoria in Athens, the Heraia at Olympia. Mythical models of transvestism during initiation include Pentheus as he learns of the rites of Dionysos and Achilles on Scyros as he prepares to join the Achaean army. See, e.g., David D. Leitao, "The Perils of Leukippos: Initiatory Transvestism and Male Gender Ideology in the Ekdusia at Phaistos," *ClAnt* 14 (1995) 130–63; Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Life* (Ithaca, 1990) 163, 177–78; Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter*, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak (Baltimore and London, 1986) 116, 139, 140; and Nancy Felson Rubin and William Merritt Sale, "Meleager and Odysseus: A Structural and Cultural Study of the Greek Hunting-Maturation Myth," *Arethusa* 16 (1983) 141.

12. See, e.g., Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals* (Princeton, 1991) 225, 231, 238–43; Vidal-Naquet (*supra*, n. 11) 114, 116–17; Page DuBois, *Centaurs and Amazons: Women and the Pre-History of the Great Chain of Being* (Ann Arbor, 1982) 69; Claude Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* 1 (Rome, 1977) 36, 258–60; Pauline Schmitt, "Athéna Apatouria et la ceinture: Les aspects féminins des Apatouries à Athènes," *AnnalesESC* 32 (1977) 1065–67. Leitao (*supra*, n. 11) 138 argues that in rites for boys before marriage, the inversion is a form of renunciation of the female sphere to which a young boy belongs. However, Leitao does not explain why girls engage in inversion other than the Spartan rites for the new bride, or if his interpretation is different when male rites do not directly precede marriage. Ernest J. Ament, "Aspects of Androgyny in Classical Greece," in *Woman's Power, Man's Game: Essays on Classical Antiquity in Honor of Joy K. King* (Wauconda, IL, 1993) 15–16 claims that transvestism in Greek initiation rites is a temporary regression to the time of creation when androgyny was the norm, and offers several instances of ritual transvestism.

13. Pl., *Laws* 823e–824b; and Athen. 18a. While these texts are late, Vidal-Naquet (*supra*, n. 11) 117–19 argues that this distinction already exists much earlier in myth and vase painting. See

Hunting was considered an appropriate activity in preparation for warfare (Pl., *Laws* 763b; Xen., *Cyn.* 12.1–5), and male initiation included military training in all three places. These martial activities are usually associated with the pre-adult or ephebic male, that is, the late adolescent poised on the brink of manhood. In spite of the fact that she is female, the myths about Atalanta conform to these male initiatory models, and in them, as we shall see, Atalanta behaves as an exemplary ephebe.[14]

Atalanta also partakes of activities that strongly resemble female initiatory rites, which include dances or footraces in honor of Artemis and Hera, dedications to Artemis, Aphrodite, and Hera, and then the wedding itself. In other words, the three myths concerning Atalanta blend male initiatory activities with female, the ephebic with the prenuptial, and this mixture is emphasized in the material record of vase painting. Let us examine the myths and their depictions one by one with an eye to initiatory aspects and to the blending of male and female roles.

THE CALYDONIAN BOAR HUNT

The Calydonian boar hunt is one of the first recorded hunting myths in Greek literature. It was tremendously popular in literary texts from the time of Homer on and is a common subject for visual artists from the sixth century B.C. until the end of the Roman period. The theme appears on vases, in architectural sculpture, including reliefs on tombs, and on Roman sarcophagi.

Untangling the literary tradition for the myth is difficult. The earliest extant literary account of the Calydonian Boar Hunt appears in Homer, *Iliad* 9.529–99, where Phoenix relates the tale of the hunt in an effort to get Achilles to rejoin the fighting, but this account is certainly not the earliest that existed. As scholars have long noted, we can see from the structure of Homer's account that there was a tradition that preceded it.[15] What form the early myth took is controversial and

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also Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Retour au chasseur noir," in *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* 2 (Paris, 1989) 387–411. Cf. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 781–96, which describes the chaste hunter Melanion, hunting with nets; and Oppian, *Cynegetica* 2.25, which says that Hippolytus (a chaste, immature hunter) invented the hunting net.

14. Cf. Pierre Brulé, "Des femmes au miroir masculin," *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* 2 (Paris, 1989) 57; Schmitt (*supra*, n. 12) 1067.

15. For a discussion of the possibility of a pre-Homeric version(s) and of its content, and of Homeric innovations, see Fritz Graf, *Greek Mythology: An Introduction*, trans. T. Marier (Baltimore and London, 1993) 64–68; Bryan Hainsworth, *The Iliad: A Commentary* 3, Books 9–12 (Cambridge, 1993) 131–32; Jan Bremmer, "La plasticité du mythe: Méléagre dans la poésie homérique," in Claude Calame, ed., *Métamorphoses du mythe en grèce antique* (Paris, 1988) 37–56; J. Keck, *Studien zur Rezeption fremder Einflüsse in der chalkidischen Keramik* (Frankfurt, 1988) 153; Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches* (New York and London, 1987, reprint of 1949 edition) 11, 18–41; Jennifer R. March, *The Creative Poet*, *BICS* supp. 49 (1987) 29, 30–42; and Rubin and Sale (*supra*, n. 11) 137–71 and "Meleager and the Motifemic Analysis of Myth: A Response," *Arethusa* 17 (1984) 211–23, who argue that the story was not only pre-Homeric, but that the love of Meleager for Atalanta was part of this early tradition.

irretrievable, but there are common denominators among the variant accounts.[16] Some versions include Atalanta, while others do not.[17] The shared elements run as follows: the ruler of Calydon made a sacrifice in which he omitted mention of the goddess Artemis, and this angered her. As punishment, she sent a boar to ravage the land of Calydon. The king called upon his son, Meleager, to organize a hunt to kill the boar. Meleager assembled a group of huntsmen, including heroes from neighboring cities and his maternal uncles, and they set out to kill the boar. The boar was killed; there was an altercation over the spoils of the hunt, the hide and head of the boar; Meleager's uncle or uncles were killed by Meleager; and then Meleager himself was killed.[18]

16. E.g., Stesich., *Suotherai* (*PMG* 221); Phry., *Pleuroniae* as attested in Paus. 10.31.4; Bacchy. 5.71–154; Aesch., *Ch.* 603–12; a now lost play by Aeschylus entitled *Atalanta*; a fragmentary play of Sophocles entitled *Meleager* (Stefan Radt, ed., *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* 4 [Göttingen, 1977] frags. 401–406); schol. at Ar., *Frogs* 1238; Euripides' fragmentary *Meleager* (Augustus Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta supplementum* [Hildesheim, 1964] frags. 515–39); Apollod. 1.8.2–3; Accius frags. 428–50; Diod. Sic. 4.34.2–5; and Ov., *Met.* 8.270–525. Anthony A. Barrett, "P. Oxy. 2359 and Stesichorus' ΣΥΟΘΗΡΑΙ," *CP* 67 (1972) 118 may be incorrect in his reading of column ii when he claims that the hunters were "taking up their positions at the nets" (p. 118). The Calydonian boar hunt was "conducted on a heroic scale" as Barrett acknowledges, and therefore, if we assume that later hunting ethics applied earlier, nets would have been entirely inappropriate since they were the weapons of the immature or ephebic hunt. See Pl., *Laws* 823e–824b. However, other scholars think that P.Oxy. 2359 is not part of Stesichorus' *Suotherai*, but of his *Games for Pelias*. See, e.g., Richard Garner, "Stesichorus' Althaia: P. Oxy. LVII.3876.frr.1–36," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 29 n. 11; Hugh Lloyd-Jones, "Review of E. Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XXIII (London, 1956)," *CR* 72 (1958) 17 (Lobel had assigned 2359 to the *Suotherai*). Garner *(supra)* 26–38, instead proposes that P.Oxy. 3876 treats the story of Meleager and the Calydonian boar hunt and offers a reconstruction of the fragments.

17. For a full discussion of the literary sources and their relation to each other, see Giampiera Arrigoni, "Atalanta e il cinghiale bianco," *Scripta philologa* 1 (1977) 9–47, and the summary by Woodford (*supra,* n. 10) 414.

18. Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (Merkelbach and West [*supra,* n. 3] frag. 25, lines 12–13) states that Meleager was killed in battle by Apollo, and Pausanias 10.31.3 says that the *Eoeae* and *Minyad*, two epics, attribute Meleager's death to Apollo in the battle between the Curetes and Aetolians. Homer relates that Meleager killed his uncles, the Thestiadai, in battle between the Aetolians of Calydon and the Curetes of Pleuron (cf. Bacchy. 5.71–154), which originated in a dispute over the boar's hide. *Iliad* 9.566ff. says that Althaea, in grief over her brother's death, cursed her son Meleager and he subsequently withdrew from the fighting. When the Aetolians began losing badly, Meleager was approached by an embassy including family members with the hope of getting him to rejoin the fighting, but he stubbornly refused. He finally yielded to the entreaties of his wife Cleopatra, and although his fate is not explicitly mentioned in the *Iliad*, it can be assumed that he died in battle since 9.571 states that the Erinys heard Althaea's curse. Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans*, trans. P. Bing (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1983) 54 explains the battle after the hunt as a manifestation of human guilt over the killing of the boar.

According to Phrynichus (as reported in Pausanias), Bacchylides, and schol. at Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1238, however, Meleager was killed when his mother Althaea placed a brand on the fire; it had been prophesied that when the brand was consumed, Meleager would die. Pausanias 10.31.4 claims that Phrynichus was repeating a story well known throughout Greece. Scholars suggest that Stesichorus was the inventor of the brand episode in his Συοθῆραι. See, e.g., Garner (*supra,* n. 16) 28, 32–33; March (*supra,* n. 15) 44–46; Maurice Croiset, "Sur les origines du récit relatif a Méléagre dans l'ode V de Bacchylide," in *Mélanges Henri Weil* (Paris, 1898) 73–80.

According to the versions that include Atalanta in the hunt, Atalanta managed to get in the first blow at the boar, but the boar was finally brought down by Meleager, who awarded the boar's hide and head to Atalanta because he had fallen in love with her. Meleager's maternal uncles objected, so Meleager killed at least one of them. In some versions, when Meleager's mother, Althaea, learned that her son had killed her brother, she tossed a wooden log onto the fire, which caused Meleager to expire.[19] We should also note here that three authors provide lists of participants in the hunt—Apollodorus 1.8.2;[20] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.299–317; and Hyginus, *Fabulae* 173—and all three include Atalanta, who is named as the daughter of Schoeneus from Arcadia, the daughter of Schoeneus, and from Arcadia, respectively.[21] Although Bacchylides 5 is the earliest text to mention Atalanta in conjunction with the hunt, most scholars credit Euripides' *Meleager* (a late play) with having first employed the motif of the love of Meleager for Atalanta.[22]

19. Aesch., *Ch.* 603–612; Apollod. 1.8.2–3, who recounts Meleager's love for Atalanta, but also says that he was married to Cleopatra; Accius frags. 428–450; Manilius, *Astronomica* 5.175–82; Paus. 10.31.4; Hyg., *Fab.* 174; schol. at Lucian 17.31, 30.1.17. Diod. Sic. 4.34.2–5 seems to combine several previous versions of the myth; he relates that Meleager was the first to stab the boar, he tells of Meleager's love for Atalanta and that Meleager's uncles attacked Atalanta after Meleager awarded the boar's skin to her. Then Diodorus says that Althaea responded with a curse and that the immortals paid heed to it, which recalls the Homeric version of the myth. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.270–546 says that Meleager's uncles took the spoils of the hunt from Atalanta. Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 2.786.17–18 refers to Atalanta as Meleager's beloved, and at 2.802.3–6 he says that Meleager gave the head and skin of the boar to his beloved Atalanta. Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia* 165.13–14 also says the latter. See also schol. at Hom., *Il.* 9.543; and schol. at Lucian 17.31.

Apollodorus 1.8.2–3 offers another variant: he describes the aftermath of the hunt as recounted in *Iliad* 9 and confirms that Meleager was killed in battle, then states that Althaea and Cleopatra killed themselves, and that the women who mourned for them were transformed into birds. The metamorphoses of Althaea and Cleopatra are mentioned in the fragments of Sophocles' *Meleagros*, whose plot may have been that described in Apollodorus' second version. See Woodford (*supra,* n. 10) 414; Radt (*supra,* n. 16). Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.531–32 relates that Althaea committed suicide by driving a dagger through her heart, and both he (8.533–45) and Hyginus, *Fabulae* 174 say that Meleager's sisters were transformed into birds because of their mourning for the death of Meleager. Callimachus 3.219–21 claims that the spoils of the hunt were brought to Arcadia, which still possesses the boar's tusks. On the tusks, see *infra,* n. 26 and Rubin and Sale (*supra,* n. 11) 156–57 and (*supra,* n. 15) 215–17; Glenn W. Most, "Of Motifemes and Megatexts: Comment on Rubin/Sale and Segal," *Arethusa* 16 (1983) 207.

20. Apollodorus 3.9.2 also mentions Atalanta's participation in the Calydonian boar hunt.

21. For a brief discussion of the catalogues of names and the names that appear on vases, see Albert Henrichs, "Three Approaches to Greek Mythography," in Jan Bremmer, ed., *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London and Sydney, 1987) 252.

22. E.g., Woodford (*supra,* n. 10) 414, 430; Most (*supra,* n. 19) 204, 205; Louis Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque*[2] (Paris, 1967) 423, 426; Denys Page, "A New Fragment of a Greek Tragedy," *CQ* 31 (1937) 179. Contra: Rubin and Sale (*supra,* n. 11) 155 and (*supra,* n. 15) 214–15; and Arrigoni (*supra,* n. 17) 21. Page (*supra*) 179–80 and Séchan (*supra*) 423–33 offer skeletal reconstructions of the play based on the surviving fragments; and A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London, 1971) 98 claim that the play included preparations for the hunt of the boar and the events up to the death of Meleager. On the probable date of the play, see M. Cropp and G. Fick, *Resolutions and Chronology in Euripides: The Fragmentary Tragedies*, *BICS* Suppl. 43 (1985) 84–85.

Atalanta, however, is romantically linked with Melanion or Hippomenes in earlier texts,[23] and, as we will see, on early vases.

The earliest certain vase paintings of the Calydonian boar hunt date to the early sixth century B.C. and are mostly of Attic manufacture,[24] perhaps inspired by a lost epic poem of Stesichorus.[25] Typical of the Attic black-figure examples is a dinos of ca. 575–550 B.C., now in the Vatican (306), on which we see the boar in the center with a hunter lying wounded or dead beneath (fig. 1).[26] Dogs attack

23. Hippomenes: Merkelbach and West (*supra,* n. 3) frags. 72; schol. at Eur., *Ph.* 150. Melanion: Hellan. in *FGrH* frags. 99, 162; schol. at Eur., *Ph.* 150, 151. On Hippomenes, see John Boardman, *LIMC* 5 (Zürich and Munich, 1990) 465–66, s.v. Hippomenes. On Melanion, see John Boardman, *LIMC* 6 (Zürich and Munich, 1992) 404–405, s.v. Meilanion.

24. Images of a boar hunt exist in earlier vase painting, but one cannot identify them with the Calydonian hunt. For example, a Corinthian pyxis lid from Corinth of ca. 600, the famous Dodwell pyxis now in Munich (327), is ornamented with a boar hunt (*Heldensage*[3] 314, C3; D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* [Berkeley, 1988] 205–206, 284, 565, pl. 86). The names of the hunters are inscribed, but they do not correspond to any of the known hunters listed in the ancient literary sources. Scholars have established some general rules for making this distinction: when there are inscribed names that correspond to those in the ancient name lists, or when a female hunter (who must surely be Atalanta) appears, distinguished by white paint and clothing, then we have the Calydonian boar hunt. See Woodford (*supra,* n. 10) 416, 430; Keck (*supra,* n. 15) 154–55; and Dietrich von Bothmer, "An Attic Black-Figured Dinos," *BMFA* 44 (1948) 44, who discounts the Corinthian vases as uncertain depictions. Cf. Georg Daltrop, *Die kalydonische Jagd in der Antike* (Hamburg and Berlin, 1966) 18. Contra: Alain Schnapp, "Images et programme: Les figurations archaïques de la chasse au sanglier," *RA* 2 (1979) 200, 204, who states that the presence of any of the following in vase paintings is enough to satisfy the requirements for the Calydonian boar hunt: symmetrical placement of hunters around boar, the presence of Atalanta, a dog on the back of the boar, or Ankaios under the boar. Cf. Karl Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art,* trans. A. Griffiths (Cambridge, 1992) 197, who says that the Corinthian vase paintings of the Calydonian boar hunt have hunters' names different from those on Attic vases, and therefore the Corinthian vases must be based on a Corinthian epic; Elizabeth Langridge, "The Boar Hunt in Corinthian Pottery," *AJA* 95 (1991) 323; Keck (*supra,* n. 15) 154; Konrad Schauenburg, *Jagddarstellungen in der griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Hamburg and Berlin, 1969) 12, who avers that in the case of the anonymous Corinthian vases, the Calydonian boar hunt is probably not intended, and that Corinthian vases with inscriptions suggest a lost myth; and P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes* (Paris, 1936) 131–33.

25. Woodford (*supra,* n. 10) 430. Keck (*supra,* n. 15) 154 tries to demonstrate a direct link between literary text and image concerning the Calydonian boar hunt. This effort, however, is unnecessary, for surely vase painters may have been influenced by oral accounts of these myths, i.e., folktales, in which details, such as the names of the participating hunters, would alter in the retelling. See also March (*supra,* n. 15) 37–38, who tacitly assumes a strong literary influence on sixth-century B.C. vase paintings of the Calydonian boar hunt; and Antonio Minto, *Il Vaso François* (Florence, 1960) 164.

26. *Heldensage*[3] 310, A3. The theme also appears on the reliefs from the heroon at Gjölbaschi-Trysa, on two Melian reliefs, in one of the pediments of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, and perhaps in the metopes of the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi. See Fritz Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* (Vienna, 1950); Paul Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1931) 32–33 no. 27, 78–80 no. 103, Tafs. 15, 60; Andrew Stewart, *Skopas of Paros* (Park Ridge, N. J., 1977) 14–21, 60–62, 133; and De la Coste-Messelière (*supra,* n. 24) 120–27. Pausanias 3.18.15, 8.46.1 reports that the Calydonian boar's teeth were kept in the temple at Tegea and were eventually transported to Rome by Augustus. Elinor Bevan, *Representations of Animals in Sanctuaries of Artemis and Other Olympia Deities* 1 (Oxford, 1986) 77 reports that many boars' tusks were found

the boar on its back and from the front and rear, while hunters approach from either side. Atalanta appears at the right, distinguished by the white paint on her arms and face. She appears as an archer with Scythian boots,[27] while the other hunters are armed with spears and tridents, although a male archer appears to the left of the boar. Atalanta appears as an archer on other vases, such as a dinos of ca. 560 B.C. from Greece, now in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts 34.212),[28] and a hydria of ca. 550 B.C. near the Princeton Painter, now in Florence (Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3830), on which the archer Atalanta is armed as an Amazon with helmet and short chiton (fig. 2).[29] An unusual example is the François Vase of ca. 570, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos (Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209), on which Atalanta (name inscribed) carries a spear[30] and is compositionally paired with Melanion, whose name is inscribed (fig. 3). In short, the typical Attic black-figure composition is comprised of hunters symmetrically disposed around a huge central boar (usually facing to the viewer's left, although occasionally he faces right), with dogs attacking the boar and often with a wounded or dead hunter (frequently named Ankaios) lying beneath the boar. Atalanta is usually, though not always, present.[31] For example, a band cup from Vulci of ca. 540 signed by Archikles and Glaukytes, now in Munich (Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2243), bears the typical composition: the hunters are named, but Atalanta is not present.[32] In the half century between 600 and 550 B.C., however, Atalanta is always included in representations of the Calydonian boar hunt, indicating that vase painters knew of a tradition that included Atalanta before the first surviving literary accounts of a century later.[33]

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in the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, perhaps in connection with Atalanta. Bevan speculates that Atalanta may have had an altar in the shrine. Many boars' tusks were also found at Calydon (76).

27. On the appearance of Scythian archers, see François Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier: Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique* (Paris and Rome, 1990) 125–49; H. A. Shapiro, "Amazons, Thracians, and Scythians," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 111; and M. F. Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting* (Groningen, 1963) 40–52.

28. *ABV* 87, 18; *Addenda*^{2} 24; *Heldensage*^{3} 310, A4.

29. *Heldensage*^{3} 311, A13. On the appearance of Amazons in archaic Greek vase painting, see Shapiro (*supra,* n. 27) 106; and Dietrich von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957) 6–115.

30. *ABV* 76, 1; *Paralipomena* 29; *Addenda*^{2} 21; *Heldensage*^{3} 310, A1. Schnapp (*supra,* n. 24) 197 believes that the bow is a weapon that designates heroic status or divinity.

31. On the composition, see Keck (*supra,* n. 15) 155–57; Fred S. Kleiner, "The Kalydonian Hunt: A Reconstruction of a Painting from the Circle of Polygnotos," *AntK* 15 (1972) 7–14; Daltrop (*supra,* n. 24) 15–25; Von Bothmer (*supra,* n. 24) 42–48; and Minto (*supra,* n. 25) 36–40. Schnapp (*supra,* n. 24) 195–218 claims that those Attic paintings that are certainly Calydonian do not include mounted hunters (204, 208). He makes a distinction between mythological and non-mythological boar hunts on the basis of the inclusion of horses; the hunt on foot is, he states, narrative and diverse in its manifestations, while that on horseback is stereotypical and largely symmetrical. Schnapp, however, does not account for Munich 8600, Vatican 306, and Boston 34.212, which are all clearly ornamented with the Calydonian boar hunt but include horsemen.

32. *ABV* 163, 2; *Paralipomena* 68; *Addenda*^{2} 47; *Heldensage*^{3} 311, A14.

33. Philostratus the Younger, *Imagines* 417K describes a painting of the hunt with Atalanta wearing boots and a garment that falls above the knees, along with the wounded Ankaios, Meleager, and Peleus.

There are paintings of a boar hunt that do not have inscriptions or Atalanta, but still bear strong resemblances to the composition of the identifiable Calydonian boar hunt images. For example, an Attic black-figure Siana cup by the Painter of Boston C. A. of ca. 560 B.C., now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, is decorated with the standard Attic black-figure boar hunt, yet the hunters' names are not inscribed and Atalanta is not included.[34] The same is true of a Corinthian krater of ca. 600–575 B.C. in Toledo (Toledo Museum of Art 70.2; fig. 4a).[35] Are these also images of the Calydonian boar hunt? Perhaps they are other versions of the Calydonian boar hunt; the literary tradition of the myth is so tangled that it is difficult to talk about painters reflecting a dominant literary source, nor is it necessarily valid to do so. Or perhaps these are representations of a generic boar hunt that allude to the composition of the mythical Calydonian boar hunt in order to heroize the quotidian participants.[36]

Only three certain representations of this myth occur on Attic red-figure vases and these all date from the mid fifth century B.C. on. They may be based on a lost wall painting by the Circle of Polygnotos of ca. 460 B.C., which Fred Kleiner reconstructs on the basis of these vase paintings (fig. 5).[37] The reconstruction depicts the hunters around the boar in a spatial arrangement that suggests depths and various groundlines, with Atalanta appearing at the far left, dressed as a Scythian archer with floppy cap and high boots. A dinos by the Agrigento Painter of ca. 450 B.C., now in Athens (National Archaeological Museum 1489), presents a similar scene although Atalanta is not included (fig. 6a–c).[38] The hunters, mostly beardless and nude save for a chlamys, attack the boar from a variety of vantage points. Likewise, a Kerch pelike from Benghazi of ca. 370 B.C. (St. Petersburg, Hermitage B4528) also has mostly beardless hunters, who are nude except for a chlamys, and here Atalanta is shown as a Scythian archer.[39]

I suggest that the appearance of the hunters may be a result of the institution of the ephebeia or at least ephebic culture in Athens. Although the formal program

34. Getty 86.AE.154 (Bareiss 248). See Andrew J. Clark, *CVA*: United States 25, J. Paul Getty Museum 2 (Malibu, 1990) 39–41, pls. 82–84, 89:1. Clark writes that "perhaps" the scene is the Calydonian boar hunt, and the figure stabbing the boar's head may be Meleager (39). On the obverse is the Kaineus episode from the Centauromachy, and a horseman appears on the interior.

35. *Heldensage*[3] 314, C2; Amyx (*supra*, n. 24) 163.

36. On heroizing genre scenes, see Ann Steiner, "The Meaning of Repetition: Visual Redundancy on Archaic Athenian Vases," *JdI* 108 (1993) 197–219.

Attic black-figure vases toward the end of the sixth century B.C. are ornamented with fewer and fewer hunters, a development that Alain Schnapp believes is attributable to the rise in popularity of the heroic solitary hunt. See Schnapp (*supra*, n. 24) 213–14, 218. Schnapp, however, does not explain why red-figure vase paintings include so many hunters.

37. See Woodford (*supra*, n. 10) 430; Kleiner (*supra*, n. 31) 7–19.

38. *ARV*[2] 577, 52; *Heldensage*[3] 314, B1. For the identification of this as the Calydonian boar hunt, see Kleiner (*supra*, n. 31).

39. *Heldensage*[3] 311, B2; Woodford (*supra*, n. 10) 417 no. 25; Boardman (*supra*, n. 10) 941 no. 9 (illustration).

of the ephebeia is not attested in Greek literature or inscriptions until the fourth century B.C. (the earliest inscription is 361/0 B.C.),[40] some scholars argue that some version of it existed already in the fifth century B.C.[41] At the very least, ephebes—young men who are undergoing military training, but are not yet part of the adult community (and that is how I will use this word in the remainder of this study)[42]—are recognizable in Attic red-figure vase painting by their lack of beards and their nudity. Admittedly, the very idea of a fifth-century B.C. ephebeia in Athens is tenuous, and that such an ephebeia might have included hunting in one form or another as part of military training is also speculation. Yet hunting was part of military training or initiation rites in other locations (the examples of Spartan youths hunting helots or Cretan boys hunting in the wild with their adult male lovers come to mind), and Pierre Vidal-Naquet argues that the same was true of Athens. According to Vidal-Naquet, the myth of Xanthos (the fair one) and Melanthos (the black one), the aetiological myth of the Apatouria at which young Athenian men entered their phratry at the end of the ephebeia,[43] provides a model for the Athenian ephebe. Melanthos, frequently aided by Dionysos of the black goatskin, defeats his opponent using trickery, *apate*, and Vidal-Naquet claims that such activity is the hallmark of the later Athenian ephebeia. Just as the myth took place in a border region (between Attica and Boeotia), so the Athenian ephebe swears to protect the borders. The emphasis on the color black in the myth corresponds to the black chlamys that the Athenian ephebes wore.[44] Assuming that hunting was part of Athenian military training or initiation, the fifth-century vase paintings of the Calydonian boar hunt that show youths beardless and nude except for a chlamys, the typical ceremonial dress for ephebes (at least as attested in the fourth century B.C.[45]) engaged in hunting, a typical *rite de*

40. See O. W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century* B.C. (Leiden, 1971).

41. See John J. Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song: *Tragoidia* and *Polis*," in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, eds., *Nothing to Do With Dionysos?* (Princeton, 1990) 31; Vidal-Naquet (*supra,* n. 11) 97–99, 106; O. W. Reinmuth, "The Genesis of the Athenian Ephebia," *TAPA* 83 (1952) 34–50, esp. nn. 3, 5 with bibliography; H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille, 1939) 307–308 n. 1. P. Siewert, "The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-Century Athens," *JHS* 97 (1977) 102–111, argues that passages of Thucydides and perhaps of Aeschylus and Sophocles make reference to the ephebic oath as we know it from later inscriptions, thus supporting the view that some form of the ephebeia existed in the fifth century B.C. Moreover, Siewert argues that the oath is actually archaic and that it should be dated at least a century before the introduction of hoplite warfare. Vidal-Naquet *(supra)* 97 also accepts the "archaic quality" of the oath, but notes the possibility of an archaizing text.

42. See Winkler (*supra,* n. 41) 31 for a similar working definition of ephebe. See *infra,* n. 43. On the age of the ephebes, see Vidal-Naquet (*supra,* n. 11) 98–99, 108–109.

43. Vidal-Naquet (*supra,* n. 11) 98–99, 109–122; Schmitt (*supra,* n. 12) 1059–61. Winkler (*supra,* n. 41) 33–37 points out that Melanthos is beardless and that beardlessness is the "iconographic sign for ephebes" (35).

44. Vidal-Naquet (*supra,* n. 11) 106–28.

45. See, e.g., Philostr., *VS* 2.550; Winkler (*supra,* n. 41) 35 n. 43; Vidal-Naquet (*supra,* n. 11) 112, 116–17; P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, "Remarks on the Black Cloaks of the Ephebes," *PCPS* n. ser. 16 (1970) 113–16; P. Roussel, "Les chlamydes noires des éphèbes athéniens," *REA* 43 (1941) 163–65. Whether the cloaks were black or white is irrelevant to this discussion of Attic red-figure vase

passage,[46] may support the idea that some kind of youthful initiation was instituted in Attica prior to the fourth century B.C. In other words, the youthful hunters in the Calydonian boar hunt depictions may have been understood by contemporary viewers as ephebes or pre-adults engaged in a collective hunt that exalts them to manhood. Moreover, many of these hunters appear in the poses associated with the statue group of the Tyrannicides of 477/6 B.C. by Kritios and Nesiotes, known only from later copies, i.e., lunging poses with arms held overhead or extended straight out (fig. 7).[47] The statue group provided a prototype for these poses, which were used for depictions of heroes in fifth-century B.C. sculpture and vase painting.[48] While the Calydonian boar hunt figures may simply have been copied from a lost monumental wall painting, the painting probably also employed these heroic stances, which became associated with youthful heroism (in spite of the fact that one of the Tyrannicides is bearded), especially with Theseus,[49] the paradigmatic ephebe, who also participated in the Calydonian boar hunt. We might also note that the band cup by Archikles and Glaukytes, discussed earlier, juxtaposes paintings of the Calydonian boar hunt on the obverse with Theseus' slaying the Minotaur on the reverse, as if to underscore the initiatory nature of these two exploits of the adolescent Theseus.

The Calydonian boar hunt is a typical initiatory hunt for Meleager; that is, it is Meleager's first collective hunt, in which he participates in the company of heroes and his maternal uncles (a youth's hunting with his maternal uncles is a typical motif of male initiatory rites and Meleager is most often portrayed as an adolescent).[50] As we have seen, several versions of the myth, both literary and

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painting, which often makes no special color distinctions. Lissarrague (*supra,* n. 27) 206 speaks of "la nudité éphébique" with regard to Attic red-figure depictions of warriors.

46. Two of the male hunters in the Calydonian boar hunt on a Melian relief in Berlin (Staatliche Mus. 5783) of ca. 440 B.C. also wear only the chlamys. See Jacobsthal (*supra,* n. 26). On male nudity and its association with ephebes and initiation in classical Greece, see Larissa Bonfante, "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art," *AJA* 93 (1989) 545, 551–57.

47. On the Tyrannicides group see, e.g., Michael Taylor, *The Tyrant Slayers: The Heroic Image in Fifth Century B.C. Athenian Art and Politics*[2] (Salem, N. H., 1991); Andrew Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven and London, 1990) 135–36, pls. 227–31; John Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London, 1985) 24–25, figs. 3–9; Martin Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975) 185–87; Sture Brunnsåker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes* (Stockholm, 1971); Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970) 79–83, figs. 115–17.

48. Taylor (*supra,* n. 47) 36–76.

49. Taylor (*supra,* n. 47) 36–70.

50. Garner (*supra,* n. 16) 34; Alain Schnapp in Yves Bonnefoy, ed., *Greek and Egyptian Mythologies* (Chicago and London, 1992) 121, s.v. Heroes and Myths of Hunting in Ancient Greece; Bremmer (*supra,* n. 15) 2, 48–49. Bremmer also addresses the question of the age of the Calydonian boar hunt participants (48–49). See Vidal-Naquet (*supra,* n. 11) 118, who refers to the Calydonian boar hunt as "the heroic prototype of the group hunt"; Rubin and Sale (*supra,* n. 11) 137–71 and (*supra,* n. 15) 213–14. Contra: Most (*supra,* n. 19) 209–11. On the antiquity of the initiatory hunt, see Christine E. Morris, "In Pursuit of the White Tusked Boar: Aspects of Hunting in Mycenaean Society," in R. Hägg and G. C. Nordquist, eds., *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid* (Stockholm, 1990) 151–52; Robert B. Koehl, "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite

artistic, include Atalanta in this initiatory rite.[51] But the Calydonian boar hunt with Meleager is a rite of passage gone terribly wrong. Meleager kills his uncles and he himself dies. As a comparison, we may look at an initiatory boar hunt in which everything goes right, the boar hunt recounted in *Odyssey* 19.392–466 in which Odysseus goes boar hunting with his maternal uncles: they kill the boar, return home and celebrate, and Odysseus is exalted to manhood.[52] The wound that Odysseus receives by which he is later recognized on Ithaca is a mark of Odysseus' manhood and identity; it has lasting import and is a part of him.[53] By contrast, the Calydonian boar hunt is a civic killing or hunt, a collective enterprise turned to familial killing. The hunter, Meleager, becomes the hunted and the one who is killed.

What else is wrong with this hunt? Women are not supposed to hunt. In fact, most Greek women were rarely out of the house at all and then only for festivals or familial obligations. Such occasions were a source of great anxiety to Greek men and presumably Greek women, for they sometimes resulted in the abduction of women in sanctuaries.[54] The only females who hunt are those outside the normal bounds of civilized society, namely, maenads and Amazons. Not only does Atalanta hunt as do these female outsiders, but vase painters often depict her as an Amazon and, less frequently, as a maenad. Maenads in vase painting are commonly shown wearing animal skins and with leopards or snakes in hand. Amazons frequently appear as Scythians, Thracians (both Eastern foreigners), or archers, although they also dress as hoplites[55] and sometimes wear panther skins, like maenads (Str. 11.51). In the Calydonian boar hunt depictions, Atalanta appears as Amazon, as maenad, and as a combination of the two; as archer,[56] often a Scythian archer; sometimes with an animal skin (e.g., Boeotian black-figure

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of Passage," *JHS* 106 (1986) 99–110; and Rubin and Sale (*supra,* n. 11) 143, who also note the importance of the spear in the initiatory hunt because the spear is used in war (145–46, 147). I thank Jim Wright for bringing Morris' article to my attention.

51. Thomas F. Scanlon, "Race or Chase at the Arkteia of Attica?" *Nikephoros* 3 (1990) 103 claims that Atalanta as hunter is like the *arktos* of the arkteia, who participates in a sacred hunt as part of the initiation, and thus Atalanta, like the *arktos*, experiences a passage to maturity and from a wild state to a tamed state. Scanlon links Atalanta to the *arktos* because a bear reared Atalanta when she was a baby, and because Artemis is linked to bears.

52. Bremmer (*supra,* n. 15) 42, 48 also compares these two myths. Rubin and Sale (*supra,* n. 11) 137–71 contrast the two hunting myths and argue that Odysseus' initiatory hunt is successful because sexuality does not intervene at the hunt, but takes place later, at its appropriate time, unlike the initiatory hunt of Meleager. Contra: Most (*supra,* n. 19) 199–218.

53. See Rubin and Sale (*supra,* n. 11) 145, 146, 147.

54. Froma I. Zeitlin, "Cultic Models of the Female: Rites of Dionysos and Demeter," *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 129–30.

55. Lorna Hardwick, "Ancient Amazons—Heroes, Outsiders, or Women?" *Greece & Rome* 37 (1990) 28–29; William Blake Tyrrell, *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore and London, 1984) 2 says that the earliest vase paintings show Amazons dressed in armor with Greek weapons, 49–50; Shapiro (*supra,* n. 27) 108–109.

56. John Boardman, "Atalanta," *The Art Institute of Chicago Centennial Lectures, Museum Studies* 10 (Chicago, 1983) 7.

kantharos of ca. 575–550 B.C. now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2855, fig. 8);[57] as armed Amazon (e.g., Attic black-figure hydria in Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3830, of ca. 550 B.C., fig. 2); or as a non-Scythian archer with an animal skin (e.g., Attic black-figure dinos fragments of ca. 570–560 B.C. in the Blatter collection in Bolligen, fig. 9a–b).[58] The female warrior race of Amazons, like maenads, is wild and lives apart from civilized society at the furthest reaches of the known world (these locations became ever more remote as the Greeks discovered more and more of the world).[59] Maenads are known for their fearsome hunting prowess and represent an inversion of normal female behavior—a reversion to the wild nature of the female—and they are enemies of order.[60] Ancient authors also mention the Amazons' hunting (e.g., Hdt. 4.114.4, 4.116.2), although this characteristic is not as prominent as their military skill, and they too, like Atalanta, are devotees of Artemis (Paus. 3.25.3). The Amazons represented alterity for the Greeks, with their inverted society in which women behaved as men and men either took on feminine roles or were excluded altogether,[61] and the same characteristics were attributed to maenads. Scholars have noted that the Amazons offer a negative image of what might happen if women were in control,[62] or provide a model of those who refuse marriage and therefore refuse culture.[63] Consequently, when Amazons invade the Greek world or fight against the Greeks, they are always defeated or married or both.[64] The similarity between Amazon and maenad is underscored by the image on an Attic red-figure alabastron from Delphi of ca. 490 B.C. (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15002, *ARV*^{2} 98, 2). A maenad wearing an animal skin and Thracian boots on one side is balanced on the other by Penthesilea (name inscribed) dressed in Scythian garb and carrying a bow, arrows, and an axe.[65] The Amazon and maenad provide visual models for Atalanta, who dresses as

57. *Heldensage*^{3} 311, C1.

58. *Paralipomena* 42; *Addenda*^{2} 28; *Heldensage*^{3} 311, A16. Although Atalanta occasionally wields spears rather than a bow and arrow, as on the François Vase.

59. Roger Just, *Women in Athenian Law and Life* (London and New York, 1989) 243; Mary R. Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth* (Baltimore, 1986) 22; Tyrrell (*supra,* n. 55) 55–57.

60. Just (*supra,* n. 59) 258–59; Zeitlin (*supra,* n. 54) 134–35.

61. See Anne Ley, "Atalante—Von der Athletin zur Liebhaberin," *Nikephoros* 3 (1990) 35 n. 11; Just (*supra,* n. 59) 242; François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. J. Lloyd (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1988) 216–24, who argues that Herodotus does not present a simple model of inversion, but a more complex triangle between Greeks, Amazons, and Scythians; Tyrrell (*supra,* n. 55) 40–63. Cf. Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 32–33.

62. Just (*supra,* n. 59) 243; Tyrrell (*supra,* n. 55) 28; Lefkowitz (*supra,* n. 59) 19.

63. Just (*supra,* n. 59) 245, 249; DuBois (*supra,* n. 12) 38. But see Hardwick (*supra,* n. 55) 33–34.

64. Hardwick (*supra,* n. 55) 18–21; Tyrrell (*supra,* n. 55) 6, 16.

65. François Lissarrague, "Figures of Women," in P. Schmitt Pantel, ed., *A History of Women in the West* 1 (London, 1992) 227–28; Hardwick (*supra,* n. 55) 29. On the similarity of Amazons and maenads, see Josine H. Blok, *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1995) 270–71, 407, 417, who also notes that

they do. Such imagery is well suited to the female hunter of the Calydonian boar hunt, for she, like the maenads and Amazons, exemplifies the outsider, the ambiguous female who behaves as both male and female, and who participates in the definitive male (insider) experience.

In the Calydonian boar hunt myth, the initiatory hunt is perverted, and aspects of Atalanta's behavior place her, rather than Meleager, in the role of successful hunter, as if she were the one undergoing initiation. As was the case with the model initiate Odysseus (Hom., *Od.* 19.447–48), later accounts attribute the first strike at the boar to Atalanta, and in some versions she is awarded the spoils of the hunt.[66] A consideration of Atalanta's Amazon qualities and characteristics, including her Scythian or eastern dress, together with some ancient texts regarding Amazons and ephebes, yields greater insight into the idea of Atalanta as ephebe. Diodorus Siculus 3.53 states that the Amazons fight until they bear children, and François Hartog characterizes these Amazons as undergoing "the equivalent of a period of ephebeia."[67] Hartog also explains Photius' statement that the Eleans refer to the ephebes as Scythians by suggesting that the Elean ephebes wore Scythian dress as a type of uniform or that this appellation refers to the ephebes' sphere of activity, the frontier zone. Herodotus tells us that the Scythians fought as hunters, using ploys and cunning.[68] In sum, Hartog traces a relationship between Amazon, Scythian, and ephebe and the initiatory hunt. The figure of Atalanta dressed as Amazon, an initiate or ephebe according to Hartog, and as a Scythian, a term used for ephebes, engaged in a male rite of passage, the initiatory hunt, compounds the layers of meaning. She is Amazon, Scythian, outsider, foreigner, yet performs activities and rituals of the ultimate insider. Although the ephebe is not yet integrated into the adult male community, he is, in fact, part of the insider's world already, for the institution of the ephebeia or pre-adult training in whatever form was available only to those destined to be included among the citizens. It is also noteworthy that according to Ovid's account of the Calydonian boar hunt (*Met.* 8. 338), it is the boar who comes out of the bushes and ambushes the hunters; that is, the boar hunts like an ephebe (or the ephebe hunts like an animal).

Atalanta's participation in the hunt and her "ephebic" behavior are also evident on another fabric, a Caeretan hydria of ca. 525–500 B.C., now in Copenhagen (National Museum 13567; fig. 10a-b).[69] A scene of sacrifice decorates the obverse,

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in Attic black-figure, Herakles' duel with an Amazon is sometimes assimilated to an erotic image with a satyr and maenad (407). On archers as marginal, see Vidal-Naquet (*supra,* n. 11) 88.

66. Rubin and Sale (*supra,* n. 11) 154, 155. Schefold (*supra,* n. 24) 185 suggests that Atalanta receives the spoils of the hunt because her name might have been that of an ancient goddess and therefore her divine status would justify her receiving the gifts.

67. Hartog (*supra,* n. 61) 217.

68. Hartog (*supra,* n. 61) 52–54.

69. *Heldensage*[3] 311, C4; J. M. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriae* (Mainz, 1984) 29–30 no. 15, pls. 9, 16, 67–69, 131, 145–46, 152, figs. 20, 55, 61, 68, 72. Like Chalcidian vases (*infra,* n. 100),

while the reverse is ornamented with a scene of Atalanta hunting the Calydonian boar. If the two sides are read together, the sacrifice may be that performed by the king of Calydon, the action that triggered the chain of events leading to the Calydonian boar hunt.[70] Moreover, the artist may have intended the viewer to contrast the two activities, sacrifice and hunting; the former is an activity that belongs to the civilized sphere, while the latter takes place in the wilds of Artemis, in the uncivilized realm. The painting on the reverse is singular: the sole figure of Atalanta stalks the boar; she wears a shield and sword, that is, hoplite weapons, which sometimes are also carried by Amazons.[71] In other words, this female hunter hunts the boar alone, while dressed as a hoplite or Amazon. This combination of features is a mélange of discordant behaviors that mark Atalanta as Other: female hunter, hunting alone as befits an ephebe or an immature hunter, and hunting with inappropriate weapons, those belonging to mature combat. While Atalanta appears as the ornament on a hoplite shield in literature,[72] she never carries one. Atalanta's appearance and actions mark her as an immature hunter, as an ephebe, as liminal, as an insider, and as an Amazon, as a female hunter, as a devotee of Artemis, as outsider.

The Calydonian boar hunt has been discussed as a male initiation, but because a later version of the myth has Meleager and Atalanta as lovers, the hunt is sometimes erotically charged. This element is underscored by the presentation of the spoils of the hunt to the beloved, a practice that was common between lover and beloved, and by Atalanta's appearance as Amazon, females who were romantically associated with some Greek heroes. Although the variant of the Calydonian boar hunt linking Meleager and Atalanta is not attested in literature until the fifth century B.C., Atalanta was romantically connected with Hippomenes or Melanion in early texts, as noted above, and the Calydonian boar hunt myth occurs in the archaic visual record in nuptial contexts. The most striking feature of the Calydonian boar hunt vases is their shape and function. Fifteen Attic vases from ca. 600–550 B.C. are decorated with paintings of this myth; one vase is connected with the women's realm or gynaikeion and five are associated with the wedding—and all six include Atalanta. The myth occurs on an exaleiptron or unguent box of ca. 570–560 B.C., now in Munich (Staatliche Antikensammlungen 8600), an item that was commonly employed in the gynaikeion, as indicated by its use in depictions of the gynaikeion (fig. 11a–b). Four vases are dinoi, a

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Caeretan hydriae were all found in Italy (nearly all at Cerveteri). They, too, are "Greek in character" and one bears Greek inscriptions. See Martin Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975) 139. Hemelrijk believes that the artists of the Caeretan workshop were from East Greece and that the mythological hydriae were created for local Greeks (160).

70. Cf. Schefold (*supra,* n. 24) 196; K. Friis Johansen, "Eine neue Caeretaner Hydria," *Opuscula Rom* 4 (1962) 71. But see Hemelrijk (*supra,* n. 69) 30 who rejects Friis Johansen's identification of Atalanta and instead identifies the figure as male. Hemelrijk explains the figure's white skin as "typical of some East Greek wares" (173).

71. Friis Johansen (*supra,* n. 70) 66.

72. Eur., *Ph.* 1108–1109; schol. at Eur., *Ph.* 1107.

shape associated with the wedding in Attic black-figure vase painting;[73] dinoi appear as wedding gifts in archaic vase painting (Andrew Stewart refers to dinoi as "wedding gifts par excellence"[74]) and are themselves occasionally ornamented with wedding scenes.[75] And one vase is the famous François Vase (fig. 3), which, according to Stewart, served as a wedding present because of the elaborateness and subject matter of its decoration.[76] While accepting Stewart's theory, scholars have been quick to point out that the François Vase would hardly have been an auspicious gift since the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, depicted on the vase, ended badly and their son Achilles died tragically.[77]

In the later fifth to fourth centuries B.C., the images of the Calydonian boar hunt itself drop off dramatically, and instead, vase painters take up the theme of post-hunt activities. For example, an Attic red-figure calyx krater by the Meleager Painter in Würzburg (Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität 522) of ca. 400–375 B.C. bears an image of the seated figure of Atalanta lovingly

73. Dinoi ornamented with the Calydonian boar hunt: Athens, Agora Exacavations P334 (*ABV* 23; *Addenda*^{2} 7; Brommer, *Heldensage*^{3} 310, A2; Boardman [*supra,* n. 10] 941 no. 1 [illustration]); Rome, Vatican 306 (Brommer, *Heldensage*^{3} 310, A3 ; Woodford [*supra,* n. 10] 416 no. 8 [illustration]); Bolligen, Switzerland, Blatter Collection (*Addenda*^{2} 28; *Paralipomena* 42; Brommer, *Heldensage*^{3} 311, A16; Boardman [*supra,* n. 10] 941 no. 5 [illustration]); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 34.212 (*ABV* 87, 18; *Addenda*^{2} 24; Brommer, *Heldensage*^{3} 310, A4; Woodford [*supra,* n. 10] 416 no. 12 [illustration]).

74. Andrew Stewart, "Stesichoros and the François Vase," in W. G. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, 1983) 69.

75. Dinoi decorated with wedding scenes include Sophilos' fragmentary dinos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akropolis 587 from the Akropolis (*ABV* 39, 15; see, e.g., Stewart [*supra,* n. 74] 58–61, figs. 4.4a–4.4j); and the Erskine Dinos, also by Sophilos, British Museum 1971.11.1–1 (see, e.g., Stewart [*supra,* n. 74] 61, figs. 4.5a-4.5d), both of which bear scenes of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis; a dinos of ca. 530 B.C. in Salerno, Museo Provinciale, illustrated in Lissarrague (*supra,* n. 65) 151, fig. 6; and perhaps the fragmentary Athens, Akropolis 610 (*ABV* 82, 3) illustrated in Mary Zelia Pease, "The Pottery from the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 215–17, fig. 1. For dinoi used as wedding presents in Attic vase painting, see London, British Museum B197 by the Painter of Berlin 1686 of ca. 550 B.C. and Copenhagen, National Museum 9080 by the Sabouroff Painter of ca. 460 B.C., both illustrated in John H. Oakley and Rebecca Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (Madison, 1993) 28, 34, figs. 66, 92–95; London, British Museum 1920.12–21.1 (*ARV*^{2} 1277, 23), a pyxis by the Marlay Painter of ca. 430 B.C. also in Lissarrague (*supra,* n. 65) 147–49, fig. 3; and Ingrid Krauskopf, "Eine attisch schwarzfigurige Hydria in Heidelberg," *AA* (1977) 18 nos. 16–18 and 20, 20 nos. 23–24 and 28, 21, 22. Dinoi are also connected with Dionysiac revelling and occasionally appear as athletic prizes for funeral games in Attic black-figure vase painting (e.g., the games for Pelias discussed above, those for Patroklos on the François Vase).

76. Stewart (*supra,* n. 74) 53–74.

77. E.g., Michael W. Haslam, "Kleitias, Stesichoros, and the Jar of Dionysos," *TAPA* 121 (1991) 45 and n. 32, where Haslam writes "The notion that the krater was made as a wedding gift seems very attractive"; Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* (Ithaca and London, 1985) 226–27. Contra: H. A. Shapiro, "Old and New Heroes," *ClAnt* 9 (1990) 140–42. Against Stewart's claims of Stesichorean influence, see, e.g., Haslam *(supra)* 35–40; G. Schaus, "Gold or Clay: Dionysos' Amphora on the François Vase," *EchCl* 30 (1986) 119–28; and Dyfri Williams, "Sophilos in the British Museum," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1 (1983) 33, although Williams allows the possibility that Kleitias was aware of Stesichorus' popularity.

touched by a standing Meleager in the center of the composition (fig. 12).[78] The erotic atmosphere of the painting is underscored by the presence of Eros and a hare,[79] a common love gift in vase painting depictions of courting couples (especially homosexual couples).[80] Even more striking is the depiction on an Apulian red-figure amphora from Canosa ca. 330 B.C., now in Bari (Museo Civico 872; fig. 13).[81] Atalanta, seated and dressed in Scythian garb, receives the boar's hide from Meleager, who appears beardless and nude save for a chlamys, i.e., as an ephebe. A winged Eros hovers between them and Aphrodite appears behind Atalanta, holding an ἴυγξ.[82] In both images, Atalanta carries spears, rather than a bow, making her less Scythian and therefore less alien, although she is still dressed as an Easterner.

This heavily romanticized atmosphere is typical of fourth-century B.C. vase painting in general, but it is important to note that romantic overtones of the Calydonian boar hunt are already present in sixth-century B.C. depictions, as evidenced by the appearance of the myth on dinoi, the exaleiptron, and the François Vase, which has been postulated as a wedding present. Atalanta was also paired with Melanion on the Cypselos Chest (known only from Paus. 5.19.2) and on the François Vase, and with a male, either Meleager or Melanion (ME[.....]), on another fragmentary dinos of ca. 580 B.C. from the Athenian Agora (Agora Excavations P334; fig. 14a–b).[83] The proximity of the male to Atalanta suggests some alliance, perhaps a romantic relationship (consider, for example, Atalanta's pairing with Melanion on the François Vase). Most likely the male is Melanion, but if the male on the dinos is Meleager, then perhaps this is visual evidence of Meleager's being romantically linked with Atalanta before Euripides, the earliest literary source.[84]

78. *ARV*^{2} 1410, 14; *Addenda*^{2} 374.

79. On the hare, see Alain Schnapp, "Eros the Hunter," *A City of Images*, trans. D. Lyons (Princeton, 1989) 82–86; Detienne (*supra*, n. 5) 48–49.

80. See Kenneth Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA, 1989) 92; Gundel Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke: Ihre Bedeutung im päderastischen Erziehungssystem Athens* (Berlin, 1983) 63; Detienne (*supra*, n. 5) 25, 49.

81. *RVAp* 2, 497 no. 44.

82. On the ἴυγξ, see H. Alan Shapiro, "Greek 'Bobbins': A New Interpretation," *AncW* 11 (1985) 115–20; A. S. F. Gow, "ΙΥΓΞ, ΡΟΜΒΟΣ, Rhombus, Turbo," *JHS* 54 (1934) 3, 5. See also Christopher A. Faraone, "The Wheel, the Whip and Other Implements of Torture: Erotic Magic in Pindar, *Pythian* 4.213–19," *CJ* 89 (1993) 1–19; and Marcel Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis*, trans. J. Lloyd (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1977) xiii, 84–86.

83. *ABV* 23; Mary B. Moore and Mary Z. Pease Philippides, *The Athenian Agora 23: Attic Black Figured Pottery* (Princeton, 1986) 178–79 no. 610, pl. 58: 610.

84. Most (*supra*, n. 19) 204–205 claims that there is no link between Meleager and Atalanta in the black-figure depictions of the Calydonian boar hunt and therefore no reason to assume that their love affair was part of the Calydonian boar hunt myth before Euripides. As evidence of Euripides' influence, Most offers the example of Meleager and Atalanta "united" on the pediment of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea; but according to Pausanias' description, the material remains, and various reconstructions, Atalanta is no more nor less united with Meleager on the pediment than on the vases. See Stewart (*supra*, n. 26).

Why would the boar hunt myth be appropriate for nuptial or specifically feminine vases during the archaic period? Most obviously, the hunt generally is a rite of passage for the male, just as the wedding is for the female, in which case these images would combine the male and female aspects of initiation. This juxtaposition can be observed on the Toledo krater (fig. 4a-b), which has a scene of a boar hunt (perhaps the Calydonian boar hunt) on one side and that of a wedding procession on the other. A Caeretan hydria of ca. 525–500 B.C., now in the Louvre (E696; fig. 15a–b),[85] presents a similar scenario. The painting on the obverse is of the Calydonian boar hunt, and while the composition differs markedly from that of the Attic black-figure examples discussed above, the archer Atalanta can still be recognized at the far right. The reverse is decorated with an image of Europa borne across the water by Zeus disguised as a bull; again, the presence of the hare, here on the island of Crete where Zeus will deflower Europa, underscores the amorous atmosphere. The two depictions can be read as a pair: the male rite of passage, hunting, and the female rite of passage, marriage. As was the case with the earlier discussed Caeretan hydria (Copenhagen, National Museum 13567), we may observe the contrast between the civilized sphere (marriage) and the uncivilized realm (hunting).

Furthermore, the motif of a couple comprised of an Amazon and a Greek hero is a common topos in Greek myth. Consider, for example, Penthesilea and Achilles, Hippolyte and Theseus, and Antiope and Theseus.[86] We have discussed how Amazons represent outsiders, foreigners, and how, as a dangerous threat to civilization, Amazons are either slaughtered or tamed by marriage. Atalanta, who is similar to the Amazons, must also be domesticated. Perhaps the Calydonian boar hunt myth with its couple of Atalanta and Melanion was included on nuptial vases to allude to heroic couples who represent the taming of the wild by the civilized Greek male. Yet Atalanta is neither a positive nor a negative example for the bride, but a troubling in-between figure, who suggests and emphasizes the dangers and ambiguities of transition. Such ambiguity is also characteristic of Artemis, Atalanta's leader, who presides over cult and ritual designed to mark the transition between childhood and adulthood.[87] From the time of Euripides' play on, Atalanta's participation in the hunt would have had ominous overtones, for it was her presence that ultimately led to disaster. The realms of Aphrodite (signified by those later versions that tell of a love between Meleager and Atalanta) and of Artemis (the boar hunt) merge with disastrous results, as is often the case in myth, such as the tragic stories of Hippolytus, Adonis, or Kallisto.[88] It is notable

85. *Heldensage*[3] 311, C3; Hemelrijk (*supra,* n. 69) 21–23, pls. 6–7, 15, 51–53, 128, 143–44, 151, 157, figs. 10–11, 55, 61–62, 71.

86. Ament (*supra,* n. 12) 20 points out that the heroes associated with transvestism, Achilles and Herakles, are also associated with Amazons.

87. Vernant (*supra,* n. 12) 195–243.

88. See, e.g., Schnapp (*supra,* n. 79); Froma I. Zeitlin, "The Power of Aphrodite: Eros and the Boundaries of the Self in the *Hippolytus*," in P. Burian, ed., *Directions in Euripidean Criticism:*

that the boar hunt depictions with Atalanta on vases associated with the wedding are early, pre-dating the Euripidean romantic version of the myth. Thereafter, as discussed above, vase paintings that allude to the myth do not show the hunt but show erotically highlighted encounters between Meleager and Atalanta. In other words, once the romantic element is introduced between Atalanta and Meleager, the hunt is no longer appropriate for a wedding vessel.

The myth of the Calydonian boar hunt also appears on three Apulian vases, two of which are of special interest here. On one, a volute krater from Ceglie by an artist near the Underworld Painter of ca. 340 B.C. (formerly Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz F3258, now lost), the Calydonian boar hunt appears on the obverse with Atalanta as Scythian archer at the left (fig. 16).[89] An image of Medea, Jason, and the Argonauts graces the reverse and the foot is ornamented with Nereids. Ancient authors tell us that Atalanta was one of Jason's companions on his adventures with the Argonauts,[90] and Medea and the Scythians are, like the Amazons, located in the remote Black Sea area (e.g., Apollod. 2.5.9). The appearance of Nereids makes perfect sense in these contexts, since Nereids were escorts of those undergoing sea travel and critical life transitions, such as marriage.[91] The paintings on a panathenaic-shaped amphora of ca. 350 B.C. by the Lycurgus Painter (Trieste, Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte S380) are of the Calydonian boar hunt with Atalanta as Scythian archer on the obverse, and the Amazonomachy on the reverse (fig. 17a-b).[92] When read together, the two images on the Trieste amphora underscore the idea of Atalanta as Amazon and suggest an association between the heroic exploit of men, the hunt, and that of women, who fight against the Greeks, between Greek heroics in the hunt and a heroic Greek repulse of foreign invaders. Once more, the topos of a couple comprised of Amazon and Greek hero, Atalanta and a hero, should be borne in mind.

WRESTLING AT GAMES FOR PELIAS

Atalanta's participation in the wrestling match against Peleus at funerary games for Pelias, which took place at Argos, is attested in literature only by

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A Collection of Essays (Durham, NC, 1985) 52–111; Rubin and Sale (*supra,* n. 11) 137–71, and (*supra,* n. 15) 218; and Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 26–52. Cf. schol. at Hom., *Il.* 9.527a.83. But note that such rules do not apply to the Cretan initiation ritual in which a young man hunted in the wilds with his adult male lover for two months.

89. *RVAp* 2, 533; *Heldensage*[3] 311, D1.

90. Dionysius Scytobrachion in *FGrH* frag. 32.14; Diod. Sic. 4.41.289, 448.5; J. Martin, ed., *Scholia in Aratum vetera* (Stuttgart, 1974) 348.16. Cf. Theoc. 1.124b. Apollonius Rhodius 1.769–73 relates that Atalanta wished to join Jason, but he prevented her from joining him for he feared the trouble that her love for him might bring.

91. Judith M. Barringer, *Divine Escorts: Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (Ann Arbor, 1995).

92. *RVAp* 1, 418 no. 19; *Heldensage*[3] 312, D2.

Ibycus frag. 282A (viii) fr. 11 (5176) lines 11–14; Apollodorus 3. 9. 2; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 273; and by the twelfth-century A.D. Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 12.937.[93] In each case, her presence is mentioned only in passing and no details are given. In spite of the dearth of literary evidence for Atalanta's wrestling with Peleus, the theme thrived in vase painting, a caveat to those who would try to match literary sources to artistic depictions on a one-to-one basis. The images are almost entirely on Attic black-figure vases of the second half of the sixth century B.C.[94]

The earliest of the vases are Attic black-figure dinos fragments of ca. 560 B.C. from the north slope of the Athenian Akropolis (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akropolis 590c; fig. 18).[95] At the far left, Peleus holds Atalanta in a wrestling hold, and spectators and judges watch from the right. The names of the latter figures are inscribed, thus securing the identification of the scene. This representation is extraordinary in that it shows Peleus immobilizing Atalanta in a wrestling maneuver. More commonly, vase painters depict the figures struggling face-to-face, often accompanied by spectators and sometimes with athletic prizes (a dinos, tripods). For example, an Attic black-figure hydria of ca. 550, now in a private collection in Adolphseck,[96] and an Attic black-figure band cup of ca. 540 B.C. in Munich (Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2241; fig. 19)[97] bear images of Peleus wrestling Atalanta, who wears a short chiton, while spectators stand nearby. The couple struggles over the athletic prize, a dinos, that will go to the victor. The depiction on an Attic black-figure skyphos attributed to the Krokotos Group of ca. 500 B.C., now in London (British Museum 1925.12–17.10), shares the same basic composition of central struggling pair, only now there are no spectators and Atalanta, on the left, wears a perizoma and is nude from the waist up (fig. 20).[98] Atalanta is attired in the same way on an Attic black-figure neck amphora from Nola by the Diosphos Painter of the early fifth

93. For a brief discussion of the names of the participants in the funerary games, see Henrichs (*supra,* n. 21) 252–53. This episode occurred in the course of the adventures of Jason and the Argonauts, among whom Atalanta is numbered. See *supra,* n. 90.

94. Ley (*supra,* n. 61) 31–72 examines the Greek representations of this theme, and reckons that fourteen vases of ca. 560–475 B.C. depict the wrestling match, along with a bronze relief of the mid sixth century B.C. See also Boardman (*supra,* n. 10) 945–46 nos. 62–80. Pausanias 3.19.6, 5.17.5–5.19.10 says that funeral games for Pelias also decorated the throne of Apollo at Amyklai and the Cypselos Chest, and that on the latter, Peleus appeared as a wrestler. See also Lynn E. Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Art," *AJA* 85 (1981) 107–19, who argues that the popularity of this theme is due not only to the influence of a particular literary work, but also to the foundation of three Panhellenic festivals (Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean) in the sixth century B.C.

95. Carl Roebuck, "Pottery from the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937–1938," *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 146–47, fig. 1. Other fragments of this vase (Akropolis 590a) are ornamented with the javelin throw contest at the funeral games for Pelias. See Roller (*supra,* n. 94) 110–11, pl. 20:4, who offers a date of ca. 575 B.C. for the vase.

96. F. Brommer, *CVA*: Deutschland 11, Schloss Fasanerie (Adolphseck) 1 (Munich, 1956) 11, pl. 10.

97. Boardman (*supra,* n. 10) 945 no. 66 (illustration).

98. A. D. Ure, *JHS* 75 (1955) 94, figs. 2–3. Ley (*supra,* n. 61) 46 says that in Attic vase painting, the perizoma probably signifies the idea of "barbarian," not inappropriate for this female wrestler.

century B.C., now in Berlin (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz 1837), and here, the couple struggles before tripods, the victory prizes (fig. 21).[99]

We can see the myth used in another way on a Chalcidian hydria from Vulci of ca. 540 B.C. by the Inscription Painter (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 596; fig. 22).[100] The central struggling pair, surrounded by spectators, wrestles before victory prizes, but these prizes are different from any seen thus far: on a table between Peleus and Atalanta is the head of a boar, while the boar's pelt hangs from an imaginary wall behind them.[101] In a lecture delivered at Harvard University on March 15, 1994, Richard Garner argued that this vase reflects knowledge of a tradition known to the sixth-century B.C. poet Stesichorus, who wrote a poem about the funerary games for Pelias in which Atalanta and Peleus wrestled. According to Garner, the Inscription Painter, who elsewhere displays knowledge of Stesichorus or his inspirations, seems to be working from the same version of this story. As Garner notes, the name of the figure standing behind Peleus, Klytios, is the same name that appears in P.Oxy.2359, which scholars believe belongs to Stesichorus' *Games for Pelias*.[102]

The tale is also represented on a few Attic red-figure vases. A cup from Bologna by Oltos of ca. 510 B.C. (Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 361) continues the Attic black-figure composition with opposing figures (fig. 23).[103] Atalanta wears an exercise cap and again the perizoma, which is here decorated with a small animal, probably a feline, perhaps a leopard. This creature is a link to the world of Artemis of which Atalanta partakes (and may also refer to the maenadic qualities of Atalanta as discussed above), and if it is a leopard, it may be a reference to Atalanta's ultimate fate, as we shall see. John Beazley also recognized the wrestling match on fragments of a volute krater from Spina of ca. 440–430 B.C. by the Peleus Painter, which are now in Ferrara (Museo Archeologico Nazionale T404; fig. 24).[104] From left to right, there is a bearded man with chlamys and petasos; a woman dressed as an athlete, with an exercise

99. *ABV* 509, 703; *Addenda*^{2} 127.

100. Rubin and Sale (*supra*, n. 11) 157 and (*supra*, n. 15) 217 offer this vase as evidence of a link between Atalanta and the Calydonian boar hunt spoils (and therefore a romantic association with Meleager) prior to Euripides. Contra: Most (*supra*, n. 19) 207–208. I agree with Rubin and Sale's critique of Most on this point.

Although Chalcidian vases are found in Italy, they seem to have been painted by Greek painters, as indicated by Greek inscriptions in the Euboean alphabet. Presumably the vases were designed in accordance with Etruscan tastes, but were "purely Greek in character." See Robertson (*supra*, n. 69) 138.

101. Boardman (*supra*, n. 56) 10 does not see the boar's head as a prize, but as an indication of Atalanta's role in the heroic hunt, a mark of her status.

102. *Supra*, n. 16. Schefold (*supra*, n. 24) 195 believes that the boar's hide and head are meant to underscore the identity of Atalanta by calling attention to her other great deed; that is, the spoils connect the two mythical episodes, the wrestling match and the boar hunt.

103. *ABV* 65, 113; *Addenda*^{2} 166.

104. *ARV*^{2} 1039, 1679; *Paralipomena* 443.

cap and a brassiere; near this woman, a beardless youth stooping down, who is named by inscription as Hippomenes; and a beardless youth wrapping or unwrapping wrestling equipment on his wrist. Beazley claims that the painting depicts Peleus holding Atalanta in a wrestling grip, and that the Peleus Painter has erred in naming the male Hippomenes.[105] However, it is risky to assume that vase painters have made mistakes when their depictions of myth differ from the versions we know and expect to find; the Peleus Painter might well have intended Hippomenes and not Peleus. Moreover, in this specific case a closer examination of the fragments suggests that Hippomenes' shoulder should be read as in front of, not behind, Atalanta. It is possible that the man is grasping Atalanta, but he could simply be stooping down to adjust a garment or shoes. To be sure, we are in the realm of athletic activities of the ephebe or pre-adult, but it is not clear that the Peleus Painter fragments depict the myth of Peleus wrestling Atalanta.

Finally, we should note a Melian relief (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussicher Kulturbesitz 8308) from Attica of ca. 460–450 B.C., which depicts Peleus grasping Atalanta about the torso in a wrestling hold, while Atalanta, with her left foot on Peleus' right knee, struggles to break free (fig. 25).[106] This composition is closest to the earliest extant vase painting depiction, the Akropolis fragments discussed above, in which Peleus actually grasps Atalanta round the torso. The theme of funerary games was especially fitting for the Melian reliefs, which once adorned tombs.[107]

Wrestling between young men is a common enough motif in vase painting and was part of athletic training for young pre-adult males, young ephebes. Here, Atalanta behaves as an ephebe, but *this* wrestling, struggling between male and female, is usually found in another arena: in vase paintings of abductions, scenes of men trying to overcome women.[108] Indeed, Peleus himself was famous for his abduction of Thetis,[109] and in the myth considered here, he struggles with Atalanta. The Melian relief presents Peleus grasping Atalanta about the torso in much the same way that Peleus holds Thetis, although Peleus is usually at Thetis' right.[110] Are there erotic overtones to Peleus' struggle with Atalanta?[111] In other words, could there be a love interest between Peleus and Atalanta? John Boardman raises this possibility in his examination of an Attic red-figure cup

105. John D. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases VIII," *AJA* 64 (1960) 219–25. Roller (*supra,* n. 94) 112 and Boardman (*supra,* n. 56) 12 follow Beazley's interpretation.

106. Boardman (*supra,* n. 10) 946 no. 77 (illustration); Jacobsthal (*supra,* n. 26) 61–62 no. 80, Taf. 41.

107. Jacobsthal (*supra,* n. 26) 108–109.

108. On female athletics, see Giampiera Arrigoni, "Donne e sport nel mondo greco: Religione e società," in G. Arrigoni, ed., *La donne in Grecia* (Rome, 1985) 55–201.

109. See Barringer (*supra,* n. 91) 69–94.

110. Barringer (*supra,* n. 91) 69–94. Cf. Ley (*supra,* n. 61) 60; Arrigoni (*supra,* n. 108) 87.

111. Cf. Lefkowitz (*supra,* n. 59) 44; Arrigoni (*supra,* n. 108) 87, 113. Ley (*supra,* n. 61) 55 also notes that the sexual aspect of the palaestra is emphasized on several vases.

by the Jena Painter of the early fourth century B.C. in the Cabinet des Médailles (818),[112] on which appear the inscribed figures of Peleus and Atalanta (fig. 26). The figures, both nude, are clearly not in an athletic context, but in a highly charged, sexually suggestive atmosphere as indicated by the figures' languorous poses facing each other, Atalanta's head thrown back with her free-flowing hair, and her hand just touching Peleus' right thigh. The Suda describes Atalanta as the wife of Akastos, and says she was attracted to Peleus; Peleus eventually killed her in battle. The archaic vases together with the testimony of the Suda offer support for the suggestion of a sexual attraction between Atalanta and Peleus, especially when we note that the dinos, a vessel sometimes connected with nuptial activity, appears in the depictions of the wrestling contest as the victor's prize.[113] Atalanta behaves as female ephebe, as physically aggressive, but is also a sexually charged opponent.

Atalanta's ephebic or immature state is again emphasized by the juxtaposition of two images on an Attic black-figure hydria of ca. 550 B.C., now in a private collection in Adolphseck (488, Philipp von Hessen coll.).[114] The scene on the shoulder, Atalanta wrestling Peleus, was discussed above. On the body a young warrior arms himself in preparation for battle. Taken as a whole, the vase paintings may be read as two male initiatory activities: athletic contest and military activity, perhaps the first military experience.

Atalanta also turns up in the world of the gymnasion, another ephebic arena. Several fifth-century Attic red-figure vase paintings show Atalanta relaxing in the palaestra (indicated by paraphernalia), often with a nude male athlete (or athletes).[115] She also appears alone on an Attic red-figure cup by the Euaion Painter of ca. 450–440 B.C., now in the Louvre (CA2259; fig. 27).[116] Atalanta, whose name is inscribed above, wears a brassiere and perizoma, and carries an athletic pick. The implements on the back wall, together with Atalanta's attire, indicate the realm of the palaestra, the training ground of the ephebe.

112. *ARV*^{2} 1512, 23; *Addenda*^{2} 384. Boardman (*supra,* n. 10) 949 and (*supra,* n. 56) 16. Roller (*supra,* n. 94) 112 argues that the change in Atalanta's costume from chiton to perizoma suggests a change in interpretation of the myth: vase painters began to associate the wrestling match less and less with the funeral games for Pelias and more and more with activities of the palaestra. In other words, Roller's argument supports the hypothesis presented here that Atalanta is regarded as an ephebe.

113. An Attic red-figure hydria by Psiax of ca. 520–510 B.C. in a private collection in Tessin bears Atalanta wrestling Peleus on the body and satyrs and Dionysos on the shoulder. See Bettina Jeske and Claudia Stein in "Eine frührotfigurige Hydria des Psiax," *Hefte des archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* 8 (1982) 5–20 (with illustrations). Again, the two images may be complementary: the Dionysiac thiasos is typically associated with (frustrated) sexual activities and may underscore an erotic element in the wrestling match between Peleus and Atalanta. Maenads, however, are not present in this vase painting, so such a suggestion is tentative.

114. *Supra,* n. 96.

115. See Boardman (*supra,* n. 10) 947 nos. 85–89.

116. *ARV*^{2} 797, 137.

THE FOOTRACE

The earliest account of the famous footrace of Atalanta is in a few fragments of Hesiod,[117] and the myth is later told by Apollodorus 3.9.2; Theocritus 3.40–42; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 185; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.560–680; Libanius, *Progymnasmata* 33, 34; and Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii* 3.113. The main lines of the myth run as follows. Atalanta has sworn off men, but finally agrees to marry the suitor who can defeat her or catch her in a footrace; sometimes the race is instigated by Atalanta (Apollod. 3.9.2; Ov., *Met.* 10.560–72), sometimes by her father (Hyg., *Fab.* 185). The race is characterized as a chase: Atalanta, armed, chases an unarmed opponent; if he eludes her, he wins her, but if she catches him, he loses his head (Hyg., *Fab.* 185). The suitor is named Hippomenes or Melanion,[118] and he receives help from Aphrodite. She provides three golden apples, sometimes said to be from Cyprus (Ov., *Met.* 10.644–50),[119] which the suitor drops and Atalanta retrieves one by one so that she is slowed down and is overtaken by her athletic competitor and suitor.[120] Theocritus 3.40–42 adds that Atalanta fell madly in love with Hippomenes after her defeat, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.609–37 also adds this "romantic" element of Atalanta's falling for Hippomenes, though in Ovid Atalanta begins to soften toward Hippomenes before the race. They were married afterwards.[121]

There is only one extant vase painting that is firmly connected with this myth, and it does not show the race itself: an Attic red-figure calyx krater from Bologna of ca. 420 B.C. by the Dinos Painter (Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 300; fig. 28a-c).[122] The depiction is of the preparations for the race. In the central image

117. Merkelbach and West (*supra,* n. 3) frags. 72–76. See also Jacques Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (Paris, 1960) 361–66, who discusses the fragments of Hesiod as well as the other ancient sources for this myth.

118. Hippomenes: Merkelbach and West (*supra,* n. 3) frag. 74; Euripides, according to Apollod. 3.9.2; schol. at Eur., *Ph.* 150; Theoc. 3.40–41; Ov., *Met.* 10.575–680; Hyg., *Fab.* 185; Lib., *Progymnasmata* 33, 34; Serv., *In Verg. Aen.* 3.113.14–22; Nonn., *D.* 48.180–182; Eust., *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 4.814.13–14; *Myth. Vat.* 1.39; schol. at Hom., *Il.* 23.683b1.6–7; schol. at Ap. Rhod. 1.769–773; schol. at Theoc. 3.40–42b-d, 2.120b. Melanion: Apollod. 3.9.2. Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1.7 reports that Meilanion (sic) won Atalanta, but makes no mention of the footrace. Cf. schol. at Eur., *Ph.* 150; schol. at Ap. Rhod. 1.769.

119. Nonn., *D.* 48.180–82 calls them "gold-shining wedding gifts" (χρυσοφαῆ γαμήλια δῶρα). Cf. Nonn., *D.* 12.87–89. The schol. at Theocritus 2.120b says that the apples were from Dionysos' wreath and the *Mythographi Vaticani* 139 records that the apples came from the garden of the Hesperides.

120. Merkelbach and West (*supra,* n. 3) frag. 76; Theoc. 3.40–41; Apollod. 3.9.2; Ov., *Met.* 10.638–80; Hyg., *Fab.* 185; schol. at Theoc. 3.40–42b, which says that the apples were from the garden of the Hesperides. See also Eust., *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 4.331.9–10.

121. Cf. Scholia to Ar., *Lys.* 785, which says that Atalanta did not flee from Meilanion (sic). Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 2.185–92 and Propertius 1.9–16 say that Milanion (sic) performed many labors (all related to hunting, according to Ovid) out of love for Atalanta, and Propertius reports that he eventually won her.

122. *ARV*^{2} 1152, 7; *Paralipomena* 457; *Addenda*^{2} 336. One vase may show the race, but it is fragmentary. See Emil Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid* (Berlin, 1862) 264 no. 632.

is a standing bearded man, surely Atalanta's father, who leans on a staff gazing at the nude figure of Atalanta, who adjusts her exercise cap. Aphrodite receives the apples from a winged Eros to the right of Atalanta. To the right of Aphrodite is a beardless nude male, whose chlamys has been deposited on a pillar; presumably this is the suitor. It is noteworthy that both athletes are nude, and the suitor is marked as a pre-adult or ephebic, that is, beardless with a chlamys.

Footraces were part of prenuptial rites, especially female rites, such as the Arkteia at Brauron dedicated to Artemis and the Heraia at Olympia dedicated to Hera, goddess of marriage.[123] And an athletic competition to win the hand of a maiden is a common topos in Greek myth, such as the myth of Pelops and Hippodameia,[124] but in the Atalanta myth, Atalanta herself—not her father or other suitors—competes against the suitors.[125] One version of the myth has Atalanta pursued by a suitor, who wins the race with the help of Aphrodite. This pursuit of a maiden recalls other mythological pursuits, such as Boreas pursuing Oreithyia or Peleus pursuing Thetis. The motif of the young man pursuing his quarry or prey is the same as that of the mature hunt in which the hunter chases down his prey and has a physical confrontation with it.[126] This pursuit of game recalls the lover's metaphorical hunt or pursuit of his beloved, but here the pursuit is an actual physical hunt. Thus, the footrace

123. On the arkteia, see Scanlon (*supra,* n. 51) 73–120; Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, "Ancient Rites and Modern Constructs: On the Brauronian Bears Again," *BICS* 37 (1990) 1–14; Ken Dowden, *Death and the Maiden* (London, 1989) 9–42; Richard Hamilton, "Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia," *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 449–72; Paula Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," *Arethusa* 22 (1989) 111–33; Lilly Kahil, "Le sanctuaire de Brauron et la religion grecque," *CRAI* (1988) 799–813; Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography* (Athens, 1988); Pierre Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes* (Paris, 1987) 179–283; Arrigoni (*supra,* n. 108) 102–104; Susan Guettel Cole, "The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation: The Koureion and the Arkteia," *ZPE* 55 (1984) 233–44; Lilly Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," in W. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison, 1983) 237–44; Hugh Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigeneia," *JHS* 103 (1983) 87–102; Paula Perlman, "Plato's *Laws* 833C-834D and the Bears of Brauron," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 115–30; Lilly Kahil, "Le 'craterisque' d'Artémis et le Brauronion de l'Acropole," *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 253–63, "La déesse Artémis: Mythologie et iconographie," in *Greece and Italy in the Classical World,* Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London, 3–9 September, 1978 (London, 1979) 73–87, "L'Artémis de Brauron: Rites et mystère," *AntK* 20 (1977) 86–98, and "Artémis attique," *CRAI* (1976) 126–30; T. C. W. Stinton, "Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron," *CQ* 26 (1976) 11–13; Christiane Sourvinou, "Aristophanes' *Lysistrata,* 641–47," *CQ* 21 (1971) 339–42; Angelo Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi* (Rome, 1969) 240–79; and Lilly Kahil, "Autour de l'Artémis attique," *AntK* 8 (1965) 20–33. On the Heraia at Olympia, see Nancy Serwint, "The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia and Prenuptial Initiation Rites," *AJA* 97 (1993) 403–22; Scanlon (*supra,* n. 51) 100–101; Arrigoni (*supra,* n. 108) 95–101; and T. Scanlon, "The Footrace of the Heraia at Olympia," *AncW* 9 (1984) 77–90.

124. Ley (*supra,* n. 61) 36; Louis Gernet, *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece,* trans. J. Hamilton, S. J. and B. Nagy (Baltimore and London, 1981) 24–25; Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 33–34.

125. Cf. Ley (*supra,* n. 61) 36; Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) xi, 34. Detienne concentrates on the Ovidian version of the Atalanta footrace myth, comparing Atalanta to Adonis, and examining the connections between marriage and the hunt. He does not discuss the initiatory aspects of either activity.

126. Cf. Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 31.

can perhaps be read as an initiatory hunt, the first mature hunt for the male,[127] as well as a prenuptial rite for Atalanta, emulating real life initiatory races, since Atalanta will marry after the race. The suitor in the myth is either Hippomenes or Melanion, the latter the male counterpart to Atalanta;[128] that is, we may understand the two devotees of Artemis as involved in their respective initiations to adulthood and sexual maturity: Melanion hunts (pursues), and Atalanta races in a prenuptial rite. If, as Vidal-Naquet claims, Melanion is the mythical ancestor of the Athenian ephebe,[129] then we see the prototypical ephebe involved in an initiatory hunt,[130] which was perhaps, in reality, part of ephebic training.

Another version of the footrace myth maintains that an armed Atalanta runs after the suitor—she hunts him down.[131] Here we see the gender conflation that we earlier noted was part of initiation rites; she acts as model hunter, as a pre-adult engaged in the initiatory hunt. Apollodorus' description of Atalanta as an armed running athlete conjures up images of the Pyrrhic dance and ephebic contests, but a chase was not normally part of Greek festivals, religious or otherwise.[132] In short, Atalanta may be either pursued or pursuer, hunted or hunter. Because Atalanta is not male and therefore her behavior is not appropriate, things do not go as planned.[133] The footrace is a mix of the erotic and athletic, as is underscored by the images on a white-ground lekythos by Douris of ca. 500–490 B.C. in Cleveland (Museum of Art 66.114; fig. 29a–b). Atalanta, whose name is inscribed, runs from an Eros who holds a wreath, a typical athletic prize and, according to Boardman, an indication of the consummation of love.[134] The Eros also originally held a whip and not the floral ornaments, which were added later (fig. 29b).[135] Two other Erotes are also present. The athlete Atalanta literally races away from love and marriage,[136] an idea that is suggested also by the shape and fabric of the

127. Cf. Scanlon (*supra,* n. 51) 105, 106; Brulé (*supra,* n. 123) 58, 59. Ov., *Met.* 10.613–15 stresses the youthfulness of Hippomenes.

128. Noted also by Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 41. See Ar., *Lys.* 781–96.

129. Vidal-Naquet (*supra,* n. 11)106–28.

130. Detienne (*supra,* n. 5), however, says that ". . . the black hunter is the net into which Atalanta casts herself," suggesting, if one follows later dicta, that the myth concerns hunting of the immature kind.

131. Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) xi, 33, 34.

132. Scanlon (*supra,* n. 51) 73–74.

133. Claude Bérard, "La chasseresse traquée," in M. Schmidt, ed., *Kanon: Festschrift Ernst Berger* (Basel, 1988) 282 says that Atalanta is the only heroine who combines the qualities of huntress (ephebe) with those of the athlete.

134. Boardman (*supra,* n. 56) 4. Boardman also writes that in vase painting, Eros usually wields the whip "in pursuit of boys." On this vase, see, e.g., Diana Buitron-Oliver, "Stories from the Trojan Cycle in the Work of Douris," in J. B. Carter and S. P. Morris, eds., *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (Austin, 1995) 438–40; Bérard (*supra,* n. 133) 280; Boardman (*supra,* n. 56) 3–18; Cedric G. Boulter, *CVA*: United States 15, The Cleveland Museum of Art (Princeton, 1971) 21–23, pls. 32–34, 35:1.

135. Boulter (*supra,* n. 134) 21.

136. Cf. Boardman (*supra,* n. 56) 18.

vase. White-ground lekythoi were most commonly associated with the funerary realm, and the Greek perceptions of marriage as a metaphorical death for the bride are well known.[137] Atalanta faces a metaphorical death if she is caught in the footrace, her flight from Eros. We might recall that Amazons, those outsiders to whom Atalanta is visually linked in vase paintings of the Calydonian boar hunt, were either married or killed when they encountered Greek men—and perhaps we should understand their marriages as metaphorical deaths as well.

The apples in this myth are also significant. As Marcel Detienne notes, the Greek word for apple, μῆλον, is also used of pomegranates, and according to one version of the myth, Aphrodite retrieved the fruit given to Atalanta's suitor from a pomegranate tree.[138] The apple or pomegranate is typically associated with wedding rites and with the nuptial sphere.[139] Apples appear in several myths of maidens who submit to marriage, such as Akontios and Cydippe, where they are the means by which the girl is won.[140] Pomegranates are commonly thrown at newly wedded couples, and the pomegranate also recalls the famous myth of Hades and Persephone; it is because of eating the pomegranate seeds that Persephone is bound to remain in the Underworld as Hades' bride for part of each year *(Hymn. Hom. Cer.)*.[141] Christopher Faraone has recently suggested that the apples in such myths are used to excite sexual desire in the woman, and he demonstrates their use as such in a magical papyrus of Augustan date and much earlier in Neo-Assyrian incantation texts from the ninth century B.C.[142] This posited use also applies to the μῆλα in the Atalanta myth: in retrieving the apples, Atalanta accepts the idea of sexual union with her pursuer, just as Persephone was bound to Hades when she ate pomegranate seeds.[143] She competes with the suitor as ephebe, as hunter on initiatory hunt, as a young girl in a prenuptial race, but ultimately her femininity asserts itself and she yields to the male order.

TRANSFORMATION

What do these three myths tell us about Atalanta? She is a participant in many traditional male activities and has masculine attributes. For example, she carries armor; she participates in athletics, such as wrestling and the footrace

137. Barringer (*supra,* n. 91) 95–109; Buitron-Oliver (*supra,* n. 134) 440.

138. Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 41–44.

139. Gernet (*supra,* n. 124) 24; A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *HSCP* 72 (1968) 147–81; and Jürgen Trumpf, "Kydonische Äpfel," *Hermes* 88 (1960) 14–22.

140. E.g., Call. frags. 67–75; Ov., *Her.* 20. On apples in Greek myth, see Littlewood (*supra,* n. 139), esp. 149–59, 180–81 with further bibliography; Trumpf (*supra,* n. 139).

141. Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 43–44. See also Marylin Arthur, "Politics and Pomegranates: An Interpretation of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter," *Arethusa* 10 (1977) 7–47.

142. Christopher A. Faraone, "Aphrodite's ΚΕΣΤΟΣ and Apples for Atalanta," *Phoenix* 45 (1990) 219–43.

143. Faraone (*supra,* n. 142) 238.

(an armed race); she hunts; she competes with the suitors; and she is depicted exercising in the nude like an ephebe.[144] Yet she partakes of the "normal" feminine sphere—she participates in a prenuptial race—and also the inverted world of the female Amazon and maenad. She is both male and female, ephebe and young girl about to be married, and like these liminal figures, she can also be Amazon and maenad. In short, Atalanta is a study in ambiguity and the blurring of gender distinctions. In all these myths and in all the images, Atalanta is emblematic of the liminal figure, betwixt and between male and female, immature and mature, like the ephebe who is not a boy and not yet an adult citizen, and like the girl about to be married, no longer part of her father's home, but not yet integrated into her new husband's home. Atalanta's liminal state is apparent in all the myths—in the boar hunt, where Atalanta is female yet a model pre-adult or ephebe; in the wrestling contest, an activity of the pre-adult or ephebe and in this case possibly a struggle prior to sexual union; and in the footrace, a premarital rite or initiatory hunt. Atalanta wishes to remain in this liminal state forever, not attaining and accepting the responsibilities of sexual adulthood. In this way, Atalanta represents everyday reality for the Greeks; she is expressive of a girl's reluctance to marry and leave her father's home.[145]

Yet she finally does marry, and as Jean-Pierre Vernant says, the yoke of marriage domesticates the wild virgin.[146] Although ancient authors sometimes mention that Atalanta had a son, Parthenopaios,[147] later Greek and Latin sources provide fuller accounts of Atalanta's later life, and typical of devotees of Artemis (and of Artemis herself), Atalanta ends in an equally ambiguous state.[148] According to the mythical strain that has Atalanta marry the man who defeats her in the footrace, Atalanta and her husband are punished by Aphrodite, who is angered at the suitor's having neglected to give a thank offering to her after the race (Ov., *Met.* 10.681–83; Hyg., *Fab.* 185). As a punishment, the goddess fills the couple with lustful feelings while in a sanctuary of Zeus or Cybele. They cannot contain their feelings and consummate their love in the sanctuary,[149] breaking one of the most sacred taboos of the Greeks. Apollodorus 3.9.2 says nothing about a neglected sacrifice and instead states that while Atalanta and Melanion were hunting, they entered a precinct of Zeus and had intercourse there. As punishment, Zeus (Apollod. 3.9.2; Hyg., *Fab.* 185) or Cybele (Ov., *Met.* 10.698–707; *Myth.*

144. On female nudity and dress in athletics, see Arrigoni (*supra,* n. 108) 70 and *passim.*

145. Cf. Richard Seaford, "Eleventh Ode of Bacchylides: Hera, Artemis, and the Absence of Dionysos," *JHS* 108 (1988) 119; Calame (*supra*, n. 12) 189.

146. Jean-Pierre Vernant, Introduction to Detienne (*supra,* n. 82) xv.

147. Schol. at Aesch., *Th.* 532.9–13, 533.1–4, 535.4–5 in G. Dindorf, *Aeschylus: Tragoediae superstites et deperditarum fragmenta* 3 (Hildesheim, 1962); Soph., *OC* 1320 and schol. *ad loc*; Eur., *Ph.* 150 and schol. *ad loc*, 1153, *Supp.* 887–89; Hecat. in *FGrH* frag. 32; Apollod. 3.9.2; Diod. Sic. 4.65.4, 4.65.7.

148. Cf. Scanlon (*supra,* n. 51) 106.

149. Ov., *Met.* 10.686–95; Hyg., *Fab.* 185; Serv., *In Verg. Aen.* 3.113.22–26; *Myth. Vat.* 1.39.

Vat. 1.39) changes them into lions.[150] As Marcel Detienne points out, lions are animals who the ancients believed did not have intercourse with each other, but with a leopard (Pliny, *HN* 8.43; Serv., *In Verg. Aen.* 3.113.28–32; *Myth. Vat.* 1.39) or not at all (Hyg., *Fab.* 185), and some versions of the myth claim that once Atalanta is transformed into a lion, she is never permitted to have sex again.[151] Consequently, lions are the animals most hated by Aphrodite.[152] As argued above, versions of the boar hunt, the footrace, and perhaps the wrestling match have erotic components, which emphasize the mythical figure of Atalanta as the embodiment of the tension between male desire and fear. She is an external threat, yet an exotic object of desire. She is desired, she is conquered, yet she finally brings disaster to herself and her husband. As a devotee of Artemis, she cannot enjoy the pleasures of Aphrodite. Atalanta then ends as she began: wild and bestial, nonsexual, liminal, sentenced to hunt forever, now as a lion, in the wilds with Artemis.[153]

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150. Cf. schol. at Theoc. 3.40–42b. Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 12.87–89 credits Artemis with changing Atalanta to a lioness, presumably as punishment for leaving her realm (cf. Kallisto). See Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 103 n. 137.

151. Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 45–46. Note that Euripides, *Medea* 1339–43 describes Medea as a lioness and not as a woman. Was this a term reserved for strong, unfeminine women? Cf. Page duBois, "On the Invention of Hierarchy," *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 208. duBois (*supra,* n. 12) 112ff. examines Medea as the foreigner, as the outsider who invades the Greek city, but whose very femaleness is Other and makes her the enemy within.

152. Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) xii, 27, 44–46. Scanlon (*supra,* n. 51) 103 maintains that Atalanta undergoes a change in status from huntress in the Calydonian boar hunt to prey as she is changed to a lion. But because the lion is not hunted in the myth, this explanation is not very convincing.

153. Detienne (*supra,* n. 5) 46 describes Atalanta's "animal metamorphosis as a function of Atalanta's original hostility to a marital scheme whose emblem is Aphrodite qua goddess of desire and sexual union."

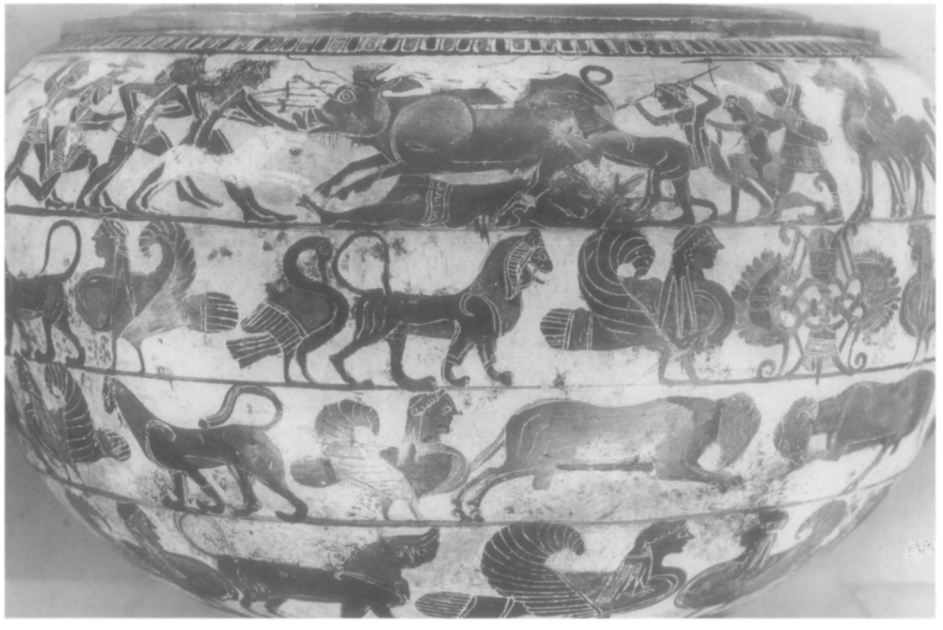


Figure 1: Attic black-figure dinos, ca. 575–550 B.C. Rome, Vatican 306. Photograph courtesy of the Direzione Generale Musei Vaticani, Rome.

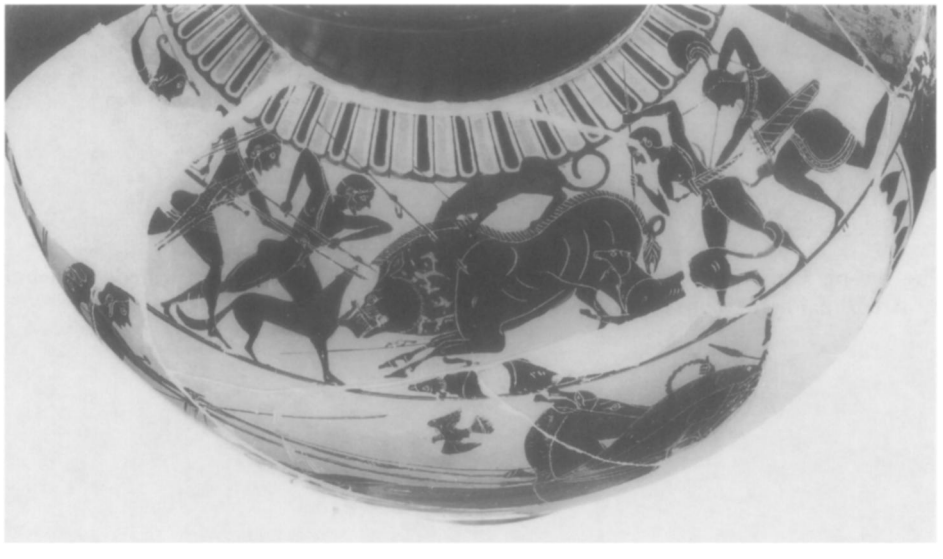


Fig. 2: Attic black-figure hydria near the Princeton Painter, ca. 550 B.C. Florence, Museo Archeologico 3830. Photograph courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Firenze.

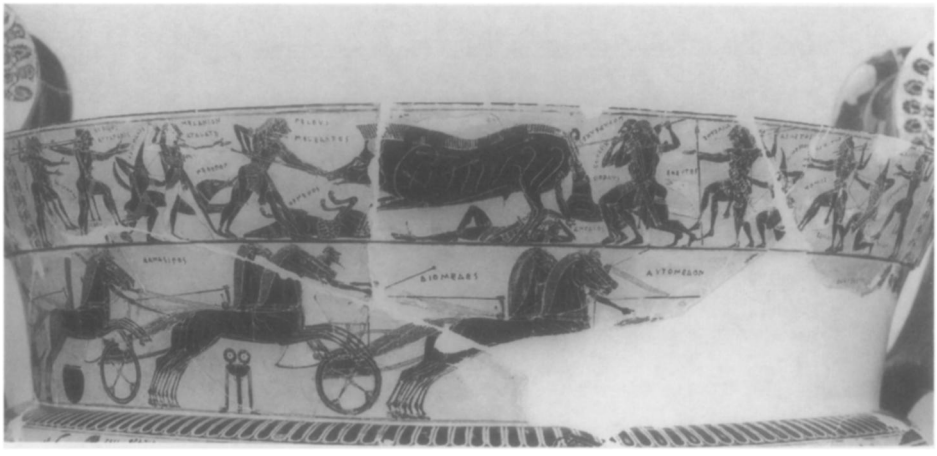


Fig. 3: Attic black-figure calyx krater, the François Vase signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, ca. 570 B.C. Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209. Photograph courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Firenze.

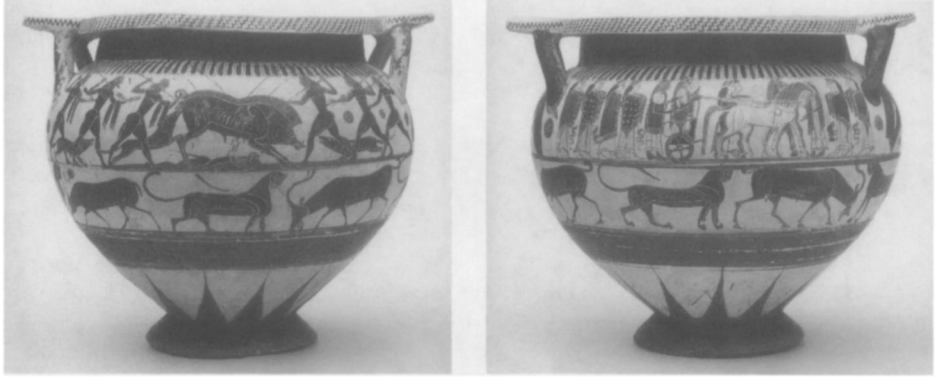


Fig. 4a–b: Corinthian black-figure krater, ca. 600–575 B.C. Toledo, The Toledo Museum of Art 70.2. Photographs courtesy of the Toledo Museum of Art.

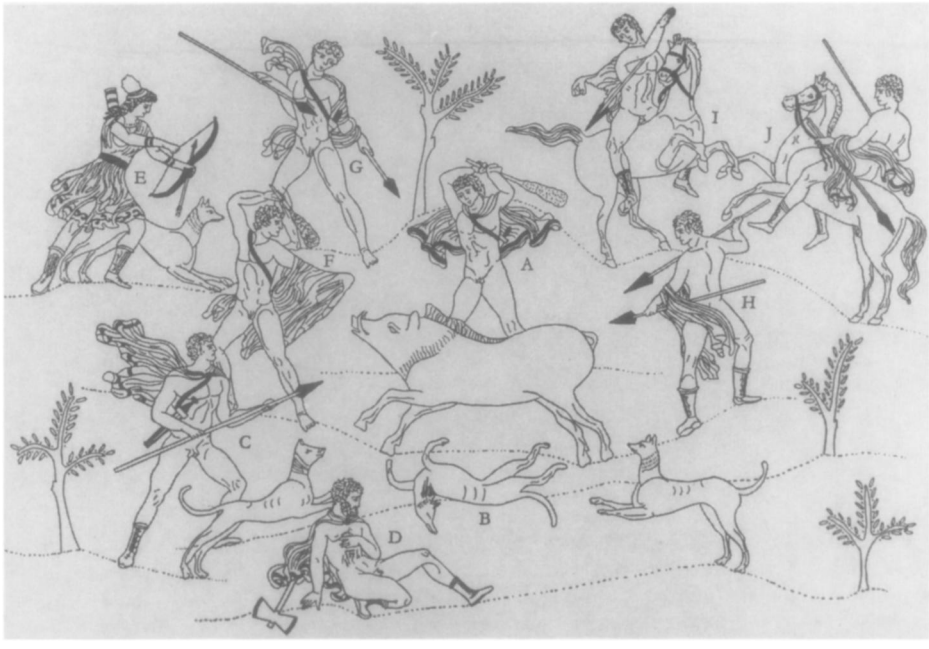


Fig. 5: Reconstruction by Fred Kleiner of lost wall painting by the Circle of Polygnotos, ca. 460 B.C. After Fred S. Kleiner, "The Kalydonian Hunt: A Reconstruction of a Painting from the Circle of Polygnotos," *AntK* 15 (1972) figure 6 by permission.





Fig. **6a–c:** Attic red-figure dinos by the Agrigento Painter, ca. 450 B.C. Athens National Archaeological Museum 1489. Photographs courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens





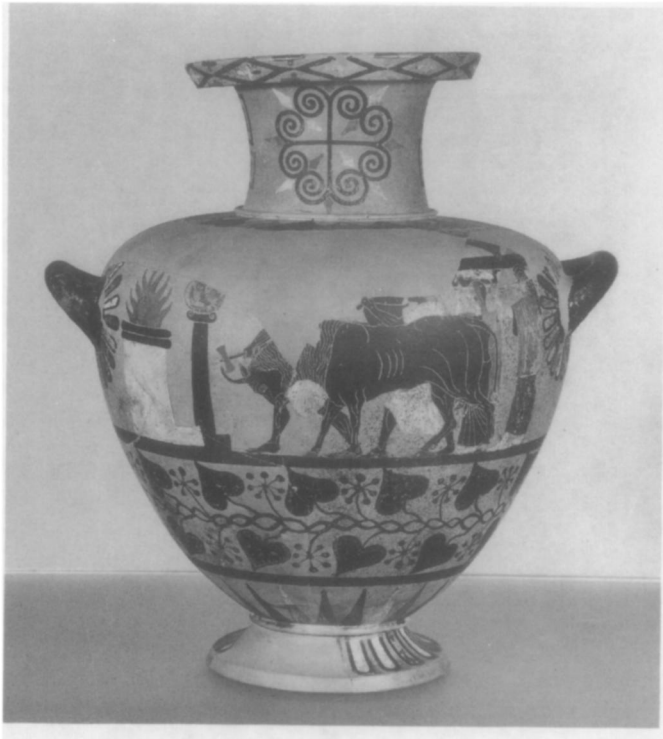
Fig. 7: Copy of the Tyrannicides group by Kritios and Nesiotes, ca. 477/6 B.C. Museo Nazionale, Naples G103–4. Photograph courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.



Fig. 8: Boeotian black-figure kantharos, ca. 575–550 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 432 (2855). Photograph courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.



Fig. **9a–b**: Attic black-figure dinos fragments, ca. 570–560 B.C. Blatter Collection, Bolligen. Photographs courtesy of Rolf Blatter.



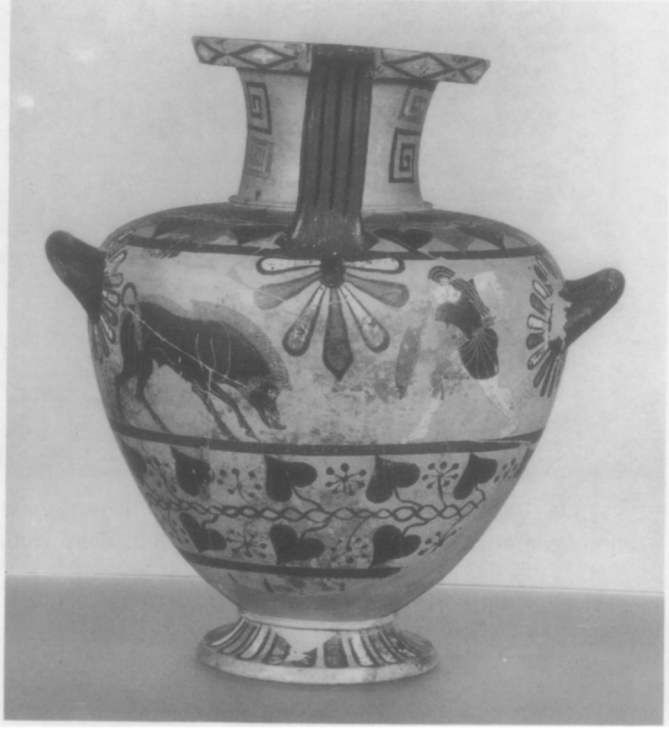


Fig. **10a–b:** Caeretan hydria, ca. 525–500 B.C. Copenhagen, National Museum 13567. Photographs courtesy of the Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, National Museum, Copenhagen.



Fig. 11a–b: Attic black-figure exaleiptron, ca. 570–560 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 8600. Photographs courtesy of Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich.



Fig. 12: Attic red-figure calyx krater by the Meleager Painter, ca. 400–375 B.C. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität 522. Photograph courtesy of the Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität, Würzburg.

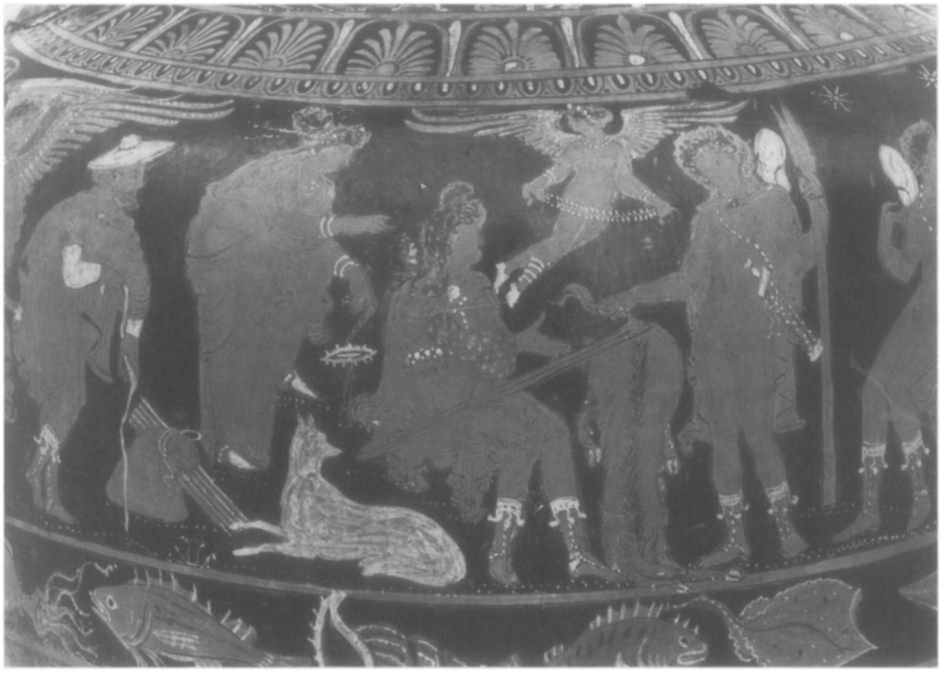


Fig. 13: Apulian red-figure amphora, ca. 330 B.C. Bari, Museo Civico 872. Photograph courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia, Taranto.



Fig. **14a–b:** Fragmentary Attic black-figure dinos, ca. 580 B.C. Athens, Agora Museum P334. Photographs courtesy of the Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies, Athens.



Fig. **15a–b:** Caeretan hydria, ca. 525–500 B.C. Paris, Musée du Louvre E696. Photographs courtesy of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris.



Fig. **16:** Apulian red-figure volute krater near the Underworld Painter, ca. 340 B.C. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung F3258, now lost. Photograph courtesy of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Fig. **17a–b:** Apulian panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Lycurgus Painter, ca. 350 B.C. Trieste, Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte S380. Photographs courtesy of the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste.



Fig. **18:** Attic black-figure dinos fragments, ca. 560 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akropolis 590c. Photograph courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.



Fig. 19: Attic black-figure band cup, ca. 540 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2241. Photograph courtesy of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich.



Fig. 20: Attic black-figure skyphos attributed to the Krokotos Group, ca. 500 B.C. London, British Museum 1925.12–17.10. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London.



Fig. 21: Attic black-figure neck amphora by the Diosphos Painter, early fifth century B.C. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F1837. Photograph courtesy of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Fig. 22: Chalcidian hydria by the Inscription Painter, ca. 540 B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 596. Photograph courtesy of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich.



Fig. 23: Attic red-figure cup by Oltos, ca. 510 B.C. Bologna Museo Civico Archeologico 361. Photograph courtesy of the Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna.



Fig. 24: Attic red-figure volute krater fragments by the Peleus Painter, ca. 440–430 B.C. Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale T404. Photograph courtesy of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara.



Fig. **25:** Melian relief, ca. 460–450 B.C. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung TC 8308. Photograph courtesy of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Fig. **26:** Attic red-figure cup by the Jena Painter, early fourth century B.C. Paris Cabinet des Médailles 818. Photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.



Fig. **27:** Attic red-figure cup by the Euaion Painter, ca. 450–440 B.C. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA2259. Photograph courtesy of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris.







Fig. **28a–c:** Attic red-figure calyx krater by the Dinos Painter, ca. 420 B.C. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 300. Photographs courtesy of the Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna.

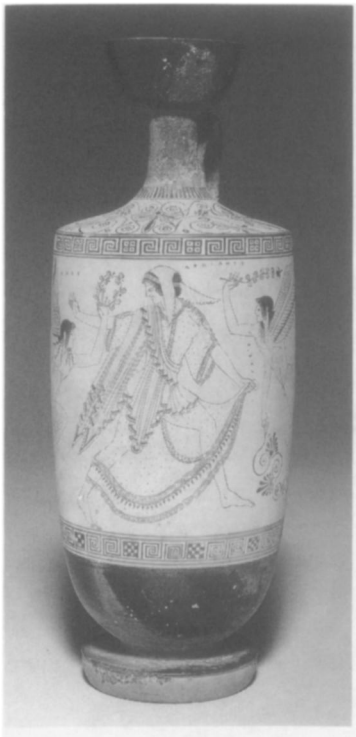


Fig. **29a–b:** White-ground lekythos by Douris, ca. 500–490 B.C. Cleveland, Museum of Art 66.114. Photographs courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.





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SILENS, NYMPHS, AND MAENADS*

ONE of the most familiar traits of the part-horse, part-man creatures known as silens is their keen interest in women.[1] In Athenian vase-painting, the female companions of the silens are characterized by a variety of attributes and items of dress, and exhibit mixed feelings toward the attentions of silens. The complexities of the imagery have resulted in disagreement in modern scholarship on several points, including the identity of these females, the significance of their attributes, and the explanation of a change in their receptivity to the advances of the silens.[2] One of the reasons for the lack of consensus in the scholarship is the fact that the imagery raises not one question but many: questions concerning iconographical method, mythology, ritual, and poetry. In what follows I have attempted to separate some of these entangled issues. I hope to show that the companions of the silens are nymphs and not maenads, and that a major change in the iconography of silens and nymphs, occurring in late sixth-century red-figure Attic vase-painting, reflects in some way developments in the Athenian dramatic genre of satyr-play.

NYMPH OR MAENAD?

By what name would the ancient viewer have referred to the female companions of the silens? An answer may be found in the representation of the Return of Hephaistos on the François vase (PLATE I (*a*)).[3] Three silens and four women accompany the procession to Olympos. The women wear heavy, embroidered *peploi* and are identified collectively by way

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[1] I refer to these creatures as silens, or *silenoi*, because that is how they are labelled on the François vase (PLATE I (*a*)), Florence 4209, volute-krater, Kleitias and Ergotimos, *ABV* 76,1, E. Simon and M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* [Munich 1976] pls. 51-57), the only known vase with an inscription identifying these creatures as a group. The name *satyr* is used for the same type of creature in classical literature, and it seems likely that the names *silen* and *satyr* were synonymous in the Archaic period. But since the name *silen* is attested on Athenian vases and the name *satyr* is not, it seems best to use the former when referring to these creatures as they appear on these vases. For the use of the two names see E. Reisch, 'Zur Vorgeschichte der attischen Tragödie', in *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz* (Vienna 1902) 451-473, esp. 460-464.

[2] The bibliography on the iconography of these female figures is extensive. The best short study remains M.W. Edwards, 'Representation of maenads on Archaic red-figure vases', *JHS* lxxx (1960) 78-87. For the iconographical problems see also A. Rapp, 'Mainaden', in W.H. Roscher *et al.*, *Ausführliche Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1894-97) ii, 2243-2283, esp. 2266-2267; L.B. Lawler, 'The Maenads: a contribution to the study of the dance in ancient Greece', *MAAR* vi (1927) 69-112; E. Simon, 'Menadi', *EAA* iv (1961) 1002-1013, esp. 1003-1007; S. McNally, 'The maenad in early Greek art', *Arethusa* xi (1978) 101-135; E.C. Keuls, 'Male-female interaction in fifth-century Dionysiac ritual as shown in Attic vase painting', *ZPE* lv (1984) 287-297; E.C. Keuls, *The reign of the phallus* (New York 1985) 357-379; T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian imagery in Archaic Greek art* (Oxford 1986) 79-86; C. Bron, 'Porteurs de thyrse ou bacchants', in C. Bérard *et al.* ed. *Images et société en Gréce ancienne* (Lausanne 1987) 145-153; A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos* (Göteborg 1987); A. Henrichs, 'Myth visualized: Dionysos and his circle in sixth-century Attic vase-painting', in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his world* (Malibu 1987) 92-124, esp. 100-106.

[3] For the François vase, see n. 1 above.

of an inscription as 'nymphs'.[4] The only characteristic of these nymphs emphasized by Kleitias is their relationship with the silens: one of the nymphs is carried in the arms of a silen, which suggests that the relationship is a close one. The earliest surviving reference to silens in Greek poetry also speaks of intimacy between silens and nymphs: '[the mountain nymphs] rank neither with mortals nor with immortals: long indeed do they live, eating heavenly food and treading the lovely dance among the immortals, and with them the Sileni and the sharp-eyed Slayer of Argus mate in the depths of pleasant caves'.[5]

Silens appear together with female companions in many subsequent representations of the Return of Hephaistos. In these scenes, the attributes of the female figures are not uniform. In the picture on a column-krater by Lydos of around 550 BC (PLATE I (*b*)), the women wear fawn-skins.[6] One of the women in Lydos' picture also has a snake, an attribute that reappears in representations of the Return in late Archaic red-figure vase-painting.[7] Beginning around 530 BC, the female figures in scenes of the Return wear ivy crowns.[8] Later still, but before 500 BC, they appear wearing panther-skins and carrying ivy-tipped wands, thyrsi.[9] After *c.* 500 BC, they sometimes carry torches.[10]

The few surviving literary accounts of the myth of the Return of Hephaistos do not mention the women or the silens who accompany the procession in art.[11] The labeler of the François vase (presumably Kleitias) thought that the women were nymphs, and it would seem reasonable to assume that the female figures in later representations of the myth are also nymphs. Most scholars, however, refer to these women not as nymphs but as 'maenads'. The collective name *maenads* is not inscribed on any surviving Athenian vase. It is known from poetry and has been transferred by scholars from literature to the visual arts.

[4] The inscription is best viewed in fig. 244 of M. Cristofani *et al.*, *Materiali per servire alla storia del vaso François* (*BdA* serie speciale 1, Rome 1981). The nymphs do not differ from other female figures on the vase except that one plays a small pair of cymbals, perhaps part of the musical program that must have been featured at the drinking party at which Hephaistos was made drunk.

[5] *HHymnAphr* 256-263. Trans. after H.G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (Cambridge, MA 1982 repr.).

[6] New York 31.11.11, column-krater, Lydos, *ABV* 108,5, *MMS* iv (1932-1933) pl. 1. The fawn-skin is worn by women in several later representations of the Return, such as New York 17.230.5, band-cup, *Para* 78,1, Oakeshott Painter, *CVA* New York 2, pl. 19; Boston 95.62, hydria, *ABV* 249,9, Elbows Out, *CVA* Boston 2, pl. 72,1; Munich 1526, neck-amphora, *ABV* 282,6, Group of Toronto 305, *CVA* Munich 8, pl. 420; Paris, Louvre F3, amphora type B, ABV 297,12, Painter of Berlin 1686, *CVA* Louvre 3, pl. 10,3 and 6; London B427, cup type A, *c.* 525-500 BC, *CVA* British Museum 2, pl. 20,2; Fiesole, Constantini, column-krater, recalls Leagros Group, *CVA* Fiesole 1, pl. 29; Tarquinia 1553, neck-amphora, *c.* 525-500 BC, *CVA* Tarquinia 2, pl. 34,2-3.

[7] E.g., Louvre G162, calyx-krater, Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*^{2} 186,47, *CVA* Louvre 2, pls. 12,8 and 13,2, 5 and 8.

[8] E.g., London 1908.1-1.1, cup type A, 525-500 BC, *CVA* British Museum 2, pl. 19,2; New Milton, Hattatt, neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143, figs. 1-6.

[9] With the panther-skin: Agrigento C1535, column-krater, Leagros Group, *CVA* Agrigento 1, pl. 6,1; Leipzig T59, lekythos (compare the Kleophrades Painter), *CVA* Leipzig 2, pl. 39, 3-5; Louvre G162, cited above, n. 7; Louvre G135, cup, Colmar Painter, *ARV*^{2} 355,45, E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* (Paris 1897-1922) iii 172. With the thyrsus: Indianapolis 31.299, stamnos, Group of London E445, *ARV*^{2} 217,3, *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson* ii (St. Louis 1953) pl. 51,a-b. *Cf.* also Frankfurt, VF β286, neck-amphora, *Para* 176, manner of the Kleophrades Painter, *CVA* Frankfurt 1, pls. 30 and 33; New York 41.162.175, neck-amphora, *ABL* 240,150, Diosphos Painter, *CVA* Hoppin and Gallatin, pl. 7,7 and 9: on both of the vases, Hephaistos is shown on one side of the vase (with a silen or Dionysos), a female figure with panther-skin and thyrsus on the other (with a silen or Dionysos), in what appears to be a continuation of the representation of the Return.

[10] E.g., Indianapolis 47.34, hydria, Agrigento Painter, *ARV*^{2} 579,83, F. Brommer, *Hephaistos: Der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst* (Mainz am Rhein 1978) pl. 4,2; Louvre G135, listed in n. 9.

[11] The best discussion of the literary sources for the myth remains U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Hephaistos', *NGG* 1895, 217-245 (rpt. in *Kleiner Schriften* ii [Berlin 1971] 5-35). See also Carpenter (above n. 2) 13-15.

Who are the maenads? The word *mainades* is best known from the *Bakchai* of Euripides, written at the end of the fifth century BC.[12] In the play Dionysos has come to Thebes to establish his religion in Greece: 'Thebes here was the first in this Hellenic land that I made shriek in ecstasy, that I clothed with the fawnskin, and gave the thyrsus into their hand, the ivy spear (23-25)'. Dionysos aims to punish as well as to enlighten:

> So *them* [the sisters of Semele] I stung in madness from their homes and they dwell on the mountain stricken in their wits; I compelled them to wear the apparel proper to my rites, and all the female seed of the Cadmeians, all of the women, I maddened from their homes; together with the children of Cadmus, mingled with them, under the green firs they sit on rocks, with no roof above. For this land must learn to the full, even against its will, that it is uninitiated in my bacchic rites (Eur. *Bak.* 31-40).

The women of Thebes, driven into the mountains by Dionysos, are called *mainades*.[13] From the lines above, one can form an image of these women: they wear fawn-skins and carry thyrsi, emblems of the cult of Dionysos. They occupy mountain forests, outside of the city, and their activities include cries in honor of the god. Additional information about the Theban maenads comes from the first messenger speech in the play (677-774): they wear their hair loose, crowned with ivy and other foliage; their attire includes snakes worn as belts; they hold in their arms and suckle fawns or wolf cubs. According to the messenger they do not drink wine and are chaste. When provoked by herdsmen they attack a herd of cattle and dismember the animals with their bare hands. The second messenger informs us (1043-1152) that in their madness the maenads even dismembered a human being, Pentheus, the king of Thebes and the son of Agaue, a sister of Semele and one of the leaders of the maenads.

There are other Dionysiac myths which follow closely the pattern of the Theban myth. The daughters of King Proitos of Argos, in one version of their story, refused to accept the rites of Dionysos and were driven mad by the god. In their madness the women wandered the countryside of the Argolid, much like the women of Thebes roamed the mountains around Thebes, except that in their madness the Proitides believed that they were cows.[14] The daughters of King Minyas at Orchomenos also refused to worship Dionysos. The god drove them, insane, from their homes, and in their madness they dismembered one of their children, just as Agaue and her sisters dismembered her child Pentheus.[15] The characteristic element in all of these myths is the insanity of the kings' female kin: the word *mainades*—'mad women'—is an appropriate collective name for the women so long as they are in a state of madness.

Maenads are not the only group of female worshipers of Dionysos in Greek mythology. One particular group of nymphs worshipped Dionysos, the nymphs of Nysa. These nymphs raised

[12] For the name *mainades* see also A. Henrichs, 'Changing Dionysiac identities', in B.F. Meyer and E.P. Sanders ed. *Jewish and Christian self-definition* iii: *Self-definition in the Greco-Roman world* (Philadelphia 1982) 146, n. 89; Rapp (above n. 2) 2243. Translations from the *Bakchai* are after G.S. Kirk (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1970).

[13] The word *mainades* is used of the Theban women in the following lines of the play: 829, 956, 981, 984, 1023, 1052, 1060, 1062, 1075, 1107, 1143, 1191, 1226. The term is used generically, for women other than the Theban women, only three times: 103, 570, and 601 (on the last, see below). It is noteworthy that the word is concentrated in the latter part of the play, where the consequences of the madness of the Theban women, the murder of Pentheus, are of greatest concern. On the use of the term bakchai for the female followers of Dionysos, see below.

[14] Apollod. ii 2.2 (citing Hesiod as one source for the story); iii 5.2; Virg. *Ecl.* 6.48. See G. Radke, 'Proitides', *RE* xxiii (1957) 117-125 for other sources. The many variations of the tale of the Proitides are analyzed by K. Dowden, *Death and the maiden: Girls' initiation rites in Greek mythology* (London 1989) 71-95.

[15] Ovid, *Met* iv 1-415. See S. Eitrem, 'Minyaden', *RE* xv (1932) 2010-2014 for other references. The resistence myths, as they are called, are discussed at length by W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their gods* (London 1950) 165-174.

the infant god Dionysos on Mount Nysa and, when he was full-grown, became his followers.[16] The activities of the nymphs of Nysa are similar in some ways to those of the maenads in the *Bakchai*. In the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos*, one reads that 'the boundless forest was filled with their outcry'.[17] In the *Iliad* (vi 134), the nurses of Dionysos carry '*thysthla*'. The word is obscure, but seems to be related in sound, and perhaps also in sense, to the word *thyrsus*.[18]

Scholars have taken the similarities in the poetic descriptions of the nymphs of Nysa and the maenads of Thebes, Argos, and Orchomenos as evidence that nymphs and maenads are more or less the same thing.[19] There are, however, important differences between them. First, the two groups belong to different stories. The nymphs of Nysa belong to the myth of the infancy of Dionysos, while maenads belong to stories of the arrival of the mature god at various towns in Greece. The nurturing quality of nymphs is important in the former myth. In the stories of maenads, the position of the women within the ruling families is emphasized: the madness of these women imperils the civic structures of the towns. Second, the nymphs of Nysa honor Dionysos willingly, whereas the maenads are forced to worship the god against their will in a state of madness. It is misleading to refer to the nymphs as 'maenads' because it is not clear that the nymphs were mad. Third, 'maenadism' is not a permanent state of being but a temporary experience. In their madness maenads become briefly like nymphs: they abandon their homes and their children in the city and dwell, like nymphs, in the mountains and forests. But the behaviour of these women who have been driven mad by Dionysos is a temporary deviation. In the end they return to their former lives, or become something else. That is clear from the conclusion of the *Bakchai*, in which Agaue returns to her senses and comes to know fully the extent of her destructive actions as a maenad.[20]

There is an echo of the distinction between nymphs and maenads in the *Bakchai* itself. In the play, there is another group of female followers of Dionysos besides the women of Thebes, namely, the chorus. The chorus-members come from a foreign land; they have no families; they do not live in a polis; their existence is devoted to the service of Dionysos (65-67, 71-75). They are similar to nymphs in that their existence is radically different from that of ordinary Greek women, such as the women of Thebes.[21] They implicitly contrast their own voluntary worship of Dionysos with the madness which Dionysos sends to those who reject him (386-390). As if to underscore these differences, Euripides did not refer to the chorus-members as maenads; they are called *bakchai*. The word *maenads* is reserved for the women of Thebes.[22] The chorus-

[16] *HHymnDion* (26) 3-10. *Cf.* Hom. *Il.* vi 130-135, where Dionysos is accompanied by 'nurses' on Nysa, presumably nymphs; Tyrtaios *fr.* 20.1 West for the 'nurse' of Dionysos; Soph. *OC* 678-680, where Dionysos leads the revels of the goddesses who were his nurses. Female figures labelled *Nysai* appear on fragments of an early sixth-century vase by Sophilos (Athens Acr. 587, dinos frags., *ABV* 39,15, B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Acropolis zu Athen* [Berlin 1925-1933] i, pl. 26). Carpenter (above n. 2, p. 9) argues that the inscription is simply a misspelling of *Mosai*, Muses, but one cannot rule out the possibility that Sophilos meant what he wrote.

[17] *Cf.* Pratinas *fr.* 1: 'to cry aloud, running in the hills with the naiads'. The speakers are probably silens, and the context is the proper way to honor Dionysos.

[18] *Cf.* G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A commentary* ii (Cambridge 1990) 174 on *Il.* vi 132-137.

[19] *Cf.* Guthrie (above n. 15) 161; Rapp (above n.2) 2244-2245; Simon (above n. 2) 1003-1007; A. Henrichs, 'Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina', *HSCP* lxxxii (1978) 121-160, esp. 141, n. 61.

[20] Eur. *Bak.* 1280-1296, esp. 1296: 'Dionysus destroyed us, now I realize it!' The daughters of Proitos were cured by Melampus, but the daughters of Minyas underwent a more radical transformation, being turned into birds.

[21] *Cf.* C. Segal, *Dionysiac poetics and Euripides' Bacchae* (Princeton 1982) 242: '[the chorus] embodies the very antithesis of everything for which the Greek polis stands'.

[22] See Rapp (above n. 2) 2255; Henrichs (above n. 12) 146; J.-P. Vernant, 'The masked Dionysus of Euripides' *Bacchae*', in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Myth and tragedy in ancient Greece* (New York 1988) 381-412, esp. 405. The name *maenads* is used only once for the chorus-members, when they are mad with fear after Dionysos has shaken the palace of Thebes (line 601). In lines 51-52 Dionysos speaks of his army of maenads: one assumes that

members have many of the same emblems as the maenads: ivy crowns and thyrsi (80-81); perhaps also fawn-skins and various kinds of branches (105-114). But the distinction between willing and unwilling worshipers of Dionysos remains a fundamental part of the *Bakchai*, and is not diminished by the similarities in external attire.

We learn one further thing about maenads from the *Bakchai*: they have nothing to do with silens. The silens are mentioned only once in the play, in a learned allusion to the origins of the tambourine (120-135). In this passage, the silens are a distant and shadowy group, having no part in the action at Thebes. Furthermore, it is significant that they are mentioned by the chorus-members, professional followers of Dionysos who might be expected to know intimately the myths and rituals of the god, and not by the Theban maenads.[23]

To return to the imagery, there is nothing in ancient literature to suggest that maenads had a place in the myth of the Return of Hephaistos or in the company of silens, and thus no obvious reason why we should not trust the inscription on the François vase as a guide to the identity of the silens' companions. Nevertheless, the term *maenads* is used for female figures who appear in representations of the Return on vases which are not much later than the François vase. The column-krater by Lydos shows Dionysos and Hephaistos accompanied by silens and female figures (PLATE I *(b)*). The subject matter is the same as on the François vase (PLATE I *(a)*), yet some scholars have identified the women not as nymphs but as maenads.[24] Why maenad, rather than nymph, in this context? Because the female figures have two attributes that are not present in the Return of Hephaistos on the François vase, namely, fawn-skins and a snake. Edwards formulated the most commonly-cited iconographical distinction between nymph and maenad: '"nymph" I use for a female figure, clothed or not, accompanying satyrs but not having any Dionysiac attribute such as the *nebris, pardalis*, snake, or thyrsos'.[25] The distinction is not simply a matter of convenience: 'nymphs have appeared sufficiently often before this for the change [the appearance of fawn-skin and snake on Lydos' krater] to be quite striking, and [the appearance of these attributes] must have some significance'.[26]

Does the significance of these attributes lie in the identity of the figures who carry them or in some other aspect of the imagery? Edwards and others assume that the occurrence of the attributes, familiar from Euripides' *Bakchai*, identifies the figures who bear them as maenads. Henrichs argues that this is so regardless of the context in which the figures appear: 'it is not

he is referring to the chorus-members, but as the play unfolds it becomes clear that the ones who do his bidding, who fight his battle against Pentheus, are the Theban women and not the chorus-members. For the term *bakchē* in literature postdating Euripides, see M.-Chr. Villanueva-Puig, 'A propos du nom de "bacchante"', *REA* lxxxii (1980) 52-59.

[23] Henrichs (above n. 19, p. 135-136) and McNally (above n. 2, p. 105) also call attention to the absence of the silens from the story of the *Bakchai*.

[24] J.D. Beazley, *The development of Attic black-figure* ([1951] Berkeley 1986) 41 uses both nymph and maenad to refer to these women. Simon (above n. 2, p. 1005) suggests that they are the first maenads in Athenian vase-painting. Edwards (above n. 2, p. 81) calls them maenads; so too Schöne (above n. 2, pp. 28-29), Henrichs (above n. 2, p. 102 n. 49). Only Carpenter (above n. 2, p. 84) prefers to call these women nymphs. Some scholars use the word *maenads* as a matter of convenience, to refer to female figures in Dionysiac contexts generally. McNally uses the word virtually throughout her study of Archaic Athenian imagery of the followers of Dionysos because the word *nymph* 'is too general a term' (McNally, above n. 2, p. 104). But this approach to nomenclature tends to obscure rather than clarify the imagery, because it creates a distinction where none may be intended. For example, McNally writes elsewhere: 'unlike the François vase, where satyrs are followed by nymphs, the later vases show them alternating with the maenads' (McNally 110). The intended distinction is between two different compositional schemes, but the nomenclature inevitably suggests that certain companions of the silens were distinct and different from others.

[25] Edwards (above n. 2) 80 n. 11.

[26] Edwards (above n. 2) 80-81.

the company she keeps that distinguishes the maenad, but her appearance'.[27] Edwards and Carpenter note, however, that the fawn-skin is sometimes worn in vase-painting by figures who cannot be maenads (Hermes, for example), and Carpenter points out that snakes appear in scenes of Dionysos fighting the giants, not a 'maenadic' narrative context.[28] Furthermore, snakes are handled not just by women on Lydos' krater, but also by a silen. Thus, the contexts in which these attributes appear are not limited to myths about women driven mad by Dionysos. Female figures on intimate terms with silens, such as the women in Lydos' picture, call to mind the poetic and iconographic tradition about nymphs as lovers of silens.[29] For this reason, the ancient viewer may have identified the female figures in Lydos' scene as nymphs. These nymphs have been outfitted with new accouterments, but the character of the new accouterments is not incompatible with the rustic life of nymphs. The context of the scene, the narrative context as well as the presence of silens, reveals the significance of the attributes in this instance.[30] The viewer would not mistake the identity of these differently-attired female figures.

The Return of Hephaistos is only one of several types of scenes featuring silens and nymphs in Archaic Athenian vase-painting. Many scenes of the followers of Dionysos are less easily identifiable as to their narrative context,[31] and therefore the identification of the figures involves greater uncertainty. Nevertheless, the approach to the interpretation of the meaning of attributes taken above provides insights into this imagery as well. For example, on an amphora by the Amasis Painter in Berlin Dionysos is surrounded by two silens and four female figures (PLATE I (*c*)).[32] Two of the women are nude and walking arm in arm with the silens. The intimacy with the silens suggests that they are nymphs. The other two female figures are draped and one carries a dead hare. Henrichs argues that the hare identifies the figure as a maenad, and that the picture 'appears to be unique ... in that it juxtaposes nymphs and maenads, two groups of Dionysiac women that are normally kept separate in art as well as literature'.[33] But in the work of the Amasis Painter the hare is not exclusive to figures who can plausibly be called maenads. Hares are carried by young men who accompany Dionysos on several vases.[34] Hares even appear in scenes which do not seem to have anything directly to do with Dionysos, scenes of hunting and of courtship.[35] The hare signifies different things in these different contexts (the object of the hunt versus the love-gift); on the Berlin amphora the hare may connote a closeness

[27] Henrichs (above n. 2) 101.

[28] Edwards (above n. 2) 81; Carpenter (above n. 2) 83-84.

[29] Edwards (above n. 2, p. 81) acknowledged that the female figures on Lydos' krater, whom he calls maenads, behave no differently with respect to the silens than the nymphs.

[30] The importance of context in the interpretation of the meaning of attributes in visual images has been stressed in several recent studies: see esp. C. Bérard, 'Iconographie—iconologie—iconologique', in C. Bérard ed. *Essais sémiotiques* (Lausanne 1983) 5-37; C. Bérard and J.-L. Durand, 'Entering the imagery', in *A city of images* (trans. D. Lyons, Princeton 1989) 23-37; L. Morgan, 'Idea, idiom and iconography', in *L'iconographie minoenne* (*BCH* suppl. xi (1985)) 5-19; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Myth in images: Theseus and Medea as a case study', in L. Edmunds, ed. *Approaches to Greek myth* (Baltimore 1990) 395-445.

[31] I do not believe that it is prudent to speak of Dionysiac scenes as if they had no narrative context (as, e.g., Carpenter, above n. 2, p. 30). Our inability to recognize the mythological background to a particular scene on a vase should not be transferred to the ancient viewer. *Cf.* D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his world* (Malibu 1985) 45.

[32] Berlin inv. 3210, type A amphora, *ABV* 151,21, S. Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter* (Oxford 1956) pl. 27.

[33] Henrichs (above n. 2) 102.

[34] *Cf.* Munich inv. 8763, type B amphora, *Para* 65, and Geneva I4, type B amphora, *ABV* 150,8, both illustrated in Bothmer (above n. 31) nos. 4 and 15. There is reason to think that these youths may be the mythical sons of Dionysos: see Bothmer 45.

[35] Hunting: London B52, olpe, *ABV* 153,31, Bothmer (above n. 31) no. 26; courtship: Louvre A479, cup-skyphos, *ABV* 156, 80, Bothmer (above n. 31) no. 54.

to nature that is characteristic of nymphs, but its presence does not, by itself, signify that the female figure holding it is a maenad.[36]

An examination of other Dionysiac scenes in Archaic Athenian vase-painting leads to a similar conclusion: the female companions of the silens are not maenads but nymphs. This conclusion is supported by inscriptional evidence besides that on the François vase. In a study of the inscribed names of the followers of Dionysos in Greek vase-painting, Charlotte Fränkel wrote: 'anyone who expects to find a reflection of *orgiasmos* in the names [of female figures] will be disappointed: the names remain predominately generalized nymph- and female names'.[37] Even in scenes that include attributes of maenads as described in literature, the female figures, when labelled, have the names of nymphs.[38] On a late fifth-century red-figure aryballos, for example, Dionysos is accompanied by ten female figures and two silens.[39] The female figures have fawn-skins, thyrsi, an *aulos*, and a tambourine. All are identified by name; one is called *Nymphē*, another is named *Naia*. The female personal name *Mainas* occurs in a few Dionysiac scenes included in Fränkel's study, but the name itself does not guarantee that the female figure is drawn from one of the myths about maenads.[40] Even the silens could be called *mainomenoi* (Eur. *Bak.* 130). Moreover, one occurrence of the name *Mainas* in vase-painting is in connection with a female figure who must be a nymph. On an Early Classical bell-krater Hermes is bringing the baby Dionysos to the nymphs of Nysa; one of the nymphs is named Mainas, the other is called [Te]thys.[41] It is true that Mainas holds a thyrsus, but other representations of the story show the nymphs of Nysa with various attributes that, in poetry, are also associated with the maenads: ivy crown, thyrsus, panther-skin, small panther.[42] Following

[36] Only one vase by the Amasis Painter that includes a hare seems likely to show maenads, the well-known neck-amphora, Paris, Cab. Méd. 222, *ABV* 152,25, P.E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A history of 1000 years of Greek vase painting* (trans. and rev. by B.B. Shefton, London 1962) pls. XV and 57. On this vase Dionysos is approached by two female figures arm in arm. One carries a hare, the other carries a little stag not very lovingly and wears a panther-skin. In this case a combination of elements, rather than any single attribute, suggests that the female figures may be maenads: the panther-skin and the animals carried in the hand recall the description of the maenads in the *Bakchai*; more significantly, the absence of male figures of any kind other than Dionysos recalls the all-female character of the maenads in myth, a point emphasized by Carpenter (above n. 2, p. 90). An earlier black-figure Dionysiac scene is also characterized by an absence of male figures other than Dionysos (Louvre E831, *ABV* 103,108, Tyrrhenian Group, *LIMC* iii, pl. 333, no. 325). In this scene, female figures wave panthers or snakes in the air and dance in a very unrestrained manner, surrounding the god Dionysos. Whether this scene and the scene on the Amasis Painter's neck-amphora are representations of the women of Thebes, the nymphs of Nysa, or some other story is difficult to say because they include no obvious indications of the underlying narrative context. But they stand apart from other Dionysiac scenes in Attic black-figure for the peculiar attributes of the women as well as for the absence of male figures such as silens. These two characteristics, together, may have been enough to call to mind myths about maenads. *Cf.* Edwards (above n.2) 80 n. 17; Schöne (above n. 2) 90-92.

[37] C. Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* (Halle 1912) 43. See now A. Kossatz-Deissmann, 'Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern des Getty-Museum und der Sammlung Cahn (Basel), mit Addenda zu Charlotte Fränkel, Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern (Halle 1912)', *Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* v (1991) 131-199.

[38] Fränkel (above n.37) 43-44.

[39] Berlin 2471, squat lekythos, *ARV*^{2} 1247,1, Eretria Painter, A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler: Werke und Weggefährten* (Mainz 1988) pls. 143-145.

[40] Letters i, l, p, θ, π, and possibly e in Fränkel's catalog. See also A. Kossatz-Deissmann, 'Mainas', *LIMC* vi, 340-341.

[41] London E492, *ARV*^{2} 619,16, Villa Giulia Painter, *LIMC* iii, 479 no. 682; Fränkel (above n. 37) 60 letter i. This vase figures in F. Frontisi-Ducroux's definition of the visual image of the maenad ('Images du ménadisme féminin: les vases des "Lénéennes"', in *L'association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes* [Rome 1986] 173-174 with n. 48 and fig. 11). But the narrative context of the scene is not given enough consideration.

[42] In addition to the bell-krater in London, *cf.* Rome, Vatican 559, calyx-krater, *ARV*^{2} 1017,54, Phiale Painter, *LIMC* iii, pl. 378 no. 686; New York X.313.1, hydria, *ARV*^{2} 623,69, Villa Giulia Painter, *LIMC* iii, pl. 379 no. 691; Naples Stg. 283, calyx-krater, *ARV*^{2} 1080,3, Clio Painter, *LIMC* iii, p. 481 no. 697; Paris, Cab. Méd. 440, kalpis, *ARV*^{2} 252,51, Syleus Painter, *LIMC* iii, pl. 380 no. 701; Ferrara 2737 (T. 381), column-krater, *ARV*^{2} 589,3, Altamura

Edwards' guidelines, we would identify these figures as maenads; but the narrative context of the scenes assures us that they are the nymphs of Nysa.[43]

MYTH OR RITUAL?

One distinction between nymphs and maenads is frequently emphasized in studies of Dionysiac imagery: nymphs are mythical beings whereas maenads are mortals.[44] This distinction is not one of life expectancies, between the 'long lives' of the nymphs and the presumably normal life-spans of the women of Thebes and other legendary maenads. It is a distinction between figures who are mythical or imaginary and those who reflect historical personalities, actual worshipers of Dionysos. It is widely held that Dionysiac rituals, bearing some relation to the activities of the maenads described in Euripides' *Bakchai*, actually took place in Greece and that these rituals were a source of inspiration for vase-painters as well as tragic poets.[45]

Of course, the supposition that contemporary female worshipers or priestesses of Dionysos were represented in vase-painting side by side with the mythical silens cannot stand on its own. It is necessary to suppose that the characteristics of these worshipers, their dress and demeanor, were transferred from the realm of cult practice to the realm of myth in the imagery: as mortals worship Dionysos, so do the god's own mythical followers. It is true that a relationship exists between creatures of myth and participants in cult in the case of the silens. Men dressed as silens appeared during the City Dionysia in satyr-play (discussed in greater detail below). But there is a fundamental distinction between the ritual of satyr-play and the rituals of women envisioned by scholars: in satyr-play the participants *represented* mythical creatures, and their costumes disguised the fact that they were contemporary Athenian worshipers of Dionysos. In the women's rituals thought to underlie the visual and poetic images of maenads, the participants do not represent anyone. The object of the ritual is not *mimesis* but *ekstasis*, an authentic loss of identity rather than a conscious role-playing.[46] As I hope to show, if some form of Dionysiac worship underlies the visual imagery, it is not ecstatic religion but the mimetic ritual of drama.

In point of fact there is no unambiguous evidence to support the hypothesis that ritual activity resembling what is described in the *Bakchai*, or what is illustrated on Athenian vases,

Painter, *LIMC* iii, pl. 380 no. 702; Paris, Louvre MNB 1695, stamnos, *ARV*^{2} 508,1, Painter of the Florence Stamnoi, *LIMC* iii, pl. 380 no. 703.

[43] Edwards (above n. 2, p. 82) speaks of maenads taking over the nymphs' duties of raising the child Dionysos. But Eur. *Cycl.* 3-4 unambiguously speaks of nymphs: 'when, on account of madness inflicted on you by Hera, you [Dionysos] fled the mountain nymphs, your nurses'.

[44] Carpenter (above n. 2, pp. 79-80) speaks of the replacement of 'semi-divine' nymphs by 'mortal' maenads on vases postdating the François vase. Edwards (above n. 2, p. 86) refers to a gradual change in the depiction of the female associates of Dionysos 'from nymphs to mythical maenads to maenads with realistic traits'. Schöne (above n. 2, p. 29) states that 'from now on [i.e., from the time of Lydos' krater on] the female part of the Dionysiac company is always made up of mortal women'.

[45] *Cf.* H. Bulle, *Die Silene in der archaischen Kunst der Griechen* (Munich 1893) 62: 'red-figure scenes show the beginning of awareness of the reality of Dionysiac worship in the appearance of new attributes: thyrsus, torches, snakes, tympana'; Lawler (above n. 2) 78-79; Edwards (above n. 2) 86; Henrichs (above n. 19) 144; McNally (above n. 2) 130, with reservations; Carpenter (above n. 2) 80. *Cf.* esp. E.R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae*^{2} (Oxford 1960) xxxv: 'what does ... emerge from a study of fifth-century paintings of Dionysiac subjects is that some at least of the painters had seen women in religious ecstasy'.

[46] For the psychology of *ekstasis*, see E. Rohde, *Psyche* (tr. W.B. Hillis, repr. Chicago 1987) 253-334, esp. 259-266. For the influence of Rohde's account on later scholarship, see A. Henrichs, 'Loss of self, suffering, violence: the modern view of Dionysos from Nietzsche to Girard', *HSCP* lxxxviii (1984) 205-240, esp. 224-226.

actually occurred at Athens during the Classical period.[47] The earliest evidence for Dionysiac rituals of this type dates to the Hellenistic age, as Henrichs has demonstrated.[48] These historically attested rituals included all-female congregations of worshipers, trips to the mountain, ritual cries, and the carrying of the thyrsus. But the state of mind of the women who participated in the activities, the degree of their ecstasy or madness, remains uncertain.[49] Moreover, there is no compelling reason to believe that rites of this type were practiced at Athens in any period.[50]

Several scholars have posited the existence of 'maenadic' ritual in the Classical period, despite the absence of hard evidence for such, on the basis of parallels in the religions of other cultures. Dodds wrote: 'there are ... certain resemblances in points of detail between the orgiastic religion of the *Bakchai* and orgiastic religion elsewhere, which are worth noticing because they tend to establish that the "maenad" is a real, not a conventional figure, and one that has existed under different names at widely different times and places'.[51] But the authenticity of individual aspects of the portrayal of the followers of Dionysos in poetry or art is not enough to establish the existence of ritual 'maenadism' in the Classical period. Myths about Dionysos often concern religion, especially the communal reception of a deity, and any portrayal of these myths is likely to include aspects of real religious ritual. The *Bakchai* has been interpreted by some commentators as an authentic account of the arrival of the cult of Dionysos in Greece, and of resistance to the new religion.[52] But this is not the only possible interpretation. As Otto put it, '[the resistance myths] contain much more that is real than if they were reporting that which had once occurred.... They do not refer to events which happened in a time when the god was still a stranger, but they refer to that which always occurs when he appears—in fact, to the tremendous efficacy of his being and his epiphany'.[53] Many elements in the *Bakchai* have meaning as metaphors of the Dionysiac experience, and are not necessarily representative of actual ritual practice. The flight of the Theban women into the hills, their abandonment of homes and children, and their prowess at hunting mark an inversion of the normal sex roles in

[47] This was first established by A. Rapp, 'Die Mänade im griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie', *RhM* xxvii (1872) 1-22 and 562-611. *Cf.* McNally (above n. 2) 130; R.S. Kraemer, 'Ecstasy and possession: the attraction of women to the cult of Dionysus', *HThR* lxxii (1979) 55-80, esp. 60-61; Keuls (*Phallus*, above n. 2) 359 and 367. In his article of 1978 (above n. 19, pp. 121-160: see esp. 121), Henrichs stated that inscriptions discovered since 1872 tended to invalidate Rapp's firm distinction between maenads of myth and maenads of cult. But a review of the article as a whole reveals no fundamental incompatibility between Rapp's main points and Henrichs' views. Indeed, Henrichs himself seems less inclined to assume that mythical maenads have some basis in real Dionysiac ritual in his more recent studies: *cf.* 'Changing Dionysiac identites' (above n. 12) 143 and esp. n. 53.

[48] Henrichs (above n. 19) 121-160.

[49] Henrichs (above n. 12) 146. Jan Bremmer's argument that the women experienced an altered state of consciousness, presented in 'Greek maenadism reconsidered', *ZPE* lv (1984) 267-286, is undermined by his own insightful assessment in the same article of the problem of differentiating fiction from reality within the maenadic myths.

[50] A point that is acknowledged even by Dodds (above n. 45, xxii). In Roman times, a group of women, the so-called Thyiades, left Athens every two years and went to Mt. Parnassos in order to practice maenadic rites, as if rituals of this kind were foreign to Athenian worship of Dionysos. *Cf.* Henrichs (above n. 19) 154-155; M. Detienne, *Dionysos at large* (trans. A. Goldhammer, Cambridge, MA, and London 1989) 40.

[51] E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 273. Dodds singled out the use of flute and tambourine, the tossing back of the head during dancing, and the handling of snakes as some of the characteristics in the artistic representation of maenads that probably derived from real ritual. See also the studies of Kraemer (above n. 47) and Keuls ('Male-female interaction', above n. 2). Some reservations about this comparative approach may be found in Bremmer (above n. 49).

[52] E.g., Rohde (above n. 46) 282-283; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* ii (Berlin 1932) 66.

[53] W.F. Otto, *Dionysus: myth and cult* (trans. R.B. Palmer, repr. Dallas 1981) 75-76. *Cf.* Guthrie (above n. 15) 172.

Greek society.[54] The blurring of gender roles in the play is also illustrated by the feminine appearance of Dionysos and the cross-dressing of Pentheus in the costume of the female devotee.[55] This imagery need not be interpreted literally but may be understood as a representation of the ability of the god to efface conventional distinctions.[56]

The poetic, as opposed to anthropological, significance of maenads in Greek literature is illustrated above all by the occurrence of the word *maenad* in metaphors and similes.[57] In epic poetry and tragedy, the image is appropriate for emotional extremes. In *Iliad* xxii, Andromache is compared to a maenad as she runs out of her house, 'her heart racing', in order to determine if the wailing she hears from the walls of Troy is for her husband Hektor.[58] The simile is appropriate not only because Andromache is fleeing from her home, just as the women of Thebes abandoned their homes in the *Bakchai*, but also because the thought of Hektor's death has pushed Andromache beyond the limits of self-control.[59] The comparison occurs in a different context in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Upon seeing Persephone safely returned from the underworld, Demeter darted from her temple to greet her daughter, 'like a maenad on a tree-covered mountain'.[60] Again, we are reminded of the Theban women, rushing from their homes. Here, however, Demeter is in the grip of joy rather than grief.[61]

In three plays of Euripides, Kassandra is likened to a maenad or *bakchē*.[62] The comparison is appropriate not simply to the maddened state of mind of Kassandra but also to the cause of it, because it is a form of punishment from Apollo.[63] The image is especially appropriate to the staging of the entrance of Kassandra in the *Troades*: she dances into the orchestra with torches, singing a wedding song but evoking in the minds of the audience and the other characters in the play the disquieting image of the nocturnal torch-dances of *bakchai*.[64] In Euripides' *Hippolytos* (545-555), a vivid simile is used to describe Iole. As she runs through the wreckage of her home-town, sacked and burned by Herakles, she is compared to a naiad or *bakchē* amid the smoke and the blood of a nocturnal *bakcheia*. An even more powerful image occurs in the poet's *Hekabe* (1077): blind Polymestor imagines that the bodies of his children

[54] See esp. Eur. *Bak.* 1202-1215, where Agaue boasts of her hunting skills in comparison to those of the Theban men.

[55] Eur. *Bak.* 452-459, 810-861, and 912-977.

[56] *Cf.* Vernant (above n. 22) 398. The imagery of the *Bakchai* highlights another conceptual distinction, that between human and animal life. Many aspects of the characterization of the maenads—their natural habitat, animal skins, and leafy crowns and branches, their ability to kill with their bare hands, and the implication (at lines 136-139) of eating raw flesh—point to Dionysos as the god who effaces the distinction between the realms of humans and animals. Note that Dionysos himself takes the form of both man and animal in the play (e.g., 921-923).

[57] The word *bakchē* is sometimes used as a synonym in these contexts. The use of the maenad in Greek poetry as a metaphor was the subject of two papers presented at a conference, 'Masks of Dionysus', held at Virginia Tech on Oct. 11-13, 1990: R. Seaford, 'Dionysus as destroyer of the household: Homer, tragedy and the polis'; R. Schlesier, 'Maenads as tragic models'. The papers have been published in T.H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone, ed. *The Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca, NY 1993). See also Rapp (above n. 47) 18-19.

[58] Hom. *Il.* xxii 460.

[59] Euadne's song of grief in Eur. *Hik.* 1001 contains a similar comparison: Euadne runs from her home, 'maddened like a *bakchē*', to the funeral pyre of her husband. In Eur. *Phoin.* 1489 Antigone refers to herself as a '*bakchē* of corpses', an ironical allusion to the funerary ritual as well as to her grief-stricken state of mind. In these passages the distinctions between maenad and *bakchē* maintained in the *Bakchai* are blurred.

[60] *HHymnDem* 386.

[61] In Soph. *Trach.* 205-224, the exuberant chorus also likens its dance for joy to a bacchic dance.

[62] Eur. *El.* 103; Eur. *Hek.* 121; Eur. *Tro.* 170, 306, 341, and 349.

[63] See Eur. *Tro.* 42. *Cf.* the statement of Teiresias (Eur. *Bak.* 298-299): 'he [i.e., Dionysos] is a prophet, too, this deity; since that which is bacchic and that which is manic possesses great mantic powers'.

[64] *Cf.* Eur. *Bak.* 144-146. In this passage of the Troades, Kassandra is referred to as a maenad no less than three times.

will be ripped to shreds, eaten, and strewn on the hillside by their killers, the women of Troy, whom he calls '*bakchai* of Hades'. The image calls to mind the fate of Pentheus, torn apart and scattered over Mount Kithairon by the women of Thebes.[65]

In tragedy, allusions to maenads are effective above all in contexts of kin-killing. In the *Orestes* (411), Euripides used the verb *bakcheuō* ('make mad like a *bakchē*') to describe the actions of Orestes: '[the Erinyes] drive you, mad like a *bakchē*, to family murder'.[66] In Aischylos' *Choephoroi* (698), the house of Atreus is spoken of as experiencing a *bakcheia*, an allusion to the family's striking propensity to kin-killing. In the *Eumenides*, the modifier has passed from the killers of kin to the supernatural beings who punish crimes of this sort, the Erinyes, 'mortal-watching maenads'.[67] Most appropriate of all is the use of the verb *bakcheuō* for Herakles in Euripides' *Herakles* (966), because the hero, in his madness, kills his own children, just as Agaue and Leukippe kill their own children in the myths of the Theban women and the daughters of Minyas. The appearance of the maenad in these poetic contexts is significant because the contexts have nothing to do with Dionysos or with ecstatic religion. In them, the mythical figure of the maenad has transcended any ritual basis.[68]

If Archaic and Classical poetry provides no unambiguous evidence of regular maenadic practices at Athens, what about art? Keuls called attention to the general character of the activities of women in some Dionysiac scenes: '[f]or Maenadic customs in Athens during the fifth century BC, we have no solid evidence. Yet it is hardly conceivable that the Attic vase paintings reflect only fantasy. Too many of them include elements that indicate organized ceremonies'.[69] It is probably true that some representations on Athenian vases depict actual Athenian festivals, just as the frieze of the Parthenon appears to depict the Panathenaic procession.[70] But the argument that seemingly realistic details in an image, by themselves, guarantee that the entire scene is real or historical and not imaginary is questionable. For example, a stamnos in Warsaw shows six women engaged in preparations for wine-drinking and in a procession (PLATE II (*a*)).[71] The stamnos is one of the so-called 'Lenaia vases', a group of fifth-century Athenian vases that depict women participating in wine-rituals and ecstatic dances, often in the presence of a cult statue of Dionysos.[72] The cult image is not included on

[65] The Dionysiac imagery of the play also bears close comparison to the story of Lykourgos in the *Iliad*, as shown by R. Schlesier, 'Die Bakchen des Hades: Dionysische Aspekte von Euripides' *Hekabe*', *Métis* iii (1988) 111-135.

[66] *Cf.* Eur. *Or.* 338: the blood of his mother whips Orestes up into a bakchic frenzy (*anabakcheuei*).

[67] Aisch. *Eum.* 500. Perhaps the metaphor is appropriate to the Erinyes in this passage also because of their threat to engage in random killing.

[68] Maenads may have been popular in tragic poetry also as symbols of the experience of viewing or participating in drama. Nietzsche may have had this idea in mind when he wrote: 'the form of the Greek theater recalls a lonely valley in the mountains: the architecture of the scene[-building] appears like a luminous cloud formation that the Bacchants swarming over the mountains behold from a height' (F. Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy* [trans. W. Kaufmann, New York 1967] Section 8, p. 63). On the occasion of the City Dionysia, the Athenians, actors as well as spectators, find themselves in a situation comparable to that of the Theban women at the beginning of Euripides' *Bakchai*: Dionysos has arrived and intends to make his awesome powers known through the use of costumes and role-playing. The self-referential qualities of the *Bakchai*, its concern with the nature of drama, have been discussed at length by H. Foley, 'The Masque of Dionysos', *TAPA* cx (1980) 107-133, and Segal (above n. 21) 215-271.

[69] Keuls (*Phallus*, above n. 2) 367.

[70] Although the precise interpretation of the frieze is still disputed. See A. Stewart, *Greek sculpture: an examination* (New Haven and London 1990) 155-157 and 344 with further bibliography.

[71] Warsaw 142465, *ARV*^{2} 1019,82, Phiale Painter, *CVA* Goluchow pl. 26.

[72] The basic publication is A. Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen* (*BWPr* no. 72, Berlin 1912). See also M.P. Nilsson, 'Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult', *Jdl* xxxi (1916) 309-339, esp. 328-332; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Rpt. of the 1932 ed., Berlin 1956) 127-132; E. Coche de la Ferté, 'Les ménades et le contenu réel des représentations de

the stamnos in Warsaw, but the women's activities are similar to those carried out in the presence of the statue on other vases in the series. The picture on the stamnos is highly realistic, like the scenes on other 'Lenaia vases', so it comes as a surprise to note that one of the women holds a baby silen. The presence of the silen suggests that the scene actually takes place in the realm of myth. The degree of realism in this scene is not necessarily a sign of the scene's ontological status—its historicity—but may be a means whereby the artist heightens the interest of his myth, by making it seem plausible.[73] While representations on Athenian vases may well include elements of real rituals, we have no infallible criteria whereby the real and historical can be completely distinguished from the imaginary. Therefore, the hypothesis that actual maenadic rites were held at Athens rests on shaky foundations so long as it is based on vase imagery.

Bron has also argued that a ritual process of transformation, in which a woman becomes a maenad, is depicted on Athenian vases.[74] Bron's approach differs from that of many other commentators because the images are not treated as if they were photographic documents of actual rituals. Instead, they seem to be viewed as artists' perceptions of the nature or significance of ritual initiations: 'through the rites of possession and of trance, by their mediation, the human thiasos is identified with the mythical thiasos: men and women aspire to become maenads and satyrs. Having become bacchants through the power of the rite, they are perceived as the mythical adepts of the god and represented by the vase-painters under the appearance of satyrs and maenads'.[75] This interpretation of Dionysiac imagery has the merit of recognizing the complex interrelations between myth, ritual, visible reality, and artists' intentions in Athenian vase-painting. But it does not overcome the main obstacle to interpreting the imagery as reflections of real maenadic ritual, namely, the complete absence of any unambiguous evidence, literary or artistic, attesting to the existence of such rituals at Athens in the fifth century BC.[76]

In ancient literature there is one explicit statement about the relationship between myths and rituals concerning maenads. Diodoros (iv 3.3) says that in the Hellenistic period women worshipped Dionysos 'in imitation of the maenads who are said to have been associated with the god in the old days'. This statement may be historically accurate. Rituals intended to induce *ekstasis* in groups of women are historically unattested at Athens in the Archaic and Classical periods; the arguments in favor of the hypothesis that such rituals are represented in the art and literature of these periods remain inconclusive. Prior to the Hellenistic Age, maenads are attested only in poetry and art; to see live maenads, it seems, one had to go to the theater.

'JUST SAY NO'

To return to the imagery of silens and nymphs, a significant change in the nature of the interactions between the two groups occurs in the late sixth century BC. Cordial, intimate, and even carnal relations between silens and nymphs are depicted on many sixth-century Athenian

scènes bachiques autour de l'idole de Dionysos', *RA* 1951, 12-23; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attic*a (Madison 1983) 100-101; and, most recently, F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le Dieu-masque: une figure du Dionysos d'Athènes* (Paris and Rome 1991).

[73] As A. Stewart put it ('Narrative, genre, and realism', in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his world* ([Malibu 1987] 33), 'the painter pursues an ever more powerful and evocative naturalism in order to seduce the viewer with the illusion of reality, and so to enhance the truth-value of his image'.

[74] Bron (above n. 2) 145-153.

[75] Bron (above n. 2) 146.

[76] As Bron admits (above n. 2, p. 145), Dionysiac religious associations, in which men and women associated in thiasoi, 'are relatively well attested in the Hellenistic period, but very obscure in the Classical period'.

black-figure vases.[77] The most commonly represented activity is dancing, but in some scenes the relations heat up. For example, on vases attributed to the Amasis Painter silens and nymphs walk arm in arm, embrace, and even kiss (e.g., PLATE I (*c*)),[78] and on black-figure vases of the last quarter of the sixth century the image of the silen walking arm in arm with a nymph is frequent.[79] More intimate still is the Dionysiac scene on a late sixth-century neck-amphora in Boston (PLATE III (*a*)). On the left a silen kisses a nymph; on the right a silen carries a consenting female, who wears nothing but a hair band, to a couch.[80] In all these scenes, the nymphs fully consent to the silens' interests and desires.

Some black-figure scenes even depict sexual intercourse between silens and nymphs. Two pairs of silens and nymphs making love are included on the Phineus cup.[81] An amphora in Würzburg shows a silen lowering a nude female onto the erect phallos of another silen (PLATE III (*b*)).[82] The nymph holds the shoulders of her partner and bends her head towards his as if to kiss it—she appears to be a willing participant. Several earlier neck-amphorae attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group also depict erotic encounters between silens and nymphs. In these scenes the silens hold their erect phalli with one hand while gesturing towards (propositioning?) the nymphs with the other hand. The nymphs are usually clothed, but not infrequently they are nude, and occasionally they lift their skirts as if to entice or encourage the silens.[83]

Some Athenian black-figure scenes appear to depict silens chasing after nymphs who seem unwilling to be caught. In pictures of this type, a silen moves quickly to the right while a nymph runs to the right and looks back (occasionally the direction of movement is reversed—right to left). An early example occurs in the tondo of a Siana cup dating to the second quarter of the sixth century BC.[84] Several examples date to the third quarter of the sixth

[77] The changing relations between silens and nymphs were plotted by McNally (above n. 2) 101-135. I have avoided unnecessary repetition of her perceptive analysis.

[78] Samos K898, type A amphora frag., *ABV* 151,18, Karouzou (above n. 32) pl. 30; Berlin inv. 3210, type A amphora, *ABV* 151,21, Karouzou pl. 27 (PLATE I (*c*)); Basle Kä 420, type B amphora, *Para* 65, *AntK* i (1958) pl. 19. These vases by the Amasis Painter date to the third quarter of the sixth century BC.

[79] E.g., Boston 01.17, neck-amphora, Painter of Boston 01.17, *ABV* 319,2, *CVA* Boston 1, pl. 54; Chiusi 1812, type A amphora, Chiusi Painter, *ABV* 368,97, *BdA* xxxv (1950) 333 fig. 3; Berlin 1845, neck-amphora, Painter of Wüzburg 210, *ABV* 370,136, *CVA* Berlin 5, pl.32; Paris, Cab. Méd. 343, skyphos, Krokotos Painter, *Para* 93,1, *CVA* Cab. Méd. 2, pl. 69; Montpellier 144 (SA 54), olpe, Leagros Group, A.-F. Laurens, *Société archéologique de Montpellier, Catalogue des collections* ii: *Céramique attique et apparentée* (Montpellier 1984) pl. 21; Aachen, Ludwig, neck-amphora, Leagros Group, *Aachener Kunstblätter* xxxvii (1968) 64; New Milton, Hattatt, neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 140-143 figs. 1-6; Geneva Market (Laforet), neck-amphora, Hattatt Painter, *OJA* i (1982) 149 fig. 13; Tarquinia 638, neck-amphora, *CVA* Tarquinia 1, pl. 2,1; Coral Gables, Lowe Museum 56.001.000, neck-amphora, H.A. Shapiro, *Art, myth, and culture: Greek vases from southern collections* (New Orleans 1981) 44-45 no. 14.

[80] Boston 76.40, Dayton Painter, *Para* 144,1, *CVA* Boston 1, pl. 39.

[81] Würzburg 164, E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich 1932) pl. 26. This late sixth-century black-figure cup is probably not Attic in origin, but the artist seems to have been familiar with Athenian black-figure iconography. *Cf.* the love-making scene on the 'Caeretan' hydria in Vienna (3577, M. Robertson, *Greek painting* [rpt. New York 1979] 74).

[82] Würzburg 252, amphora type B, Painter of Würzburg 252, *ABV* 315,1, Langlotz (above n. 81) pl. 69.

[83] Leipzig T3322, *ABV* 96,10, *CVA* Leipzig 2, pl. 8,3-4; Rome, Villa Giulia (M. 453), *ABV* 100,73, P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani* (Rome 1930) pl. 55,2; Brussels A715, *ABV* 103,109, *CVA* Brussels 1, pl. 1,2a; Leipzig T4225, frags., *Para* 40, *CVA* Leipzig 2, pl. 9; Venice market, *Para* 41, *Auktion* xxvi (Oct. 1963) pl. 29,87. I have not seen illustrations of the following, which may also be relevant: Florence 3773 and Berlin 1711, frags., *ABV* 95,8, described in A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin 1885) 253; Louvre C10696, *Para* 40, which, according to Beazley, shows silens making love to maenads; Louvre C10700, frag., *Para* 4, which, according to Beazley, shows silens with a naked maenad. For the motif of lifting the skirt, see McNally (above n. 2) 117, with further examples.

[84] New York 12.234.3, Painter of the Boston C.A., *ABV* 69,3, *CVA* New York 2, pl. 5.

century, but most belong to the last quarter of the century.[85] It is not certain, however, that these black-figure scenes illustrate actual resistance or aversion to silens on the part of the nymphs. In several cases, the movements of the two figures are so similar that they suggest a formal dance. The most interesting and carefully painted example is a cup-tondo by the Oakeshott Painter (PLATE IV (*a*)): a hairy silen, decked out in festive fillets, high-steps to the left; ahead of him a nymph high-steps to the left, and, raising both arms in greeting or in mock alarm, turns round toward the silen.[86] A silen follows a nymph on both sides of the neck of a neck-amphora from the Geneva market.[87] The nymph moves away from the silen while looking back. On the body of the vase, a silen and nymph walk arm in arm, and a second silen dances with another nymph in his arms. Neither woman seems displeased by the attentions of the silens. The juxtaposition of scenes on this vase suggests that the 'pursuit' scenes sometimes illustrate nothing more than a moment in the friendly dance of silens and nymphs.[88]

Few sixth-century Athenian black-figure vases depict explicit resistance to the silens on the part of the nymphs. On an early sixth-century dinos from the Athenian Agora, a nymph appears to be throwing a rock at an approaching silen, but, at the same time, she seems to beckon the silen with her other hand.[89] In general, relations between silens and nymphs in sixth-century Athenian black-figure vase-painting are friendly and often intimate. To the extent that the vignettes considered above tell a story, they reflect the mythological tradition, preserved in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and other sources, wherein the nymphs are the lovers of the silens.[90]

Nymphs are much less responsive to the desires of the silens in Athenian red-figure vase-painting of the late Archaic period.[91] One of the earliest examples of a new, less friendly attitude occurs on a neck-amphora attributed to Oltos (PLATE IV (*b*)).[92] On one side of the

[85] A band-cup fragment by the Oakeshott Painter (Frankfort, Liebieghaus 528, *CVA* Frankfort 2, pl. 57,3); a fragmentary tondo of a type A cup in the Castellani collection (*Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei*, E. Böhr and W. Martini, eds. [Mainz 1986] pl. 8,1), and a black-figure lekythos by the Dolphin Painter (Athens, Keramikos, *AthMitt* lxxxi [1966] Beil. 66,1, left), are among the earliest examples of this type of scene, probably dating before 525 BC. The motif also occurs on a few vases that should not date much later than *c.* 520, such as Paris, Petit Palais 303, neck-amphora, *ABV* 221,38, Painter N, *CVA* Petit Palais pl. 10,1; Tübingen D39, lip-cup, *ABV* 189,8, Centaur Painter, *CVA* Tübingen 3, pl. 27,1-4; Civitavecchia 1297, lip-cup, *AA* 1981, 336 fig. 9. The motif is common on later black-figure vases, e.g., Rhodes 12327, cup, *ABV* 213,20, Segment Class, *CVA* Rhodes 1, pl. 15,1; Leyden PC9 (xv i 76), type B amphora, Dot-ivy Group, *ABV* 448,28, *CVA* Leyden 1, pl. 25,2; Gela, small neck-amphora, Light-make Class, *Para* 299, *NSc* 1956, 322 fig. 6; Boston 98.885, lekythos (Six's technique), Diosphos Painter, *ABL* 236,81, *ABL* pl. 38,6.

[86] Boston 69.1052, lip-cup, *CVA* Boston 2, pl. 90,1. *Cf.* Harvard 1963.69, hydria, *c.* 550-530 BC, D.M. Buitron, *Attic vase painting in New England collections* (Cambridge, MA 1972) 32, on the neck of which there are four pairs of silens and nymphs. The figures are arranged according to the scheme discussed above—silen moving right, nymph moving right while looking back—but it is clear that the context is a dance and not a hostile male-female encounter.

[87] Cited above, n. 79.

[88] Compare also the scenes under the handles of Orvieto 594, neck-amphora, Affecter, *ABV* 242,32, H. Mommsen, *Der Affecter* (Mainz 1975) pl. 106.

[89] Athens, Agora P334, connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis, *ABV* 23, Hesperia iv (1935) 431 fig. 1. See McNally (above n. 2) 107-108 with fig. 1.

[90] *Cf.* E. Buschor in A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich 1904-1932) i, 218, in reference to the scenes of silens and nymphs on the Phineus cup. There are many references in ancient literature to offspring of the union of silens and nymphs, e.g., Strabo xii 4.8; Apollod. *Bibl.* ii 5.4. For further references see Hedreen, *Silens in Attic black-figure vase-painting: myth and performance* (Ann Arbor 1992) 71-73.

[91] This is true of red-figure vase-painting from shortly after its inception until well into the Classical period, but in this article I have confined the analysis of silen-nymph relations to the Archaic period.

[92] Louvre G2, *ARV*^{2} 53,2, Arias and Hirmer (above n. 36) pl. 99, who date the vase to *c.* 520-510 BC. Schöne (above n. 2, p. 134), who dates the vase to *c.* 530-520 BC, believes this to be the earliest surviving example of tension between silens and female figures in red-figure.

vase, a silen has hold of a nymph by the forearm, but she pulls his hair and knocks him to his knees. Several other red-figure vases dating between *c.* 520 and 500 BC illustrate resistance to the silens.[93] On a cup by the Chelis Painter, a silen has caught hold of the hem of a nymph's chiton and she raises her thyrsus to strike him (PLATE IV (*c*)).[94] In addition to the thyrsus, females use other means of defense against impertinent silens, including snakes. On a fragmentary cup by Oltos, a silen advances towards a nymph with his arms out; she moves away but turns and thrusts a snake towards him.[95] Nymphs yank the beards of silens on several other vases.[96]

The image of the nymph actively repelling an advancing silen becomes common in red-figure vase-painting dating to *c.* 500-480 BC. One of the best-known examples from this period is the pointed amphora in Munich by the Kleophrades Painter, which shows Dionysos accompanied by three silens and four nymphs (PLATE V (*a*)). One of the silens has seized the hem of a female's chiton, but she pushes his arm away with one hand and takes aim at his genitalia with the thyrsus she carries in the other hand.[97] In a well-known tondo-scene by Makron, a nymph makes effective use of the spiky-leafed end of her thyrsus against the sex organs of a desirous silen.[98] The nymphs' refusals appear to lead to frustration and, sometimes, even anger on the part of the silens, as on a cup by Douris where, in the midst of a melee of silens and nymphs, one of the silens prepares to throw a rock.[99] On one exterior side of Makron's cup in Baltimore, a silen grasping the wrist of a female is repelled by the butt of her thyrsus. Another silen swings his wineskin as if it were a club, his ardor seemingly changing to frustration and anger, as his female opponent prepares to jab him with her thyrsus. A third silen has picked a nymph up in his arms and she fights to free herself.[100]

[93] In addition to the vases mentioned in the text, *cf.* Orvieto 1049, cup, Oltos, *ARV*^{2} 64,103, *CVA* Umbria 1, pl. 2; Providence 25.077, cup, Epiktetos, *ARV*^{2} 73,34, *CVA* Providence 1, pl. 14; London E14, cup, Nikosthenes Painter, *ARV*^{2} 125,21 (according to the description of Smith). Slightly later, around 500 BC or just after: Amsterdam inv. 1313, pelike, Nikoxenos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 221,12, *CVA* The Hague 1, pl. 3,3. The new, less friendly female figure is not restricted to red-figure, but appears occasionally in black-figure scenes of silens postdating *c.* 520 BC: e.g., on an amphora by the Euphiletos Painter, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.14, *ABV* 323,20, *JWalt* iii (1940) 118 fig. 9: the silen has hold of the chiton of a nymph who seems to be trying to elude him.

[94] Munich 2589, cup, Chelis Painter, ARV^2 112,1, J.C. Hoppin, *A handbook of Attic red-figured vases by or attributed to the various masters of the sixth and fifth centuries BC* (Cambridge, MA 1919) i, 185.

[95] Florence 1 B 21, plus other fragments, *ARV*^{2} 59,55, J.D. Beazley, *Campana fragments in Florence* (Oxford 1933) pl. X.

[96] Copenhagen inv. 13407, cup, Oltos, *ARV*^{2} 59,57, *CVA* Copenhagen 8, pl. 335,1; Ferrara 898 (T. 323), calyx-krater, Painter of Goluchow 37, *ARV*^{2} 271,1, *CVA* Ferrara 1, pl. 15,1: the silen has hold of the nymph's ankle and she has hold of his beard.

[97] Munich 2344, *ARV*^{2} 182,6, *CVA* Munich 4, pl. 201. Another silen on the amphora pursues a nymph who appears to be preparing to use her snake against him. Other images of a nymph warding off a silen with her thyrsus from the late Archaic period include: Leningrad 682, rhyton, circle of the Brygos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 391 (a), *AntK* Beiheft 11, pl. 10,3a; Chicago 05.345, rhyton, Douris, *ARV*^{2} 445,259, W.G. Moon and L. Berge ed. *Greek vase-painting in Midwestern collections* (Chicago 1979) 191. Of nymphs using snakes as defensive weapons in late Archaic red-figure: Munich 2645, *ARV*^{2} 371,15, Brygos Painter, F.W. Hamdorf, *Attische Vasenbilder der Antikensammlungen in München* ii: *Bilder auf Schalen* (Munich 1976) 43: a silen lunges toward a female who thrusts her snake into his face and prepares to jab him with her thyrsus; Paris, Cab. Méd. 576, cup, Brygos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 371,14, E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich 1923) fig. 427: a silen reaches up a female's chiton and she brings her snake around perhaps to threaten him.

[98] Munich 2654, *ARV*^{2} 462,47, J. Boardman, *Athenian red figure vases: the Archaic period* (London 1975) fig. 313.

[99] Paris, Cab. Méd. 539, *ARV*^{2} 438,134, C. Lenormant and J. de Witte, *Élite des monuments céramographiques* (Paris 1844-1861) i, pl. 45.

[100] Baltimore, Johns Hopkins B10, *ARV*^{2} 463,51, *CVA* Robinson 2, pl. 16,1b. Other relevent cups by Makron include: Munich 2644, *ARV*^{2} 461,37, *MAAR* vi (1927) pl. 21,5; New York 06.1152, *ARV*^{2} 463,52, G.M.A. Richter and L.F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven and London 1936) pls.

The motif of the silen grasping a nymph around the waist is popular in both black- and red-figure vase-painting, and the development of the motif is instructive. In sixth-century black-figure examples, the nymphs do not appear to resist the silens.[101] On a hydria in Paris, one silen grasps a nymph around the waist, but another nymph dances unmolested, side by side with a silen.[102] On the neck-amphora from the Geneva market discussed above, a similar juxtaposition of motives occurs: one silen grasps a nymph around the waist and lifts her off the ground while another silen walks arm in arm with a female.[103] The 'arm in arm' motif is difficult to construe as anything other than a friendly gesture, and its presence in this scene encourages us to think that the nymphs do not object to physical contact with the silens in this instance. But in red-figure, especially in the period from 500-480 BC, nymphs are more resistant to intimacy of this kind with silens. On a cup fragment by Skythes, for example, a nymph raises one hand as if to strike the silen who holds her.[104] On another cup the nymph extends both hands in a gesture of alarm.[105]

In the period in which occur scenes of nymphs warding off lusty silens, there is also an absence of visual evidence of intimacy between the two groups. The image of the silen walking arm in arm with a nymph, one of easy-going friendship, does not appear in Athenian vase-painting of the late Archaic period. After *c.* 510 BC, one no longer sees silens kissing nymphs or ceremoniously carrying them around on their shoulders.[106] Altogether, the late Archaic imagery suggests that nymphs are not receptive to any kind of physical contact with silens. Given this new state of affairs, it is not surprising that a new type of scene becomes popular in the last two decades of the sixth century BC: silens attempting to take advantage of a nymph who is asleep.[107] That sex is the objective is clear from several examples in which the silens

57, 59, and 60, no. 55. Perhaps also Rome, Villa Giulia, ARV^2 464,67, and London E134.3, *ARV*^{2} 477,293, which I have not seen.

[101] E.g., Paris, Cab. Méd. 257, hydria, Antiope Group, ABV 363,47, *CVA* Cab. Méd. 2, pl. 62,2; Würzburg 211, neck-amphora, Nikoxenos Painter, *ABV* 392,8, Langlotz (above n. 81) pl. 41; Munich 2051, type A cup, Krokotos Painter, *Para* 94,6, *JHS* lxxv (1955) pl. 11,2.

[102] Louvre F289, *c.* 530-510 BC, *CVA* Louvre 6, pl. 69,5; there are restorations on the figures, but the general composition seems ancient.

[103] Bibliography cited above, n. 79.

[104] Boston 10.201, cup fragment, Skythes, *ARV*^{2} 85,22, L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic vase paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford 1931-1963) iii, pl. 69,120. *Cf.* Ferrara, Museo Schifanoia 277, cup, Schifanoia Group, *ARV*^{2} 387,1, *BdA* v (1911) figs. 3-4 opp. p. 344; Louvre G144, cup, Makron, *ARV*^{2} 462,43, Hoppin (above n. 94) ii, 76: the silen has one arm around the nymph's neck and another up her chiton; the nymph has thrown one arm around the silen's neck, but, as McNally notes (above n. 2, p. 125), it is unclear whether this is a gesture of affection or one of surprise. *Cf.* the well-known white ground cup-tondo by the Pistoxenos Painter (Taranto, *ARV*^{2} 860,3, Simon and Hirmer [above n. 1] pl. xli) for another silen with his hand up a nymph's chiton. *Cf.* also Boston 00.343, cup, Douris, *ARV*^{2} 438,141, Pfuhl (above n. 97) fig. 470, where the silen has wrapped one leg all the way around the waist of a nymph, as in other Dionysiac scenes by Douris. McNally (p. 127-28, with fig. 14) suggests that the nymph in this scene is pulling the silen's ear as a means of dislodging him. *Cf.* also the fragmentary late sixth-century red-figure cup once in Munich, *ARV*^{2} 87, J.C. Hoppin, *A handbook of Greek black-figured vases* (Paris 1924) 464: the silen has heavy eyebrow and brow ridge, a rather large eye, and a slightly open mouth, all perhaps emphasizing his animal side; his victim expresses her alarm by raising her right hand and opening her mouth as if to cry out.

[105] Oxford 307, cup, Painter of Munich 2676, *ARV*^{2} 393,37, *CVA* Oxford 1, pl. 2,7.

[106] The motif of a silen carrying a nymph on his shoulders appears in Athenian black-figure vase-painting as late as the work of the Nikoxenos Painter (e.g., Athens 1037, kalpis, *ABV* 393,18) and the Gela Painter (e.g., Basle market, M.M., lekythos, *Auktion* lvi [Feb. 1980] pl. 34 no. 85), but it does not appear in red-figure at all as far as I know.

[107] The earliest surviving example is Berlin inv. 3232, cup, Epidromos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 117,2, *CVA* Berlin 2, pl. 63,2. Part of the motif may be preserved on the Samos fragment by the Amasis Painter (*ABV* 151,18, mentioned above, n. 78), which is earlier than the Berlin cup, but only the legs of a reclining figure and one leg of a silen are preserved. For the series as a whole, see Caskey and Beazley (above n. 104) ii, 96-99.

are reaching up the chitons of the sleeping women.[108] It would seem that the silens are no longer able to find willing sexual partners among their former companions, and so must resort to subterfuge.[109]

The change in silen-female relations in Athenian vase-painting has been noted by many scholars.[110] It is generally explained according to the hypothesis discussed earlier, namely, that female figures in late Archaic Dionysiac iconography were modelled on actual priestesses or female worshipers of Dionysos; a greater degree of public respectability was expected of Athenian matrons than of nymphs, and this respectability was transferred from the ritual sphere to the realm of art. That interpretation rests on questionable assumptions, as we have seen, chief among them the assumption that Dionysiac rituals involving women, comparable to what is shown on the vases, actually existed at Athens in the Archaic period. But one observation on the icongraphical changes by McNally warrants more attention than it has received: the appearance of resistance to silens on the part of nymphs seems to be related to the appearance of a group of new attributes.[111]

Many of the attributes mentioned in the *Bakchai* in connection with maenads begin to appear regularly in scenes of silens and nymphs only after 520 BC. One of the earliest examples is the Nikosthenic neck-amphora by Oltos, described above, that shows on each side a silen grappling with a female figure (PLATE IV (*b*)).[112] The nymphs have three attributes which are rare or unattested in earlier Athenian Dionysiac iconography, the panther-skin, the snake, and the branch.[113] Two further items associated with the female followers of Dionysos in art and poetry, the thyrsus and the wild animal carried in the hand, appear together first in the red-figure work of Oltos. The wild animals are attested on only two earlier black-figure vases; the thyrsus does not appear on any earlier vases.[114] These attributes, the panther-skin, branch, thyrsus, snake or other wild animal, are carried by nymphs on at least eight vases by Oltos.[115]

[108] E.g., Warsaw, rhyton, Brygos Painter, *ARV*^{2} 382,185, J.D. Beazley, *Greek vases in Poland* (Oxford 1928) pl. 10.

[109] *Cf.* Schöne (above n. 2) 137-138.

[110] See Bulle (above n. 45) 62-64; Rapp (above n. 2) 2266-2267; Simon (above n. 2) 1007; Edwards (above n. 2) 82; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*^{3} (Munich 1967) 572 n. 6; O. J. Brendel, 'The scope and temperament of erotic art in the Greco-Roman world', in T. Bowie and C.V. Christenson ed. *Studies in erotic art* (New York and London 1970) 17; K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1981) 125; Shapiro (above n. 79) 44; Keuls (*Phallus*, above n. 2) 362-367; Schöne (above n. 2) 133-142.

[111] McNally (above n. 2) 130.

[112] Louvre G2, n. 92 above.

[113] The branch does not appear in earlier Dionysiac scenes at all. The snake appears in the company of the followers of Dionysos on three vases that predate the work of Oltos: on the column-krater by Lydos (PLATE I (*b*)), n. 6 above; on a type A amphora by Exekias in Budapest (50.189, *Para* 61, *BullMusHong* xxxi [1968] 17-25), and on the Tyrrhenian amphora mentioned above (Louvre E831, above n. 36). The fawn-skin first appears in Dionysiac scenes around 550 BC on vases by Lydos, and appears regularly thereafter. The panther-skin, however, appears only once in Athenian black-figure vase-painting with Dionysiac subjects predating the work of the red-figure painter Oltos, on the neck-amphora by the Amasis Painter discussed earlier (Paris, Cab. Méd. 222, above n. 36). After *c.* 520 BC, the panther-skin becomes the dress of choice among the female followers of Dionysos, appearing in numerous red-figure and late black-figure scenes, and is also worn by some silens: see Edwards (above n. 2) 80 n. 18 and 83.

[114] The wild animal carried by the female devotee of Dionysos is a motif that appears on the neck-amphora by the Amasis Painter and the Tyrrhenian amphora, both discussed above, n. 36.

[115] In addition to the neck-amphora in the Louvre see: London E437, stamnos, *ARV*^{2} 54,5, *CVA* British Museum 3, pl. 19,1; Naples 2615, red-figure cup, *ARV*^{2} 57,43, J.D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (London 1946) pl. 6; London E40, red-figure cup, *ARV*^{2} 59,54, Hoppin (above n. 94) i, 154; Florence 1 B 21, plus other fragments, cited above n. 95; Tarquinia RC 6848, red-figure cup, *ARV*^{2} 60,66, Arias and Hirmer (above n. 36) pl. 100; London E16, red-figure cup, *ARV*^{2} 61,75, A. Bruhn, *Oltos and early red-figure vase painting* (Copenhagen 1943) fig. 40; Brussels R253 and Naples Astarita 306, red-figure cup, *ARV*^{2} 64,104, *CVA* Brussels 1, pl. 2,2. These vases

Moreover, some of the earliest instances of tension between silens and nymphs occur on these same vases. On the Nikosthenic neck-amphora, one of the silens is being pushed away by a nymph. On the fragmentary Florence cup, a nymph uses her snake to ward off a fresh silen.

The new attributes appear on several cups predating *c.* 500 BC besides those of Oltos.[116] Two cups by Skythes include the new attributes. On the cup fragment described earlier, a silen grasps a nymph who wears a fawn-skin and holds a snake.[117] The nymph raises her hand as if to strike. Two fine Dionysiac scenes decorate the cup in Munich signed by the potter Chelis (PLATE IV (*c*)).[118] One scene includes a nymph with thyrsus. The other scene includes two nymphs, one with thyrsus and snake, the other with branch and panther-skin. This scene is one of the earliest depictions of a silen pursuing a nymph who clearly seems displeased by the attention. The silen has caught hold of the hem of her chiton, while she prepares to use her thyrsus and perhaps also her snake to defend herself. The mood of the encounter is further clarified by the arrival of the second nymph, who gestures emphatically and assertively. Many cups by the Nikosthenes Painter include nymphs with thyrsi and snakes, and some show the nymphs defending themselves against advancing silens.[119] On a cup in Philadelphia, the Painter of Berlin 2268 depicts nymphs with thyrsi and a silen with a panther-skin. One of the nymphs prepares to swat a pursuing silen with her thyrsus.[120]

In sum, early red-figure vases document two iconographical changes in the depiction of silens and nymphs in Archaic Athenian art: a change in the attitude of the nymphs to the attentions of the silens—from friendly and consenting to aloof and resistant—and a change in the appearance and attributes of the nymphs. The iconographical analysis shows that the one change occurs at the same time as the other change, and that the new less friendly attitude of the

date from *c.* 520-500 BC: see the comments of Bruhn on each piece. Cup fragments near Oltos (London E812.1, *ARV*^{2} 68,10; *BSA* v (1898-1899) 64 fig. 2) show a nymph, with panther-skin, snake and branch, tightly grasped around the waist by a silen.

[116] In addition to the examples cited in the text, see Providence 25.077, cup, Epiktetos, *ARV*^{2} 73,34, *CVA* Providence 1, pl. 14; Louvre G94 ter, cup, near Epiktetos, *ARV*^{2} 80,2, *CVA* Louvre 19, pl. 71; Louvre G68, cup, near the Thalia Painter, *ARV*^{2} 113, Pottier (above n. 9) ii, pl. 96. A puzzling scene on a cup near the Carpenter Painter (Louvre G11, *ARV*^{2} 180, *MonPiot* ix [1902] pl. 15) includes nymphs with thyrsi and panther-skins, silens, Herakles, and youths.

[117] Boston 10.201, above n. 104. *Cf.* Louvre S1335, signed by Skythes, ARV^2 83,4: according to Beazley's description, the nymphs have branches and, one, a panther-skin.

[118] Munich 2589, cited above n. 94.

[119] Rome, Villa Giulia 27250, *ARV*^{2} 124,8, *CVA* Villa Giulia 2, pl. 24,3; London E815, *ARV*^{2} 125,15, Hoppin (above n.94) ii, 295; Melbourne 1730.4, *ARV*^{2} 125,20, A.D. Trendall, *The Felton Greek vases in the National Gallery of Victoria* (Canberra 1958) pl. 7; London E14, *ARV*^{2} 125,21, as described by Smith (one of the silens, in addition to a nymph, has a thyrsus: the nymph uses hers to repel an advancing silen); Tarquinia RC 2066, *ARV*^{2} 126,23, *CVA* Tarquinia 1, pl. 6,1: a silen tackles a running nymph, who prepares to use her snake against him; Tübingen E11, wider circle of the Nikosthenes Painter, *ARV*^{2} 133,8, C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen* (Reutlingen 1924) pl. 17.

[120] Philadelphia 5695, *ARV*^{2} 156,47, *AJA* xxxviii (1934) pl. 35b and c. The new attributes appear in several scenes of silens and nymphs on red-figure vases from the period *c.* 520-500 BC attributed to the Pioneer Group: Louvre G33, calyx-krater, Euphronios, *ARV*^{2} 14,4, *CVA* Louvre 1, pl. 1,3 and 6 (much of the painting is modern); Louvre G43, stamnos, Smikros, *ARV*^{2} 20,2, B. Philippaki, *The Attic stamnos* (Oxford 1967) pl. 4,2; Tarquinia RC 6843, type A amphora, Phintias, *ARV*^{2} 23,2, Furtwängler and Reichhold (above n. 90) ii, pl. 91; St Petersburg 624, hydria, Euthymides, *ARV*^{2} 28,15, M.A.B. Herford, *A handbook of Greek vase painting* (Manchester 1919) pl. 1e; Naples Stg. 5, cup, Pezzino Group, *ARV*^{2} 32,4, according to the description of Heydemann; London E253, type A amphora of the type usually used by the Pioneer Group, *ARV*^{2} 35,2, J.C. Hoppin, *Euthymides and his fellows* (Cambridge, MA 1917) pl. 37. *Cf.* Boston 10.221, fragmentary psykter, *ARV*^{2} 16,14, Euphronios, Boardman (above n. 98) fig. 28: the dismemberment of Pentheus by the women of Thebes, one of whom holds a thyrsus; of course, no silens are present. The attributes in question also appear in a few black-figure scenes of silens and nymphs post-dating 520 BC, such as Naples inv. 128333, amphora type A, Antiope Painter, *ABV* 367,93, J.D. Beazley, *Attic black-figure: a sketch* (London 1928) pl. 13. In red-figure Dionysiac scenes post-dating 500 BC, the motifs appear regularly.

nymphs is probably related in some way to their possession of new attributes. It seems that, in these scenes, the new attributes are more than mere ornament: they indicate why the nymphs are no longer friendly to the silens. As noted above, these attributes find their closest parallel in Euripides' *Bakchai*, where they signify a complete and total devotion to Dionysos. For the women of Thebes as well as the chorus-members, this entails the flouting or renunciation of traditional Greek sex roles.[121] In our scenes, these attributes appear to denote a comparable renunciation of the accustomed roles of nymphs. Nymphs who have these emblems no longer engage in sexual relations with silens, as was their wont in earlier imagery and poetry. They have been transformed into virtuous soldiers of Dionysos.[122]

A LATE SIXTH-CENTURY SATYR-PLAY?

In these red-figure scenes, the distinction between nymphs and maenads is blurred and the traditional image of the nymphs has been subverted. One contemporary Athenian poetic institution provides especially close parallels for the transformation of the imagery of silens and nymphs outlined above, namely, satyr-play.[123] Satyr-plays consisted of two or three actors and a chorus of men dressed as silens. One satyr-play followed each of the three sets of tragedies performed at the annual festival of Dionysos Eleuthereus.[124] It is not merely the fixed role of the silens as the chorus of satyr-play that recommends the genre to our attention. In the surviving literary remains of satyr-play, there are close parallels in both theme and plot for the new imagery of nymphs.

First, blurring or collapsing conventional mythological distinctions was the *modus operandi* of satyr-play. This characteristic is well illustrated in the one satyr-play that survives in its entirety, Euripides' *Cyclops*, in which the silens have infiltrated the legend of Odysseus and Polyphemos. The titles of many other satyr-plays by themselves suggest the pervasiveness of the motif of mythological travesty in the genre: *Kirke, Prometheus, Proteus*, and *Sphinx* of Aischylos; *Amphiaraos* and *Pandora* of Sophokles; *Busiris, Sisyphos*, and *Skiron* of Euripides, to name only a few examples.[125] Silens are otherwise unattested in the surviving accounts of these mythological figures, and one of the sources of humor of the plays will have been the disruptive effect of the unexpected presence of silens in well-known narratives. In the vase-images discussed earlier, not only does the new attitude of the nymphs have a humorous effect on the longstanding, intimate relationship between silens and nymphs; the new accouterments of the nymphs also suggest that the distinction between the nymphs and the legendary 'mad women' of Thebes and elsewhere has been deliberately blurred for comic effect.

Part of the humor in the vase-images lies in the sexual frustration of the silens, who are thwarted by their former playmates. Sexual frustration was a source of humor in many satyr-

[121] In the *Bakchai*, Pentheus obsessively imagines that the Theban women engage in extramarital trysts in the mountains. But that is not in fact the case, as an eyewitness assures him. See Eur. *Bak.* 223-225, 260-262, 314-315, 354, 453-459, 487-488, 686-689, 957-958. The Theban women are hostile to any kind of contact with men: Dionysos warns Pentheus that the maenads will kill him once they spot him as a man. See Eur. *Bak.* 823; *cf.* lines 731-733.

[122] For the 'soldiers' of Dionysos, see Eur. *Bak.* 52.

[123] The possibility that Athenian drama had something to do with the iconographical changes examined in this paper has been suggested before, but has not received much elaboration. *Cf.* Edwards (above n. 2) 86; McNally (above n. 2) 130; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*[3] (Munich 1985) 292; Schöne (above n. 2) 142.

[124] *Cf.* E. Simon, *The ancient theatre* (trans. C.E. Vafopoulou-Richardson, London and New York 1982) 2 and 15-17. The date of the establishment of the relationship between satyr-play and tragedy is uncertain but probably no later than *c.* 500 BC: see A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, tragedy and comedy*[2] (ed. by T.B.L. Webster, Oxford 1962) 65-66. Silens are also referred to as satyrs in the literary remains of dramatic poetry.

[125] See the survey of literary evidence for satyr-play by D.F. Sutton, *The Greek satyr play* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980).

plays.[126] In the *Amymone* of Aischylos, the silens desire to have their way with the heroine and are thwarted in the end.[127] In Aischylos' *Diktyoulkoi*, Papposilenos tries to persuade Danae to marry him; at the end of the surviving portions of the play, the satyr-chorus appears to be on the point of forcing the situation: 'I see that already the bride [Danae] is eager to enjoy our love to the full'.[128] But it is unlikely that the silens succeed in the end.[129] In Sophokles' *Lovers of Achilles*, the silens are scolded by Phoinix for taking a renewed interest in females and losing interest in pederasty, suggesting perhaps that in their roles as male lovers the silens were unfulfilled.[130] In a fragmentary account of Euripides' *Skiron*, the satyrs appear to have captured a group of hetairai; but Papposilenos may intend to pimp them for profit rather than share them with the satyrs.[131] In Euripides' *Cyclops* (69-72), the silens sing to Aphrodite about their longing for the nymphs, their erstwhile companions, and they fantasize (177-187) about a gang-rape of Helen after the capture of Troy. Silens' thoughts are never far from sex, and the writers of satyr-play seem to have delighted in frustrating them.[132]

One particular satyr-play, the *Theoroi or Isthmiastai* of Aischylos, is very close in plot structure to the scenario that underlies the red-figure scenes.[133] In this play, the silens abandon their usual activities and take up athletics (lines 33-34). One of the characters, almost certainly Dionysos, complains that the silens have broken their oath of allegiance (37). The silens respond defiantly that they intend to remain in their new home, the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia (79-83). Dionysos also notes that the silens are now wearing pine-wreaths in place of their old ivy-crowns (75-76), and calls attention to the ironic state of infibulation of the silens' genitalia (29). These remarks indicate that the silens' change in vocation is marked not only through dialogue but also through the costuming of the play. The new attributes of the chorus-members include not only items of dress and personal adornment but also objects made out of metal, possibly javelins, with which they intend to compete in the Isthmian Games.[134] The situation in our red-figure scenes is similar to the *Theoroi* in two ways. First, the nymphs appear to have taken up a new vocation, that of crazed female devotees of Dionysos, and to have abandoned their old allegiances; second, the change in vocation is emphasized by new items of dress and new props, including animal skins and thyrsi.

The parallels between the new vase-imagery of silens and nymphs and aspects of the poetic

[126] See R. Seaford, *Euripides: Cyclops* (Oxford 1984) 39.

[127] For the story of Amymone, see Apollod. *Bibl* ii 1.4, where the silen's desire to rape the girl is explicit. *Amymone* fr. 13 Radt suggests that perhaps Papposilenos tried to reason with her (unless the line is spoken by Poseidon): 'it is your fate to be my wife, and mine to be your husband'. On the play generally, see D.F. Sutton, 'Aeschylus' *Amymone*', *GRBS* xv (1974) 193-202.

[128] Lines 824-826. For the text, see H. Lloyd-Jones in H.W. Smyth, *Aeschylus* ii (Cambridge, MA 1963) 531-541; M. Werre-de Haas, *Aeschylus' Dictyulci* (Leiden 1961) esp. 70.

[129] As Werre-de Haas put it (above n. 128, p. 73), 'it is quite unthinkable that a Silenus should carry off Zeus' bride as his wife'; *cf.* Sutton (above n. 125) 20. It appears that in Sophokles' *Marriage of Helen* the silens attempted to rape Helen: see Seaford (above n. 126) p. 137 on lines 177-187 of Eur. *Cycl.*

[130] Fr. 153 Radt. For the play, see Sutton (above n. 125) 36-38.

[131] See Sutton (above n. 125) 62-63.

[132] The sexuality of the silens figures prominently in representations of these creatures in art and poetry of all periods. The many depictions of masturbating silens in black-figure vase-painting of the early and mid-sixth century BC suggest not only that the silens are oversexed but also that their female companions do not copulate with them often enough for their tastes; on these depictions, see Hedreen (above n. 90) 159 n. 24; on the sexual frustration of the silens in art generally, see Brendel (above n. 110) 16-17; F. Lissarrague, 'De la sexualité des satyres', *Métis* ii (1987) 63-79, esp. 65. It is only in the remains of satyr-play and in the red-figure vase-paintings examined above, however, that the image of the silens rebuffed by women is explicit.

[133] See Lloyd-Jones (above n. 128) 541-556; Sutton (above n. 125) 29-33.

[134] Lines 85-94. See Lloyd-Jones (above n. 128) 545.

genre of satyr-play suggest that there was some connection between the two. There are, however, several different ways to envision the nature of that connection. One possibility is that the new imagery derives from an actual satyr-play, now lost, in which nymphs, the traditional companions of silens, wish to become (or are compelled to become) maenads comparable to the women of Thebes.[135] Many scholars have assumed that some scenes of silens on Athenian vases depict the plots of satyr-plays.[136] The difficulty in positively identifying such pictures is that only a handful include explicit visual indications that theatrical performances were the basis for the pictures.[137] Several pictures indicate, however, that the costumes worn by the chorus-members of satyr-plays were not always explicitly rendered in representations based on satyr-plays. These scenes include a formally-dressed *aulos*-player, or show silens in a highly regimented order suggestive of choral dancing.[138] For example, a volute-krater in Padula shows silens stealing the weapons of Herakles while he sleeps (PLATE V (*b*)).[139] The formally-dressed *aulos*-player at the left end of the picture suggests that the scene is a performance of a satyr-play even though there is no trace of costuming on the silens. Moreover, a hydria in Salerno is decorated with a similar picture of silens robbing Herakles as he sleeps (PLATE V (*c*)).[140] It seems likely that this scene is also related to the performance depicted on the krater in Padula, because the subject is not a traditional one in Athenian vase-painting and the two vases were painted at roughly the same time.[141] But no trace of theatrical *realia* (i.e., costumes, accompanists, choreography) is included on the Salerno hydria. Such explicit, visual indications are necessary for us to identify a picture as a representation of a story presented in a satyr-play, but they were not necessary in antiquity, because painters and customers shared information about the popular plays of the day, and could exchange ideas verbally about the significance of a picture. Thus, one cannot assume that all representations of the plots of plays will be explicitly indicated as such by some visual sign. One can say that some scenes of silens

[135] The full range of 'maenadic' activities familiar from the *Bakchai* is included in these scenes. *Cf.* Paris, Cab. Méd. 357, amphora, Achilles Painter, *ARV*^{2} 987,2, Bérard (*City*, above n. 30) fig. 204, which shows a silen together with female figures carrying parts of animals, the victims of sparagmos.

[136] See E. Buschor, *Satyrtänze und frühes Drama* (Munich 1943); F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*^{2} (Berlin 1959); E. Simon, 'Satyr-plays on vases in the time of Aeschylus', in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes ed. *The eye of Greece* (Cambridge 1982) 123-148, with further bibliography. I speak of plots of plays, rather than of plays themselves, since vase-painters seem to have represented the purely theatrical aspects of the plays, the precise staging and props, only exceptionally. The plots of the plays, however, the situations or stories in which the silens may be found in the narratives, appear to have been very popular with the vase-painters and presumably also their customers.

[137] Lissarrague goes too far in claiming that direct connections between scenes of silens on vases and satyr-plays exist only in the cases where these explicit, internal clues are present (F. Lissarrague, 'Why satyrs are good to represent', in J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin ed. *Nothing to do with Dionysos?* [Princeton 1990] 228-236). It is no less arbitrary to assert that vase-painters regularly invented novel imagery about silens than it is to assert that they regularly represented plots of satyr-plays. We have no independent evidence for the degree of inventiveness of Athenian vase-painters. We have only the pictures themselves, which are generally open to more than one interpretation because, most often, we do not know precisely why they were created in the first place or in what context they were intended to be viewed.

[138] E.g., Ferrara 3031 (T. 579), volute-krater, Painter of Bologna 279, *ARV*^{2} 612,1, A.D. Trendall and T.B.L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek drama* (London 1971) 34 no. II,7.; Compiègne 1068, psykter, Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*^{2} 188,66, *CVA* Compiègne pl. 16. On the formally-dressed *aulos*-player, see J.D. Beazley, 'Hydria-fragments in Corinth', *Hesperia* xxiv (1955) 305-319. I have discussed these and similar pictures in Hedreen (above n. 90) 110-112.

[139] Padula, volute-krater, late sixth century, *ARV*^{2} 1699, *Apollo* (Salerno) iii-iv (1963-1964) 3-14. The relationship between the picture on this vase and satyr-play is also discussed by I. Gallo, 'Un dramma satiresco arcaico in testimonianze vascolari del territorio salernitano', *Atene e Roma* xxxiv (1989) 1-13.

[140] Salerno inv. 1371, Kleophrades Painter, *ARV*^{2} 188,67, *Apollo* (Salerno) iii-iv (1963-1964) 8.

[141] There are later representations of this subject (e.g., Brussels A 1312, black-figure psykter, *CVA* Brussels 3, pl. 27,4a-b; Montpellier, Musée Fabre 836.4.339, lekythos, *Apollo* [Salerno] iii-iv [1963-1964] 9 fig. 6; Vatican, hydria, Villa Giulia Painter, *ARV*^{2} 623,72), but no earlier ones as far as I know.

undoubtedly depicted the plots of satyr-plays. In addition, the hypothesis that other scenes may represent such plots has the ability to explain the popularization of novel ideas about silens, such as the transformation of their former female companions into fanatical followers of Dionysos.[142]

If the new imagery of silens and nymphs reflects an actual play, one further question arises: would the nymphs have been present on stage in the form of a second chorus (or half-chorus), or would the story have been described to the audience through song and dance by the satyr-chorus alone? In support of the latter possibility one may cite the poetic descriptions in Euripides' *Cyclops*, which effectively convey images of the activities of the silens through word alone. Consider the lament for the good old days in the parodos of the satyr-chorus:

> Oh dear! no sign of Bacchus nor his Bacchanal array! There's no clashing of cymbals, no dances reel and sway, nothing trickling from a wine-jar in droppings honey-sweet, nor beside the gushing fountains trip the Mountain-maidens' feet. O Aphrodite! and O the mighty spell of the chant that thrilled the air, when to its cadence I chased the maidens, the bacchanal girls, and the feet snow-fair![143]

The passage illustrates the evocative potential of the songs of satyr-play, the ability of the poetry to incite the spectator to conjure up images of the silens in the mind. Presumably, the imagery of the songs was also conveyed through the choreography of the chorus.

It is possible, however, that nymphs (that is, men dressed as nymphs) actually appeared in the orchestra together with the silens. The visual evidence in favor of this possibility includes a late fifth-century red-figure head-vase in London that bears a picture of a nymph, dressed in a fawn-skin and carrying a thyrsus, and a male figure wearing the costume of a chorus-member of a satyr-play.[144] The picture seems unambiguous, juxtaposing a satyr-chorusman and a nymph, although the setting or occasion of the picture is not necessarily a satyr-play (we would need the rest of the chorus, and the musical accompanists, to be certain). There is also visual evidence in sixth-century Athenian vase-painting suggesting that choruses of men dressed as nymphs appeared together with choruses of silens in early satyric performances.[145] While not without ambiguity, these scenes of silens and nymphs are suggestive because the figures are organized in regimented lines, as if participating in organized choral dances and not in the familiar Dionysiac free-for-all. In addition, Seaford has argued on the basis of literary evidence that early satyric drama may have been characterized by confrontations of rival choruses or half-choruses.[146] The red-figure scenes of silens thwarted by nymphs might reflect the type of play imagined by Seaford.

A lost satyr-play is not the only conceivable explanation of the similarities between the new vase-imagery of silens and nymphs and the genre of satyr-play. It is also possible to imagine an indirect relationship between the two. Vase-painters may have catered to a taste for

[142] It might seem implausible that a single play could have been responsible for the iconographical changes in the imagery of silens and nymphs examined earlier. It is virtually certain, however, that one or two satyr-plays inspired no less than twenty-four surviving late Archaic red-figure depictions of silens bearing peltas. See Hedreen (above n. 90) 109-110.

[143] Eur. *Cycl.* 63-72. The translation is after A.S. Way, *Euripides* ii (London and Cambridge, MA 1939 repr.).

[144] London E790, *ARV*^{2} 1550,1, Class W, Bérard (*City*, above n. 30) fig. 197.

[145] See Hedreen (above n. 90) 125-140 and 160-161.

[146] R. Seaford, 'The "Hyporchema" of Pratinas', *Maia* xxix-xxx (1977-1978) 81-94, esp. 85-87. Seaford's argument is largely based on the form and content of a fragment of Pratinas. Most scholars assume that this fragment is by the early tragic playwright named Pratinas, and that it is the earliest surviving fragment of satyr-play, dating roughly to the period of the vase-paintings considered in this study. Several scholars have recently suggested, however, that the fragment actually dates to the late fifth century BC and that it was written by another poet named Pratinas; see B. Zimmermann, 'Überlegungen zum sogenannten Pratinasfragment', *MH* xliii (1986) 145-154 with further bibliography.

mythological travesty involving silens—a taste created or fostered in the late sixth century BC by satyr-plays—in novel ways that playwrights never imagined.[147] Consider, for example, the panel-painting by Timanthes, described by Pliny, that showed silens measuring the thumb of the cyclops Polyphemos.[148] Presumably, the *Cyclops* of Euripides was the original source of inspiration for the picture, because there is no reason to think that the silens were traditionally associated with Polyphemos. The particular scene represented by Timanthes, however, does not occur in the text of the satyr-play. Instead, the idea that the silens might measure the cyclops while he slept, and marvel at his great size, appears to be the original invention of the painter. The story of silens being thwarted by the nymphs may have originated in a lost satyr-play, or may have been created by a vase-painter with a feeling for parody. The important point is that, whatever the precise nature of its origins, the story has the hallmarks of a typical satyr-play plot; the painters of the new imagery were thinking along the same lines as the playwrights, if not sketching an actual performance.

To summarize, the iconographical changes occurring in Athenian imagery of silens and nymphs in the late sixth century BC reflect a new story; they do not represent a substitution of maenads for nymphs as companions of silens. The parodic quality of the story—silens rebuffed by their former companions—can be explained by the hypothesis that the new story is related in some way to satyr-play, in which parody is well attested. Like previous interpretations of this imagery, my hypothesis suggests that there is indeed a connection between the imagery and one particular aspect of Athenian Dionysiac religion; this practice, however, is not ecstatic ritual but drama.

GUY HEDREEN

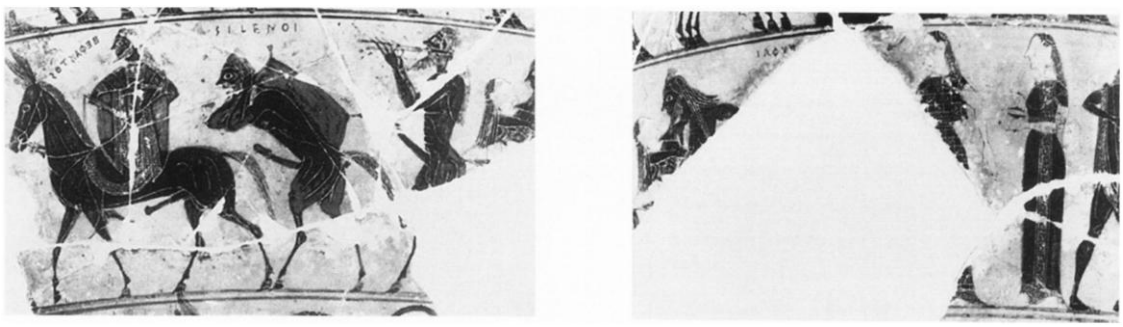
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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[147] *Cf.* Lissarrague (above n. 137) 234.

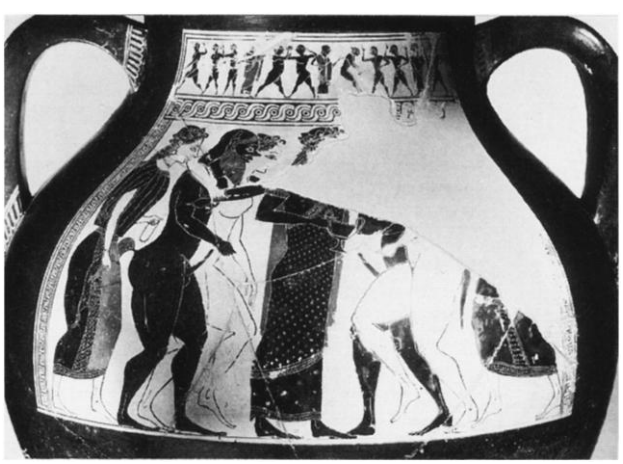
[148] Pliny, *HN* xxxv 73-74.



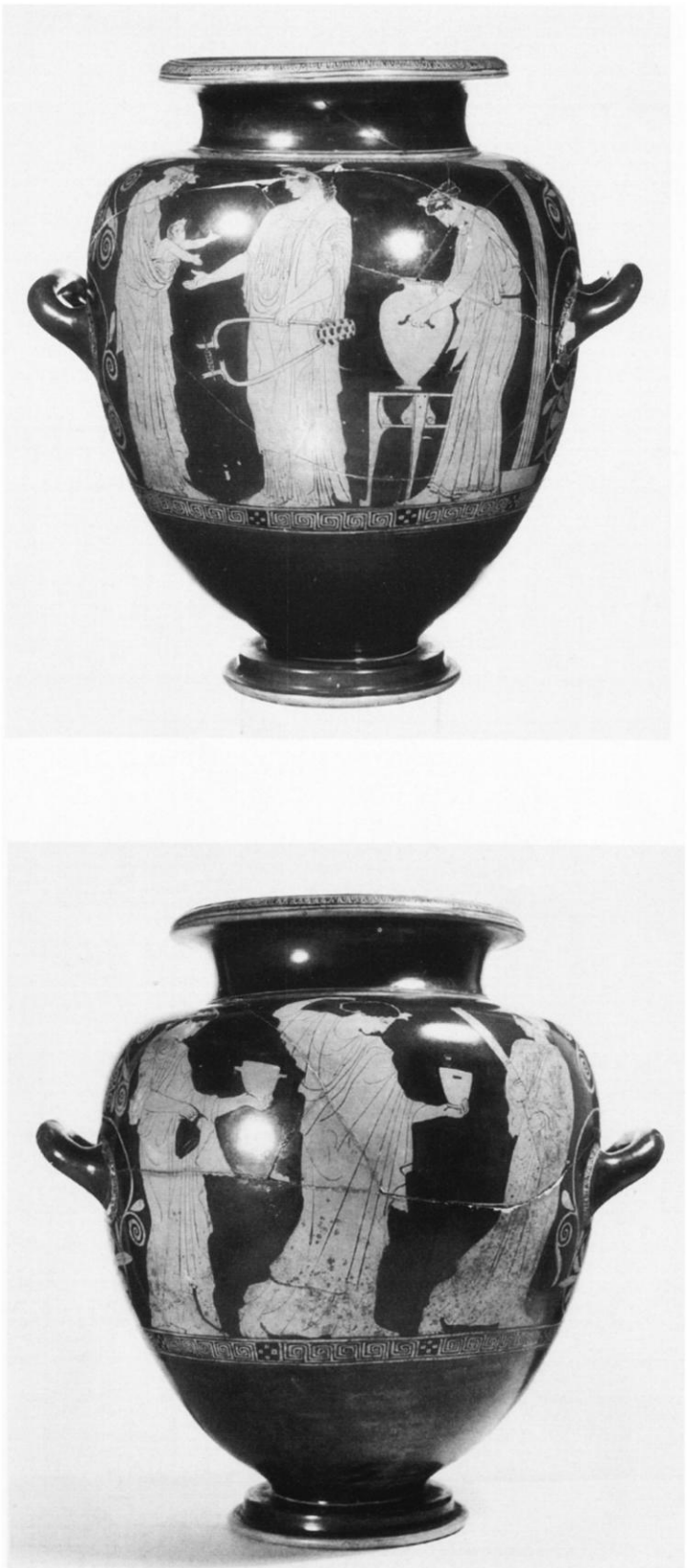
(a) (i, ii) Volute-krater, Kleitias and Ergotimos, Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209. After M. Cristofani *et al.*, *Materiali per servire alla storia del vaso François* (*BdA* serie speciale 1, Rome 1981) figs. 92 and 93.



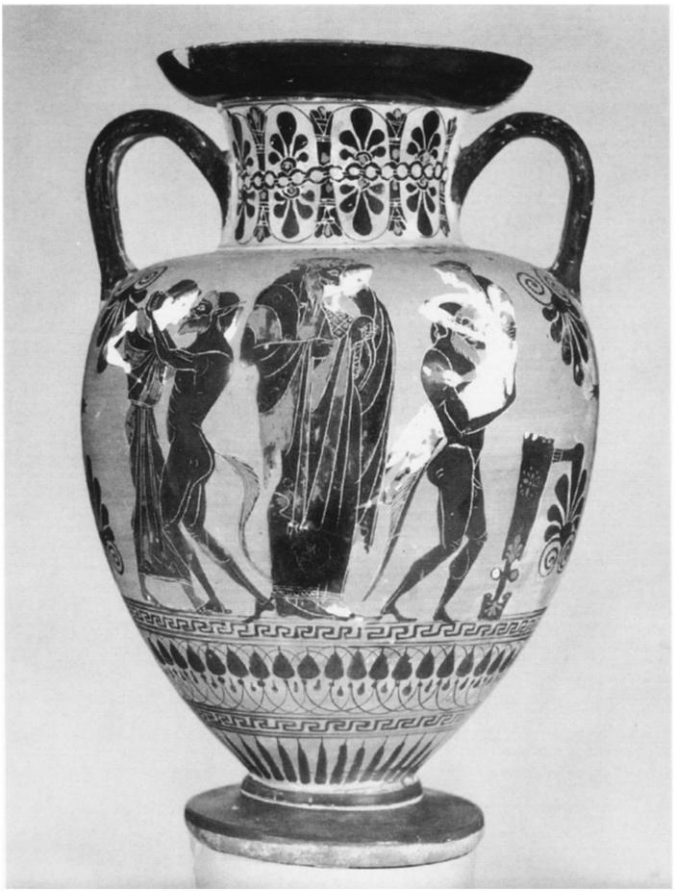
(b) (i, ii) Column-krater, Lydos, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.11 (Fletcher Fund, 1931). After the drawing of L.J. Longley, *MMS* iv (1932-1933) pl.1.



(c) Amphora, Amasis Painter, Berlin, Staatliche Museen inv. 3210.



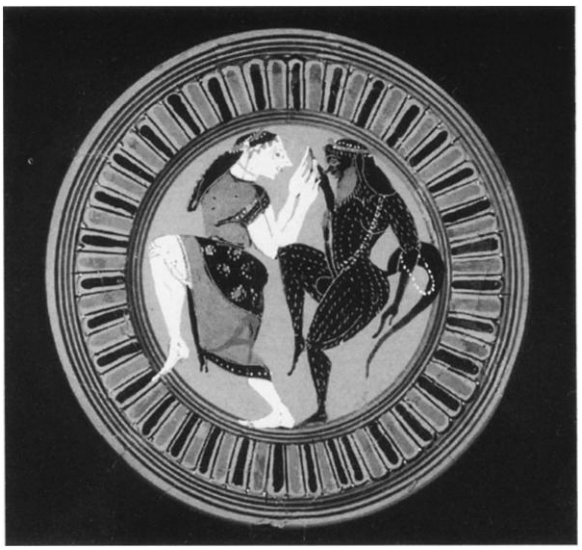
(a) (i, ii) Stamnos, Phiale Painter, Warsaw, National Museum 142465.



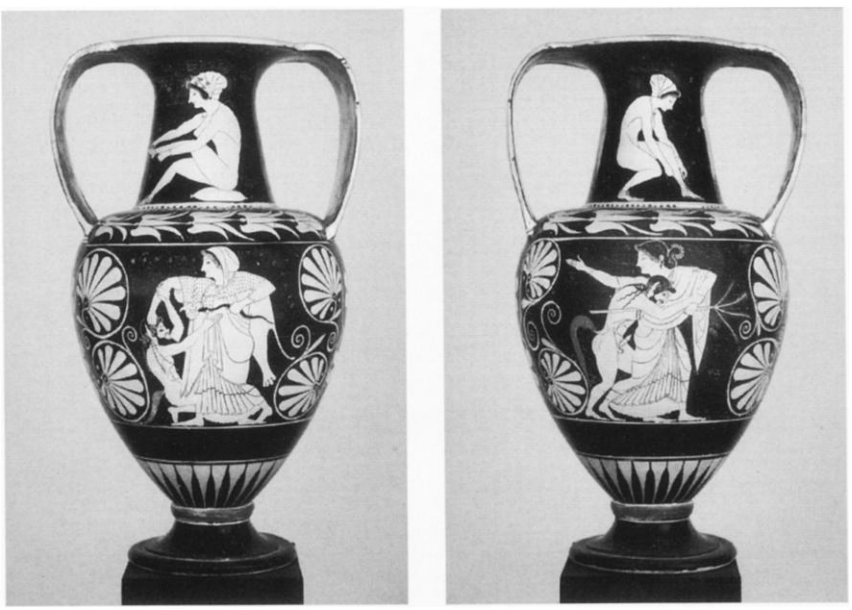
(a) Neck-amphora, Dayton Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 76.40 (gift of T.G. Appleton).



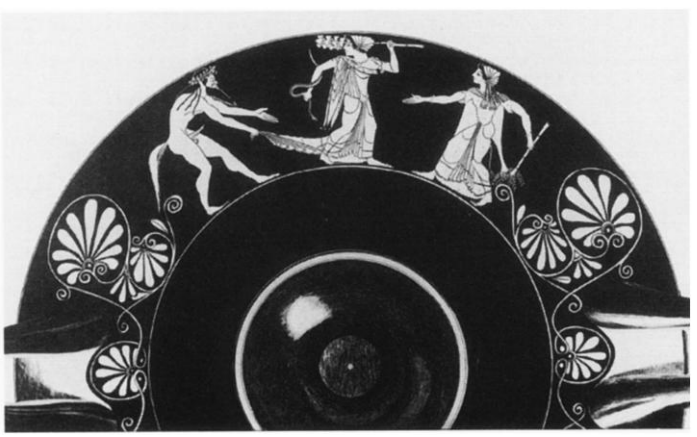
(b) Amphora, Painter of Würzburg 252, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum L. 252.



(a) Lip-cup, Oakeshott Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 69.1052 (Otis Norcross Fund).



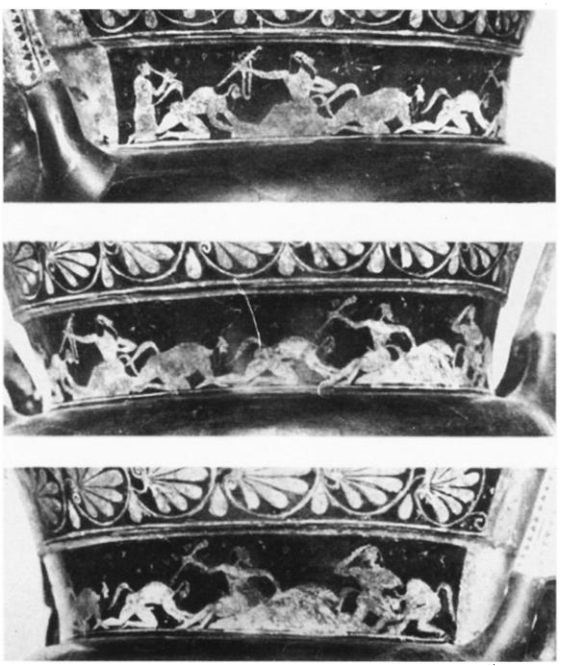
(b) (i, ii) Neck-amphora, Oltos, Paris, Musée du Louvre G 2.



(c) Cup, Chelis Painter, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2589. After the drawing of Karl Reichold in A. Furtwängler, K. Reichold *et al.* *Greichische Vasenmalerei* (Munich 1904-32) pl. 43.



(a) Pointed amphora, Kleophrades Painter, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2344. After the drawing of Karl Reichold in A. Furtwängler, K. Reichold *et al.*, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich 1904-32) pl.44.



(b) Volute-krater, unattributed late sixth-century Attic red-figure, Padula, Museo Archeologico della Lucania Occidentale.



(c) Hydria, Kleophrades Painter, Salerno, Museo Archeologico inv. 1371.


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W. R. CONNOR



Seized by the Nymphs: Nympholepsy and Symbolic Expression in Classical Greece

> . . . or do men become happy in none of these ways, but either—like those possessed by nymphs or deities—through a sort of divine influence, being as it were inspired . . .
>
> Aristotle *Eudemian Ethics* 1.1.5.1214a23 ff, trans. J. Solomon

SINCE E. R. DODDS' Sather lectures, published in 1951 under the title *The Greeks and the Irrational,* classicists have increasingly recognized that possession and inspiration pose questions of great significance for the interpretation of ancient Greek civilization. Dodds' insistence that many works by Euripides, Plato, and other classical authors cannot properly be understood without attention to these phenomena and to the role of the seemingly irrational has proved highly productive. Classicists have also studied the role of oracles, prophecy, and other practices in ways that make possible a far richer understanding of Greek culture than has hitherto been achieved. These movements in classical scholarship have paralleled and sometimes benefited from work in anthropology, psychology, and other fields that shed new light on the phenomenon of possession and its relationship to social structures.

This study began in 1977–1978 when I was a research fellow at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Much of the writing was done on sabbatical at Stanford University and the University of Melbourne; the work was finally completed at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. I am indebted to these institutions for their hospitality and assistance. I am especially grateful to the Australian-American Educational Foundation for a Fulbright Fellowship to Australia, and to Nora Laos for the plan. But my greatest obligation is to many colleagues at these and other institutions for their help and criticism.

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This essay investigates a related but still neglected phenomenon among the Greeks—nympholepsy, or the belief that certain individuals were "seized by the nymphs."[1] The investigation involves a survey of the often allusive or playful treatment of nympholepsy in Greek literary texts. In addition epigraphical, mythological, and medical texts shed light upon the phenomenon, as does comparative material from widely divergent cultures. Caves dedicated to the nymphs are especially revealing, not least "Archedamos' cave" near Vari in Attica for which the last section of this essay proposes an interpretation. From this material a consistent and intelligible description of nympholepsy can be pieced together. This picture contributes to a richer understanding of Greek civilization and at the same time poses important methodological questions about the study of that culture.

NYMPHOLEPSY

The study of nympholepsy cannot be separated from the understanding of other forms of possession within Greek culture, and these, despite improvements in the understanding of such states, are still often misunderstood.[2] To be sure, the view that possession is no more than "a degree and species of epilepsy," as Meric Casaubon phrased it, is now discredited and almost entirely abandoned.[3] Nor is possession any longer to be regarded as a symptom of psychosis or severe personality disorder.[4] A nympholept, as we shall see, might act very strangely and display a kind of *mania,* but was neither regarded as simply "crazy"

1. E. R. Dodds in *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1951) paid little attention to this phenomenon. Among the useful discussions of nympholepsy see especially N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *THEOLEPTOS* (Marburg-Lahn 1957), and E. Rohde, *Psyche,* trans. W. B. Hollis (London 1925) esp. 314 n.58, 316 n.63, 567 n. 105.

2. Especially useful are I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion* (Harmondsworth 1971) and N. K. Chadwick, *Poetry and Prophecy* (Cambridge 1942). Among the discussions of possession in the ancient world see especially: F. Pfister, s.v. *daimonismos* in *RE* S.B. 7 (Stuttgart 1940) 100–114; A. Delatte, *Les Conceptions de l'enthousiasme chez les philosophes présocratiques* (Paris 1934) esp. 21ff.; J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconessus* (Oxford 1962) 137ff., with W. Burkert's review in *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 235–240; Dodds (supra n.1) 65–68, 77f. On possession in later antiquity, E. R. Dodds, *JRS* 37 (1947) 67, is most valuable. On modern Greek parallels see J. C. Lawton, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1910) 142ff.

3. Meric Casaubon, *A Treatise concerning Enthusiasm* (1655) 95, quoted in K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London 1971) 145. Cf. Max Weber, "Shamanist ecstasy is linked to constitutional epilepsy, the progression and testing of which represents a charismatic qualification": "Sociology of Charismatic Authority," in *From Max Weber,* trans. C. W. Mills and H. H. Gerth (London 1948) 246. Chadwick (supra n.2) 64 long ago showed how inadequate epilepsy was as an explanation of religious possession. Chadwick's conclusions are confirmed by Lewis (supra n.2) 180f., who shows that many shamans are in perfect physical and psychological health, and by the material collected in John Beattie and John Middleton, eds., *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa* (New York 1969) esp. xxiv.

4. Chadwick (supra n.2) 64.

nor dismissed as incapable of functioning within ancient Greek society. In modern terms we might say that his condition was that of a "dissociated personality" but we now know that in some societies such persons are capable of "carrying without a falter immense burdens of responsibility and leadership."[5] We can best approach these individuals not through attempts at medical or psychological diagnosis but by studying how they acted and asking how those actions fit into the pattern of life in their society.

Despite these advances in our understanding of states of possession, the comments in the fourth chapter of the Hippocratic *Sacred Disease,* a discussion of how the charlatans and magic-healers of the day put blame for each form of the so-called Sacred Disease on a particular divinity, are still sometimes taken as a satisfactory description of such states in the classical Greek world:

> If the patient imitate a goat, if he roar or suffer convulsions on the right side they say the Mother of the Gods is to blame. If he utter a piercing and loud cry, they liken him to a horse and blame Poseidon. Should he pass some excrement, as often happens under the stress of the disease, the surname Enodia is applied. If it be more frequent and thinner, like that of birds, it is Apollo Nomius. If he foam at the mouth and kick, Ares has the blame.[6]

These comments are part of a polemical treatment of possession and need to be read with some caution. To be sure, they reflect one aspect of possession—the most dramatic and memorable aspect, the moments when the individual goes totally out of control and enters a state of frenzy. Such moments undoubtedly occurred from time to time and came to be the basis for the literary representation of possession, for they readily seized the imagination and could provide the basis for a scene of great power, as in Vergil's description of the Sibyl before her cave at Cumae (*Aeneid* 6.47–51).

That ancient Greek society associated such behavior with posession is confirmed by Plutarch's description of a carefully contrived imitation of possession by a person who had blasphemed the Mother of the Gods:

> on a sudden he threw himself upon the ground . . . and after having lain there some time without speaking, as if he had been in a trance, he lifted up his head, and turning it round, began to speak with a feeble trembling voice, which he raised by degrees: and when he saw the whole assembly struck dumb with horror, he threw off his mantle, tore his vest in pieces, and ran half-naked to one of the doors of the theatre, crying out that he was driven by the *Mothers*. . . . He ran toward

5. M. J. Field, *Search for Security* (London 1960) 55.

6. Hippocrates *Sacred Disease* 4, trans. W. H. S. Jones. Cf. Luctatius Placidus *Glossae,* ed. A. Deverling (Leipzig 1885) 62.

> the city gates, omitting neither sound nor gesture befitting one that was heaven-struck and distracted.[7]

Possession, real or feigned, was often good theater. Xenophon remarked, "all who are under the influence of any of the gods seem well worth gazing at," and went on to note that in comparison to those possessed by chaste Love those possessed by other divinities "have a tendency to be sterner of countenance, more terrifying of voice, and more vehement."[8] Frenzy, however, was neither the constant nor the inevitable mark of such states. Less sensational, but no less characteristic, were moments of silence, followed by heightened fluency and awareness, a concentration of faculties, an elevation of expression, and ultimately the reorganization of personality into a new identity and a new social role.[9] The inspiration of the Pythia at Delphi, we are coming to recognize, normally resulted, not in hysteria or delirium, but in elevated expression and a feeling of insight.[10]

If we turn from other forms of possession to nympholepsy, the situation is even clearer. One could be a nympholept without experiencing such frenzy. Plato's evidence in this respect is especially revealing. In several dialogues he has Socrates allude to nympholepsy in a way that presents it as quite unrelated to the tearing of clothes, the biting of lips, or convulsions and frenzies. In Plato, nympholepsy betokens heightened awareness and eloquence. In the *Phaedrus,* for example, Socrates interrupts his speech on the reasons for yielding to the nonlover rather than the lover to ask Phaedrus, "does it seem to you as it does to me that something supernatural is happening to me?" Phaedrus replies that he believes a "quite unusual rhetorical fluency [*euroia*] has seized" Socrates. To which Socrates replies, "Hear me then in silence, for I really believe there is something supernatural about this place. So if as the speech goes on I often become nympholept, do not be surprised, for I am already not far from speaking in dithyrambs."[11]

7. Plutarch *Marcellus* 20, trans. Langhorne as modified by J. D. P. Bolton (supra n.2) 137f. Bolton's discussion in the adjoining pages is very valuable, especially for the distinction between possession and cataleptic states.

8. Xenophon *Symposium* 1.9.10, trans. O. J. Todd.

9. There are also similarities to the patterns in theurgy noted by Dodds (supra n.1) Appendix II, 283–311 (reprinted with minor changes from Dodds [supra n.2] 67).

10. Cf. J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1978) 204–12. Fontenrose, in my opinion, goes too far in deemphasizing the Pythia's occasional excitement and the use of ambiguity and meter and in his rejection of many oracles reported in Herodotus and other sources, but his views are a healthy corrective to those who imagine the Pythia as uncontrollably frenzied. Comparative material suggests that frenzy, convulsions, etc., are often the result of resistance to possession, while the person who accepts possession is less violently affected.

11. Plato *Phaedrus* 238C f. Cf. the discussion of Strabo 675C on Diogenes of Tarsus apud Bolton (supra n.7) 136. Possessed persons in antiquity were often said to express themselves through verse: Plutarch *Themistocles* 26.2 on Olbios; Plutarch *Moralia* 397C on the prophetess at Delphi, etc. The verse is often in hexameters, but dithyrambic verse is also associated with divine enthusiasm; Proclus *Chrestomathy* sec. 52f. Alternatively, they may add to prepared material additional portions not originally intended: Aelius Aristides 21 (Smyrnaean Oration) 15.

At the end of his speech Socrates again compares his state to that of a nympholept: "Did you not notice, my friend, that I am already speaking in hexameters, not mere dithyrambs, even though I am delivering a speech criticizing the lover? But if I begin to deliver a speech of praise about the non-lover, what do you think I will do? Do you not think I will surely be possessed [*saphos enthousiaso*] by the nymphs to whom you have deliberately exposed me?"[12]

Socrates' language is a useful corrective to the widespread idea that those possessed by the nymphs were characterized by convulsions or incoherence. Such frenzy is not a significant part of Socrates' allusions to possession. He emphasizes instead a heightened fluency that might be represented as frightening or upsetting, since it marked a departure from normal patterns. The nymphs, in his view, do not take away articulate speech. On the contrary, they are more skilled, *technikōteras,* than even a greatly admired orator. As Socrates exclaims in *Phaedrus* 263D, "Oh how much more skilled are the nymphs, the daughters of Achelous and Pan, son of Hermes, in the art of speech than Lysias, Cephalus' son."

The risk of nympholepsy is linked in the *Phaedrus* to the setting of the dialogue on the banks of the Ilissos, outside the city walls. Socrates has already left his city haunts, started delivering long speeches instead of his usual question-and-answer exchanges, and risen to a loftier, almost poetic style. He fears that he may soon be carried even further away from his customary patterns. More prominent, however, is Socrates' recognition that his physical departure from the setting of city life makes him vulnerable to this form of possession.

To be sure, this is not the only way, he thinks, in which one might become possessed. In the *Cratylus,* in the midst of a very technical and difficult discussion, Socrates again speaks of himself as possessed—this time by Euthyphro the Prospaltian who "took possession of my soul within his supernatural wisdom" (396D).[13] The discussion of this form of "possession" is similar to that of nympholepsy—playful, allusive, self-parodying, but at the same time indicative of a cultural paradigm that recognized in possession an insight and understanding that might not otherwise readily be attained. Socrates continues his playful comparison between his feelings for Euthyphro and the state of possession as he urges the participants in the conversation to take advantage of the wisdom he has acquired from this possesion and "today . . . finish the investigation of names, but tomorrow, if the rest of you agree, we will conjure it away and purify ourselves, when we have found someone, whether priest or sophist, who is skilled in that kind of purifying."[14] These are playful comments but they utilize

12. Plato *Phaedrus* 241E, trans. H. N. Fowler, modified.

13. The passages in the *Cratylus* are quoted in the translation of H. N. Fowler. Bruce Rosenstock called them to my attention.

14. It is unusual to find possession associated with pollution or with purificatory rites of the sort alluded to in the *Cratylus.* Yet a person who experienced an episode that resembled possession might be disposed to undertake a purificatory ritual in order to avoid a lasting restructuring of his life about the experience.

an accepted paradigm about the nature of possession in the society. This paradigm presents the possessed person, not as mindless, but as someone whose understanding may be of great value, even if his exceptional state is at the same time strange or frightening.

Another form of possession is alluded to in the *Ion* where Plato refers to those who are possessed by Homer and others by the Muses, Orpheus, or Mousaios. Again the result is not frenzy but elevation, claims of wisdom, eloquence, and a kind of stately inward rhythm: "Your soul dances," Socrates says to Ion.[15] Although the dialogue contains no allusion to nympholepsy, Socrates' comment calls to mind the stately dances often represented on Attic nymph reliefs in which a male, often drawn in slightly smaller scale to represent his mortal status, holds hands with and seems to be dancing with a group of nymphs.[16] As one surveys the important study of these reliefs by Nikolaus Himmelmann-Wildschütz it is hard to resist the conclusion that the reliefs are tokens of the gratitude of those who felt that they had benefited from a special contact with the nymphs. We need not insist that each of them represents a case of nympholepsy to recognize in them expressions of gratitude and of a stately elevation of spirit.[17]

These reliefs, then, are not far removed from the tone of Plato's allusions to possession and especially to nympholepsy, which identify the essential mark of these states as an elevated sensibility and power of expression. If they involve a kind of *mania,* it must be one of the divine madnesses discussed in the *Phaedrus* (244A ff, 265D). Thus, if confronted by a person in a state of *mania* the superstitious man might spit in his clothes as an apotropaic gesture, and ordinary persons might shudder and hope never to be so torn from familiar patterns.[18] But some who had felt the power of the nymphs might be pleased and thankful, even dedicating reliefs in their gratitude. In possession resides a great if ambiguous power, one that includes the potential for heightened understanding. A person who said he had been seized by the nymphs might, for example, be thought *sophos* by divine providence—*theiai moirai*—as the author of a history of Attica, Melesagoras (or Amelesagoras) of Eleusis claimed to be.[19]

Melasagoras made a further claim: he was not only *sophos,* wise, but *mantikos,* prophetic. Prophecy was expected from nympholepts, who seem often to have claimed access to special understanding. The prophetic power of nympholepts takes a special form in the stories about Bakis. The name is not that

15. Plato *Ion* 536B–C.

16. On the nymphs and dancing see Himmelmann-Wildschütz (supra n.1) 18 and nn. 43, 44.

17. Himmelmann-Wildschütz (supra n.1) 13–25. The Attic nymph reliefs are also discussed by Renate Feubel, *Die attischen Nymphenreliefs* (Heidelberg 1935).

18. Theophrastus *Characters* 16.35. Dodds' chapter on "The Blessings of Madness" in *The Greeks and the Irrational* (supra n.1) is especially apposite. Note also Herodotus 9.93f.

19. *FGrH* 330, esp. T 3. The ancient sources quite clearly imply a classical date for the work, but see Jacoby's arguments for a date around 300 B.C. The work was in prose; the three extant fragments all concern the mythic period.

of a single individual, but of various persons who claimed prophetic powers. It may be thought of as a role or identity adopted by certain individuals and closely associated with possession by the nymphs. This does not exclude the use of the name as a literary persona and hence as a way of referring to collections of hexameter oracles that circulated through much of antiquity.[20] Although these are well known from citations in Herodotus and Pausanias, their significance has perhaps not been fully appreciated. Not only does their circulation point to the expectation that nympholepts would have prophetic powers, but the nature of the oracles points to a public role for this variety of nympholepsy. The tradition that Bakis was an *epitheton,* a by-name, for Peisistratos may be correct: he may have claimed to have acquired special wisdom by this form of possession.[21] Nympholepsy in this case would have been a support and perhaps a legitimization of Peisistratos's public role.[22] It may be surprising and initially difficult for us to think of an Athenian politician in this way, but the tradition is consistent both with the other indications of Peisistratid exploitation of oracles and with the picture of nympholepsy that is emerging from our investigation: this form of possession was thought to lead to heightened eloquence and understanding. There is no good reason to think that it was always restricted to the private realm; in the Archaic period it might prove very helpful in political life.

The connection between nympholepsy and prophecy is also reflected in the report in Pausanias 9.3.9 that on Mount Cithaeron the Sphragitic nymphs prophesied inside a cavern; presumably they spoke through the nympholepts of that cave to whom Plutarch refers:

> the cave of the Sphragitic nymphs was on one of the peaks of Cithaeron, facing the summer sunsets, and in it there was also an oracle in former days, as they say, and many of the natives were possessed of the oracular power, and these were called *nympholēptoi,* or nymph-possessed.[23]

20. On Bakis see Kern, s.v. Bakis, *RE* Hb. 4 (Stuttgart 1896) 2802 f. and Latte, s.v. Orakel, *RE* Hb. 35 850f.; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination* (Paris 1879) II, 105ff.; R. Pettazzoni, *La Religion dans la Grèce antique,* trans. J. Gouillard (Paris 1952) 109f. The passages in Rohde (supra n.1) establish the connection with nympholepsy. The most important ancient passages are Aristophanes *Peace* 1070 f. and the scholia ad loc. (including Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 77), Pausanias 4.27.4 and 10.12.11, Herodotus 8.20, 77, 96, and 9.43. Rohde, 314 n.58, argued that Bakis was not a personal name but the name of a class of possessed persons. This was challenged by Dodds (supra n.1) 88 n.45.

21. The tradition is reported only in the scholion on Aristophanes *Peace* 1071, but it is consistent with the emphasis on oracles among the Peisistratids; Herodotus 1.62, 5.93, 7.6. If the story is correct it sets in a new light the tradition that Solon was feigning madness when he delivered his poem of the recovery of Salamis (Plutarch *Solon* 8 et alibi). Was he claiming to be possessed when he delivered these elegiacs? The entire question of the role of inspiration in early Greek politics deserves reconsideration.

22. This is perhaps why Theopompos paid special attention to Bakides in book 9 of the *Philippika: FGrH* 115 F 77.

23. Plutarch *Aristides* 11, trans. B. Perrin. See also Plutarch *Moralia* 628f, and Fraser on Pausanias 9.3.9.

Recently Pierre Amandry has made a strong case that another famous cave and site of worship of the nymphs in this area, the Corycian grotto above Delphi, was also used for prophecy.[24]

Places thought to be inhabited by nymphs were often regarded as sites for prophecy, and some of the dedications associated with the nymphs may be expressions of gratitude for prophecies they had received.[25] The nymphs themselves, like the closely related figures of the Muses, could be described as prophetesses, as Erato was said to be in a shrine near Lykosoura.[26] Nympholepts could be defined as prophets and possessed ones, *manteis . . . kai epitheiastikoi.*[27] But their mantic powers seem to be localized in a particular site, where, as Socrates said on the banks of the Ilissos, "there is something supernatural about this place. So if as the speech goes on I often become nympholept, do not be surprised."[28]

The close link between the nympholept and a specific location is especially evident in the case of Archedamos of Thera, whose cave on Mount Hymettos will be discussed in later sections of this essay. But it has its analogies in other circumstances as well. For example, the name of a certain Pantalkes was inscribed, probably in the fourth century B.C., on two inscriptions in a cave not far from Pharsalus in Thessaly.[29] One of these, if Werner Peek's interpretation is correct, reads:

> Pantalkes dedicated this work to the goddesses;
> but Anthippa made the laurel rise up.

Anthippa is probably a nymph, singled out from the goddesses mentioned in the first line of the inscription for special veneration. The laurel presumably grew

24. Pierre Amandry, "Le Culte des Nymphes et de Pan," *L'Antre Corycien II, BCH* Suppl. IX (1985) esp. 378 and 411. On a possible case of nympholepsy attested at the cave see *SEG* 3.406.

25. The Nymphaion at Apollonia in Illyria must have been an especially dramatic place of prophecy: Cassius Dio 10.41.45. See also L. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* V (Oxford 1909) 459 n.99. On the Sibylline grotto at Erythrae see K. Boresch, *AttMitt.* 17 (1892) 17, 20, 36.

26. Pausanias 8.37.11. See also Pausanias 10.5.5 on the nymph Daphnis at Delphi and Bloch's discussion in Roscher *Aus. Lexikon* III (Leipzig 1897–1902) 513ff.

27. Hesychius, s.v. νυμφόληπτοι (Latte Nu 724).

28. Plato *Phaedrus* 238D. The inspiration seems localized, just as nymphs themselves are closely bound to a specific setting: a Hamadryad, for example, will perish if the tree with which she is associated is destroyed.

29. *SEG* 1.247 and 248, 2.357, 3.476, 16.377 and 378; A. S. McDevitt, *Inscriptions from Thessaly* (Hildesheim 1970) nos. 166 and 171. Pantalkes' inscriptions are discussed by Werner Peek, "Metrische Inschriften," *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand,* ed. J. F. Crome et al. (Munich 1938), esp. II, "Die Inschriften der Grotte bei Pharsalos," 18–27. See also Hiller von Gaertringen, "Theraeische Studien," *Archaeologike Ephemeris* (1937) I, 57f. Both authors note parallels to Archedamos' cave. Himmelmann-Wildschütz (supra n.1) 10 followed the text by Comparetti, but later, in the *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* for 1957 (17), cited Peek's work on the inscriptions. Himmelmann-Wildschütz contended that as in Archedamos's cave, the inscriptions are the work of later followers and admirers of the nympholept. See also the discussion by F. T. van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods," in H. S. Versnel, ed., *Faith, Hope and Worship* (Leiden 1981) 79 and 95, and the comments by Pleket in the same volume, 162. I am grateful to Christian Habicht for assistance on these inscriptions.

in a sacred grove, an *alsos* or *kēpos,* near the cave. Although these details remind us of Archedamos' cave at Vari, one of the most important examples of nympholepsy, Pantalkes' cave was shared by many divinities, as the second inscription makes clear:

GOD
FORTUNE

Welcome all visitors, each female and male,
men and women, alike boys and girls,
to this place sacred to Nymphs, Pan and Hermes,
to Lord Apollo and Herakles and followers.
This is the cave of Chiron and Asklepios and Hygieia.
To them belong this whole place, and the most sacred things within it,
those that grow and the tablets and dedications and the numerous gifts.
The nymphs made Pantalkes a distinguished man—
The nymphs who tread upon this land, they made him their overseer.
He helped these plants grow and shaped things with his hands;
they in turn gave him a generous living for all his days.
Herakles gave him strength and aretē and power,
with which he struck these stones and built them up.
Apollo and his son Hermes give
health and a good living through all the age.
Pan gives him laughter and fun and a justified hybris;
Chiron granted him to be wise and a poet.
Now go on up with good fortune; sacrifice, all of you;
say your prayers; enjoy yourself. For forgetfulness of all cares
is here and your share of good things, and victory in strife.

The presence of such a large number of divinities, the relaxed and even playful tone of the verse, the avoidance of the language of possession and domination may well make us doubt whether Pantalkes was a nympholept. But his verse again draws attention to the blessings of the nymphs and their associates: a "generous living," strength, laughter, fun, the indeterminate "justified hybris," and the gifts that let Pantalkes claim to be an *aner agathos, sophos,* and an *aoidos.*

The blessings of the nymphs were also affirmed in a cave on a sharply pointed hill in Cyprus. There, near Kafizin, hundreds of inscribed sherds, some in Greek, some in a local syllabary, have been recovered and published by the late T. B. Mitford.[30] Many of these are from pots dedicated by one Onesagoras in the late third century B.C. to a nymph variously described as "the one on the

30. T. B. Mitford, *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin,* Kadmos Suppl. II (Berlin 1980). See also *SEG* 30.1608. O. Masson, "A propos des inscriptions . . . de Kafizin," *BCH* 105 (1981) 623–49; J. Pouilloux, "Le Dernier Livre de T. B. Mitford," *Revue de Philologie* 56 (1982) 99–103, and J. Robert and L. Robert, *Bulletin Epigraphique* [1981] no. 636 (*REG* 94 [1981]) 474–76. I am indebted to Ronald Stroud for assistance with this material.

sharply pointed hill" (e.g., nos. 62, 104) or as "his sister" (e.g., no. 26) or "daughter" (nos. 253 and 259) and perhaps as one who "hearkens to her suitor" (no. 251). There are frequent references to Agathē Tychē, but few to other divinities.

Mitford believed that most of the dedications came from businessmen involved in the flax and linseed trade who dedicated to the nymph tithes reflecting their gratitude for her help. Onesagoras, a leader of this group, may actually be portrayed on some of the vases, those with bearded heads upon them (nos. 262–66), as Archedamos was in his cave at Vari. Onesagoras apparently had a prophetic role, or such seems the most plausible inference from the unusual word *manziarchēsas* (*sic*), that is, "performing the function of a *mantiarchos,*" i.e., making predictions based on the examination of the intestines of sacrificial animals.[31] Although he is never described as *nympholēptos,* the intensity of his devotion and the occurrence of the language of subordination to the nymph (nos. 9, 291) make such an inference very likely.[32] If so, his possession seems not to have interfered with business; indeed Onesagoras probably thought his relation with the nymph helped him in his career (nos. 266 and 267). This should not appear surprising if we remember that nympholepsy is not an illness or form of madness, but a state of heightened awareness and expression.

Many features of Onesagoras's dedications correspond closely to what we know of nympholepts and the forms of their devotion. The adaptation of family and erotic terminology to describe the relation with the nymph, the use of self-portraiture, the link to prophecy, and the hints of heightened skill and understanding, not to mention the choice of a rural cave for the dedications, are all features that can claim special significance in the understanding of nympholepsy.

Shrines such as that developed by Pantalkes are rarely the work of people mentioned in our literary sources. Literature, however, does provide a suggestive analogy to the caves that seem often to have been the locus of veneration of the nymphs. The semi-mythologized stories about Epimenides of Crete assert that he disappeared for many years—fifty-seven, in most versions—while he slept in a cave. On his return, according to Theopompus, he began to build a shrine to the nymphs. Although the sources do not make it explicit, it seems likely that the shrine was in the cave where he had once disappeared. Then a voice from heaven told him, "Epimenides, not for the Nymphs, but for Zeus."[33]

31. Cf. Robert and Robert (supra n.30) 474–76.

32. On subordination to the nymph see the epigram of Chrysogonos of Cos in R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen* (Leipzig 1899) no. 163, pp. 103ff. and the relief (s.II.p.) found near Halicarnassus in which one Apelles alludes to himself as a *hypourgos* of the gods, probably including three Naiads in that number. G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, *BSA* 50 (1955) 99 and pl. 12 and van Straten *Bull.A.Beschaving* 15 (1976) 19 and fig. 28.

33. In addition to Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 67 see Pausanias 1.14.4, Diogenes Laertius 1.10.109 ff., Plutarch *Solon* 12, and the other sources collected in *VS* 3. The story alluded to in these texts seems to me a thinly veiled representation of a case of nympholepsy and a movement beyond it. The years in the cave are an external view of a disappearance from the family analogous to that of a

The shift toward Zeus may reflect a tension between the cult of the Olympian gods, so prominent in urbanized civic religion, and the veneration of lesser divinities that played a special role in rural and private religion.[34] Its analogue would be Epimenides' role as a traveling purifier brought in by cities when special rituals were needed.[35]

If we draw together the diverse material which we have found from many sites and periods of the Greek world we find a pattern that is remarkably consistent. The nympholept emerges not as an epileptic or madman but as a person of special inspiration and of a distinct status within society. Often the nympholept is the creator or embellisher of a cult place, usually a rustic one, remote from the city. But the site is not a place for purely private or individual religiosity. Prophecy and perhaps healing or purification can be found there. Its benefits should not be underestimated.

This confers upon the nympholept a special status within the society. Indeed, some evidence suggests that not only did the nympholept have a special contact with what was holy and with the power that came from the divine, he was himself sacred, *hieros*. An epigram of Callimachus makes this explicit:

> A nymph has seized Astakides the Cretan from the mountain. Astakides is now sacred.
> No longer, my shepherds, no longer in the Dictaean woods
> Will we sing Daphnis, but always Astakides.[36]

Astakides is not called pious (*eusebēs*), ritually pure (*hagnos*), or some other term for religious devotion. He has become *hieros*, that is, removed from the profane world and made part of the sacred.[37]

This suggests an important change in perspective in our view of nympholepts. They can be understood as part of a long line of holy men, a diverse and changing company that reaches back to the seers and cathartic specialists of early

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nympholept. The shrine is not explicitly identified with the cave, but such work would be typical of a nympholept.

Epimenides' link to the nymphs is also reflected in the stories that make him the son of a nymph Blasta or Balte: Plutarch *Solon* 12, Suda, s.v. Epimenides (Epsilon 2471 Adler). On an oracle book that circulated under his name see J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin 1889) 142f.

34. Nymphs, to be sure, were sometimes venerated in the city, as on the Acropolis at Athens and in Thera, and were included in the sacral calendars of several Attic demes. See D. Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* (Princeton 1985) 193 n.91.

35. On Bakides as purifiers see Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 77.

36. Callimachos *Epigram* XXII (24); *Anth. Pal.* 7.518.

37. It is unusual to call a human being *hieros*. Oedipus uses this word to describe himself when he arrives at Colonus in Sophocles *OC* 287, perhaps in anticipation of his disappearance and entry into a divine world. Are the same connotations present below the surface when Socrates in his last days likens his prophetic powers to those of the swans, who as servants of Apollo sing beautiful songs just before their death: Plato *Phaedo* 85B? See also Aristophanes *Frogs* 652 and Euripides *Alcestis* 75.

stages of Greek civilization and down to the saints of Orthodox Christianity.[38] The nympholept shares with them a direct participation in the sacred, in all its awe and power. Yet individual holy men differ in many important respects. For this reason it is essential to turn to an individual we may now be better able to understand, Archedamos from Thera, and the cave he frequented on the slopes of Mount Hymettos.

ARCHEDAMOS

Richard Chandler, traveling in the 1760s under the sponsorship of the Society of Dilettanti, visited Vari, "a *metochi* or farm belonging to a Greek monastery . . . and distant about four hours" from the town of Athens. He spent the night under the stars near the Sounion road and ascended early in the morning to "a cave or grotto . . . distant about three quarters of an hour, inland, in the mountain. . . . It affords shelter to the goatherds in winter and is frequented at all seasons for water by those who have their occupation on the mountain. Our men made a fire to purify the air and we tarried all day, dining again on a sheep roasted whole."[39]

Chandler found the site a "singular curiosity . . . of a species . . . not described by any traveller." A natural cavern with stalactites and a spring had in antiquity been elaborately embellished and inscribed.[40] In large part the work had been done by one Archedamos, whose name is inscribed six times in the cave. Twice it appears next to a carved figure of a man holding stoneworking tools—perhaps one of the earliest Greek examples of self-portraiture. Another occurrence (*IG* 1^2 786) is the name and *[h]o Thēraios* carved into the rock of the

38. See Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man," *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982), and G. Fowden, "The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society," *JHS* 102 (1982) 33–59.

39. Richard Chandler, *Travels in Greece* (Oxford 1776) 148; hereafter "Chandler." On his career see W[arwick] W[roth] in *Dictionary of National Biography* IV (London 1908) 40f. Descriptions of the cave by other early travelers are listed in C. H. Weller et al., "The Cave at Vari," *AJA* 7 (1903) 264 n.4; hereafter "Weller et al." Sir William Gell visited the cave in 1805; his sketches are in a notebook in the British School at Athens; Finley P 4:1 no. 4534; reproduced in P. Amandry, "Manuscrits de Gell," *L'Antre Corycien, BCH* Suppl. 7 (1981) 68). Gell's essay "On Some Sacred Caverns of the Greeks" is now in the Gennadios Library in Athens. L. F. S. Fauvel and his friend Foucherot visited the cave in 1780 and left their names inscribed in the rock but published no account.

40. The cave can be found on the map printed as fig. 3 in C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes of Attika* (Toronto 1962) (*Phoenix* Suppl. 5) and in the map on p. 357 of J. E. Jones, L. H. Sackett, and A. J. Graham, "An Attic Country House below the Cave of Pan at Vari," *BSA* 68 (1973) 355–452. See also E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen* (Berlin 1878) Blatt VIII, 2, 30f. The inscriptions are published in *IG* 1^2 778–800 and will appear as *IG* 1^3 977ff. Useful photographs of the cave are to be found in Weller et al., and in F. Muthmann, *Mutter u. Quelle* (Basel 1975) Tafel 16; W. Wrede, *Attika* (Athens 1934) pl. 10; and Himmelmann-Wildschütz (supra n.1) Abb. 1. The deme in which the cave is located has usually been identified as Anagyros, but Lower Lamptrai also seems possible: H. Lauter, "Zwei Horos-Inschriften bei Vari," *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (1982) 299–315.

cave near the first landing as one descends (T in Fig. 1). Three other inscriptions allude to the work Archedamos did to develop the cave and provide a little more information about the man. One of these is found a few feet from the landing on one's right as one descends through the northern chamber of the cave (P in Fig. 1) (*IG* 1^2 788, Weller et al. no. 20):

'Αρχέδημος ὁ Θ-
ηραῖος ὁ νυμφ-
όληπτος φραδ-
αῖσι Νυμφῶν τ-
ἄντρον ἐξεργ-
άξατο.

Archedemos of Thera, the nympholept, at the instructions of the nymphs worked out this cavern.

Two further inscriptions bearing his name occur on opposite sides of a single loose block found in the southern chamber of the cave (*IG* 1^2 784, Weller et al. no. 17):

'Αρχέδαμος ho Θερ-
αῖος κᾶπον Νύ-
μφαις ἐφύτευσεν.

Archedamos of Thera cultivated a garden for the Nymphs.

The other side of this inscription is also of great significance: (*IG* 1^2 785, Weller et al. no. 16). Weller et al. reported this inscription as follows:[41]

'Αρχέδ[α]μος ho Θερ-
αῖος καὶ χολονοδ
χες τε̄[ι] νύνφαι ἐξ-
σοικ[οδό]μεσεν

The varied restorations and interpretations of this inscription will be discussed below. At the moment it is sufficient to note the recurrent use of the name, at crucial places in the cave, on the right as one begins the descent through the northern chamber, twice on one's left as one begins to ascend the southern chamber, and once close to the point at which one enters or departs from the cave, and on both sides of the block whose original location will be discussed in the final section of this paper.

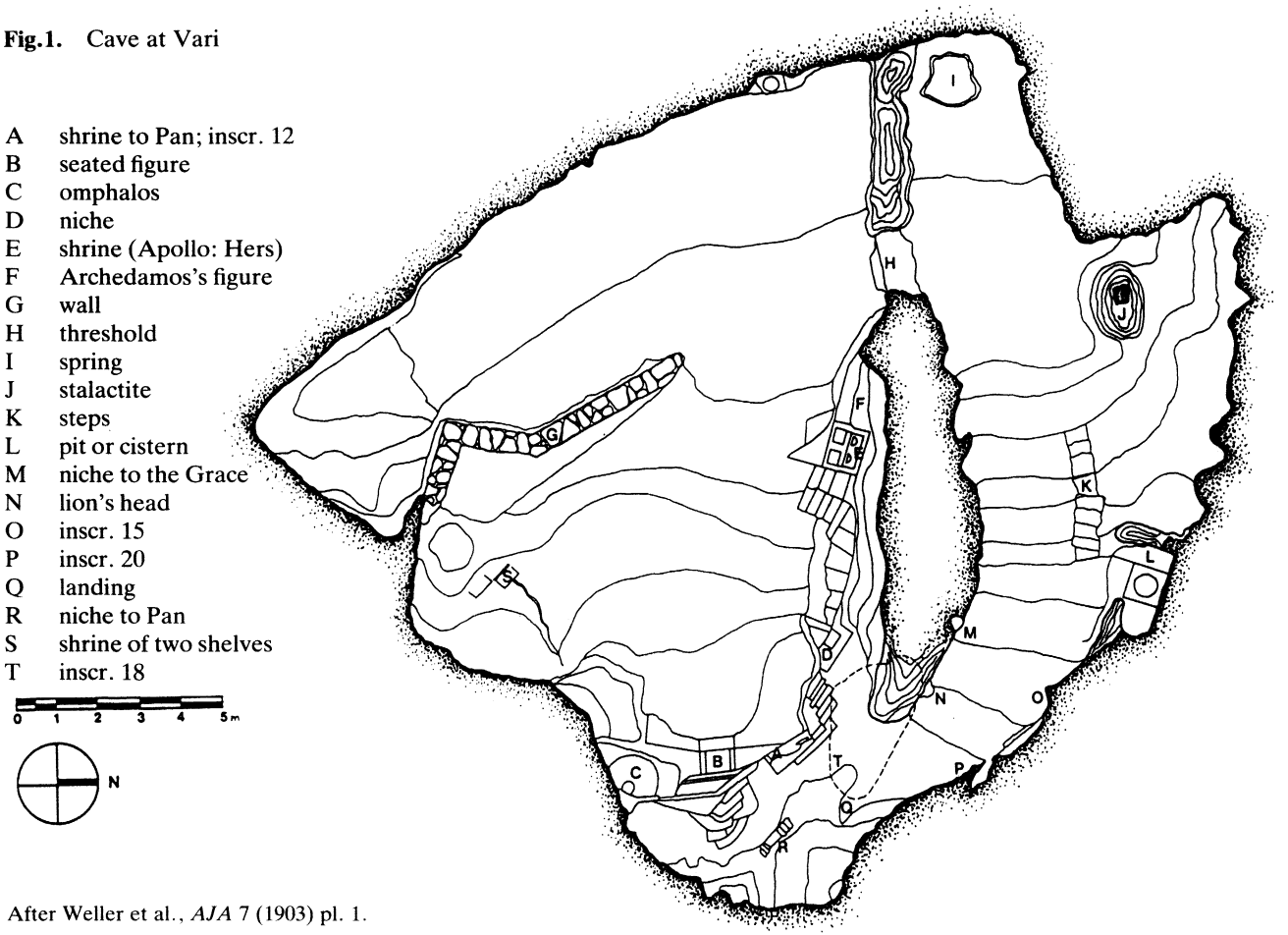
Archedamos' work on the cave is likely to have taken a long time and much effort.[42] Even the preparation of the ground and the hauling of the water for the

41. The illustration on p. 297 of Weller et al. make it clear that the first iota in line three of the inscription is a restoration. Their text, however, prints the letter without brackets—a mere typographical error, I believe.

42. The variation between Attic and Doric forms as well as the variation in letter forms suggests that the inscriptions were carved over a considerable period of time. Himmelmann-Wildschütz

Fig.1. Cave at Vari

A shrine to Pan; inscr. 12
B seated figure
C omphalos
D niche
E shrine (Apollo: Hers)
F Archedamos's figure
G wall
H threshold
I spring
J stalactite
K steps
L pit or cistern
M niche to the Grace
N lion's head
O inscr. 15
P inscr. 20
Q landing
R niche to Pan
S shrine of two shelves
T inscr. 18



After Weller et al., *AJA* 7 (1903) pl. 1.

kepos—probably from the spring inside the cave—cannot have been easy. Yet a garden or grove was an appropriate setting for the nymphs, who loved untrodden and marginal land but also delighted in the pleasures of trees and flowers.[43]

If we try to envision the setting, the lines of Ibykos are perhaps our best guide:

> Only in Spring grow quinces and pomegranates watered in streams in the inviolate garden of the Maidens, and swelling grape-blossoms thrive beneath the shade of the vine shoots: but for me there is no season when love lies quiet.[44]

These verses remind us that such a garden might well include trees as well as flowers and resemble a sacred grove (*alsos*) such as one of the "groves full of flowers" that Artemis and the nymphs shared near the mouth of the Alpheios.[45] The plants include quinces, grapes, pomegranates.[46] But other trees such as the poplar that grew near the cave of the nymphs on Ithaca (*Odyssey* 17.205–11) might also be found there. Myrtle, which grew in the grove of the nymphs where Aigisthos made his sacrifice, is described in Euripides *Elektra* 774 ff., could also be expected.

As Ibykos' lines hint, such gardens were often amorous places: Aphrodite sometimes shares them with the nymphs, and they are often filled with the flowers and fruits associated with love. Sappho (fr. 2 L&P) and Pindar (*Pythian* 5.23–25) also remind us of the erotic aspect of such a setting.[47] In later Greek literature the gardens of the nymphs are even more romantic, as Longos' description of a cave of the nymphs reminds us:

(supra n.1) believed that these inscriptions were the work of followers of Archedamos who thereby commemorated his work in the cave. It seems quite possible, however, to accommodate them all within the lifetime of a single person who chose to speak in the third rather than the first person. Cf. L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 319. The evidence of the letter forms is conveniently summarized in Weller et al., 300. The analogy to letter forms on public inscriptions must be used with great caution, as the salutary remarks of M. Walbank, "Criteria for the Dating of Fifth Century Attic Inscriptions," *Phoros* (Studies B. D. Merritt) 164, remind us. See also P. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica* (Berlin 1983) no. 321.

43. Chandler, 151, suggested that the garden might be one of the quickly withering gardens of Adonis, actually planted within the cave itself. Recent discussions of such gardens are to be found in M. Detienne, *Gardens of Adonis* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1977); W. Burkert, *Structure and History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1979) 110; and G. Pilitsis, "The Gardens of Adonis in Serres Today," *Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1985) 145–66.

44. Ibykos, *PMG* 286, apud Athenaeus 13.601b, trans. Gulick. Gulick's note in the Loeb edition establishes that the "Maidens" are indeed nymphs. Cf. M. L. West on Hesiod *Theogony* 346.

45. Strabo 8.3.12, 343C, as emended.

46. On the association of quinces and similar fruit, *mela,* with the nymphs note the myth of the Hesperides, Apollonios 4.1395 ff. and scholia to Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 14.13 (pp. 302f. Staehlin-Treu).

47. On Sappho see especially J. Winkler, "Gardens of Nymphs," in H. P. Foley, ed., *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York 1981) 63–90.

> a huge rock, hollow and vaulted within, but round without. The statues of the Nymphs were cut most curiously in stone; their feet unshod, their arms bare to the shoulder, their hair loose over their necks, their eyes sweetly smiling. . . . the mouth of the cave was in the midst of that great rock; and from it gushed up a strong crystal fountain, and running off in a fair current or brook, made before the holy cave a fresh, green and flowery mead. There were hanging up and consecrated there milking-pails, pipes, and hautboys, whistles and reeds, the offerings of the ancient shepherds.[48]

Archedamos' cave was perhaps a less romantic setting; indeed we may wonder whether such an isolated place, so far from the sociability, matchmaking, and love affairs of the city, could have a strong association with love. Yet paradoxes are never lacking near this cave. Culture and civilization are left far behind, but in these wilds one encounters a place of painstaking cultivation. It seems to leave no room for human affection but to be a place for a more than human devotion.

The other side of the inscription that refers to the garden for the nymphs contains one of the most difficult texts from the cave. Although Chandler and others thought it contained the demotic Kholleides, the excavators' examination of the text showed that this was in error. The only geographical term on the inscriptions is the epithet *Thēraios,* which occurs four times on the inscriptions and strongly affirms his ties with the island of Thera.[49] Thus he was not an Athenian citizen but a resident alien, a metic. This does not, however, answer the question of what he was doing in this remote location. Metics performed many services in classical Athens; they varied widely in wealth, social standing, and occupation.[50] We may imagine Archedamos in any of several roles. Perhaps he was an itinerant merchant whose business brought him down the coastal plain and then led him to cross the saddle of Hymettos to reach the inland settlements to the east. Or he may have been a worker in a Hymettos quarry (certainly not a skilled sculptor, to judge from the quality of the carving in the cave).[51] But these

48. Longos *Daphnis and Chloe* I sec. 4, trans. G. Thornley, rev. J. M. Edmonds. Cf. the description of the shrine of the nymphs in [Hippokrates] *Epist.* 17.30 (Littré 9.350): are there hints in this passage that Demokritos's madness is linked to nympholepsy?

49. Chandler's view was based on a misinterpretation of the crux in inscription 16, *IG* 1^2 785. His view was refuted by Weller et al.

50. On metics see David Whitehead *Ideology of the Athenian Metic,* Cambridge Philological Society Suppl. 4 (1977), and Hommel, s.v. Metoikoi, *RE* 30 Hb. (Stuttgart 1932) 1421ff. There is a useful list of the known occupations of metics in P. Gerhardt, *Die attische Metoikie,* (diss. Koenigsberg 1933). Although on *IG* 2^2 10b *georgos* is the most commonly listed occupation for metics, Michael Jameson (*CJ* 73 [1977–1978] 134f.) has shown reason to believe that these individuals were freedmen rather than foreign immigrants to Attica. The debate on the inscription continues; see most recently P. Harding, "Metics: Foreigners or Slaves?" *ZPE* 67 (1978) 176–82.

51. We *assume* that Archedamos had some wealth or employment that enabled him to sustain a relatively ambitious project over a long period of time. Cf. the case of Onesagoras, who is known to have been a trader. But there is another possibility: that the site itself sustained him, at least in part, through its garden, perhaps through some sheep or goats, but eventually from the gifts and assistance of those who came to his shrine and may have helped him find the wherewithal for his work. In fact

possibilities were left in silence, as best we can tell, by Archedamos. Of greater importance to him was his connection to Thera and the central fact of his nympholepsy. His marginality, both in the civic life of Athens and in his movement to the uncultivated land on the slopes of the mountain, is unmistakable. Yet there is perhaps a hint of pride in the inscriptions with their repeated epithet *Thēraios,* the affirmation that he was *nympholēptos,* and the claim that his work on the cave was guided by the instructions of the nymphs.[52]

The inscription that is before us (no. 16), however, poses some very difficult problems. The excavators of the cave, as we have seen, rejected Chandler's notion that the text concealed the demotic Kholleides but proposed no interpretation of the unintelligible sequence of letters clearly visible on the stone:

'Αρχέδ[α]μος ho Θερ-
αῖος καὶ χολονοδ
χες τε̄[ι] νύνφαι ἐξ-
σοικ[οδό]μεσεν

The beginning and end of the text make satisfactory sense: "Archedamos of Thera . . . perfected a dwelling for the Nymph." But the middle portion consists of an unintelligible, indeed impossible, combination of letters, ΧΟΛΟΝΟΔ¦ΧΕΣ. Various suggestions have been proposed: Hiller proposed χολὸ(ς) ὀ(ρ)χεστὲ[ς], "the lame dancer," a restoration encouraged by the mistaken belief that the representation of Archedamos showed his feet turned inward in a way that might suggest lameness.[53] Later, in the editio minor of the Attic corpus he printed χορὸν ὀρχεστὲ[ς], apparently thinking the letters concealed an allusion to a dancing place.[54]

The association of the nymphs with dancing is well known and the excavators of the cave suspected that they had found "a suitable place for the stately dance" in a small platform of firmly packed yellow dirt in the lower part of the cave.[55] This restoration provides a direct object for the verb and thereby maintains the parallelism with the inscription on the other side of the stone. These attractions should not be overestimated, for one can easily extrapolate an understood object ("dwelling place") from the root of the verb. Since, moreover, the lambda seems secure, and the word order in Hiller's restored text is very harsh, another possibility demands consideration—that the letters contain an allusion to *cholos,* bile, a substance sometimes associated with states of *mania* or of

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we know very little about such private cult places and their economics and should remain open to the possibility that the nympholept was supported in part by those who came to visit the cave.

52. He also seems proud of being a worker. In his self-portrait he represents himself dressed in a short chiton, tools in hand, at work on the cave. There is no trace here of a fear of the banausic.

53. Hiller von Gaertringen, "IG I 424," *Hermes* 39 (1904) 472f.

54. *IG* 1^2 785. If this is the sense, O. Hoffmann's suggestion in *SGDI* IV, 4 p. 796 n.70, χῶρον ὀρχεστε[ῖ], is preferable.

55. Weller et al. 281.

possession in the ancient writers. The Aristotelian *Problems,* for example, in discussing the belief that those men who are outstanding in philosophy, poetry, or the arts tend to melancholy proposes the theory that black bile contains a mixture of cold and hot (954a14) and that

> those with whom it is excessive and hot become manic (*manikoi*), clever (*euphueis*) or amorous (*erotikoi*). . . . Because of the propinquity of this heat to the seat of intellection many are afflicted with manic sicknesses, or those having to do with inspiration; that is the origin of Sibyls and Bakides and all who are possessed.[56]

We should not, then, be surprised if the inscription alluded in some way to Archedamos as a person who experienced some disorder in his bile. The word *cholōdēs,* bilious, might be possible, but in the light of Archedamos' penchant for exotic language a more convoluted phrase is not impossible. A metathesis of the omicron and the delta at the end of the second line and the use of epsilon sigma to represent -ης as an alternative formation for -ευς would yield the phrase *cholōn docheus,* that is, "the receptacle of biles."[57] Such a use of *docheus* is not entirely surprising; the metaphor representing inspiration as the divine filling of a human vessel, well attested in later antiquity, is already in use in Plato (*Phaedrus* 235C, D).[58] The phrase, while extraordinary, is perhaps not too exotic for this exceptional man.[59]

56. Aristotle *Problemata* 30.954a32–34, trans. W. S. Hett. The passage is similar in important respects to Plato *Timaeus* 71C and to the description of an illness in the Hippocratic treatise on internal illnesses, chap. 48. This illness derives from the bile and its effect on the liver and thence the head. The symptoms are headache, fever, darkening of the vision, and delirium. After describing these and other symptoms the author remarks, "This illness afflicts people especially when they are traveling and if someone makes a journey along a deserted road when fear takes hold of him from an apparition." The passage may be an attempt to relate the illness to nympholepsy and related forms of possession.

Among the ancient passages that are relevant to a discussion of the role of bile are Hippocrates *Sacred Disease* 18, Anaxagoras *VS* 59A105 (cf. Philolaos *VS* 44A27 and pseudo-Demokritos *VS* 68C3 and C 6 and Aristotle *Parts of Animals* 4.2.677a30, Galen 8.177 Kühn). A link between prophecy and bile may also help explain Metrodorus's elaborate system (*VS* 61 no. 4; cf. no. 6) in which Apollo is equated with bile, apparently as part of an allegorical interpretation of Trojan war myths. On the use of bile in the treatment of epilepsy, etc., see Plutarch *Moralia* 552Fff.

57. In some Greek dialects *-es* is used for *-eus;* see C. D. Buck, *Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1955) sec. 111, and L. Threatte, *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (*Phonology*) (Berlin 1980) 346f.

58. In later Greek, *docheus* and its cognates are frequently used to refer to inspiration or possession: Hermias on Plato *Phaedrus* 245A = p. 111 Ast. = P. Couvreur, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* 133 (Paris 1901); cf. Hermias, p. 87 Couvreur; Proclus on Plato's *Republic,* 2. p. 246 Kroll = 3, p. 203, Festugière, and Proclus's commentary on the *Cratylus* sec. 176 = Pasquali pp. 100.21 ff. Note also Eusebius *Pr. Evangel.* 5.8.11 = sec. 194 ad fin., p. 239 Mras, citing Porphyry's explication of an oracular verse. Cf. *Pr. Evangel.* 3.16.1 = sec. 126 and 5.9.6 = sec. 196. On the idea that a god might temporarily be incarnated in a human being see Dodds (supra n.2) 65.

59. If the phrase were securely attested we would have an interesting combination of two different modes of understanding possession: one a material or medical one emphasizing bile; the other a psychic or theological one, presenting the person as a recipient of some force outside himself. The combination of two such attitudes in a single sensibility is not entirely surprising, especially if

This crux is perhaps best recognized as a tantalizing but insoluble problem. But whatever approach to it we adopt, certain features of this inscription are inescapable. It reflects, for example, his characteristic preference for elevated language, which can be seen in several of the inscriptions. We have noticed that his descriptions often use resonant, even exotic phraseology. The cave is not a mere *spēlaion,* but an *antron,* a poetic word. The verbs he chooses are not *kosmeō, kallopizō, ekponeō,* or *kataskeuazō,* but in the resonant *exergazomai* and *exoikodomeō,* a rare word in classical Greek.[60] Combined with a poeticism such as *phradaisi Numphōn,* "by the instructions of the nymphs," the vocabulary gives an elevated, quasi-poetic tone to his inscriptions, the counterpart of the elevation of style and tone we have found associated with nympholepts.[61]

There is also a tendency towards the hexameter in this inscription and that on the reverse side. The phrase τε̄[ι] νύνφαι ἐχσοικ[οδό]μεσεν found on inscription no. 16 (*IG* 1^2 785), could be a rough completion to a dactylic hexameter. Similarly the final words on the other side of the block, κᾱπον Νύμφαις ἐφύτευσεν, have a recognizable hexameter cadence. For all their crudeness, these inscriptions show some signs of the elevation of language and the tendency towards hexameter verse that Socrates alluded to in his discussions of nympholepsy.

There remain many difficulties in the interpretation of these inscriptions and of the cave in which Archedamos worked. Especially interesting are two carvings in the living rock of the cave, one of a seated figure that dominates the southern chamber, and a strange object near it, now hard to make out but in earlier times variously referred to as a *phallos* or an *omphalos* by visitors to the cave (C in Fig. 1). To these objects we must return, for there is more to be learned about Archedamos and his cave. Yet even at this point the inscriptions and other carvings in the cave, for all their difficulties, give some picture of this proud and devoted man.[62] Later in this essay we shall return to the cave and argue that it is likely to have been a place of prophecy, but first it may be helpful to look more

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Archedamos were a person of some intellectual pretensions, perhaps not entirely unlike Teiresias, whom Sophocles could plausibly represent as theorizing in a sophisticated, even "enlightened" way. Cf. P. Roth, "Teiresias as *Mantis* and Intellectual," *TAPA* 114 (1984) esp. 68.

60. Among the fifth-century writers I have found it only in Herodotus' descriptions of Amasis' great temple of Isis (2.176.2) and of the Alcmeonid temple at Delphi (5.62.2), and in Aristophanes *Birds* to describe the six-hundred-foot-high wall used to blockade the gods (1124).

61. The inscriptions are not in any regular metrical form; see, however, P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica* (Berlin 1983) no. 321. *Phradē* is certainly unusual and poetic. In classical prose it occurs in *IG* 1^2 685 and the lex sacra from Mantinea, *IG* 5 (2) 261, line 15. G. Fougères, *BCH* 16 (1982) 576ff., noted the parallel to the Archedamos inscription.

62. There is no sign of an altar. The nymphs were often worshipped without animal sacrifice. See H. Herter, s.v. *Nymphai, RE* 34 Hb. (Stuttgart 1937) 1556f. (On wineless offerings to the nymphs see A. Henrichs, "The Sobriety of Oedipus," *HSCP* 87 [1983] 97.) But animal sacrifice is also attested: Euripides *Elektra* 785ff., Nonnos *Dionysiaka* 44.97–102, Plutarch *Mor.* 628F. Mitford (supra n.30) no. 285. On the archaeological evidence from the cave at Vari see Weller et al. 278.

widely at nympholepsy, especially through a comparative approach based on material from other cultures.

POSSESSION IN OTHER CULTURES

Much of what we have seen about the role of the nympholept in ancient Greek culture has parallels in accounts of possession in other cultures. Such parallelism, however, needs to be used with caution and constant awareness of the differences between ancient Greek civilization and the settings from which the comparative material is drawn. Yet from time to time parallels to other cultures make vivid and credible what may seem vague or difficult to grasp in our ancient sources. The studies of possession in other cultures, moreover, alert us to a set of questions and relationships that might otherwise be neglected or underemphasized. Chief among these is the relationship between the possessed person and society.

Let us begin with a recurrent observation about the nature of possession as it appears in some better-documented societies. M. J. Field's discussion of possession among the Ashanti in Ghana, for example, provides a vivid picture and an important observation about the element of social control that operates even at the height of possession.[63] She notes that possession is preceded by a "few minutes of dreamy inaccessibility," usually followed by

> intense motor excitement. The medium leaps to his feet with flailing arms, quivering, dancing, leaping, singing, shouting and perhaps "prophesying" with words regarded as not his own. Great feats of strength and endurance may be performed under this excitement. . . . More often the performance is quieter, but never is the medium quite still. He is always in a quivering vibration. . . . The end of the excitement is abrupt. The medium flings himself against a wall, on the ground, on a seat or into someone's arms and becomes limp. A genuinely bewildered expression overspreads his face—that of someone awaking from sleep in unfamiliar surroundings. The exhaustion that follows is appropriate to the amount of physical energy expended.

The fit is "usually of short duration, not often more than two or three hours, though a whole day's possession has sometimes been reported." An untrained observer might easily mistake this performance for an epileptic fit or other seizure. But Field stresses the element of restraint, even at the most intense moments of possession: "Often he throws off his clothes, but never outrages decency." Among professional mediums, at least, behavior "becomes modified and controlled according to traditional ritual."[64]

The shamans of the remote North differ in numerous respects from these

63. Field (supra n.5) 56ff.
64. Field (supra n.5) 57.

prophets of the Ashanti, but their possession too is integrated into the structure of their society and regularized: there is a recognized process by which a prophetic state can be induced more or less at will; within this state behavior may be greatly agitated and to our eyes out of control, but, as N. K. Chadwick long ago showed, there is good reason to believe that the shaman is "in full possession of all his faculties throughout the entire performance."[65] Many considerations support this conclusion, at least as a general rule. For example, Chadwick points out that "during the ecstasy of the Kazak *baksha* while he is flinging himself about with closed eyes, he can nevertheless lay his hand on anything he may happen to require."

How such a state might appear "from within," that is to the person possessed, is less easily conjectured, but the literature on shamans and other possessed persons is rich with suggestions. An account given to the Danish explorer Rasmussen by an Eskimo shaman is especially revealing. Before becoming a shaman the Eskimo had wandered off seeking inspiration in solitude. He became melancholy, would weep for no apparent reason, and then

> for no reason at all would suddenly be changed, and I felt a great, inexplicable joy, a joy so powerful that I could not restrain it, but had to break into song, a mighty song with room for only one word, joy, joy! And I had to use the full strength of my voice. And then in the midst of such a fit of mysterious and overwhelming delight I became a shaman, not knowing myself how it came about. But I was a shaman. I could see and hear in a totally different way. I had gained my enlightenment, the shaman's light of brain and body.[66]

The prophets of the Ashanti also often receive their calling after withdrawing to the bush, sometimes for terrifyingly long periods, sometimes more briefly:

> He had been out in the bush all day, hunting, and in the evening heard a sound of whistling and someone repeatedly calling his name. He came home frightened and trembling, and when he reached home was "shaken" still more.

Such descriptions may encourage *us* to think of the phenomenon as a purely personal or psychological one. But there is a further dimension, as the continuation of the account makes clear:

> He sought advice at an old shrine and was told that an *obosom* wanted to come. He set up a shrine on the site of his old hunting camp and became highly prosperous and respected.[67]

65. Chadwick (supra n.2) 17f. M. Eliade, *Shamanism* (New York 1964) 4 et passim, sharply differentiates spirit possession from shamanism and insists that shamans are not to be considered "possessed." For a telling criticism of Eliade's view see Lewis (supra n.2) 49–57. On the analogy between shamans and figures in Greek society see W. Burkert, "*GOES*" *Rheinisches Museum* n.s. 105 (1962) 36–55.

66. Rasmussen cited in Lewis (supra n.2) 37. See also Chadwick (supra n.2) 60.

67. Field (supra n.5) 65.

Descriptions such as these, despite all the differences in social, economic, and cultural circumstances, help us imagine more clearly the nature of possession. But of even greater significance are the persistent indications that possession is subject to certain social norms and hence has to be understood not solely as a phenomenon in "personal religion" but also as a relationship between the possessed person and others in a society.[68] In Africa, as R. Firth has emphasized in his summary of anthropological research on this phenomenon, "what stands out . . . is that spirit mediumship, and in many cases, spirit possession also, is not an isolated individual phenomenon but a cult."[69]

The nature of these cults contains implications that are potentially of great significance for the study of possession in the ancient world, and especially of nympholepsy. Consider the pattern among the Ashanti, for example, where a priest, "a tall, lean, dignified figure without any pompous self-consciousness . . . austerely clad," becomes possessed through a familiar ritual. In his agitation "he stands upright on one spot with folded arms but with his head shaking unceasingly from side to side in furious agitation." After a further ceremony he turns to those who have come to consult him and recognizes one of them, who then "tells his tale. From time to time the possessed priest, his head in perpetual motion, asks questions. He speaks in a low muttering monotone and only the nearest spokesman by bending intently towards him can pick up what he says." Gradually there unfold the priest's advice and response.[70]

The practice varies from shrine to shrine and from time to time, but the essential pattern of possession, consultation, and advice remains remarkable constant. To us the most surprising feature may be the ability to enter into a state of possession almost at will. Lévi-Strauss' comments on the performances presented by shamans to their audiences suggest an underlying mechanism:

> it [the performance] always involves the shaman's enactment of the "call," or the initial crisis which brought him the revelation of his condition. But we must not be deceived by the word *performance.* The shaman does not limit himself to reproducing or miming certain events. He actually relives them in all their vividness, originality and violence. And since he returns to his normal state at the end of the seance, we may say, borrowing a key term from psychoanalysis, that he *abreacts.* In psychoanalysis, abreaction refers to the decisive moment in the treatment when the patient intensively relives the initial situation from which his disturbance stems, before he ultimately overcomes it. In this sense the shaman is a professional abreactor.[71]

68. See in general Festugière, *Personal Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1954).

69. R. Firth in Beattie and Middleton (supra n.3) xi.

70. The description is drawn from Field (supra n.5) 99–101.

71. C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Sorcerer and His Magic," in his *Structural Anthropology,* trans. C. Jacobson and B. G. Schoepf (New York 1963) 180f.

Lévi-Strauss' discussion of possession goes on to suggest that the actions of the shaman may induce a further abreaction in the individual consulting him: the person who has come to consult the nympholept confronts his own disturbance and comes to terms with it. The result need not be "curing," "adjustment," or complete social reintegration; "working out" the stresses is perhaps more important, as in the case of Archedamos himself, who seems to have sought not so much release from his nympholepsy as ways of coming to terms with that state and responding to its demands.[72]

The possession fit itself may be highly dramatic and come close to matching the descriptions of possession that we have seen in the Hippocratic *Sacred Disease* and other sources. Yet possession among the Ashanti is regarded not as psychosis or illness but as a source of insight and advice. The possessed person has a recognized social role; we might even call him a quasi-professional within that society, for possession can be a source both of status and of income.

After studying Greek nympholepts it will come as no surprise that modern anthropological investigations show that the individual who is possessed is often of marginal status in society. Victor Turner, for example, describes the diviner Muchona as a "marginal man" in Ndembu society and notes that his special abilities, even his mental brilliance,

> could not overcome the handicaps of his social marginality and psychical maladjustment. But he found some kind of integration through initiation into curative ritual and especially into divinatory status. For these his outsider characteristics were positive qualifications. In a ritual context he could set himself apart from the battles for prestige and power that bedevil kinship and village relationships in Ndembu society.[73]

Turner goes on to suggest that there may even be an element of unconscious revenge against the social order in such divination: "Forever outside the village circle, he could see the villagers' weak spots and foibles more clearly than most." This vision of society is reflected in the divinations offered to those who consulted him.

As we become more familiar with this material, the validity of Peter Brown's generalization becomes more evident:

> Modern anthropological studies . . . have recently stressed the relation between the possessed and the community. . . . In this relationship the anthropologists have tended to single out the *aspect théâtral* that links both parties. Highly individual though the experience of possession may be, its handling tends to be acted out as a duet between the possessed

72. Cf. Firth in Beattie and Middleton (supra n.3) xi: "Under pressure of the social conventions, the medium in *his* spirit terms works out the stresses which the patient displays in *his* spirit terms."

73. V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca 1967) 146; cf. pp. 372f. on the diviner's knowledge of those who consult him.

> and the non-possessed. In such a duet each side has a role, each unconsciously follows a score.[74]

The possessed person, in other words, does not exist in isolation but needs to be understood in the context of the society. It is precisely this point that brings us back to the study of the nympholept in the context of ancient Greek society. As we look at the Greek material from a comparative perspective we recognize not only the deep ambiguity within classical Greek society about states of *mania*—the distrust of charlatanism and other abuses combined with eagerness for sources of extrarational advice and confirmation—but also the possibility that the nympholept had a significant social role and status and related to society through a mutually understood pattern that included an emphatic severance from the normal world of family, kin, village, and polis, followed by a withdrawal into the wild. That withdrawal was associated with a sharpening of perception, and the expectation of special understanding and guidance: action *phradaisi Numphōn,* under the instruction of the nymphs. Under those circumstances we might sometimes expect a reorientation of personality, a reorganization of psychic energy, perhaps including sexual energy, and the acceptance of a new identity and social role. The nympholept, like his counterparts in other cultures, establishes a small cult. We should not be surprised if he were to become a quasi-professional, deriving part of his livelihood from those who come to consult him. But, more important, the nympholept, often a marginal man within his society, takes on through his possession a recognized social role and gains a certain status.

We can begin to recognize, then, how far the Greek nympholept was from existing in total isolation. He was recognized as having a special association with the divine, and hence special insights and powers.[75] Thus, even if he was a *mainomenos,* the nympholept must have been treated with some awe. He was not a case to be treated or institutionalized but a person in a powerful, if highly ambiguous, state. He might be a source of insight and advice, a person to be consulted, respected, and even commemorated in song.

The comparative material which we have examined encourages the develop-

74. Brown (supra n.38) 88f.; J. W. Fernandez, "Divinations, Confessions, Testimonies," Occasional Papers of the Institute for Social Research no. 9, (Univ. of Natal, Durban, 1967); Firth in Beattie and Middleton (supra n.3) xxvi–xxviii; and of course the writings of Victor Turner.

75. I refer to nympholepts as males because it seems unlikely that many females were thought to be possessed by the nymphs. Himmelmann-Wildschütz (supra n.1) 17 contends that a female nympholept is represented on a relief in Naples, but this is far from certain. Since there are such strong sexual connotations to the word *nymphē* (the same word is used for bride and clitoris: see *LSJ* s.v.), cases of female possession could be expected to be associated with other divinities. Thus the Pythia is possessed by Apollo. Sibyls are in many respects the female counterparts to nympholepts. Lewis (supra n.2) 190 notes how "singularly appropriate the idiom of marriage is as a means of expressing the shamanistic relationship." Among the Greeks the sexual element in the state is also stressed by the implicit taboo against sexual relations with humans, as in the story about Rhoikos in Charon of Lampsakos, *FHG* I fr. 12.

ment of a new perspective on the Greek material. It invites consideration of the possibility that nympholepsy and associated conditions such as metrolepsy, and theolepsy in general, are ways by which the marginality of certain individuals was integrated into the social structure of the ancient polis. The withdrawal from the society into the wild territory of hill and mountain was in effect a symbolic act, a marking and acceptance of psychic and social marginality. But seizure by the nymph and its equivalent, the establishment of a shrine or place for the divinity, were means of partial reintegration. The nympholept might remain, to be sure, on the fringes of society, but the spot he had chosen might be visited by those who shared his veneration for the nymphs and, from such consultations or confrontations, receive from time to time recognition and respect.

No one would wish to exaggerate the similarities between ancient Greek civilization and the societies studied by Turner, Lévi-Strauss, and other anthropologists. Yet their work not only helps us understand the phenomenon of possession more adequately but also suggests a new approach to the interpretation of one of the most significant sites connected with nympholepsy, the cave of Archedamos at Vari in Attika.

THE CAVE OF ARCHEDAMOS

The cave on the spur of Mount Hymettos overlooking the town of Vari contains a bewildering array of material: carvings, dedications, the names and representations of gods and humans, and the inscriptions describing the efforts Archedamos undertook at this site. The final section of this essay returns to this cave in an effort to see if a deeper order can now be recognized in the apparent jumble of material deriving from the early classical period in this cave. The approach is more hypothetical than is commonly adopted in studies of classical sites and more insistent upon the symbolic nature and possible symbolic coherence of this material. The hypothesis upon which the investigation proceeds is that individual items can best be understood if they are approached in a sequence, as stages in a progression to the cave. The confirmation of such a hypothesis comes not from conventional forms of inductive proof but from the convergence between the resulting interpretation and our understanding of the nature of nympholepsy among the ancient Greeks. The approach may hope for further corroboration if other Greek sites ultimately prove amenable to similar forms of interpretation.

The difficulties of such an approach to the cave at Vari should not be underestimated: the chronology is difficult;[76] the original locations of some objects cannot be determined; and sorting out what belongs to Archedamos and what to others cannot always be done with certainty. His role, however, must have been a great one, as the inscriptions attesting that he cultivated a garden for

76. See *supra* n. 42

the nymphs and developed a dwelling for them indicate. Since much of the work in the cave shows strong individuality and differs in significant respect from that in other caves devoted to Pan and the nymphs, it seems likely that one individual, Archedamos, was responsible for many of its distinctive features. In entering the cave we enter the realm of personal religion—not a civic or deme cult-place, not the communal religiosity of a *genos* or a formally constituted *thiasos*. If some of what we see is unparalleled in other caves where the nymphs were venerated, we should not be surprised but should attempt to understand the relationship between the work in the cave and the patterns of ancient nympholepsy. Let us, then, revisit the site of the cave, focusing on the sequence of symbolic representations within it.

The entrance to the cave (the dotted area between T and A on the plan) is now best picked out by the traces of rubble from the excavation that can still be seen on the slopes of Hymettos. In antiquity the picture was surely quite different—a grove or garden marked the spot. As we have seen, this is indicated by a loose stone, inscribed on both sides, that in Chandler's day lay inside the cave "near the image of Isis" (150), that is, on the floor before the enthroned figure in the southern chamber of the cave. It had probably fallen or been thrown into the cave after originally having been set up near the entrance. One side is inscribed (no. 17, *IG* i² 784) "Archedamos of Thera planted a garden [*kāpos*] for the nymphs." The other (no. 16, *IG* i² 785) is the inscription with a crux discussed earlier in this essay. Whatever the solution to that problem, the inscription clearly refers to the efforts to develop a suitable dwelling place for a nymph. The two sides of the inscription reflect two functions; one side emphasizes Archedamos's efforts in the natural world of the *kēpos;* the other stresses the building of a house, an *oikos,* and shifts attention to a single nymph. If we have been justified in suggesting that there were erotic connotations to such gardens, we may go one step further and recognize a sequence in the two sides of the stone, from motifs of romance and erotic encounter in the garden to hints of a bridegroom's construction of a house for his bride, the *nymphē.*

The pleasures of such a garden quickly disappear as one lowers oneself into the passage that leads down into the cave. A few stairs, roughly cut into the bedrock, provide little assistance. All signs of growth and fertility are soon lost in the dim light; it is as if one had entered a world beyond both nature and culture, almost beyond human society. Yet maidens visited the cave to draw water for ritual ablutions before marriage and left there dedicatory *loutrophoroi;* terracottas and small lamps and marble reliefs of familiar kinds were set up and cuttings made for reliefs to honor Pan or a Grace. This familiar apparatus of the ancient grotto may facilitate the transition into this strange setting, yet it masks for a moment the distinctiveness of this cave.[77]

77. The cave can most profitably be compared to other Attic caves with dedications to the nymphs. There is a useful listing in Herter (supra n.62) 1558–61, and in Amandry (supra n.24) 404–8. See also J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London 1971) s.v. Nymphē, 361ff., 417f. Note also the cave on Ithaka, J. Benton, *BSA* 39 (1938–1939) 33.

At the bottom of the descent, one notices that the cave is divided into two great chambers by a wall of living rock running approximately east to west (see Fig. 1). Just a few steps away, on the outer wall of the northern chamber (P in Fig. 1) is another reminder of Archedamos' presence, the inscription (no. 20, *IG* 1^2 788) "Archedamos from Thera, the nympholept, at the injunction of the nymphs perfected this cavern."[78] Although on descending one can turn directly to the southern chamber of the cave, the most natural pattern of movement is through the northern chamber. There one soon encounters a niche dedicated to a Grace (M on the plan; inscription no. 11, *IG* 1^2 780), a basin (L), and, at the foot of another set of crude steps, an impressive stalactite (J) and the site of what was once a spring (I). The growing gloom, the chill, the stalactites make this chamber a wild place; it is not surprising that some of the early visitors saw a lion's head carved into the rock nearby—a figure no longer to be seen, but totally credible amid such wildness.[79] To move through this chamber is to replicate some of the nympholept's withdrawal from the world of sun, growing things, dry air, breezes, and perhaps as well from the conventions of ordinary human existence.

It was in the southern chamber that the excavators found all the movable ancient remains that were revealed by their excavations.[80] The contrasts between the two chambers are more easily paralleled than explained.[81] But surely there was some differentiation of function to explain the concentration of votives and so forth in the southern chamber. The presence of the spring and the small basin (L) suggests a place for further separation from the ordinary world and for purifications and cleansings before one approached the southern chamber of the cave.[82]

78. The language echoes in part that of inscription no. 16. Note especially the repetition of the prefix *eks-* in the verbs and the pattern of double identification of Archedamos, as Theran in each case but with another phrase which, if our exegesis of no. 16 is correct, is in each instance an allusion to nympholepsy.

79. See, for example, the cautious comments of [John Cam Hobhouse] Lord Broughton, *Travels in Albania* . . . I (2d ed. London 1855) 331: "immediately on the left hand going downwards is what looks like a lion's head, but carved very rudely and disfigured." On an alleged parallel on Paros see D. Berranger, "Le Relief inscrit in honneur des Nymphes dan les carrières de Paros," *REA* 85 (1983) 235–39.

80. Weller et al., 282.

81. It is not easy to determine how often other caves show a similar division. Note, however, that the cave near Daphni (J. Travlos, *Arch. Eph.* [1937] 391–408) is divided by walls A–Z and Z–H on Travlos's plan (pinak. A). In the Psychro grotto in Lasithi, the so-called Dictaean cave, M. Hogarth found what appeared to be a "temenos" in the north of the cave, marked off by a wall: *BSA* (1899/1900) 94–116. These lead me to suspect that a distinction between sacral and nonsacral areas was not uncommon in ancient cave shrines. Whether this distinction parallels in any way the emphasis on doubling in literary descriptions of caves is quite uncertain. It is striking, however, that there are two exits to the cave in *Aeneid* 6 and that the cavern described by Quintus of Smyrna had "two ways in it for going up and down. One is turned toward the blasts of noisy Boreas, the other faces Notus, the bringer of rain. The latter is the way by which mortals go under the broad cavern of the gods. The other is the way of the blessed ones."

82. On such lustral arrangements see René Ginouvès, *Balaneutiké,* Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises no. 200 (Paris 1962). Cf. the use of *perirrhanteria,* e.g., around the Athenian agora: Aeschines 1.21, 3.176 and the scholia ad loc.; Lucian *Sacr.* 12. f.; *Pseudol.* 23; Pollux 1.8. See also R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983).

At the extreme end of the northern chamber there is a threshold (H) "cut between the dividing mass of rock . . . and the partial partition (about 2 m. high)."[83] This working sharpens the division between the two parts of the cave and reminds us that we are stepping into a highly sacred area, as Agamemnon did when consulting Apollo's oracle,[84] or Aeneas when he entered the Sibyl's cave (*Aeneid* 6.45 f.).

We are now unquestionably among *ta hiera.* On the left (F) is the figure of Archedamos. His name, so frequent in the cave, appears twice next to the image, now in Attic rather than Doric form: *Archedemos, Archedemos*—an emphatic assertion of his presence and, as in the other chamber, a reminder upon entering of his efforts. Slightly higher in the cave (E) is a shrine with two depressions, perhaps for offerings or libations.[85] Some early travelers saw here an inscription, perhaps *Apollonos : Erso.*[86] If *ERSO* were secure we might

83. Weller et al., 274.

84. *Odyssey* 8.79–81. On the threshold as a sacred marker the material from comparative anthropology is very rich: see, for example, Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York 1966) 114. Among the Greeks note especially Aeschylus *Choephoroi* 571; Hesiod *Theogony* 749.

85. The most common offerings to the nymphs seem to have been agricultural products, such as cheese, milk, and honey; see Herter (supra n.62) 1556f. Note the use of honey in the hypogaeum associated with a *nymphē* in Paestum: B. Neutsch, "*TAS NUNPHAS EMI HIARON,*" *Abhandlungen d. Heidelberger Akademie der Wiss., Ph.-Hist. Kl.* (1957) II, 11. Wineless offerings are specified in some cults of the nymphs: Henrichs (supra n.62) 97. But animal sacrifice is also attested: Euripides *Electra* 785 ff.; Nonnus *Dion.* 44.97–102; Plutarch *Moralia* 628; Mitford (supra n.30) no. 285. On the archaeological evidence from the cave at Vari see Weller et al., 278.

86. The reports are inconsistent and tantalizing, all the more so because the letters have now disappeared. Even the earliest reports leave room for doubt and disagreement. Chandler, 150, did not report the Greek but offered the translation "Of Apollo. Offer." In his edition of the inscriptions (*Inscriptiones Antiquae* [Oxford 1774] II.iii, 76) he printed ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ. ΕΡΣΘ. Further evidence comes from a sketch in a notebook of Sir William Gell's (1777–1836) concerning a visit to the cave in 1805. This shows the inscription as ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ¦ ΕΡΕΣ plus traces of another letter, possibly O. The notebook is in the British School at Athens (Finley P 4:1 no. 4534) and the sketch is reproduced as fig. 7 in Amandry's article, "Manuscrits de Gell" (supra n.39) 68. Below the sketch is the note "W. says ΕΡΣΟ." Gell's treatise "On Some Sacred Caverns of the Greeks" (supra n.39) describes his visit to the cave. On 16v he reports the inscription as ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ¦ ΕΡΕΣ "which may denote that he himself was the priest of Apollo. . . . The word ἑρες is probably put for Ereios which is interpreted Attendant, on [*sic*] or Priest, Servus vel Minister, of Apollo." This view is probably based on the reading ἐρειοί in a few manuscripts of Theocritus *Id.* 15.50, where Gow, Dover, et al. print Warton's emendation ἀραῖοι (accursed). Ἐρειός is not elsewhere securely attested. (I am indebted to the librarians of the British School and the Gennadeion for their help in consulting these unpublished works by Gell.)

The reading ΕΡΣΟ is supported by other earlier travelers, cited in Boeckh's corpus (1828) (*CIA* 456h) and by Christopher Wordsworth's account of a visit to the cave in 1832–1833, *Athens and Attica* (2d ed. London 1837) 195–204. (The comment in Gell's notebook, "W. says ΕΡΣΟ" may be a later addition to the page, after Wordsworth's report. Cf. the allusions to Wordsworth on pp. 7 and 8 of the notebook.) Boeckh's corpus offered ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΕΡΣΟ without interpunctuation, thereby encouraging the notion (expressed for example by Bloch in Roscher (supra n.26), s.v. Nymphen, 531) that Ersos was an epithet of Apollo. The interpunctuation is correctly shown in *IG* 1^2 783.

In 1878 Curtius and Kaupert (supra n.40) Bl. viii (reproduced in Weller et al., 271 fig. 6) showed the inscription as ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ¦ ΕΡΣC. By the time Milchhoefer visited the cave in 1887–

speculate that the name is a masculine counterpart to the Herse, prominent in the myth associated with the Arrhephoria ritual on the Acropolis.[87] This would suggest the adaptation of official cult from the center of the city to the private religiosity of the cave and hint at a potentially significant reversal of sexual identities. But since the reading is not entirely secure and the ascription to Archedamos quite problematic, caution is essential.[88] The possibility must be allowed that the sigma in *ERSO* was simply mu misread or carved at an angle as the prepared space ran out. In this case we would have a more conventional allusion, to Hermes, a figure who, like Apollo, is often associated with the nymphs. These are the two male Olympians who are most often admitted to the company of the nymphs. Apollo is sometimes shown as their companion in the dance and identified as *nymphagetes,* the leader of the nymphs. Hermes' role is less easily defined but is perhaps linked to his role as *psychopompos,* the leader of souls, often into the underworld, but perhaps anywhere beyond the boundaries of normal life.

Opposite the relief depicting Archedamos the excavators found a low wall or platform that led in irregular fashion to the southern side of the cave and thence to a small shrine (S) which "consists of two simple shelves cut in the sloping rock of the floor. . . . the upper cutting is just at the outlet of a natural channel, which is now always dry, but which must once have had flowing water."[89] Here, the excavators concluded, may have been "the veritable retreat of the nymphs." This water, to judge from other places where the nymphs were venerated, must have been very important in the cult.[90] The low wall that the excavators found in this section of the cave may thus have been built—perhaps well after Archedamos's day—as a pathway to this important shrine.

The link between water and nympholepsy is also a strong one. That nympholepsy might be caused by looking into a fountain is asserted by Varro: *vulgo memoriae proditum est, quicunque speciem quandam e fonte, id est effigiem*

1888 it had been "frevelhaft verstummelt": *Karten von Attika* Text, Heft iii–vi (Berlin 1889) 16f. The excavators reported that the inscriptions had disappeared by the time of their work (Weller et al., 296).

87. On Hersos see Jessen, s.v. Hersos, *RE* 15 Hb. (Stuttgart 1912) 1149f.; cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III (Cambridge 1940) 261ff. Such parallelism in names can also be noted in Ganymedes/Ganymeda (Pausanias 2.13.3) and Stesichore as a muse on the François vase compared with "Stesichoros."

On the Arrhephoria see Pausanias 1.18.2 and 1.27.3 with Frazer's notes. Among the recent discussions see especially W. Burkert, *Hermes* 94 (1966) 1–29; E. Kadletz, *AJA* 86 (1982) 445f.; and N. Robertson, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 241–88.

88. The letter forms, as Chandler (supra n.86) xxxi, noted, appear to be later than those on the inscriptions most plausibly associated with Archedamos.

89. Weller et al., 273.

90. On the connection between water and the nymphs see A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe u. ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg 1965) 38–46; F. G. Ballentine, "Some Phases of the Cult of the Nymphs," *HSCP* 15 (1904) 77–119; and Bloch in Roscher (supra n.26) 512 f. I have found Ginouvès (supra n.82) 361–66 especially helpful.

nymphae viderint, furendi non fecisse finem: quos Gracei νυμφόληπτοι *vocant, Latini lymphaticos appellant.*[91] We need not depend on Varro's authority: Greek myths such as the story that Heracles' companion Hylas was drawn into a fountain by a nymph suggest the same pattern.[92]

Water is often linked in Greek antiquity to inspiration and prophecy and sometimes to healing.[93] Its powers seem all the stronger when localized in a cave.[94] Lepers could be cured by praying in the cave of the Anigrian nymphs near Elis and then swimming in the nearby river (Pausanias 5.5.11). Prophetic sites such as the Ptoon in Boeotia, Ortygia, Claros, and probably Branchidai as well often had both cave and flowing water.[95] Perhaps most powerful of all was the association of earth and water in the famous oracle of Trophonios, where, after bathing rituals and the drinking of the waters of Forgetfulness and of Memory and so forth, the inquirer enters into a chasm in the earth (*chasma gēs*) and then is drawn in "just as the largest and most rapid river will catch a man in its eddy and carry him under" (Pausanias 9.39.11).

Earlier parts of this investigation have discussed the evidence that suggests a strong link between nympholepsy and prophecy; this is perhaps a clue to the likely function of this spring in Archedamos's day. As at Delphi and other prophetic sites, one drank water before becoming inspired.[96] This is not to exclude other possible roles for the spring in this cave, especially that of healing. Cures are often associated with caves and the nymphs; yet Archedamos's cave

91. Varro *De lingua latina* 7.87. See also Festus 120M. For a different view among the Latin authors see Isidore of Seville *Orig.* 10.161.

92. The most famous statement of the myth is in Apollonios *Argonautika* 1.1228–39; cf. Kallimachos *Ep.* 22 and Theokritos 13. See also W. Burkert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 238 n.3. In the Narkissos story the motif of seeing is transferred to the victim's self-observation, but the agency of the nymph remains in Echo's role. On the nymphs as deities associated with water see Ballentine (supra n.90) 77–90.

93. The Castalian spring is the most conspicuous example in Greek antiquity of the connection between water and prophecy; its function, however, seems to have been purification rather than direct inspiration. See H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* I (Oxford 1966) 27f. Divination by drinking water was practiced at Klaros (Tacitus *Ann.* 2.54; Pliny *NH* 2.103.232), and at Hysiai in Boeotia (Pausanias 9.2.1). On the use of bronze phialai in water divination at Perachora see T. J. Dunbabin, "The Oracle of Hera Akraia at Perachora," *BSA* 46 (1951) 61–74. Aelius Aristides (*Panath.* 46.171D as emended) also notes that mantic waters have a direct effect on inspiration.

Water is extremely important in healing, even in Hippocratic medical theory, e.g., *Aër.* chap. 7. Note that stagnant water is here described as *cholōdea,* "bilious." Steadily running water, on the other hand, sheltered from the summer sun, as in Archedamos's cave, should have the opposite effect. If, as was suggested above, Archedamos thought bile was involved in his condition, he might expect that the waters in the cave would be restorative. At the time of the excavation the spring within the cave was reported by local inhabitants to have medicinal properties; see Weller et al., 274f.

94. See Euripides *Bacchae* 274–85 and Dodds ad loc.

95. See W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination* (London 1913) 124f.; Dodds (supra n.1) 73f. n.64; V. Scully *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods* (rev. ed. New Haven 1969) 107; Ginouvès (supra n. 82) chap. 3.

96. Plutarch *Moralia* 433D f.; Pausanias 10.24.7. See also Fontenrose (supra n.10) 198, 204.

contains no unambiguous evidence of a healing activity.[97] Yet even if prophecy, rather than medicine, was its principal function, the consultations are likely to have included medical matters from time to time. Curative powers were rarely totally distinguished from prophetic ones in settings such as this.

We are now ready to approach the area that dominates this chamber of the cave. As we move slightly higher in the cave, towards an area better illumined by the natural light that filters down from the entranceway, two large objects can be seen to the left of the fissure from which the water once flowed. These are the natural centers of attention in this chamber and crucial for our understanding of it. The first is a seated figure, carved out of the living rock, headless and mutilated as it was even in Chandler's day, yet powerful to behold. The workmanship is again crude, quite in Archedamos' rough-hewn style: details that might facilitate an identification are absent. Chandler (150) called the figure 'Isis"; Milchhoefer, who has been widely followed, suggested Rhea, and then Cybele.[98] Cook advocated Ge, Earth.[99] The American excavators were more hesitant, uncertain even of the sex of the figure.[100] Most observers, however, have agreed that the figure is female.[101] But the absence of iconographic detail leaves a wide field for conjecture.[102] Artemis, for example, the frequent companion of the nymphs, would not be surprising in such a cave.[103] Her preference, however, is for well-watered sites, near streams or the shore.[104]

One further observation may prove helpful. In general the cave is well

97. S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Göttingen 1978 = *Hypomnemata* 51) 328 discusses the evidence for the spring of the nymphs in the sanctuary at Kos. On a tradition of a nymph with healing power at the klepsydra in Athens see A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 203, 232. See also Bloch in Roscher, (supra n.26) 512f. On caves as medicinal sites see Ginouvès (supra n.82) 342, and Pausanias 3.25.8.

98. A. Milchhoefer, "Nymphenrelief aus Athen," *AthMitt.* 5 (1880) 217. He argued on the basis of the presence of the lion's head in the northern chamber of the cave. I am not persuaded by the argument that its presence would help identify a figure in the other chamber. Even if it did, it would not establish that the seated figure was Cybele; in Ephesus, for example, lions were represented around the head of Artemis, probably in recognition of her role as *potnia therōn*.

99. Cook (supra n.87) 261f.

100. Weller et al., 268f.

101. See, for example, Chandler, 150; E. Dodwell, *Classical and Topographical Tour* I (London 1819) 553; Frazer on Pausanias 1.32 (p. 425); Curtius and Kaupert (supra n.40) 30f.

102. Thrones are not an iconographical mark of a single divinity or small group of divinities. They are, rather, a way of presenting an aspect of many divinities, reflecting their power and majesty. On thrones and seated figures see H. Jung, *Thronende u. sitzende Goetter* (Bonn 1982), and K. Tuchelt, *Die archaischen Skulpturen von Didyma,* Istambuler Forschungen no. 27 (Berlin 1970).

103. L. Kahil's work on Artemis, for example, reveals many analogies between the cave and sites devoted to the worship of Artemis. See Kahil, s.v. Artemis, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* II (Zurich 1984) 618–753 and the items in the bibliography on p. 621 of that entry, and now "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron" in W. G. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison 1983) 231–44. Among the ancient passages associating Artemis with the nymphs are Kallimachos *Hymn Art.* 170 f., 266 f.; Apollonios Rhodios *Argon,* 1.1225 ff.; Sophocles *Trachiniae* 214.

104. "Artemis is frequently associated with water, coasts, and marshes. . . . The placing of Artemis' sanctuaries on the edge of cultivation, on the coast or the wild margins of rivers, is demanded by the association with young human life, green, flourishing, and indeterminate, with the human life cycle" R. Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge 1985) 157.

labeled; its divinities in particular are noted with frequent inscriptions. If Archedamos is indeed responsible for carving this enthroned figure, we should expect that he would have made its identification clear. Clear it was, if a suggestion advanced earlier in this paper is correct. The inscription that refers to the garden for the nymphs has on its other side an allusion to a single nymph. Although the inscription was found inside the cave, not far from the enthroned figure, it is likely that it originally stood outside, near the entrance. Its text prepares the visitor for what will be encountered within, the representation of a figure who dominates the southern chamber. Standing before this statue we can recognize the presence of the nymph herself, in her most awesome aspect, enthroned as a mighty divinity should be.[105] Her identity is easily conjectured, although she remains unnamed; as in the inscription, she is simply "nymph."[106]

To represent this nymph as enthroned is a natural expression of her power. We readily think of enthroned Olympian divinities, perhaps even one of the representations of Athena on the Acropolis. The interplay between Olympian and non-Olympian elements and between civic and personal elements are important parts of the religious symbolism of this cave.[107]

105. Nymphs are most often represented in groups dancing or walking, often accompanied by Pan, Hermes, or Apollo. Seated nymphs are not uncommon; see, for example, J. Huelsen in T. Wiegand, ed., *Milet* I, 5 (Berlin 1919) abb. 1, p. 55; G. Pottier, *BCH* 5 (1881) 353, no. 7, and O. Brendel, "Symbolik der Kugel," *MDAI (Rome)* 51 (1936) 80; T. Wiegand, *Milet* II, 2 (Berlin 1929) 3. Note also the seated female terra-cotta dedications at the Corycian cave (*BCH* Suppl. VII [1981] fig. 4) and the seated female figure from Arcadia in the Athens National Museum, no. 6, with the retrograde inscription *AGEMO;* are these figures nymphs? On such figures see Helen L. Alford, "The Seated Figure in Archaic Greek Sculpture, diss. UCLA, 1978.

Among the literary sources that speak of seated nymphs see especially Homer *Odyssey* 12.318 f. From the Vari cave itself, although dating to the fourth or third century B.C., comes a marble relief showing three female figures in a cave surrounded by smaller figures on three of its corners. See the illustration in pl. VIII of Weller et al. Ida Carlton Thallon's discussion in Weller et al., 309, identifies these figures as nymphs and shows the resemblances between the large female figure on the left and the statue of the seated figure in the cave. The relief is especially appropriate for Archedamos's cave, since it is likely to represent a scene of nympholepsy. On one of the corners of the relief a small figure approaches the cave. He is a hunter or woodsman clad in short chlamys, wearing a pilos, and accompanied by his dogs. The figure is about to encounter the nymphs and become possessed by one of them. The dominating presence of the nymph is expressed by enthronement. Another likely nympholept, Onesagoras of Kafizin, also envisioned his deity as enthroned, *epi diphrōi ou(sa)*: see Mitford (supra n.30) no. 227, line 6.

106. To name a nymph was common enough, as the list (342 items) in Ballentine (supra n.90) 111–219 shows. To single out one nymph for special veneration seems likely in the case of Pantalkes' cave (discussed above), the Paestum hypogaeum (see Neutsch [supra n.85] and in the nymph shrine near the Odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens: see supra n.77 and cf. *IG* $2/3^2$ 5100. Note that a single unnamed Grace is also the object of veneration in the cave at Vari: Weller et al., inscr. no. 11, p. 275 (cf. p. 295).

107. There may also be a reversal of conventional sexual roles. The female figure becomes "the mastering nymph," as in Aeschylus fr. 342 Radt = 689 Mette; cf. no. 9 in the Kafizin material, Mitford (supra n.30) nos. 307, 308. On such titles see H. W. Pleket, "Religious History as the History of Mentality," in Versnel (supra n.29) 152–92; van Straten (supra n.32) 19 and fig. 28, a discussion of Apelles from the region of Halikarnassos, who called himself a *hypourgos* of the gods on a relief showing Acheloos, Hermes, three nymphs, and Naiads; cf. also the epitaph for Chrysogonos of Kos, Herzog (supra n.32) no. 163.

Before this statue one can even today feel some of the power of that figure and conjecture the intensity of Archedamos's original moment of possession—the experience that restructured his life, his sexuality, his personal relationships and social role. The suggestion, explored in earlier sections of this paper, that nympholepsy may sometimes have involved abreaction, the reenactment of a moment of psychic crisis, now takes on added relevance. The sight of the nymph enthroned in majesty would present anew the experience of possession and encourage its reenactment. The cave as a whole recreates the sequence of withdrawal, confrontation, exaltation, and reintegration that characterizes his state but surely here is the culmination of a progression through the cave, just as the experience of nympholepsy—of confronting the mixture of power, sexuality, and marginality represented by the nymph—was so central in Archedamos' own identity.

For the ancient visitor it was also the likely moment of encounter with the awesomeness of possession. But the power of that moment derived not merely from witnessing another person in a state of possession. The visitor shared some of the intensity of the reaction and became linked to the nympholept in the shared drama of this visit to the cave.

Although the approach to the enthroned figure is the climax of the progression through the cave, the drama is not entirely over. As one faces the throne, just to the right and slightly higher up the slope is an ovoid object (C), hewn out of the living rock.[108] Chandler (150) thought it an ithyphallus, a suggestion not often accepted. As Cam Hobhouse, who visited the cave in Byron's company in January 1810, wrote, it "would not without a previous hint strike anyone to be the resemblance of that impure symbol."[109] The excavators of the cave describe it as omphalos shaped and noted corrugations going around the free side. They speculated whether it might not be an unusual type of herm.[110] Although there is little to support their speculation, their comparison to an omphalos, a "navel" or marker of a sacred center, is quite justified. The object is most likely an omphalos, with a reticulated surface, as often on these stones. In antiquity it might have had a netlike covering (*aigis* or *agrenon*) over it, and been sleek with libations of oil.[111]

108. The clearest photograph is that in Wrede (supra n.40) pl. 10. It can also be seen in the engraving facing p. 553 of Dodwell (supra n.101) and on Blatt VIII of Curtius and Kaupert (supra n.40) and in Weller et al., fig. 4, p. 268.

109. Lord Broughton (supra n.79) 353–59. Cf. Dodwell (supra n.101) I, 553f. Could Chandler have been referring to the "low elevation in the form ∧" (Weller et al., 269) rather than to the omphalos-shaped object?

110. Weller et al., 269. See the photos in Muthmann (supra n.40) Tafel 16, nos. 3 and 4.

111. On omphaloi see W. H. Roscher, *Omphalos,* Abhandlungen der k. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Ph.-hist. Klasse 29, no. 9 (Leipzig 1913). (This has now been reprinted with Roscher's *Der Omphalosgedanke bei verschiedene Völkern* [Leipzig 1918] in a convenient volume [Heidelberg 1974].) See also H. V. Herrmann, *Omphaloi* (Münster 1959), esp. 89f., which shows Attic reliefs with nymphs and omphalos like objects. Frazer's commentary on Pausanias 5.31.4 ff. is also useful. Olive-oil libations are suggested by Pausanias 10.24.6. On the net-like coverings see W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1983) 127 n.59.

The presence of an omphalos naturally calls to mind the most famous of these objects and its associations with Delphi and the amphictyony. This too was associated with earth, cave, and prophecy, as in Euripides *Phoenissae* 236 ff. But as W. H. Roscher long ago showed, omphaloi are found in many other cult places of the ancient world, usually, although not always, in association with prophetic centers. The omphalos is properly the *omphalos tēs gēs,* the navel of the earth, a place of connection with the vitality and nourishment of the earth and an indicator that for participants in a cult the place where it stood was a symbolic center.[112] Such markers are attested at Branchidai, Delos, Eleusis, Epidauros, Paphos, and Phlios, as well as Delphi, Argos, and Athens.[113]

The association of a nymph with an omphalos should not surprise us. On an Attic relief from Mount Parnes, a border with Pan, goats, and other figures sets off a central space in which a male figure—perhaps Hermes, perhaps a nympholept—holds hands with three nymphs. In the foreground a rough-hewn object can plausibly be identified as an omphalos.[114] Other nymph reliefs also show such objects or present an enthroned female figure near an omphalos.[115] The symbolism is not surprising: the cave is a locus of private religiosity, a link to the sustaining power of the earth and a source of inspiration, but it utilizes symbols widely recognized and esteemed within the society. It is idiosyncratic but not so individualized as to retreat to a purely personal symbolism. The omphalos expresses these relationships, but also a paradoxical pride quite in keeping with the other hints we have detected about Archedamos: he claims for himself, his cave, and his experience a symbolic centrality. As we have seen, his cave is not a place of total isolation. Just as other omphaloi often mark the centers of an amphictyony or other cult group, this one also is a focus for those who come to Archedamos and his cave and share his experience. For these Archedamos carves out a spiritual center, the point of convergence for a miniature amphictyony. This group, however small or fragmented, provides the link between Archedamos and his society and accounts for the continued cult activity in the cave long after his death.

112. See Roscher, *Omphalos* (supra n.111) passim. See also W. Vollgraff, "Inscriptions d'Argos," *BCH* 27 (1903) 270ff., on an inscription of the third century B.C. concerning the setting-up of an omphalos in the temple of Apollo Pythios at Argos. (There was also an omphalos at the Pythion in Athens: E. Simon, *Festivals of Attika* [Madison 1983] 79.) Vollgraff notes the connection between the earth and the Delphic omphalos, as reflected in passages such as Aeschylus *Eumenides* 166; Sophocles *OT* 897; Euripides *Ion* 225. On the possibility of dream consultation around the omphalos at Delphi see E. Dragounis, *BCH* 26 (1902) 584ff., citing Euripides *IT* 1262–67 and 1277.

The circles with strongly marked centers that occur in inscription no. 9 in the cave (Weller et al. 293 f.) and on a pottery fragment (no. 7, Weller et al., 327) may be representations of the omphalos.

113. Roscher, *Omphalos* (supra n.111) 105–15. See also J. Harrison, "Delphika," *JHS* 19 (1899) 225–51; P. Siewert, *Die Trittyen Attikas* (Munich 1982) 65; Jeffery (supra n.42) 113.

114. See Herrmann (supra n.111) 89f. and Tafel 9, no. 1. The relief is in Athens NM no. 4761. For other examples see Herrmann's discussion.

115. For other nymph reliefs see Herrmann (supra n.111) 89ff. For the combination of a seated female figure and an omphalos see the Boeotian plate published by S. Wide in *Ath. Mitt.* 26 (1901) 150ff. (with Tafel VII), also illustrated in Roscher, *Omphalos* (supra n.111) 70f. Note also the Ninnion tablet, illustrated and discussed in Himmelman-Wildschütz (supra n.1) 22–24 and Tafel 11.

Archedamos' pride in his status as a nympholept and in his work on the cave can now be better understood. The cave has become an elaborate and individualized synthesis of symbols each of which is readily recognized and highly esteemed in the culture. Here personal religiosity and elements from public, often aristocratic, cults are brought together. Earth and water, public and private, sacred and profane find their places in a unity created by the worker-nympholept. His claims are proud ones, no less so for being symbolic and implicit. Behind the identity reflected in the cave, moreover, we have been able to detect a cryptic, incomplete, but powerful sequence—a reenactment of a process of withdrawal from society, cultivation of the wild, confrontation with the strange powers represented in the nymph, a restructuring of personality and, perhaps, an eventual partial reintegration into a community.

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MARGARET GRAVER



Dog-Helen and Homeric Insult

HELEN DOES what no other Homeric character does: she insults herself—δᾶερ ἐμεῖο, κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης, "Brother-in-law of mine, of a dog cold and ill-contriving!" (*Il.* 6.344).[1] No one else in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* employs such strong language in self-description, and no other character speaks so of Helen. Alone among epic speakers, Helen wishes that she had died before the poem began (*Il.* 3.173–76, 6.344–48, 24.764–65) and calls herself "hateful" (στυγερήν, *Il.* 3.404).[2] In particular, she refers to herself as "dog" (κύων) and "dog-face" (κυνῶπις), terms which otherwise are never self-directed, though they are often used in insult or disparagement of others. The anomalous first-person usage appears four times and is integral to Helen's characterization. In the Teichoskopia of *Iliad* 3, it closes her description of Agamemnon: δαὴρ αὖτ' ἐμὸς ἔσκε κυνώπιδος, εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε, "And he was brother-in-law to me, a dog-face, if indeed he ever was." (*Il.* 3.180). In the sixth book of the *Iliad,* it opens her speech to Hector, as quoted above, and is repeated near the close of the same speech:

> ἐπεί σε μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν
> εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο κυνὸς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ' ἄτης
>
> For trouble has come upon your heart, more than any other,
> because of me, a dog, and the blind folly of Alexander.
>
> (*Il.* 6.354–55)

I would like to thank Gregory Nagy, who guided this study in its initial phase, William Wyatt, who commented on an earlier version, and the readers and editors of *Classical Antiquity*, who supplied many helpful suggestions and corrections.

1. Citations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are taken from the Oxford texts of Munro and Allen. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

2. Cf. the wishes for her death or drowning in Attic tragedy (below, note 38), and στυγερόν in Stesich. fr. S104.17 SLG.

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It appears also in the *Odyssey,* in her initial speech in that poem:

ἐμεῖο κυνώπιδος εἵνεκ' Ἀχαιοὶ
ἦλθεθ' ὑπὸ Τροίην, πόλεμον θρασὺν ὀρμαίνοντες.

Because of me, a dog-face, did you Achaeans
come up to Troy, stirring up hardy war.

(*Od.* 4.145–46)

The words κύων and κυνῶπις in these passages pose something of a mystery. The general tenor of Helen's speeches would encourage us to read them as disparagement, yet there is nothing in the context to specify what sort of criticism is intended. The semantics of κύων / κυν- in metaphor have not been well understood in general: glosses are often frankly interpretive, and assumptions concerning its meaning often will not stand up under close scrutiny.[3] For this reason, it is well to approach Helen's metaphors through a careful study of comparable expressions throughout the poems, those in which "dog" and related words are applied to human beings or human actions. If we can analyze the usage of metaphoric κύων closely enough to learn what associations it carried for the early audiences of epic, we may be in a position to discover something of value about the Homeric portrayal of Helen.

For Helen's dog metaphors, though strange and idiosyncratic, are nonetheless a traditional feature of epic diction.[4] The element "me, a dog" should itself be considered a "memorable" repetition rather than a formula, and yet there are some details of its usage which appear to be standardized by repeated use, rather than remembered: its fondness for the genitive case, and its repeated collocation with "brother-in-law" and with "because of."[5] Variations in its phrasing are also of the sort associated with ordinary formular modification: in particular, the alternation between κυνός and κυνώπιδος appears to answer to metrical rather than semantic considerations.[6] If it is traditional, however, and if the semantic analysis proposed below is correct, then Helen's dog metaphor must have remained in conflict with much else that is traditional in her Homeric characterization. In the second part of this essay I will argue that this conflict has some generic significance for epic, helping

3. In using the terms "metaphor" and "metaphoric" to identify a definable set of linguistic phenomena, I do not mean to imply that the Greek poets themselves conceived of such expressions in terms of semantic transference (μεταφορά). On the distinction between literal and metaphoric expressions prior to the fourth century, see Padel 9–10, 33–34. On Homeric metaphor, see esp. Moulton; also Parry, who anticipates recent discussions of transference in his odd insistence that *Il.* 1.225, "having the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer" is not metaphoric: "Achilles means that Agamemnon really has the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer" (Parry 1971a.371).

4. Martin, in his analysis of idiosyncratic diction in Achilles' speeches, makes it clear that "new" or rather deviant expressions need not be new in the temporal sense (182–83).

5. For memorable repetition see Martin 173–74.

6. On formulas and formular modification see Visser, together with Bakker 1991. According to the peripheral/nuclear semantics proposed in these articles, κυνώπιδος can be treated as a functional equivalent of κυνός, used to lengthen the expression by half a foot; the use of ἐμός rather than ἐμεῖο in *Il.* 3.180 similarly "makes room" for another semantically functional element (ἔσκε).

to establish the superiority of epic performance over competing performance-types which treated Helen differently.[7] The use of κύων / κυνῶπις in Helen's self-description can thus be related to the stance which epic performers choose to adopt in relation to the essential poetic functions of praise and blame.

κύων IN METAPHOR: USAGE AND IMPLICATIONS

The dog metaphor in its application to Helen is essentially unmotivated. This is not a case where a character is reviled for some specific action or characteristic; it is not, "You dog! You escaped my spear!" or, "Doglike, she stood apart." Helen merely blurts out "me, a dog" without explanation, as if her first-person pronoun alone were enough to suggest the appellation. Given this absence of strong contextual cues, one is naturally inclined to interpret on the basis of one's own cultural assumptions—so that Lattimore, for instance, gives "slut that I am" for ἐμὸς ... κυνώπιδος and "dishonored me" for ἐμεῖο κυνός. Alternatively, some have attempted to explain epic κύων by observing the behavior of modern dogs, their "fawning gaze combined with unabashed sexual and excremental interests"[8] or the "dissolute impudence [which] characterizes bitches particularly when on heat."[9] This is equally unsatisfactory, for obvious reasons. For one thing, we know very little about the dogs of archaic Greece: what we can gather from the poems is only a composite of several different types, and in some passages it is uncertain even whether the dogs in question are domestic or wild animals.[10] Furthermore, even our own dogs exhibit a multiplicity of agreeable and disagreeable behaviors: how are we to decide which of these gives point to the epic metaphor?

My methodology also prohibits explicating the metaphoric use of κύων by referring to the characteristics of dogs in simile or direct narrative. Although this entails excluding much interesting information, it protects against the possibility that the portrayal of dogs may have been regularized differently on differing levels of epic diction. A useful essay by Manfred Faust demonstrates the importance of this step. At the level of direct narrative, Faust shows, dogs may be hunters, watchdogs, or pets, while dogs in simile are nearly always hunters. Aside from the *Iliad* proem, which appears to be a special case, dogs as carrion-eaters appear only in indirect narrative, i.e., unfulfilled wishes, threats, worries.[11] Dog metaphors constitute a fourth level of diction; in treating them as a class, we allow for the possibility that the dogs imagined there will have their own salient characteristics. The problematic semantics of σίδηρος, "iron," offer a familiar parallel: neither the practical everyday iron of the similes nor the much rarer and apparently much older iron of the narrative

7. On the competitive milieu of archaic poetry see Ford 93–130.
8. Kirk 1985.77.
9. Lilja 22.
10. Lilja 14–21, Richter 1245–49.
11. Faust 1970.22–23; cf. Pagliaro 31–33.

itself supplies any real clue to the meaning of σιδήρεος in such metaphoric usages as "an iron sky" (*Od.* 15.329, 17.585), "an iron tumult" (*Il.* 17.424), or "the iron strength of fire" (*Il.* 23.177).[12]

Fortunately, the truly metaphoric uses of κύων and its derivatives are still numerous enough to afford a basis for analysis. The frequency with which dogs are featured in metaphor in fact gives them some special importance in epic diction, for in comparison with the rich variety of animals seen in simile, the species named metaphorically are surprisingly few in number. Apart from "ox-eyed" and one or two other fixed epithets of doubtful meaning, true animal metaphors encompass only the dog, the deer, the fly, and the lion.[13] Of these, the dog metaphor is by far the most common (thirty-one occurrences) and the most flexible: it can appear in the first person (of Helen), in the third person, and as a term of address; the base term κύων may also be compounded (κυνώπης, κυνάμυια) or made into an adjective (κυνῶπις, κύνεος, κύντερος, κύντατος). Within this diversity of form, a certain uniformity of application gives us reason to look for semantic continuity among all such expressions.[14] Dog metaphors belong almost exclusively to character-speech (the only exception is κύντατος at *Il.* 10.503) and are universally pejorative, whereas dog similes are sometimes positive in tone.[15] Another unifying factor is that these thirty-one expressions all refer to humans or (in the case of κύντερος / κύντατος) to human actions; one instance of a "doglike" belly is hardly an exception, as there is a strong element of personification. There is no particular reason why a dog metaphor should not have been applicable to such impersonal objects as a grief, or a bad year for crops—both called "doggish" in the Hymn to Demeter (90, 306)—or why "dog" should not simply be an expression cursing one's luck, a usage that can be inferred from dicing terms in Greek, Latin, and Indic.[16] But the diction of epic reserves this metaphor for the human domain.

The scholiasts regularly gloss metaphoric κύων with the adjective ἀναιδής, "shameless."[17] Similarly, the lexicon of Liddell, Scott, and Jones informs us that κύων in metaphor "denotes shamelessness or audacity," citing in evidence

12. See the excellent article by Gray 1954, esp. 13–15.

13. Stanford 131. Clader 46–47 associates κυνῶπις of Helen with βοῶπις, γλαυκῶπις of Hera and Athena. We should be careful, however, about blurring Parry's distinction between fixed and particularized epithets (Parry 1971b.153–56). For an interesting comparison with βλοσυρῶπις ("vulture-eyed"?), see Leumann 141–48. "Horses of the sea," for ships (*Od.* 4.704), is a kenning, rather than a metaphor.

14. Semantic congruence between simplex and comparative is the more likely if, as Chantraine asserts (259), the latter is a bardic coinage comparable to βασιλεύτερος from βασιλεύς. Κύντερος and κύντατος appear to have little currency outside of epic: tragedy re-forms the comparative as κυντερώτερος (LSJ s.v. κύντερος).

15. Examples include *Il.* 10.183–86, *Od.* 20.14–16 (dogs keeping watch); *Il.* 10.360–64, 22.189–92 (hunting); *Od.* 10.215–17 (greeting their master). It should be noted, however, that dogs in simile are more often characterized as timid, hesitating to attack some fiercer animal. For a survey of positive aspects of the dog in Greek culture, see Burnett 152–57.

16. Faust 1969.109–25.

17. Σ *Il.* 1.225, 13.623, 21.394, etc.

a number of passages in which κύων and related terms appear in conjunction with the adjectives ἀναιδής, "shameless," ἀδεής, "fearless," and θαρσαλέος, "bold."[18] One might question the validity of thus reading the implications of a word out of the adjectives that are used with it; after all, English speakers are quite capable of repeating the phrase "cowardly lion" in a way that would not help anyone to understand the meaning of "lionize" or "lion-hearted." Certainly it cannot be right to take κύων as implying boldness per se, for epic speakers may address a warrior as "dog" even when he is fleeing from the field, hardly an instance of audacity. Still, the association between κύων and, in particular, ἀναιδής is well worth keeping in mind. Αἰδώς or "shame" is a notoriously difficult concept in Homeric Greek, but it will not be too far wrong to define it as a kind of internalized social constraint, the check that is put on an individual's actions by his or her sense of how others in his community will regard them.[19] A person who is "shameless," then, is one whose behavior demonstrates a lack of respect for the viewpoint of others. This broad notion of ἀναίδεια is relevant to most instances of the dog metaphor in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, even some in which the circumstances motivating its use do not seem perfectly congruent with an English speaker's concept of "shamelessness." For example, Hephaistos complains that his κυνῶπις mother hurled him from Olympos "because she wished to hide me since I was crippled" (ἥ μ' ἐθέλησεν / κρύψαι χωλὸν ἐόντα, *Il.* 18.386–87). English speakers would probably not describe Hera as "shameless" in this action, and yet it is αἰδώς that ought to have restrained her from it. The retreating warrior, likewise, could be described by an epic speaker as ἀναιδής despite his lack of boldness, for it is αἰδώς that compels men to fight against odds (e.g., at *Il.* 15.561).

But the ἀναιδής gloss is ultimately not very informative, and at some points risks reducing the text to tautology. "Shamelessness" is, after all, a broad abstraction: if we are to learn anything more useful about the metaphor, we must examine the specific behaviors to which it is applied. Let us consider, for instance, the two passages on which the scholiasts seem to rely for their equation of dog metaphors and shamelessness. Both occur in the context of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon. In *Iliad* 1, Achilles uses the expression ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδές and follows it in the next line with the vocative κυνῶπα (1.158–59), while in the Embassy Scene of *Iliad* 9, he says that Agamemnon is "clothed in shamelessness" (ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένος) and then remarks that "doglike as he is (κύνεός περ ἐών), he does not dare to look me in the face" (9.372–73). While these passages do suggest a relation between dogs and ἀναίδεια, the relation need not be one of synonymity. Achilles may be saying both that Agamemnon lacks the proper feeling that should restrict his behavior, and also that the behavior he engages in is doglike. In this case,

18. LSJ s.v. κύων II; "shameless" also appears as a gloss in LSJ s.vv. κυνάμυια, κύνεος, κύντερος, κυνώπης.

19. For extended discussion and bibliography see Lowry 59–78, Collins 22–23, 31.

doglike behavior would seem to consist in grabbing an unfair share of the prizes of war, for this is the substance of Achilles' complaint:

ἀλλὰ σοί, ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδές, ἅμ' ἑσπόμεθ', ὄφρα σὺ χαίρῃς,
τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάῳ σοί τε, κυνῶπα,
πρὸς Τρώων· τῶν οὔ τι μετατρέπῃ οὐδ' ἀλεγίζεις.

But for you did we follow, o very shameless one, to give you gladness,
winning the reward of honor for Menelaos and for you, dog-face,
from the Trojans. About these facts you do not concern yourself at all or take any interest.

(*Il.* 1.158–60)

Τιμή here is not some abstract notion of "honor"; it refers to the material rewards which are gained by fighting, and which, Achilles charges, have accrued to the Atreids' share in undue proportion to their physical prowess. Avarice coupled with personal timidity is again the charge in the Book 9 passage, where Achilles says first that Agamemnon may attempt to cheat someone else just as he has unfairly confiscated Briseis, second that he is "clothed in shamelessness," and third that he "will not look me in the face, doglike as he is."[20]

The possibility that Agamemnon is called a dog specifically in token of his material greed (cf. κερδαλεόφρον, 1.149) is strengthened by several interesting parallels. Perhaps the least ambiguous is the usage of κύντατον in the following passage from *Iliad* 10:

ῥοίζησεν δ' ἄρα πιφαύσκων Διομήδεϊ δίῳ.
αὐτὰρ ὁ μερμήριζε μένων ὅ τι κύντατον ἔρδοι,
ἦ ὅ γε δίφρον ἑλών, ὅθι ποικίλα τεύχε' ἔκειτο,
ῥυμοῦ ἐξερύοι ἢ ἐκφέροι ὑψόσ' ἀείρας,
ἦ ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων Θρῃκῶν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἕλοιτο.

And he [Odysseus] whistled, signaling to godlike Diomedes.
But the other paused, and began to ponder what most doggish thing he might do,
whether to take the chariot, where splendid arms were lying,
and drag it off by the pole, or pick it up and carry it,
or whether he should take the life from still more of the Thracians.

(*Il.* 10.502–506)

The question Diomedes ponders here is clearly not one of expediency, for he and Odysseus have already achieved their purpose in attacking the camp of Rhesos,

20. The participial phrase κύνεός περ ἐών follows a pattern which is normally concessive in epic (Bakker 1988.107–10), and ought therefore to imply that the doggish person would be willing to approach Achilles if not prevented by some other circumstance. Here, the circumstance is Agamemnon's cowardice; this does not entail, however, that doggishness and cowardice are directly opposed. Compare *Od.* 11.424–26, where Clytemnestra is called κυνῶπις without the concessive sense. In her case it is doggish to remain aloof from her victim, withholding the final offices for the dead, while here the truly doggish action would have been to confront Achilles and confiscate Briseis in person.

and their interest is now best served by an expeditious departure. Nor would there be anything particularly "shameless" or "audacious" in the actions Diomedes contemplates, given the deeds he has already performed this night. The issue that concerns him seems rather to be one of *quantities:* how much plunder can he get away with? or how many Thracians can he kill? Notice how both bloodshed and looting are expressed in terms of taking something (ἑλών, ἕλοιτο)—as if the lives of Diomedes' enemies are a commodity whose value can be measured against the more portable property. What is most doggish for him to do seems to be determined by a purely materialistic calculation: the most gain in the shortest time.

This use of κύνταιον has sometimes been considered anomalous. Redfield, for instance, claims that it is Homer's only *positive* use of the metaphor,[21] and Lattimore translates it as "best," even though he elsewhere renders κύντερον "worse" or "more vile" (*Od.* 20.19, 11.427). We must realize, however, that *for the speaker,* in this case as in others, there is nothing positive in the actions described as doggish. The apparent anomaly is created by the fact that here κύνταιον is applied by the poet-narrator, who is anticipating the appearance of Athena to prevent the actions improperly contemplated by his hero. If Diomedes himself were speaking, he would no doubt refrain from using the pejorative term to describe his own intentions: from his point of view, the question should be expressed, "Which action is *more profitable?"* (κέρδιον, cf. *Il.* 13.458, etc.). The judgment that Diomedes' conduct (or potential conduct) is unduly acquisitive belongs only to the narrator, who here departs for a brief instant from his usual objectivity.

The dog often figures in the Aesopic tradition as a type of the person who thinks only of his belly, sometimes to his own detriment.[22] That the dog-insult of epic has its origin in the dog's proverbial voracity is not something that can be proved; however, it is worth noting that on several occasions the metaphor is closely associated with greed of the most physical sort. In Book 7 of the *Odyssey,* Odysseus complains that there is nothing more doggish (κύντερον) that the belly, which "bids a man woo her of necessity" even when he does not want to. The figurative language here makes the belly into a demanding female, in whom it is "doggish" to expect more attention and/or gifts than her suitors are prepared to supply. Still very much present, though, is the thought of the belly as the seat of hunger, doggish in its insatiable demands for food. Κύντερον again relates to eating at *Od.* 20.18–20, where the disguised Odysseus, hearing his slave-women talking and laughing on their way to the suitors' beds, steadies his angry heart with the memory of conduct even more doggish:

τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης,
ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε μοι μένος ἄσχετος ἤσθιε Κύκλωψ
ἰφθίμους ἑτάρους.

21. Redfield 260.

22. E.g., Perry no. 206, in which the dog drops a piece of meat into the water through snapping at its reflection; see also Perry nos. 135, 253, 254, 264, 342, 415.

> Endure it, heart! You endured something even more doggish before,
> on that day when the Cyclops, unchecked in might, devoured
> my stalwart companions.

The choice of a cannibalistic monster as a paradigm of doggishness should awaken us to the seriousness of Odysseus' reflection. Odysseus is not merely offended at the maids' impudence; he is outraged at the transfer of their loyalty, which, as Russo points out (108–109), amounts to a form of theft from the master of the house. Comparison to the Cyclops makes of their conduct something monstrous, a selfishness akin to cannibalism, if less extreme. Seen in this light, the women seem almost to deserve the savage punishment Odysseus will later inflict. Another link between the dog metaphor and cannibalism can be inferred at *Il.* 8.483, where Zeus tells Hera that he does not care for her fury "for nothing is more doggish (κύντερον) than you are." The epithet is not explained in this context, but the audience will be aware that Hera's anger is elsewhere described by Zeus as cannibalistic: "if you should eat Priam and his children and the other Trojans raw, then would your anger be satisfied" (*Il.* 4.34–36).

At this point we might remember that Agamemnon also is a kind of cannibal, at least in the judgment of the speaker who insults him. Nussbaum points out the proximity of the expression δημοβόρος, "eater of the people," to the puzzling expression "having a dog's eyes and a deer's heart" at *Il.* 1.225; she argues that the dog-insult refers to Agamemnon's "self-regarding behavior."[23] The sequence of ideas in the passage as a whole supports this reading, as opposed to the older view which holds that the dog's eyes signify an external or specious boldness.[24] Achilles complains in lines 226–28 of his leader's cowardice, which makes him unwilling to take on any real fighting. As these lines are clearly intended to explain the "deer's heart," the two that follow should be referred chiastically to the "dog's eyes":

> οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο,
> οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον ἅμα λαῷ θωρηχθῆναι
> οὔτε λόχονδ' ἰέναι σὺν ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν
> τέτληκας θυμῷ· τὸ δέ τοι κὴρ εἶδεται εἶναι.
> ἦ πολὺ λώϊόν ἐστι κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν
> δῶρ' ἀποαιρεῖσθαι ὅς τις σέθεν ἀντίον εἴπῃ·
> δημοβόρος βασιλεύς...
>
> Drunkard, having a dog's eyes and a deer's heart!
> Neither to arm yourself ever for battle along with the troops,
> nor to set an ambush together with the Achaean chieftains,
> have you endured in spirit, but to you these things seem deadly.
> Indeed, it is much easier to go throughout the broad army of the Achaeans

23. Nussbaum 414.
24. H. Fränkel 85.

taking away gifts from anyone who speaks against you,
people-devouring king.

(*Il.* 1.225–31)

If, as Nussbaum suggests, the behavior for which Agamemnon is considered doggish is that specified in lines 229–30, then we may safely assert that the "dog's eyes" are not bold eyes at all, but greedy eyes, eyes that range here and there looking for something to consume. This is quite consistent with our earlier observation that the dog-terms used of Agamemnon in *Il.* 1.159 and 9.372 refer not so much to his lack of shame as to the acquisitive behavior which shame ought to have prevented.

We have already observed that the dog-insult is not incompatible with a charge of cowardice. This is an important point to bear in mind when we come to the use of κύων in battlefield taunts or "flyting."[25] This is the most frequent use of metaphoric κύων in the *Iliad;* it is found in direct address at 11.362, 13.623, 20.449, 21.394, 421 (κυνάμυια, "dog-fly"), 21.481, 22.345, and in the third person at 8.299 and 527. "Dog" as a direct insult seems to have a particular affinity for fighting contexts, so much so that in the *Odyssey,* when Odysseus wishes to announce that a state of open combat now exists between himself and the suitors, the first words he utters are ὦ κύνες (22.35). Widely applicable, the vocative κύον may be hurled at opponents behaving in cowardly fashion, like Hector retreating from Diomedes (*Il.* 11.362–63; cf. 20.449–50), as well as at those whose behavior is more bold, like Artemis challenging Hera (*Il.* 21.481). Yet the term is more than a general-purpose insult. Implications of base and inordinate greed are well suited to the agenda of eristic flyting, in which the speaker tries to derogate the opponent's previous accomplishments in order to aggrandize his or her own.[26] Whatever damage the other has done in the past is represented as an unjustified seizure of privilege. Thus Hera claims that Artemis, a "fearless dog," has yet to learn of warfare even though she has often killed in the past; Zeus has made her a "lion" only "against women" (*Il.* 21.481–88). Her point is that Artemis' many slayings do not prove her heroic, though they do make her dangerous: her destructiveness exceeds her real prowess. The adjectives "rabid" (*Il.* 8.299) and "death-bringing" (*Il.* 8.527) similarly stress the destructiveness of the metaphoric dog without granting him any legitimate heroism. It is exactly the point Odysseus must make to the suitors in the passage mentioned above: "You have indeed gained a great deal for yourselves—in fact, you have consumed it with your own mouths—and yet you are no match for me!" One can hardly help thinking of the carrion dog, feared and yet despised.[27]

One passage makes a close verbal connection between the battlefield vocative and avarice expressed as physical hunger. In *Iliad* 13, Menelaos takes advantage

25. For the term see Parks, who defines it as "verbal contesting with an *ad hominem* orientation" (6); also Martin 68–72.

26. Parks 44.

27. Scholars who associate the dog-insult with carrion consumption include Nagy (1979.226), Clader (18), Redfield (195), Faust (1969.110–11).

of a typical flyting occasion (he has just killed the Trojan Peisandros) to issue an indictment of the whole army of Trojans, whom he calls collectively κακαὶ κύνες, the feminine gender suggesting weakness or cowardice.[28] Note especially the way he treats the Trojans' eagerness to fight as a personal affront, of a piece with the theft of his wife and property.

λείψετέ θην οὕτω γε νέας Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων,
Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι, δεινῆς ἀκόρητοι ἀϋτῆς,
ἄλλης μὲν λώβης τε καὶ αἴσχεος οὐκ ἐπιδευεῖς,
ἣν ἐμὲ λωβήσασθε, κακαὶ κύνες, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ
Ζηνὸς ἐριβρεμέτεω χαλεπὴν ἐδείσατε μῆνιν
ξεινίου, ὅς τέ ποτ' ὔμμι διαφθέρσει πόλιν αἰπήν·
οἵ μευ κουριδίην ἄλοχον καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ
μὰψ οἴχεσθ' ἀνάγοντες, ἐπεὶ φιλέεσθε παρ' αὐτῇ·
νῦν αὖτ' ἐν νηυσὶν μενεαίνετε ποντοπόροισι
πῦρ ὀλοὸν βαλέειν, κτεῖναι δ' ἥρωας Ἀχαιούς.

Even so, indeed, will you leave the ships of the Danaans of swift colts,
haughty Trojans, insatiate of the dread battle cry?
You were not lacking before in disgrace and abuse
with which you abused me, you good-for-nothing bitches, and did not fear
at all in your hearts the terrible wrath of loud-thundering Zeus
of Guests, who will someday destroy your high city.
For you took my wedded wife and many of my possessions
and thoughtlessly made off with them, after she welcomed you.
And now again, you strive to cast destructive fire
upon our seafaring ships, and to kill the Achaean heroes.

(*Il.* 13.620–29)

Menelaos' point is certainly not that the Trojans are fearless, although he does blame them for not worrying about the avenging wrath of Zeus. The central idea of his speech is that their continuing to fight after they have been destined for defeat is a form of avarice: they are taking lives they are not entitled to take, just as on the previous occasion they took a woman and other property that did not belong to them. All this is neatly summarized in the phrase ἀκόρητοι ἀϋτῆς, "insatiate of the battle-cry," which makes bloodshed a commodity, as it were, which one can literally consume—for κόρος is the condition of having one's belly full, and κορέσασθαι is to glut oneself (it is a regular verb for what dogs do with corpses, *Il.* 8.379, 13.831, 17.241, 22.509). So important is this notion of battle-greed to Menelaos that he repeats it in expanded form at the close of his speech. The Trojans cannot sate themselves with war, he says: there is κόρος in war as in all things, although there may be some who are even more reluctant to have their fill (ἐξ ἔρον εἶναι) of war

28. The gender varies in the MSS. Even with the masculine κακοί, there is an imputation of cowardice (LSJ s.v. κακός 1.3). For imputations of effeminacy in battlefield flyting, see Parks 13, 24.

than of pleasant activities like lovemaking or dancing—but the Trojans, once again, are "insatiate of battle" (634–39).

In all of the passages we have looked at so far, the behavior to which the dog metaphor is attached shows a disregard specifically for societal norms of *meum et tuum*. In its crudest form this disregard manifests itself in eating too much, reminding us that the fair division of meat serves in myth as the archetype of civilized conduct.[29] But other kinds of selfish behavior can also be described as doggish, notably the theft of property and the taking of human life. We have seen in the case of Odysseus' serving-maids how sexual license, too, can be regarded as a form of grabbishness. For another case where the metaphor is associated with female sexuality, we turn to *Od.* 8.319, where Hephaistos applies the epithet κυνῶπις to his unfaithful wife, Aphrodite. Hephaistos says that he will hold the guilty pair in his net until her father returns the bride-gifts,

> ὅσσα οἱ ἐγγυάλιξα κυνώπιδος εἵνεκα κούρης,
> οὕνεκά οἱ καλὴ θυγάτηρ, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἐχέθυμος.
>
> as many as I gave him in contract because of the dog-faced girl,
> for his daughter is beautiful, but not self-controlled.

Hephaistos is in a position to demand return of the bride-gifts because his father-in-law (Zeus!) is in breach of contract: the bride's chastity, like her beauty, is a commodity for which the groom has paid, so that in seeking her own pleasure Aphrodite is in effect stealing from her husband on her father's behalf.[30] Sexual behaviors, then, may have an economic dimension in archaic Greece: in Hesiod the woman waggles her hips to distract attention from her theft of food (*Erga* 373–74), giving a concrete meaning to the mythology of Pandora's "doggish (κύνεον) mind and thieving ways" (67).[31] For this reason, it is incorrect to assume, as translators sometimes do, that κύων or κυνῶπις applied to a woman is necessarily a sexual slur, "slut" or "sluttish".[32] It is true that dog metaphors are applied disproportionately to women in the Homeric poems, but this may reflect attitudes toward women not based on sexual mores. Lefkowitz[33] argues persuasively that Greek misogyny relates not to women's sexuality per se but to their supposed moral weakness and susceptibility to destructive passions, avarice as well as sexual desire. Sexual transgressions such as Aphrodite's may simply be one manifestation of a general lack of restraint.

29. Detienne 1979.220–30.

30. The reverse would not be true, since the marriage-payment is normally made by the groom (Morris 105–12).

31. See West's notes on the two passages, making the connection between them. West explains that "women stole food because they were kept half-starved by their husbands, who resented their habit of eating" (251).

32. See Lattimore's rendition of *Il.* 3.180, *Od.* 11.424, 17.372. Nothing in these lines makes any reference to sexual conduct.

33. Lefkowitz 112–26.

This point has obvious relevance to the situation of Helen, and we will return to it. In the meantime, we need to consider one other type of behavior that is regularly called doggish. This is exemplified by Melantho in *Od.* 19.91–92, where the specific behavior that is being criticized is her insolence to the beggar Odysseus.

πάντως, θαρσαλέη, κύον ἀδεές, οὔ τί με λήθεις
ἔρδουσα μέγα ἔργον, ὃ σῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις.

Indeed! You bold, you fearless bitch! It does not escape me
that you are misbehaving in a big way. You will disgrace your own self.

In calling Melantho a "fearless bitch," Penelope echoes Odysseus' similar complaint about the maid's sharp tongue in *Od.* 18.338. But Melantho is not the only person called κύων for speaking out of turn. Eumaios is chastised in the same way by Melanthius at *Od.* 17.248, and Eurykleia refers to the entire group of serving-women as κύνες when she complains about the way they jeer at Odysseus.[34]

ὡς σέθεν αἱ κύνες αἵδε καθεψιόωνται ἅπασαι,
τάων νῦν λώβην τε καὶ αἴσχεα πόλλ' ἀλεείνων
οὐκ ἐάᾳς νίζειν.

just as these bitches all mock you, and you,
to avoid their slander and manifold humiliations,
do not allow them to wash you.

(*Od.* 19.372–74)

Is there a connection between this usage, where κύων is applied to persons who have themselves been dishing out insults, and the pattern we observed above, in which the metaphor was used to pick out various forms of greedy or selfish behavior? The use of λώβη as a generic term suggests that there is. In the passage above, λώβη refers to the verbal abuse directed at Odysseus, and the word is used in a similar sense elsewhere; for instance Thersites is an ἐπεσβόλος λωβητήρ, "a word-flinging slanderer" (*Il.* 2.275; cf. *Il.* 3.42, *Od.* 18.347, 24.326).[35] But the meaning of λώβη is much wider in epic, encompassing any unjustified abuse. Menelaos' speech from *Iliad* 13, which was quoted above, uses the verb λωβήσασθε with reference to the disfigurement brought upon the speaker by the theft of his wife and property.[36] Similarly, in *Il.* 1.232, Achilles complains that Agamemnon goes around stealing people's prizes, and the verb he uses is λωβήσαιο. The damage caused by such "abuse" is a very serious matter, serious enough to be the cause of a war or of

34. Compare *Od.* 19.154–55, where Penelope relates how the weaving ruse was exposed by her maids, "uncaring bitches," to the suitors, who rebuked her for it verbally (ὁμόκλησαν ἐπέεσσιν).

35. On λωβητήρ of the slanderer ("the one who blames others and is blamed") see Suter 3–4, 14–15.

36. See Lowry 17–19 for the collocation of λώβη and αἶσχος in this passage and in Eurykleia's speech quoted above. It should be noted that in both cases the λώβη and αἶσχος are directly assigned to the metaphoric "dog," and that here κακαὶ κύνες is directly appended to λωβήσασθε, as if suggested by it.

many deaths in a war. That the same term is used to denote mere verbal abuse suggests that, for epic speakers at least, it is not true that "words will never hurt me": expressions of blame are considered to cause real harm to the person at whom they are directed. A speaker who indulges in unjustified blame is in effect robbing another of his dignity, in flagrant disregard of societal norms which distribute to each person his due portion of praise or blame.[37] It is not surprising, then, that dog-insults should be directed at some persons whose offense is primarily verbal. It is interesting to compare this usage with Semonides' satiric description of the woman who comes of a dog, in which the point of similarity is the woman's "barking"—her ceaseless gossiping (7.12–20).

DOG-HELEN AND THE POETRY OF BLAME

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that metaphors drawn from the κύων group are a rather harsh form of abuse, one which labels its object as greedy and potentially cannibalistic in the domain of material goods, or of fighting, sexuality, or speech. When applied to the Helen of epic, such abuse strikes the ear as unduly powerful, inappropriate to her character and actions. For where tragedy gives us a blameworthy Helen, with all the invidious comparisons and destructive imprecations that might have been predicted from her role as the cause of war, the portrait we find in epic is generally quite different.[38] Though not without sinister capabilities (her magic drugs, her voice, her prophetic loom), the Homeric Helen remains a surpassingly lovely woman, intelligent, magnetic, deeply concerned for her home and family, very possibly more sinned against than sinning.[39] "You are not at all to blame," says Priam to her in *Iliad* 3.164, and the respectful admiration he accords her is universal among the heroes. Helen herself remarks as a matter of simple fact that "many shames and reproaches are upon me" (*Il.* 3.242), and yet we never hear these words of reproach.[40] For instance, the Trojan elders, who should have ample cause to detest Helen, still feel that it is "no cause for indignation that the Trojans and Achaians suffer hardships over such a woman" (*Il.* 3.156–57). Even Achilles will not fault the Atreids for their willingness to expend lives for her sake

37. Detienne 1973.18–25.

38. Aeschylus' chorus compares Helen to a lion-cub turned murderous, and puns on her name, ἑλένας, ἕλανδρος, ἑλέπτολις: "ship-wrecker, man-destroyer, city-sacker" (*Ag.* 689–90). In Euripides, Helen is οὐ γάμον ἀλλά τιν' ἄταν, "no bride, but blind folly" (*Andr.* 103); ἀλάστορός τις οἰζύς, "a cursed distress" (*Hec.* 949); μῖσος εἰς Ἕλληνας, "a thing of hatred for the Greeks" (*IT* 525); πικρὰν πικρὰν δυσελέναν, "bitter, bitter Helen-amiss" (*IA* 1315–16); others wish that she may die (*Rh.* 906–14, *Tr.* 772–73) or be shipwrecked (*Hec.* 943–51) or sacrificed (*IT* 440–46). On Helen's portrayal in lyric and tragedy, see Homeyer 13–36. On Helen as *casus belli* see Suzuki 29–43.

39. For the favorable portrayal of Helen in Homeric epic see Lefkowitz 135–36. Cf. the abusive language meted out to Paris, also a *casus belli*: Paris' different relation to the poetry of blame is discussed in Suter. For a survey of secondary literature on Helen's characterization see Collins 14–18.

40. Other instances where Helen reports on the blame of others include *Il.* 410–12, 6.351, 358, 24.768–75; see Collins 45.

(*Il.* 9.337–43), though elsewhere, in a moment of deep emotion, he does refer to her as "bone-chilling Helen" (ῥιγεδανῆς). The closest we come to a serious charge against Helen from a Homeric hero is when Hector calls her a "woe" (πῆμα) for the Trojans and an "embarrassment" (κατηφείη) to Paris (*Il.* 3.50–51)—hardly a serious enough indictment to merit the dog-insult as we have analyzed it. It is from a sense of the unfitness of Helen to be called "dog" that G. S. Kirk comments on ἐμὸς ... κυνώπιδος as a peculiarity of usage; he suggests, not very convincingly, that "such terms may have been less violent in their application to women."[41] But I see no reason to try to soften the force of the expression, which, after all, is not out of keeping with the rest of Helen's strangely passionate self-deprecation. The unexpected ugliness should rather be accepted as a signal that the epic performer knows of a version of Helen's story which is considerably uglier than his own.

Homeric epic assumes familiarity with the entirety of the Troy legend, including plot elements which are barely mentioned in the poems we have. Apparently, it also expects its audience to be aware of other possible perspectives on the characters and events it presents. Thus it has been shown that some features of the *Odyssey* cannot be explained without reference to "the concealment, but not complete suppression, of the dark or Autolycan side of Odysseus."[42] Similarly, the strongly negative, strongly *ad hominem* associations of κύων, incongruously applied to the noble Helen of epic, can function as an allusion to an alternative version of her story. In this version it is Helen's own depravity of character that is to blame for what happens at Troy: the war is fought "because of her" not merely in the sense that she is the prize for whom others venture their lives, but as a direct result of her own behavior. Taking a clue from the behaviors elsewhere associated with the dog metaphor, we can guess that the charge against her specifically concerns some form of avarice or self-indulgence at the expense of others. In sailing with Paris, Helen perhaps becomes a thief making off with the "many possessions" of Menelaos, so that the Homeric habit of treating her as herself a possession, rather than a moral agent, must be considered a conscious choice of the less damning alternative. Or, as seems more likely, the charge may be sexual in nature, without lessening the implication of the seizing of privilege. We have seen how the sexual misconduct of Odysseus' serving women is compared to the doggish greed of the Cyclops, and how Aphrodite's father must answer financially for her "dog-faced" adultery. Similarly, Helen may become a "dog" in token of sexual misconduct that is construed not as impure, dishonest, unpatriotic, and so forth, but as a form of avarice, a taking of more than her share. By the codes of equivalence which operate in epic diction, the sexual license of Helen and Paris is equated with the elemental greed of the carrion animal, and is expiated in a different currency, by the loss of human life. Such is the portrait that comes fleetingly to mind when Helen is called κύων or κυνῶπις, even though the

41. Kirk 1990.205; cf. Kirk 1985, "perhaps it ["dog-face"] was not quite so bad, for the Greeks, when applied to a woman as when applied to a man" (290).

42. Clay 188.

Iliad otherwise makes every effort to excuse her union with Paris, presenting her as a rape victim (2.356) or as the pawn of Aphrodite (3.390–420).

Could such a depraved and culpable Helen have figured in narratives known to early performers of epic, even in poetic narratives? We have some reason to think that it did. Direct attestation of Helen's infamy is hardly to be found, of course, before the fifth century and the chorus of Aeschylus:

ἰώ· παράνους Ἑλένα,
μία τὰς πολλάς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς
ψυχὰς ὀλέσασ' ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ,
νῦν δὲ τελείαν πολύμναστον ἐπηνθίσω
δι' αἷμ' ἄνιπτον· ἦ τις ἦν τότ' ἐν δόμοις
Ἔρις ἐρίδματος ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς.

Oh, Helen, distracted in mind!
You alone destroyed the many, the very many lives at Troy.
Now you have garlanded yourself with a final garland,
long to be remembered, through blood uncleansable.
Truly, then was in the house
a Strife strong-subduing, a husband's sorrow.

(*Ag.* 1455–61)[43]

But we need not assume, with Homeyer,[44] that the negative portrayal we know from Greek tragedy necessarily postdates the blameless Helen of Homeric epic. One thinks immediately of Stesichorus, who according to Plato's somewhat playful report attacked Helen so vigorously that he was punished with blindness.[45] The meager fragments of his *Helen* and *Sack of Troy* scarcely bear this story out, though one fragment does make Helen "thrice-wed" and a "husband-leaver" because of a curse from Aphrodite (P 223; cf. P 191). But Alcaeus clearly defames Helen as "out of her wits" and "violating guest-friendship" in "leaving her child and her husband's well-made bed" (LP 283). Significantly, Alcaeus in another fragment attributes the blame of Helen to "tradition" (ὡς λόγος, LP 42). The truth about the famous Palinode of Stesichorus (more likely two Palinodes, as in P 193) may well be that there was an ancient tradition of defamation in lyric, against which the sixth-century poet chose to define himself. Sappho, too, appears to react against a tradition far more critical of Helen than are the Homeric poems; her tone is defiant as she endorses Helen's preference for "the one she loves" over home and family (LP 16).[46]

43. For the text and translation see Denniston and Page 204–205; E. Fraenkel 690–93.

44. Homeyer 5–6.

45. *Phaedrus* 243a. Note that Plato's report does not (quite) make slanders against Helen the cause of *Homer's* blindness; Homer is contrasted with Stesichorus in that he "did not know the reason" (and hence remained blind). It could perhaps be argued that in stressing Homer's ignorance on this point, Plato acknowledges the ambivalence of Helen's portrayal in epic.

46. See Collins 56–57. Collins argues that Sappho refers to "an ethics like that of the *Iliad*" but not necessarily to the *Iliad* itself (56).

There was a hexameter tradition against Helen from earliest times. Hesiod says that Aphrodite "cast her into ill repute" along with the other daughters of Leda, and that she "defiled Menelaos' bed" (MW 176). In the cyclic epic *Cypria,* it is Momos ("Censure") who suggests that Zeus should beget Helen, and Nemesis ("Indignation") is her most unwilling mother (fr. 1,7 Allen). We cannot say whether Helen was directly blamed in the *Cypria* itself: the genealogical use of these synonyms for blaming-discourse perhaps suggests (as does Hesiod's φήμη) that the defamatory tradition is actually anterior to the narrative at hand. But it seems likely that the real precedent for the tragedians' sustained attack on Helen, and for the lyric fragments as well, was to be found in the ancient tradition of kitharodic narrative. What we know of this poetry, mainly from papyrus fragments attributed to Stesichorus, suggests that it related mythological stories, including the Troy legends, at considerable length and in lyric meters.[47] Its manner of narration was dramatic and strongly partisan: Burkert describes it as "emotional, even larmoyant," in comparison with the more austere tone of epic.[48] These lengthy "Stesichorean" narratives must have competed with epic performances from an early period, and it is not unreasonable to look for traces of this competition within Homeric epic, even though our fragmentary textual evidence makes the former appear less ancient.[49]

Certainly the preexistence or at least coexistence of some strongly emotional type of mythological narrative is suggested by the *Odyssey*'s comment on Klytemnestra:

> στυγερὴ δέ τ' ἀοιδὴ
> ἔσσετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, χαλεπὴν δέ τε φῆμιν ὀπάσσει
> θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔῃσιν.
>
> She [Klytemnestra] will be a hateful song
> among people, and will attach a harsh reputation
> to all women, even to her whose works are good.
>
> (*Od.* 24.200–202)[50]

As often, what is future for the epic speaker is past or present from the perspective of performer and audience. Like Achilles predicting that his κλέος will never diminish (*Il.* 9.413), Agamemnon here "sees into the future" to describe the standing of a character in poetry at the moment of performance.[51] Unlike Achilles, however, Agamemnon does not appear to be referring to a state of affairs that obtains within

47. On Stesichorus and kitharodic narrative see Segal 145–51, Gentili 122–25, Nagy 418–22; also Burkert 50–53, with the reservation that the kitharodic narrative need not have originated with Stesichorus, as Burkert assumes.

48. Burkert 52.

49. Nagy 1990.23, 419–22.

50. On this passage see Nagy 1979.36–38, 255.

51. Similarly Alkinoos in the *Odyssey* is able to describe epics which are yet to be composed (*Od.* 8.579–81), and Telemachus looks forward to a major role in poetry for Orestes (*Od.* 3.204–205). A common feature in such passages is the dative plural ἐσσομένοισιν in combination with ἀοιδή / ἀοίδιμοι, as in Helen's words at *Il.* 6.357. See also Ford 127–29.

epic itself, for Klytemnestra does not belong to the subject matter of the *Odyssey,* though she is mentioned there, and the Homeric poems in general do not pass on a "harsh report" about women, but offer numerous examples of women "whose works are good." Rather, the "hateful song" that is Klytemnestra's future must be a different poetic treatment, one that is known to the epic singer but not claimed by him. Similarly Helen, in her speech in *Iliad* 6, is grieved by the prophetic awareness that she and Paris are to become the butt of unfriendly songs.

> ἐπεί σε μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν
> εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο κυνὸς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ' ἄτης,
> οἷσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μόρον, ὡς καὶ ὀπίσσω
> ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ' ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι.
>
> For trouble has come upon your heart, more than any other,
> because of me, a dog, and because of the blind folly of Alexandros,
> upon whom Zeus laid an evil fate, that even hereafter
> we should be subjects of song for persons of the future.
>
> (*Il.* 6.355–58)

From the standpoint of performance, Helen's words direct us to a poetic tradition which treated her and Paris quite harshly, as morally degenerate, or as responsible for the deaths of Hector and other heroes. Only in such a tradition could it be considered an "evil fate" to be made the subject of song.

In view of the two passages just quoted, it is particularly interesting that Klytemnestra, like Helen, is described as κυνῶπις. Agamemnon's shade applies this adjective to her in telling how she turned away from his dying body and withheld from him even the final offices for the dead (*Od.* 11.424). By this superlatively self-willed action, emblematic of that whole course of action which robs the king of his power, his sexual prerogative, and finally his life, Klytemnestra is said to have cast shame on all her sex for the future, so that "there is nothing more doglike (κύντερον) than woman" (11.427). Now, the narrative tradition of epic refuses to participate in the defamation of Klytemnestra just as it refuses to participate in defaming Helen. It does so, however, by presenting the Klytemnestra legend as one which it does not itself narrate. Her story is always the other story, the excluded material which serves as negative space defining the positive virtue of Penelope. This means of dealing with the defamatory narrative is considerably more straightforward than that employed in the case of Helen. For in Helen, the epic tradition welcomes the figure of scandal into its own subject matter, but welcomes her on the epic poet's own terms. Both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* present a narrative about her—not the narrative of her infamy, but a different narrative—and both do so in a way that studiously avoids direct censure. Helen, then, is rather carefully segregated from her sister: the fleeting description as "dog (-face)" is almost the only link between these two whose names are so naturally joined by Stesichorus and others (Stesich. fr. 223 P, Hes. fr. 167 MW). But κυνῶπις is at least in keeping with what we are explicitly told in the *Odyssey* about Klytemnestra, while the same metaphor applied to Helen

seems strange, out of place, as if seeking to draw attention to itself. The poem's hearers are reminded (if they need reminding) that the gentle treatment given to Helen, and the skewing of the parallel with Klytemnestra, are a matter of preference for epic performance.

I have suggested that the incongruity of Helen's self-description can function as a reference to harshly negative treatments of her in other poems or poetic traditions. As such it signals to the audience that what will be given here is a revisionist history of Helen, if not of women in general. The reflexive use of the metaphor is another such signal. Leslie Collins has given one reason for such stringent limitation on the circuit of Helen's blame in the *Iliad:*[52]

> The fact that the blame of Helen is expressed primarily by Helen herself—for Helen is made to testify to a public hostility which Homer otherwise does not directly depict—further advances the ideological interests of the poem. In a word, only Helen can blame Helen without exposing the paradox that the poem wishes to remain hidden: that the very act which necessitates a war over her also condemns her from the poem's point of view, and renders her an unworthy object of struggle.

To this we may add that the self-blame of Helen, including preeminently her self-applied label "dog (-face)," may help to establish the *ethos* of epic performance in relation to the act of blame. Helen's dog metaphor might simply be a quotation from the verbal abuse hurled at her in some strongly negative poetic treatment, or it might be a summary reference to the sort of treatment generally given her in such poetry. But it may also be related to the characterization of blame poetry itself, in parallel to the regular application of "dog" to slanderers in the *Odyssey*. Gregory Nagy has pointed out instances in which the praise poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides depicts speakers of blame biting or feeding as if upon the corpses of heroes; he argues that this feature is comparable to the description of the slanderer as μάργος, "gluttonous," within epic, at *Odyssey* 18.2.[53] That is, within the context of a poetic performance which disowns blame as a mode of discourse, a blaming performance can be represented as a form of material greed, for which doggishness is an appropriate metaphor. Archilochean iambos may even have accepted χύων as a description of its own ethos, if we can accept the evidence of Horace's imitation in his *Epodes* (*Ep.* 6.5–6, 12.3–6).[54] But any form of blame is highly suspect in epic, whether it be direct insult of one's contemporaries such as we associate with Archilochus, or simply storytelling with a negative emphasis. Either of these, when spoken by a character in epic, can be treated as a blaming performance, subject to criticism by other characters.[55] In the fourth book of the *Iliad,* for instance,

52. Collins 57.

53. Nagy 1979.224–31; see also Suter 8–9. At Pi. *P.* 2.55–56 it is specifically Archilochus who "fattens himself on heavy-worded hatreds" (trans. Nagy).

54. For dogs in Horatian invective see Oliensis 116–18.

55. For character-speech as performance see Martin 47.

Agamemnon tells an exploit of Tydeus in order to shame Diomedes (370–400) and is immediately contradicted by Sthenelos, whose retelling of the story is in turn criticized by Diomedes as an inappropriate way of speaking to one's general (404–18).[56] This hostility to blame as a mode of discourse may help to explain the reflexivity of Helen's blame. It is a device answering to the especial need of performers to subjectivize the blame of this character who is so central to the Troy legend. By restricting the reminders of a defamatory tradition to the purview of a single character, herself the object of defamation, the poet-narrator is able to protect his own threatened objectivity. Helen emerges as a self-slanderer, one who merits the label "dog" through the language she uses, as well as through her unreported actions.

That is not to say that the character of Helen within epic is necessarily debased by her self-criticism. Paradoxically, it is even ennobled, in that her term "dog (-face)" marks a rejection of past misdeeds—just as to call oneself "shameless" implies that one (now) feels a becoming sense of shame for one's actions. My argument has been rather that the self-directed dog metaphor, like the rest of Helen's self-blame, has a meaning not only for Helen but for the epic performer as well. By it, he indicates that the gentleness which he in his tradition prefers to display toward Helen is in fact a rhetorical position. Like Priam, he projects his own ethos through his handling of the *casus belli:* οὔ τί μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν, "As far as I am concerned, you are not at all to blame. For me, then, it is the gods who are responsible" (*Il.* 3.164).

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56. See Vodoklys 27–32 for further examples.

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The Phrygian Background of Kybele

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Abstract
The cult of Kybele is well known from Greek and Roman sources and well-described in most modern literature on antique religions. The cult, however, is primarily known in its Roman version, which differs greatly from the cult in the ancient Phrygian homeland of Kybele. This article presents the latest research on this subject: iconography and roles, attendants relating to the goddess, cult places, rituals and worship, and transference of the cult from Phrygia to Greece.

The Phrygian goddess, characterised by features of wild nature, was represented primarily by predatory birds, and she was worshipped in mountainous settings. Instead of portraying her as a typical Mother goddess associated with nature, fertility and procreation, new research has argued that her status as a Mother derives from her connection to the king, thus being the mother of the state and the throne. It is also maintained in the article that Attis is a late, Greek invention, and that the cult in Phrygia did not take the form of a mystery religion. In conclusion, it is suggested that the Black sea area played a role in the development and the dissemination of the cult.

Keywords
Kybele, Phrygia, Black Sea, Attis, mystery religions

Introduction

Kybele, Meter Oreia, Meter Theôn, Mater Deum Magna Idaea; these are some of the most commonly used Greek and Latin names for the goddess with the Phrygian name of Matar — *Mother*. A goddess forming a divine couple with her lover, Attis, she was the centre of a worship characterised by raging orgies, bloody self castration, loud music

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inducing ecstasy and madness, taurobolia, and effeminate priests in colourful clothes. This roughly drawn picture is found in much literature; it is, however, a description of the cult mainly in Roman times, and it differs greatly from the knowledge that we now possess of the goddess in her homeland, Phrygia.[1]

The cult of Matar (or Kybele, as she is most frequently called in the History of Religions) has been thoroughly studied in the past century, but generally with a geographical focus on Greece and Rome and a chronological focus on the Hellenistic-Roman age, with special attention to the mystery religion aspects of the cult. Aside from an erroneous description of the early Phrygian cult as a result of applying to it much later Greek and Roman characteristics,[2] other problematic issues are present in some studies by scholars of religion. One is the question of Matar's background. Robertson (1996:240, 246) refers to her as an age-old Greek goddess, also known as Rhea, claiming that the Anatolian traits of the religion were brought to Greece at a later period, during the 4th century. Other works (see below) describe Matar as an heir of the universal, primordial Great Mother, or identify her with Kubaba, another Anatolian goddess. In consequence, Matar is defined by the various characteristics drawn from these alleged predecessors. The opposite attitude is found in Borgeaud, who states: "Phrygia remains for the most part unattainable outside of its mediation through the Greek perspective" (1996:3).

With this article, I hope to present the latest research on the subject in order to balance these two different perspectives. Since the cult of the Hellenistic-Roman Kybele[3] is an essential, perhaps even obligatory, part of teaching or studying the subject of "mystery religions" or "Hellenistic religions," a deeper knowledge of the Phrygian background of this goddess will provide an understanding of the profound degree to which her cult had been transformed, and contribute to a revised view of the characteristics of the Hellenistic-Roman cult. An awareness of this historical development may also serve as a frame of reference when dealing,

[1] This research has been sponsored by the Danish National Research Foundation.

[2] Some of the most well-known Graeco-Roman features, like the emasculated Attis, the mystery rituals, the lions, and the tympanon, are not part of her Phrygian cult.

[3] See the paragraph below on her name.

more generally, with the question of the transformations of the so-called Oriental cults spreading through the Graeco-Roman world.

The very illuminating and thorough book by Lynn Roller[4] from 1999, *In Search of God the Mother*, pays special attention to Matar's cult and iconography in Phrygia. This book, and the growing interest among archaeologists and historians in the background of this goddess since the publication of the book, has resulted in new and important knowledge, but has also raised new problems. In this article, I will discuss these unresolved issues as well as present the more secure knowledge that we now possess on Matar's cult. First of all, before turning to the Phrygian evidence, I will summarise — as a point of reference — some characteristics of the cult in Greece and Rome. Then, the article will proceed with Matar in Phrygia, including a short review of research on this subject and considering different aspects of the religion, such as Matar's iconography, the location of cult places, and other figures of the cult. Finally, I will turn to the question of how, and by whom, her cult spread outside of Phrygia. Even though my primary subject is the Phrygian evidence, I will also include references to the non-Phrygian features that were most distinct in the Greek and Roman versions of her cult, e.g., the presence of Attis and the attribute of the tympanon. Unless otherwise expressed, I will focus on the Paleo-Phrygian period (9th–7th centuries BC) when there was still no influence from the Greeks.

As for her name, Cybele is the Latin version of the Greek Kybele, whereas Meter is the Greek version of the Phrygian Matar, meaning mother. *Matar* occurs in 10 inscriptions from Phrygia, twice with the epithet *Kubileya* ("of the mountain"),[5] from which the Greek and Latin personal names are derived. She is mentioned once with the epithet *areyastin* of unknown meaning, though a possible connection with a similar Hittite word (*ariya-*) might suggest that it is related to oracles and divination (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:106). In this article I will use the name Matar when dealing with the Phrygian roots of the goddess and the name Kybele outside of Phrygia since this is how she is most commonly referred to in the literature.

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[5] Most probably as a natural feature in a landscape, not a specific mountain (Roller 1999:68).

Greece and Rome

The cult of Kybele is probably known in Ionia by the mid 7th century BC[6] and in mainland Greece by the mid 6th century BC.[7] From the beginning of her entry to the Greek world, she is represented seated on a throne. In Athens, she very quickly assimilates with Demeter and Rhea, from whom she gets her new role as Mother of the Gods, *Meter Theôn*, her most common Greek name.[8] In this way she becomes the source of life and, more specifically, the mother of the Olympian gods. She is frequently associated with and worshipped together with Dionysos, either as a *consequence* of similar rites, or perhaps through a Greek identification of a common homeland for Dionysos and Kybele, thus *causing* an adoption of his ecstatic rites. At any rate, a passage in Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.77–79) seems to indicate that nightly rituals were part of her worship by then.

By the 5th century, the representations of the Greek Kybele had become fairly standard, varying only in details: a seated goddess, dressed in Greek clothes, sometimes wearing a *polos* (a tall headdress) or a veil, or both, and holding in her hands a *phiale* (a libation bowl) and a tympanon.[9] One or two lions are always present, either lying in her lap or standing by one or both sides of the throne — sometimes she even uses a lion as a footstool. She was worshipped in the Athenian *agora* and a few other, public places, but otherwise mostly in private shrines (Roller 1999:139), and her worship was, to some degree, linked to the rites of Dionysos and Pan and accompanied by loud, ecstasy-inducing music and wild dance (Roller 1999:143, 149). Her official role as a guardian

[6] This early date is inferred from the find of a shard in Southern Italy (Lokri) inscribed with the name Kubala and dating from the late 7th century. The cult was most probably brought there by emigrants from Colophon in Ionia, which means that the cult must have come to Colophon even earlier than the late 7th century BC (Graf 1984:120).

[7] I generally use the term *cult* when it is clear that some kind of worship has taken place, either related to an image of the goddess, which may be seen by finds of offerings on the spot, or because specific features, like altars, benches, marked stones, worked rocks, niches, cup-marks, or basins, are found in connection with monuments.

[8] This name is the most commonly used in the epigraphic material, whereas *Kybele* is preferred in literary sources.

[9] I will return to the tympanon below.

of democracy and justice can be deduced from the location of her first *metroon* (her shrine) in the *agora* in the same building as the *bouleuterion*. Slowly, during the 5th century BC, a negative attitude towards this foreign goddess emerges. It coincides with a general tendency of growing anti-orientalism, but, ironically, the very features used to point to her foreign nature — the tympana, castanets, cymbals and lions — are not, or very rarely, to be found in her Phrygian iconography (cf. below).

She possesses formidable, awesome, magical powers. People come to her to seek vengeance or justice, and she can possess individuals with madness or illness, or cure them from disease (Borgeaud 1996:27ff.; Roller 1999:156). The sources do not reveal to us why private people worshipped her, but some votives and inscriptions suggest that she was also seen as a protector and nurturer of the sick, mothers and children — a *kourotrophos* (Roller 1999:158). Generally, she is characterised by this dual nature of unpredictable power and beneficent qualities, and the sources reveal an equally dual status in Greek society: she was at once one of the most detested and most beloved of the divinities worshipped by the Greeks.

The goddess was brought to Rome from Asia Minor in 204 BC by state officials in response to a statement in the Sibylline Books that the transference of the Great Mother was the only way to ensure a Roman victory in the Punic wars. *Mater Deum Magna Idaea*, the Great Idaean Mother of the Gods (Kybele's most common public title in Rome) was from the beginning an official goddess, the state representatives being closely associated with her cult, unlike the situation in Greece where the finds suggest a worship of primarily private character. A few years after her arrival, she received a temple on the Palatine Hill. In Rome, Kybele enjoyed great popularity among the lay people, but the worship was practiced most frequently as a part of public processions. This is a result of the almost immediate transformation of the goddess into a Roman deity, the rituals and festivals consequently being of a purely Roman, official character (Roller 1999:279).

The goddess was certainly more popular in Rome than in Greece, and this is probably due to the following circumstances: First of all, she was received as a goddess whose presence had been officially requested by the city's most renowned people. Secondly, she was credited with the honour of saving the Romans from the foreign invaders, led by Hannibal

(Roller 1999:267). In relation to this matter, she was relatively quickly connected with the myth of Aeneas, the Trojan "father" of Rome, and thus, in fact, associated with the establishment and the preservation of the entire empire. Furthermore, as a consequence of being portrayed as a patriotic, Roman goddess, her foreign elements, e.g., her relations with nature, mountains and rural landscapes, were toned down; she became a distinctively urban goddess and was increasingly represented with a sceptre replacing the tympanon as her standard attribute. In other areas (related to the abovementioned features), the Romans adopted, and even emphasised — in their frequent representations of Kybele with a mural crown — a Phrygian feature of Matar, namely her clear, yet un-accentuated role as a city protector.[10] In Rome, Kybele was also particularly connected to fecundity and sexuality (Roller 1999:280), which is attested not only by a number of votives representing fertility symbols such as breasts, genitals and lovemaking couples, but also in the fact that the popularity of Attis grew greatly in the Roman period. These features can probably explain why the literary sources exhibit such a great amount of disdain of the cult, seemingly a contradiction to the archaeological records confirming the cult's popularity.

Phrygia

Having thus presented the most general outlines of the Greek and Roman development of the cult of Kybele, admittedly not including all the important factors, I will now return to Matar in Phrygia. This land covered in the 8th century BC a large part of Western Anatolia, reaching from the southern shore of the Marmara in the north to Lycia in the south, and extending from her neighbours to the west, the Lydians and Ionians, to the Halys River in the east. The Phrygians were said by Herodotos (VII, 73) to be immigrants from Thrace settling in Anatolia. According to modern theories, this would be in the late Bronze age, between the 12th and the 10th centuries BC.

If it is a fact that the Phrygians were descendants of Thracians and brought their cult and religion with them, then the knowledge that we

[10] In Phrygia, she was never portrayed with a mural crown.

possess of the cult and religion in the Thracian region could illuminate the nature of Matar in Phrygia. Convincing arguments for the existence of certain similarities between the religions of the two regions are found in Roller 2002 and 2003. The evidence that speak for a connection between the areas is, among other things, the presence of comparable rock-cut niches and other similar rock-cut structures, suggesting a similar kind of divinity worshipped in mountainous areas. Furthermore, the king in the Thracian area may have engaged in a relationship with a goddess, including a *hieros gamos* and serving as a reinforcement of his power, a situation similar to that in Phrygia, and perhaps surviving there. Another common feature between the Phrygians and the Thracians seems to be a preference for a superior female, quite anonymous deity. These are all interesting points, and a further investigation of the cult in the Thracian area would be valuable in this connection.

Earlier Research on Matar in Anatolia

At the beginning of the 20th century, there was a growing interest in the study of Matar, as can be seen in the works of, e.g., Cumont (1906), Graillot (1912) and Hepding (1903). Apart from being limited by a lack of the material that we have today, the work of these scholars is characterised by their primary emphasis on the Greek and Roman cults, Phrygia being mentioned only to explain its "foreign" traits. Moreover, they are clearly marked by the prejudices of their time when expressing the barbaric and savage nature of the Anatolians compared to the civilised Greeks and Romans, a prejudice in fact dating back to antiquity itself. Shortly before that time, in the second half of the 19th century, a series of excavations were undertaken in Anatolia, which in the years to follow introduced the researchers to some of the Phrygian characteristics of the Mother.[11] Later, these were supplemented by the finds made by archaeologists like Mellaart, Helck, Young, Bittel and Haspels (Naumann 1983:16). Especially the two first mentioned had a strong impact on the theory of the universal Great Mother Goddess, to which

[11] G. and A. Körte in 1895, Ramsay in 1895, Reber and Brandenburg in 1906 (Naumann 1983:15).

I will return later. Albright (1928–29) was the first modern scholar to argue that the Neo-Hittite goddess Kubaba was the ancestress of Matar. A collection of material on Matar in Phrygia was published by Vermaseren in the first volume of *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* (Vermaseren 1987). His book on the cult of Kybele and Attis (Vermaseren 1977) also contains some thoughts on their Phrygian background, and there he repeats the usual presumptions of the researchers of this field: Matar is the direct heir of the Neolithic fertility goddess, and the origin of Attis was Phrygian.

If many of the earlier misconceptions and prejudices about the cult in Phrygia could be explained by the lack of material, this was remedied by Naumann's comprehensive book from 1983 in which, based on her catalogue of finds from Asia Minor to Greece, she describes the development of the iconography of Matar from early Phrygian to late Hellenistic times. Isik's articles primarily deal with the directions of influence in the Anatolian area, focusing on and arguing for, among other things, the Urartian influence on Phrygia, and on the Phrygian influence on Ionian art (Isik 1986–1987). Vassileva (e.g., 2001) and Naydenova (1990) have also studied the connections between Thrace and Phrygia, as has Roller in an article in 2003. In her book from 1999, Roller analyses the Anatolian material and writes a thorough and well-documented narrative on the history and development of the cult of the Anatolian Mother Goddess.[12] She illustrates the lines of development from the Anatolian *Matar* through the Greek *Meter Theôn* to the Roman *Magna Mater.* Furthermore, she makes a convincing case in refuting the thesis that has prevailed from antiquity to modern times, that all the untamed, ecstatic and "uncivilised" aspects of the cult, as we know it in Roman society, were an original part of the cult in Anatolia. Roller also raises the fundamental question: Of what or whom was Matar the mother? Before I take up this and other unresolved issues, and recent research dealing with these, I will summarise the facts that are largely agreed upon today: who was she? And more importantly: who was she not?

[12] See also Roller 1991, 1994, 2002.

Earlier Theories on Matar in Phrygia

The earliest evidence of Matar comes from the early first millennium, as has been clearly shown by Lynn Roller (1999:1). However, there has not always been agreement on this subject, and it is still today often stated that the earliest evidence for the cult of Matar is considerably older.[13] The disagreement stems first and foremost from two strands of opinions:

A Prehistoric, Universal Goddess

One is the view that Matar was but one of many forms of a single, prehistoric Mother Goddess.[14] Research on "The Great Mother Goddess" has often been confusing, especially due to the lack of definition. Moreover, the still growing popularity of this supposedly primordial goddess among non-specialists (e.g., feminists, Wicca adherents, psychologists and transvestites) has cast a shadow of frivolity on the subject. According to this tradition, the worship of Matar goes back to "the dawn of time." This theory claims that a female deity, Mother Earth, was the first divinity worshipped, a view that dates back to Hesiod (*Theogony*, 116–38). In modern times it was re-invented by Bachofen (1861), who explicitly connected this worship of a Mother Goddess with a primitive phase of human society, so that this first expression of religiosity was linked to (an immature) matriarchy.[15]

A slight modification of this belief appeared in E.O. James 1959, where he writes: "Whether or not the Mother Goddess was the earliest manifestation of the concept of deity, her symbolism unquestionably has been the most persistent feature in the archaeological record of the ancient world" (James 1959:11). According to James, the cradle land of the Mother Goddess was the Southern Russian steppe and Western Asia, from where (from the time of Upper Palaeolithic to the Christian era) it

[13] Followers of this theory are known today as the Goddess Movement, and they hold variants of the opinion that Mother Goddess worship was the first kind of religion, as well as the modified conviction that all goddesses are different manifestations of a single Mother deity. Recent examples: Getty 1990; Gimbutas 2001; Gimbutas and Dexter 1999; Robertson 1996; Roscoe 1996.

[14] See also Borgeaud 1996 (preface) for a refutation of this theory.

[15] Bachofen 1975:98–99. See also Borgeaud 1994–95 on Bachofen and Kybele.

spread throughout the world, from India to the Mediterranean, eventually developing into the different religions and divinities familiar to us from this area.[16] In other words, the divine figures known to us as, e.g., Aphrodite, *Potnia Therôn* or the Virgin Mother Mary are hypostases of this single unity, the Mother Goddess (cf. also Vermaseren 1977:10). According to James, the process of this development started with the rise of agriculture as well as of the human species' growing consciousness of the duality and necessity of male and female in the generative process. Due to the circumstance that she was no longer the *Unmarried Mother*, she became associated with the *Young God* as her son or consort, hence producing, among others, the divine couple of Matar and Attis. Having thus explained the nature of religion as a basic question of Procreation, Life and Death, James accordingly, and in complete agreement with almost all other research before and at his time, regarded the emergence of Attis (the male consort of Graeco-Roman Kybele) as contemporary with that of Kybele herself.[17] However, as Roller demonstrates, there is no divine Attis until Hellenistic and Roman times,[18] and Matar was certainly not a traditional fertility goddess, a fact also noticeable in the absence of ordinary fertility symbols, such as ears of corn or children. Instead, her most persistent iconographical features are those of power: she is presented as a figure who controls nature, protects cities, and is accompanied only by predatory animals (Roller 1999:38).

The archaeological finds of nude female figurines that have traditionally been interpreted as Mother Goddesses have been seen as proofs of the universal goddess theory. This, however, is not an unproblematic understanding. First of all, it has been naturally assumed that the figurines are to be interpreted in a religious context, even though the finding contexts, e.g., rubbish dumps or household deposits, might suggest a variety of other possible functions, like teaching devices, toys, servant figures etc. (Roller 1999:15). On the official website of Catalhöyuk, Ian Hodder and Sharina Farid inform us that a certain kind of figurines

[16] James 1959:11–12. Cf. also Burkert 1987:6.

[17] This assumption is repeated in the more recent books of Sfamani Gasparro 1985, Martin 1987, Meyer 1987 and Burkert 1987.

[18] Roller 1994:247. I will return to this subject below.

(found in great numbers), always with their heads broken off, have up till now been classified as Mother Goddesses. Now, a new and complete find shows that they are bears, not women. Secondly, even if the statuettes should be regarded as cultic artifacts, this does not necessarily imply a Mother Goddess cult,[19] especially considering the fact that most of the figurines have no indications of gender,[20] that a large minority of male figures have also been found, and that the women are young as well as old, slim as well as corpulent.

Matar and Kubaba

The other strand of research (though not necessarily unrelated to the former line of argument) is the hypothesis that Matar is essentially the same as Kubaba, an old Hittite goddess.[21] The identification of the two goddesses is not a modern idea, but goes back to the ancient Greeks, and is caused, among other things, by the similarity of the names Kybebe (the Hellenised form of Kubaba) and Kybele (Brixhe 1979:40ff.). In the second millennium BC, this goddess, who is first mentioned in cuneiform texts from the 17th or 16th century BC, was a minor deity in a large pantheon, but at the beginning of the first millennium BC, she rose to a status of primary female divinity in the Neo-Hittite centres, particularly in Karkemish,[22] and later also prominent in the city of Sardis. She is characterised in representations as sitting or standing, always in profile, and often in a triad with two male gods. Her main attributes are a mirror and a pomegranate and, in Karkemish, ears of corn, all of which define her as a fertility goddess as well as a "Schöne Frau."[23] Her clothes (*polos*, veil and mantle), the occasionally attending

[19] See Hodder and Farid 2005. For an enlightening summary of the positions in the discussion, see Hodder 2006a.

[20] Hodder 2006a. See also Hodder 2006b:213.

[21] This theory was first expressed by Albright 1928–29, then repeated in numerous works, such as Laroche 1960; Diakonoff 1977; Vermaseren 1977b; *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6:264; Naumann 1983. In *LIMC*, the theory of Matar as a prehistoric goddess, and the link between Kubaba and Matar, is also assrted (see under "Kybele," first paragraph).

[22] Roller 1999:44. See also Bittel on Kubaba in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, and Naumann 1983:17–38.

[23] Naumann 1983:36. That is, representative of beauty, like the Greek Aphrodite.

animals, lions, leopards or bulls, and the texts furthermore represent her as Queen of Heaven and Mistress of animals.

Apart from the representational differences, Brixhe concludes on purely linguistic grounds that Kybele and Kubaba are not the same, and that Kybele cannot be viewed as an alteration of Kubaba (Brixhe 1979:45). While the similarities of the iconography of Kubaba and Matar are certainly present (i.e., in clothing, the occasional appearance of attending lions, the pomegranate as well as the resemblance of names), the differences are notably deeper, as Roller demonstrates:[24] Kubaba was not a Mother Goddess, a primary role for Matar (cf. her Phrygian name, *Mother*). While Kubaba is constantly seen in profile, sometimes standing, sometimes enthroned, Matar is always depicted frontally in a standing pose. The differences in main attributes and hence main roles are also striking: Matar's constant companion is the predatory bird designating hunting, while Kubaba's mirror indicates femininity. In addition to this, there is a difference in the primary location of cult places: even though Matar could be worshipped in a variety of settings, e.g., funerary and urban contexts, the rural areas are of great importance (most often in mountains, sometimes near a spring), while the reliefs of Kubaba come almost entirely from court or other urban contexts. Last but not least, in Phrygian cult reliefs, Matar is always represented as standing in the doorway of her house, which is never the case for Kubaba. We can thus conclude that the iconography of Kubaba has influenced the Phrygian representations of Matar, but she was not her predecessor.

Iconography and Roles of Matar

Apart from the features of the Phrygian representations of Matar mentioned above, the following characteristics can be attributed to her. She is the only Phrygian goddess shown iconographically in an anthropomorphic form. The traditional way of representing Matar had been

[24] Cf. Roller 1999:45–53. Furthermore, it can be added that these points of resemblance are by no means restricted to Kubaba and Matar (a *polos* and a veil are common attributes of divinity, the pomegranate also comes with many other fertility goddesses, lions accompany the *potnia therôn*, etc.), but rather indicates a similarity in roles.

formed under the influence of the Hittites, the Neo-Hittites, and the Urartians, at the end of the 8th century BC, from which time it more or less remained traditional until the 6th century BC, when Greek influence becomes apparent. Above all, she is represented as a goddess of the wild and untamed nature, living in the mountains and surrounding herself with wild animals such as the predatory bird, lions or even fantasy creatures, like sphinxes.[25]

Normally, she wears a *polos* from which a veil is hanging down, covering her hair. Her attributes differ slightly from the regions of central Phrygia to the Highlands in the west, the most significant elements being drinking vessels, bowls and occasionally lions — in Western Phrygia — while predatory birds are a persistent attribute in Central Phrygia. Birds of prey were often seen as divine attributes in the Hittite religion (Roller 1999:43).

Tympanon

One of Matar's best known Greek attributes is the *tympanon*. It enters the Greek iconography of Kybele in the late 6th century and is mentioned in literature at probably the same time.[26] It has no precedents in images from Phrygia, but is seen in Assyria, the Neo-Hittite centres of South-Eastern Anatolia, and in the Greek area on Cyprus and Crete, where they were related to the cult of Rhea (Roller 1999:137, 173). The tympanon[27] is seen on a representation of musicians dancing for Kubaba in Karkemisch (Naumann 1983:28). This need not cause the rejection of the theory that Kubaba was not the predecessor of Matar; it can simply be explained by the fact that the Greeks, who did in fact understand Matar as Kubaba,[28] may have borrowed the instruments of Kubaba, assuming that they belonged to Kybele. The earliest Lydian

[25] In the city of Etlik, see Roller 1999:74. This is not an unusual phenomenon in the neighbouring cultures in the Anatolian area.

[26] Despite its Archaic style, the Homeric hymn to *Meter Theôn* is probably to be dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BC (Roller 1999:123).

[27] Together with cymbals, double flute and lyre. These are the very instruments mentioned in the Greek sources, see Roller 1999:151, n.21. Cf. also the instruments played by Matar's Boğazköy attendants, mentioned below.

[28] The early Greek name Κυβεβε is, among other things, a Hellenised form of Kubaba (Roller 1999:124).

representations of Matar/Kybele, who was a mixture of Greek Kybele, Phrygian Matar and Kubaba, show no instances of the tympanon, an observation which thus probably contradicts the theory that the tympanon came from this area.

The presence of the tympanon in the rites of the Cretan Rhea (explained mythologically as the instruments used by the Kouretes to create loud music for baby Zeus), and the representation of this instrument in Cretan iconography already in the 8th century BC, offer another plausible background for the Greek connection of the tympanon with Kybele (Roller 1999:170–74). The Greeks, who conflated Kybele and Rhea at least from the mid 6th century, may have transferred Rhea's symbols to Kybele, perhaps due to the recognition of a similarity of rituals connected to these goddesses, causing an identification of Kybele and Rhea. This theory fits with the chronology of the archaeological evidence, i.e., evidence for an assimilation of Rhea and Kybele in the mid-6th century, and the first iconographical representations of tympana at the end of the 6th century. However, the earliest example of Kybele with a tympanon is from the Western coast of the Black Sea (mid-6th century: Alexandrescu Vianu 1980), then Thasos, Phokaia and Ephesos (early 5th century: Salviat 1964:248; Naumann 1983:136), i.e., from the Ionian cultural sphere. This circumstance points to Ionia (from where the Greek cities of the Black sea coast was primarily colonised), or the Black Sea itself, as a place of origin, and correspondingly, to the reflection that the cult may have been of a peculiar kind in this area.

Aniconic Idols

Aside from the anthropomorphic representations, several aniconic idols of Matar have also been found, in either single or double versions.[29] The earliest of these idols probably date back to ca. 950–830 BC (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:158), which makes them considerably older than the anthropomorphic representations of Matar. The circumstance that the

[29] It has generally been interpreted as a double version of Matar; this is also a characteristic trait of other religions, especially the Greek. It might symbolise two different aspects of the divinity: it may double the force of the deity, or it may represent two related deities. However, Berndt-Ersöz suggests that this is not the case for the Phrygian idols, see below.

Phrygians originally worshipped their goddess in an aniconic fashion, may be a further indication of the similarities between the Phrygians and the Thracians who before being influenced by the Greeks never depicted their goddess anthropomorphically. I will return to the interpretation of the idols in the next section.

Whose Mother is Matar?

Given that only one or two statues of Matar represent her in the company of children,[30] the question remains: of what is she the mother? Finding support in interpretations of inscriptions and in cult locations (in the cities often on or in connection with the city walls and elaborate, expensive buildings), and in the fact that the king was most likely intimately connected to her worship, Roller thinks that Matar was the mother of the State and throne, a feature also surviving in the Greek mainland, where her *metroon*, as mentioned above, was first located in the *bouleuterion* in the *agora*.[31] Mark Munn (2006), who attempts to explain the apparent paradox why the archives of the Athenian democracy were located in a temple dedicated to a non-Greek goddess, agrees with this theory and supports it by discussing the concept of the tyrant copulating with a Goddess in order to secure his future power.[32] There are, however, no sources from Athens to support a theory of a *hieros gamos* in the *agora*. That Kybele was present in the *agora* as a result of her role as a Mother of the State, is certainly likely. The idea, however, of a *hieros gamos* in the *agora* is purely theoretical and less convincing,

[30] Even the best example has not been proven beyond doubt to represent Matar, see Roller 1999:104, fig. 35. Even though Roller mentions that it may be influenced by the cult of Leto, she still refers to the statue as Matar on account of the notable similarity in pose and costume. In my opinion, though, there is no indication that this is in fact Matar. Besides, given the fact that Matar's dress was an ordinary piece of clothing, this would be how they would represent any deity. Only if we know for sure that it can represent no other deity, can we conclude anything from this picture, but since this is a circular argument leading to a much wider discussion, I will leave it at this.

[31] Borgeaud 1996:28, explains this as a result of Matar's dual identity in Classical Greece — one as the ancient Greek, anonymous Mother Earth, the other as a specific foreign deity from Phrygia.

[32] As does Roller in her article from 2002 about rulership and the Great goddess in Thrace.

but need not be employed to substantiate this role. Whether a role as Mother of the State is unrelated to or has influenced Kybele's function as a protector of Justice in the *agora* (an important function, which Borgeaud interprets as the result of a conflation between the Phrygian Mother and an ancient Greek goddess of Justice), remains an open question.

Roller's theory also involves the figure of Attis: she believes that Attis was a royal name, like Midas, and that the king had sacred obligations. Based on evidence from Hellenistic Phrygia, where Attis is actually the title of the High priest, and assuming that this function (i.e., high priest) would be the only remnant of an earlier sacred kingship (under the names of Midas and Attis) in a time when Phrygia had lost its independence, she then proposes the theory that Matar enjoyed common worship with the king, a king to be regarded as divine. Since other circumstances indicate that Matar was indeed regarded as the protector of the state (Roller 1999:111), she could have joined in a *hieros gamos* with the king in Phrygia, thus reinforcing his authority. This would eventually lead the Greeks to confuse this divine priest-king/high priest with a god, thus creating Attis (Roller 1999:70, 112).

In general, Matar's character seems to be that of a protective, powerful goddess, expressing with her predatory birds a helpful and positive, rather than fearful, character — predatory birds being viewed as helpers of human beings in the hunt.

Attendants Relating to the Cult

Attis

Though there is no consensus in research on the existence of Attis in Phrygia,[33] Roller nevertheless presents a convincing theory, namely that

[33] The main argument, e.g., in Vermaseren 1977b, is the story of Croesus and his son Atys, besides the mere assumption that the ancient myths must reflect a much older tradition. Roller refers me to Baumeister 1860, who originally presented this argument. Cf. also Sfameni Gasparro 1985:26, who, realising the late appearance of references to Attis, explains this by the fact that it was simply too abhorrent for the Greeks to accept his existence. For further reading, Lancellotti 2002 (in particular 1–61) gives a thorough account of the research positions on this subject.

there was no divine Attis in the Phrygian period (see above, and Roller 1994). Her arguments are that no iconographic representations have been found before 350 BC (in Piraeus), and that all the literary evidence is equally late. Moreover, the name Attis is given twice in the inscriptions as the donator, not the receiver of dedications (Roller 1999:111). The reference to Atys in Herodotus offers no real reason to assume the opposite, since this was in fact the most ordinary and widespread name in Phrygia (Roller 1999:70), and since Atys in Herodotus has little in common with the Attis of the later Hellenistic myths.

A Male Companion?

Whereas it seems reasonable to say that the god Attis was a Hellenistic development, the assertion of Roller that Matar was the only divinity represented in Phrygia is still being discussed.[34] Berndt-Ersöz argues that the small attendants playing the musical instruments are to be viewed as gods (Berndt-Ersöz 2004) and that in Phrygia a male superior god actually did exist, who is represented in the double idols and was later identified with Zeus. In a detailed line of argument, based on epigraphical and iconographical evidence, Berndt-Ersöz comes to the following conclusions: The superior male god, portrayed aniconically in the double idols, is actually to be seen in the (relatively frequent) occurrences of images of bulls from the earliest to later Phrygian times, not normally related to Matar by scholars. This god was equal to her in status. The most likely god to be represented as a bull would be a Phrygian equivalent of the Hittite Weather god or the Greek Zeus, both of which are represented as bulls (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:205). Berndt-Ersöz does not mention Dionysos in this connection, but the two gods primarily associated with bulls in Greece were in fact Dionysos and Zeus, the very gods who, above all, were connected to early Greek Kybele.

In search of epigraphical support for her theory, Berndt-Ersöz turns to the evidence of the cult of Zeus Papas, i.e., Father, a cult specifically found in Asia Minor from the Hellenistic age. The Anatolian word for father was *atta*, and in the Hittite language *atta-* was also used for the

[34] However, it needs to be specified that it is not a matter of believing that the Phrygians were monotheistic, but that we do not have *iconographical* representations of any other deities in the Phrygian material (Roller 1999:108).

Father of the gods or Father god. *Ata* is a word in the (still not deciphered) Phrygian language, occurring in several Phrygian graffiti and inscriptions, most of them with religious significance.[35] One inscription is clearly a dedication to *Ata*. As a reference, Berndt-Ersöz uses an image of the bull, i.e., the weather god, placed next to a representation of an anthropomorphic, female divinity on a relief from the Hittite period in a manner reminiscent of two later Phrygian images of the bull and Matar from Gordion, the Phrygian capital. Accordingly, she proposes that *Ata* actually was the Phrygian male superior god, *Ata* simply meaning Father, just as Matar means Mother. When Phrygia became Hellenised, *Ata* was identified with Zeus, but in some areas he kept his original name, Father, in a Greek form, *Papas*.

While Berndt-Ersöz, based on the above arguments, refuses the idea that this god, Ata, has anything to do with the later Greek Attis, it is my opinion that, even though Attis may not be directly derived from Ata, there may still be a linguistic unity behind them; the fact that Attis/Atys (and other spelling variants) was the most common personal name in Phrygia, and that it was also a royal and perhaps also a high priestly name, may perhaps be explained by a common source in the very name of Ata, the superior god. We should also bear in mind that the existence of personal names derived from a divine name is a well known occurrence in many cultures. Finally, it should be mentioned that, according to Diodoros and Arrian, Baba/Papas was an alternative name for Attis, and in the later Roman cult was an epithet of the Phrygian Zeus (Roller 1999:70, n.45).

Even though we should be very cautious about regarding later sources as evidence of earlier circumstances, I nevertheless find this theory convincing, since it provides a good explanation for some of the previously unresolved problems, such as the apparent structure behind the appearance of single and double idols,[36] respectively, and the phenomenon (and perhaps also the nature) of the Papas cult in that area. Furthermore, it helps explain the fact that Matar was represented in the company of Zeus (and a young, male god) in a series of later reliefs from

[35] Inferred mainly from their locations, Berndt-Ersöz 2003:207.

[36] Only the double idols, never the single ones (with one exception), were found in connection with step monuments; see Berndt-Ersöz 2003:74.

Ephesos. These are unique, partly because they represent Matar together with a male god equal to her in height, and hence in status, and partly because she is shown in a standing pose, that is, in the Phrygian manner, which is hardly ever the case after the 6th century BC in the Greek world.[37] The epigraphical evidence from Ephesos affirms the identification of the bearded god as Zeus, with the epithet *Patroios*.[38] Whether or not the existence of a male *paredros* is regarded as a satisfactory theory, it still remains unclear why Matar is so prominent in our sources, i.e., why is she the only deity represented?

Roller is not convinced by the thesis of *Ata* as her male *paredros*, but she nevertheless proposes a theory of Matar's prominence that actually does not exclude the existence of *Ata*. As a supporter of the theory of the Thracian-Phrygian migration around the 10th century BC, Roller believes that the Phrygians, after their settlement in Anatolia, slowly built up a powerful royal dynasty,[39] a theory supported by archaeological excavations in Gordion.[40] This dynasty, or perhaps even an individual king, needed a divine protector to support the dynasty's or his own position of power (cf. the paragraph above on Matar as mother, and Munn 2006). A divine mother would be a powerful symbol for a male elite, and a claim of special protection from her would reinforce their position of dominance. This historical development would also explain the fact that Matar was only represented in anthropomorphic form at a relatively late date, i.e., not until the Phrygian dynasty was so developed that it became necessary to employ the anthropomorphic images that the neighbouring cultures — the Neo-Hittites and the Urartians — were used to. This corresponds also with the fact that the gods of the Thracians, too, were not represented anthropomorphically until they met other cultures — the Greeks, in their case.

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[37] The Ionian Greeks introduced the image of a seated goddess, which very quickly became the standard representation.

[38] Vikela 2001:108ff. Vikela comments on these Ephesian types, but refrains from drawing any conclusions, stating only that, "...auf welche mythologische Beziehung (diese Dreiverein) sich gründet, bleibt unklar. Jedenfalls muss er aus einheimischen Vorstellungen entstanden sein" (110).

[39] The theory is described in her 2003 article.

[40] Sams 1994:xxxi, 20; Muscarella 1995:91, Laszlo 1998:41.

Eunuch Priests

Other figures relating to the cult are seen occasionally, one perhaps of a eunuch priest.[41] On a relief from Boğazköy, Matar is accompanied by two small attendants playing the flute and lyre, and in Gordion, two small figures have also been found near a Matar shrine. There is disagreement as to how much knowledge can be drawn from these, but it is safe to say that they are all smaller than the goddess, male youths and represented with objects like bowls and musical instruments. Whether or not they represent other deities is a question of debate. The existence of eunuch priests in Phrygia is difficult to prove, but it is worth bearing in mind that a considerable number of eunuchs were employed in the courts of the Oriental kings, so they were not an unprecedented phenomenon in the area.[42] The evidence for ritual castration in Anatolia is quite vague, though, and defies the idea that this was a predominant feature of the Mother's cult in Phrygia — most of the evidence comes from Rome. The term *gallos*, denoting a castrate priest of the Kybele cult, is first met with in Hellenistic times. Roller, as many with her, is of the opinion that the word derives from the *Galatians*, who inhabited the area of central Phrygia in Hellenistic times. Other possible sources have been suggested, for example a cock (lat. *gallus*) or a river named *Gallos*.[43] A common characteristic of the various suppositions is that they draw on relatively late material (3rd century BC and later), whether iconographical, mythological, historical or epigraphical evidence. The idea has also been proposed that the name *galloi* is derived from Sumeric *gallu*, meaning *in a woman's voice*,[44] an attractive theory that, if correct, speaks for a much older tradition of *galloi* than previously assumed. Last but not least, it should be mentioned that *gallos* could come from an indo-European word with the stem **ĝhel-*, in the sense

[41] Roller 1999:105: one of the very few pieces of evidence within Anatolia of this type of priests.

[42] Diakonoff 1977:338 who in a description of a Urartian document about king Rusa II mentions 3784 eunuchs among his personnel. Other possible sources of comparison could be the megabyzoi of Artemis in Ephesos, but this is not an undisputed fact, see Lane 1996:132.

[43] A river near Pessinous; Lane 1996:123ff.

[44] Borgeaud 1996:77–78; Roscoe 1996:195ff.; Hirschmann 2005:65–66.

of "cutting," probably also present in the English *gelding* and Scandinavian *gilding*.[45]

Lions

In contrast to the Greek and Roman cult, lions appear with Matar in Phrygia on just one, possibly two, representations from the pre-Greek period,[46] excluding other images of lions from Phrygia not directly related to her. In Phrygia, lions are depicted as huge, standing on their hind legs with their paws resting on Matar's head (or on pillars, in the case of her absence).[47] Furthermore, there are *two* lions present in the Phrygian images, unlike the Graeco-Roman representations with between one and three lions. In images of lions without Matar, the lions are portrayed as protectors of tombs, and according to Berndt-Ersöz they are there either because the tombs are under the protection of Matar, or because they are symbols of the ruling class, both interpretations emphasising their role as apotropaic symbols (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:192) — in either case, the lions have no obvious relation to Matar.

Since there is clear evidence that Matar was closely related to the ruling elite class,[48] the presence of lions on the great tombs may nevertheless indicate a Phrygian connection between Matar and lions. If we accept that the lions are representatives of Matar, that would be yet another sign of her relation to tombs, albeit an indirect one like the other references pointing to this relationship.[49] On the other hand, we could also consider whether a common connection with graves was the

[45] This theory is proposed by George Hinge in a private e-mail.

[46] Berndt-Ersöz 2003:192. Besides the lions with Matar at Arslan Kaya, there is a step monument at Karahisar with animals that seem to be lions, on each side of a semi-circular disc (ibid. 70).

[47] Arslan Tas, Yilan Tas, and Midas City (the Pyramid Tomb), Roller 1999:102–3 and Berndt-Ersöz 2003:192.

[48] E.g., her affiliation with the king, and the presence of representations of Matar on the elaborate building structures (Roller 1999:111).

[49] I.e., by symbols possibly symbolising Matar, such as a rosette (Vassileva 2001:59), or a certain similarity between the rock-cut monuments and the tradition of carving tombs into natural rock (Roller 1999:102).

very factor that later caused the image of Matar to be related to lions. As noted above, there is one recorded instance of a connection between lions and Matar in Phrygia (at Arslan Kaya). This may indeed serve as evidence that the later and almost obligatory presence of lions in Greece merely reflects the Phrygian background. However, that they occur only once among the relatively big number of Matar representations may indicate other sources of influence. Roller suggests Lydia as a possible transitional factor between Phrygian and Ionian iconography (Roller 1999:131). A Lydian temple model of the early 6th century represents the Phrygian Matar in Greek style, flanked by snakes and lions. Lions were an important and frequent symbol of Lydian royalty, and perhaps the coupling of Matar with lions became a more permanent feature which may have influenced the adaptation of the lion by the Ionian Greeks, with whom they had strong connections. Rein offers another explanation for the presence of lions on Lydian coins and in the religious iconography, suggesting that the Lydians, being originally associated with the hawk as an animal symbol (Rein 1993:65), took over the lion from the Greek *Potnia Therôn*, thus interpreting the lions as a basically Greek feature. Bearing in mind the unquestionable connection of lions with Matar at Arslan Kaya, the probable presence of lions at Kalehisar and the fact that lions also occur elsewhere in Phrygia, it seems possible to conclude that the lions were a Phrygian feature, although the Phrygians obviously did not attach as much importance to them as did the Greeks and the Lydians.[50] As to the question why the Greeks credited this creature with such an enormous significance that it rapidly became a standard attribute of Kybele, despite its relatively small place in Phrygian iconography, the answer may simply be a matter of recognition. In Phrygia, Matar enjoyed iconographical supremacy, even monopoly, whereas the Ionian Greek pantheon necessitated special attributes to distinguish her from other deities, a demand that birds, bowls or a veil would not effectively fulfil.

[50] About lions in general, it should be noticed that lions are a frequent symbol in Asia Minor, perhaps as a result of Persian influence.

Cult Places and Rituals

Rock-cut Monuments

The finds of statuettes in ordinary buildings suggest that Matar was often worshipped in private houses, and no actual building found in Phrygia has yet been identified as a temple.[51] Nevertheless, it is quite certain that the great monumental façades carved in the mountains have been used as places of worship. Sources on Hittite religion reveal a preference for worship on high places, in mountains, etc., which may have influenced the Matar worship. The Phrygian cult monuments (7th century BC), perhaps better known as rock-cut shrines, are situated in the mountainous landscape and consist of a large façade carved into the natural rock and shaped like a house with a niche in which the statue of the goddess was probably located.[52] This niche represents a doorway (with the doors open, still visible in one of the major monuments, Arslan Kaya) and the surrounding decorations (i.e., the façade monuments) represent the rest of the house with lintel, pediment, gable and *acroterion*. We find Urartian (900–700 BC) similarities in the tradition of cutting into rocks "fake doors" with steps as a location of divine epiphany.[53] The tradition of placing a statue of the divinity is, however, a purely Phrygian feature (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:255). There has been some discussion as to whether this "house" mirrors a temple or a house (Roller 1999:112), but it is perhaps only a question of linguistic interest since a temple is basically the house of a god.

Shafts

The great rock-cut monuments were originally believed to be funerary installations,[54] but even though they resemble the tomb graves of

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[51] See my discussion of this below. Note the fact that we have plenty of evidence from the Hittites and Urartians that they built temples for their gods, besides worshipping them in mountainous shrines; see Berndt-Ersöz 2003:179.

[52] Many niches are empty, but some still contain statues of Matar or statue bases. I will return to these cult façades below in the discussion of the connections between Thrace and Phrygia.

[53] Roller 1999:41–62 presents a detailed analysis of the influence of these earlier cultures.

[54] Berndt-Ersöz 1998:92 and Naumann 1983:53.

Phrygia, the tombs face west while these face south or east, and the assumption was primarily based on the existence of the *shafts*. These are rectangular pits descending from a flat area above the niches and going vertically down behind these, ending on the same level as the niches. They are always connected to the niche by means of a round hole, and ledges on their sides show that lids were attached to them. They, too, have been the subject of much debate. Originally, they were interpreted as tombs (Naumann 1983:52–53). There are, however, good arguments against this. First, they do not resemble any other tombs that we know of in Phrygia, and second, their design makes their function as sepulchral chambers unlikely.[55] Roller believes that they functioned as deposits for offerings (Roller 1999:98), as does Naumann (1983:53). Another possible function is that they were used as hiding places for oracles or mediums of the goddess (Berndt-Ersöz 1998:98). The close connection between these cult monuments and the presence of water, often a spring, has often been emphasised.[56] Berndt-Ersöz has shown, though, that this is only true of the type of cultic monuments that have a shaft. Hence, water might suggest some kind of ritual connected with these shafts, and not with the monuments as such. An explanation for this can perhaps be found in Hittite religion, where sacred springs, "holy water," was very important in connection with divination (Berndt-Ersöz 1998:184).

Stelae

It is very likely that the small *stelae* with reliefs found of Matar, set up outdoors in areas not enriched by suitable mountains, are simplified imitations of these grand cult façades, the "niche" and doorway still being indicated. Vikela (2001:72) argues that these *stelae* were viewed as separate cultic shrines and not just as votives or interior decorations — in other words, they functioned as portable sanctuaries with the power of sanctifying the space around them. This is an interesting point of view since it could explain the lack of monumental temples,

[55] Their dimensions, the connecting passage between the niches in front of them, and the lids (designed to be re-opened and re-closed) halfway down the shafts. For a full discussion of this, see Berndt-Ersöz 1998.

[56] E.g., Roller 1999:43, 138, and Vassileva 2001:55.

and it fits very well with the general observations that signs of worship are scattered in many private houses. This might also have survived in the Greek *naiskoi* and in the habit of hanging pictures of Kybele around the neck.[57]

Step Monuments

The aniconic idols, briefly mentioned above, seem to be related to cultic actions since many of them were found in connection with another kind of monuments, called *altars* or *step monuments* in the literature, also to be regarded as early, primitive cult monuments. At a few of these step monuments, signs of animals are still visible. In one case (the step monument at Karahisar), these may be reclining lions. At another (Köhnüs valley), the remains have been interpreted by some as lions, but are more likely to be predatory birds (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:70). As can be deduced from their name, these monuments all have steps (which are also a persistent feature of the rock-cut shrines) and a semi-circular disc on top, as a kind of back-rest. No conclusive facts have yet been agreed upon concerning these. Ramsay called them altars, as does Roller (1999:79). Körte and Akurgal claimed that they were empty thrones of the goddess.[58] Berndt-Ersöz concludes that they were thrones (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:242). She argues that the semi-circular discs on some of the step monuments symbolise divine presence, i.e., Matar alone in the semi-circular disc or in the single idols found elsewhere, or Matar and her *paredros* in the double idols found on the thrones. This would be an expression of early religiosity, before the image of Matar became anthropomorphic (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:198). Indeed, the aniconic idols definitely antedate the anthropomorphic representations, some of them dating back to the 9th century BC, perhaps even further (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:167). In my view, the arguments about the interpretation of the double or multiple idols as representing different deities are in themselves not very persuasive, but in combination with the theory of the male superior god *Ata*, I find it quite likely that the double idols represent two divinities.

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[57] Vikel 2001: 72ff Cf. Herodotus IV, 76.

[58] Körte 1898:118–19; Ramsay 1889:167; Roller 1999:79; Akurgal 1955:97–98.

It is generally indicative that the cult locations are most often found in boundary zones, such as the area between city and wild territory and by crossroads, and more importantly by the city gates, where several images of Matar have been found overlooking the entrance, obviously having a protective role (Berndt-Ersöz 2003:185). This role is also visible in the Roman cult and art where she is commonly depicted with a mural crown, cf. the section on Greece and Rome above.

Worship and Rituals

Only little is known of the kind of worship attached to Matar in Phrygia. An early model shrine (early 6th century BC) from Sardis, portraying the rituals connected with the *Lydian* Kybele,[59] who was, at that time, a blend of the Graeco-Phrygian Kybele and the Neo-Hittite Kubaba, may furnish the best example for comparison of Matar's rituals in Phrygia. Whether these rituals (including music, wine drinking, a mountain procession and, probably, dancing), performed by what seem to be different kinds of female and male priests, also represent cultic activities in Phrygia, is still an open question. What the Phrygian music-playing attendants of the Boğazköy statue testify is that music most likely did play a role in her worship. Unlike the descriptions of the music in Greece as "loud" and "resounding" (Diogenes, Athenaios 1.2; Roller 1999:151) — no doubt caused by the use of castanets and tympana, which were not part of Matar's cult or iconography in Phrygia — the music in Phrygia was probably conceived differently due to the use of other instruments, the flutes, as in the older, Anatolian tradition.[60] The Boğazköy attendants are presented in a manner that suggests dancing, but aside from these, the evidence of dance in the cult is from the Graeco-Roman age. Vassileva suggests, though, that the mere nature of the façade monuments implies rituals of music and dance (Vassileva 2001:55), which is possible, but hard to prove.

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[59] See Rein 1993 for a full analysis of this votive temple. The mere fact that it is an actual temple for the goddess seems to me a reason for caution in using it as a parallel of worship, since we have no evidence of temples in Phrygia, as mentioned above.

[60] The music of flutes is referred to as ἡδυβόαι, sweet sounding in Eur. Bacchae, 127, Roller 1999:110, 151; Sfameni Gasparro 1985:4.

A Mystery Religion?

The issue that naturally arises in connection with worship is the question of mysteries. As mentioned, most previous research on Matar concentrates on the Greek mysteries, but even when the Phrygian background is mentioned, her cult is still referred to as mysteries.[61] I am not familiar with one generally recognised definition of mystery religions as such, but having consulted some of the most important works on this theme, my suggestion is that there was no such version of the Matar cult in Phrygia or, at least, that the evidence at this point is so meagre that it would be too hypothetical to engage in. Some of the widely accepted factors that are part of a mystery religion are, in the words of Burkert: "...initiation rituals of a voluntary, personal, and secret character that aimed at a change of mind through experience of the sacred" (Burkert 1987:11). Furthermore, they are attached to certain types of deities, namely chthonic (according to Martin) and/or fertility gods (according to Meyer).[62] According to the guidelines of Sfameni Gasparro,[63] mystery religions also include certain kinds of rituals with a specific purpose, such as illumination, salvation or transformation; an ultimate purpose is also to overcome the vicissitudes of blind *Fortuna* (Martin 1987:59). More specifically, it includes a promise of a happy afterlife (Sourvinou-Inwood 2003:26). According to Martin, the mystery cults concentrate on a myth of a wandering deity, something which is obviously not attested in Phrygia. Bianchi offers a differentiation, based on Plutarch, between "mystery gods" and other gods by characterising the former as "subject to mutability" (Bianchi 1976:2). This fits very well with the later Hellenistic myths about Kybele, but is — again — not attested in Phrygia. Clinton (2003:55) defines a mystery cult by saying, among other things, that the initiands have "to undergo a death-like experience or at least an experience of suffering."

There are a few signs from the Classical period in mainland Greece that her cult had, some way or another, developed in this direction; in Euripides, the rites of Kybele are referred to as *teletai* (*Bacchae* 73), a term that often, though not always (Clinton 2003:53–54) refers to

[61] E.g., Sfameni Gasparro 1985; Fol 1998; Vassileva 2001.

[62] Martin 1987:58 and Meyer 1987:5.

[63] Gasparro 1985:xv, 9, 26 etc.

mystery cults or initiations. If we accept the presence of torch-bearing attendants,[64] e.g., of Hekate, and the occasional references to nightly rituals (Pindar, *Pyth.* Ode 3.79, cf. also Herod. IV, 76) as evidence of mystery cult, then we may safely conclude that this was part of her worship already with Pindar. A krater from Ferrara from 440 BC (Roller 1999, fig. 43) shows a woman carrying a basket covered with a cloth, on her head. This has been interpreted as a *cista mystica*, a basket with a lid holding the secret objects of the rituals, which would then refer to mystery rites. This basket, however, is also seen on reliefs of non-mystery gods such as Asclepius, and probably just represents a basket with offerings.

Based on the design of the Phrygian cult façades, Vassileva proposes the theory that they may have been used in the context of a mystery cult. To begin with, she sees in the shafts appropriate places for symbolic burial and a place for a *hieros gamos* between king and Matar (Vassileva 2001:61). In my opinion, this theory rests on the old assumption that the shafts were tombs, a suggestion now generally abandoned due to circumstances mentioned above. Secondly, Vassileva sees in the niches (representing doorways) a symbolism in the closing and opening of the doors which refers to initiations. Contrary to this, I think that the doors (or "niches") on the mountain side most likely represent a direct influence from the Hittite preference for worship in high places, and from the Urartian tradition of cutting fake doors high up on the mountain side indicating that the divinity dwelled there in his or her house, i.e., the mountain (Roller 1999:54). Moreover, the building structures of mystery cult places are not normally mountains; Lawall (2003:93) mentions as signs of mystery rituals in sanctuaries the existence of interior or enclosed spaces, i.e., "cut-off spaces, which... meant rituals around the altar would be difficult to observe." This is exactly the opposite of the Phrygian mountain façades.[65] Having a niche high above the ground on a mountain visible from miles away greatly reduces

[64] Appearing for the first time in Phrygian representations in the fourth century BC and found on mainland Greece in large numbers, see Roller's references, 1999:149, n.19.

[65] We may disregard the existence of shafts in this connection, partly because the dimensions of these are hardly suitable for initiatory purposes, and partly because only a limited number of the façades have shafts.

the possibility of reserving the epiphany of the divinity to the newly initiated, a necessary attribute of mysteries implied in their secret and personal character.

Last but not least, the mere phenomenon of mystery religions in Archaic times seems to be restricted to Greece (so Bianchi 1976:3) or, later in Hellenistic times, to areas, e.g., Asia Minor, where the inhabitants had long relations to and were influenced by the Greeks.[66] All things considered, I am not persuaded by Vassileva's theories, and I simply believe that the cult of Matar was not a mystery cult in Phrygia — the arguments in favour of a mystery cult being entirely taken from later, Greek material.

From Phrygia to Greece

Between Phrygia and Greek Ionia lies Lydia, where the Greek-inspired Kybele was worshipped. Rein (1993:55ff.) suggests that the Lydians in their representations of Kybele were influenced by the Ionian Greeks,[67] and agrees with Graf (1984), who has convincingly concluded that the reception of Matar in Greek Ionia took place in the early 7th century BC, independently of Lydia. Rein (1993:25) and Roller (1999:127) suggest that the transfer of the Matar cult from Phrygia to the East Greek cities happened through the Northern colonies of Milet and Phokaia on the shores of the Southern Black Sea coast and Propontis, since a close contact and interdependence traditionally existed between metropolis and colony, and because the Ionian Greeks were not in direct contact with the Phrygians. As evidence for this theory, Rein (1993:41) draws attention to the fact that Miletos presents the largest number of archaeological artifacts of the Matar cult. However, it is the coastal cities in general that present large number of finds (obviously

[66] The editor of *Greek Mysteries*, Michael Cosmopoulos, claims in his Preface that mysteries were "by no means restricted to Greece" (xii). The large number of different cults treated in this book includes cults from Asia Minor, but they all come from Ionia, the Greek part of Asia Minor. Also, the oriental mystery gods, obviously not from Greece, like Isis and Atargatis, are not mystery gods until they enter the Greek world in late Classical/Hellenistic times.

[67] Based, among other things, on the fact that the Lydian lions bear witness to Greek influence from the beginning (Rein 1993:66).

due to the fact that the Greeks tended to live there, and that most excavations have, accordingly, taken place there). Ephesos, for instance, presents a larger number of finds than Miletos, but did not have any colonies in the North. Moreover, there are no Archaic, even Classical, finds from the regions of Mysia or Bithynia, according to Schwertheim 1978. This circumstance, however, contradicts the fact that we do know of Phrygian cultural influence stretching this far north. A Daskyleion temple model demonstrates Phrygian influence near the Propontis area from the 8th or 7th century BC.[68] The late dates of Schwertheim's finds also conflict with the story of Anacharsis in Herodotos (IV, 76) confirming a cult in Kyzikos, at least in his own time, but perhaps already in the 7th century when Anacharsis lived. Furthermore, probably other artifacts from this region found within the past 30 years can throw new light on the Matar cult in the northern part of Anatolia, and the iconography of this Black Sea material can reveal whether the cult was primarily carried out by Phrygians, Greeks or Lydians.

The Lydian Influence on Early Greek Representations

Graf claims that the assimilation of the two goddesses, Lydian Kubaba and Greek Kybele, only happened during the gradual Hellenisation of Lydia after the 4th century BC (Graf 1984:119). In view of the fact that Matar arrived in the Greek East before the intervention of the Lydians, I still believe, however, that the Lydians did have an impact on the development of the Ionian iconography before 400 BC: the earliest finds of the Ionian reliefs of Matar represent two types of images. One type (Miletos, Kyme, Samos etc., ca. 550 BC) is identified as Matar because of the standing position and the architectural frame symbolising a house with a gabled roof (a frame known as a *naiskos*), whose similarity with the Phrygian façades is clearly intended. Many of these sculptures hold a pomegranate as an attribute — typical of early Greek figures (as well as of Kubaba), but very rare in Phrygia. This indicates, in my opinion, an influence from Kubaba, possibly through the Lydians.

The other type (from the mid 6th century BC) represents Matar as enthroned, dressed in a Greek *chiton*, and attended by lions — i.e., the

[68] I was averted to this by Roller in a private e-mail.

type that was to become standard in Greece. Rein proposes the theory that the rites of the Greek Kybele (including dance, music and wine, performed by a group of youths, the *Kourobantes*) may actually be a result of the Lydian-Phrygian rites as seen on the Sardis temple model (Rein 1993:73–74).

Conclusion

For now, it suffices to conclude that there was a great difference between the Phrygian and the Graeco-Roman cults of Matar, and that recent research has successfully disposed of some of the old myths in the description of Matar in Phrygia. Going back to some of the preliminary remarks of my introduction, new research has proven that Matar was indeed a Phrygian, not an age-old Greek goddess. Moreover, we can actually come quite far in describing her Phrygian traits without the perspective of the Greeks. This analysis shows that a profound difference existed between the Graeco-Roman Kybele and the Phrygian Matar.

The conclusions in this article are primarily drawn from studies on the cult in Phrygia. These may, however, also point forward to the Greek phenomenon of mystery religions. Whereas, according to old theories, mystery religions originate in a divine couple, exhibit strong agricultural or fertility aspects and include a myth of a wandering deity, this article has tried to show that this is not the case for Kybele. Not only was Attis a late development, even later than the mystery traits in the cult, but the archaeological evidence also seems to show a development from a pair of gods, a Mother and a Father, in Phrygia (not including a mystery) to a prominent, even singular female goddess as an object of worship including traits of mystery cult. Moreover, the strong connections with fertility were not evident until Roman times, long after the development into a mystery cult.

Despite the new knowledge on the subject, there are still a number of unanswered questions regarding the cult of Matar, some of which will probably be answered through further excavations in Anatolia. Other issues, however, may be illuminated through an investigation of her cult in the Black Sea area. Generally, the characteristics of the Matar cult in this area is a subject that has been only sporadically discussed in

Western research.[69] As researchers from the Black Sea Centre in Aarhus have argued (Hinge 2004; Bilde 2006), religion tended to be more shamanistic and eschatological in these areas, which perhaps could account for the early appearance of the tympanon (reflecting a particular kind of rites) on the Pontic North-Western coast. Furthermore, the questions of a common Thracian-Phrygian background, and the problem of determining the transfer of the cult from Phrygia to Greece, can benefit from this research.

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[69] My PhD project entitled "The Mother of Gods — reception and transformation of an Anatolian deity in the Black Sea area," will be an attempt to investigate the characteristics of the cult in this area.

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HELENE FOLEY



Medea's Divided Self

I

DEBATE OVER MEDEA'S FAMOUS monologue, in which the heroine argues with herself over her plan to kill her children, began in antiquity.[1] In this century Bruno Snell revived the Platonic interpretation of Galen, who saw in the monologue a

The following frequently cited works are referred to by author's name: Elizabeth B. Bongie, "Heroic Elements in the *Medea* of Euripides," *TAPA* 107 (1977) 27–56; Anne P. Burnett, "*Medea* and the Tragedy of Revenge," *CP* 68 (1973) 1–24; T. V. Buttrey, "Accident and Design in Euripides' *Medea*," *AJP* 79 (1958) 1–17; Eckhard Christmann, "Bemerkungen zum Text der *Medea* des Euripides," Diss. Heidelberg 1962; Albrecht Dihle, "Euripides' *Medea*," Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften (Heidelberg 1977); Hans Diller, "ΘΥΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΡΕΙΣΣΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΩΝ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ," *Hermes* 94 (1966) 267–75, rep. in *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1971) 359–69; P. E. Easterling, "The Infanticide in Euripides' *Medea*," *YCS* 25 (1977) 177–91; Stewart Flory, "Medea's Right Hand: Promises and Revenge," *TAPA* 108 (1978) 69–74; W. W. Fortenbaugh, "On the Antecedents of Aristotle's Bi-partite Psychology," *GRBS* 11 (1970) 233–50; Christopher Gill, "Did Chrysippus Understand Medea?" *Phronesis* 28 (1983) 136–49; Bernard M. W. Knox, "The *Medea* of Euripides," *YCS* 25 (1977) 193–225; David Kovacs, "On Medea's Great Monologue," *CQ* 36 (1986) 343–52; Albin Lesky, *Greek Tragic Poetry*, trans. M. Dillon (New Haven 1983); Hugh Lloyd-Jones, "Euripides' *Medea* 1056–80," *WJA* n.f. 6a (1980) 51–59; Gerhard Müller, "Interpolationen in der *Medea* des Euripides, *SIFC* n.s. 25 (1951) 65–82; Denys Page, *Medea* (Oxford 1938; rep. 1971); Pietro Pucci, *The Violence of Pity in Euripides' Medea* (Ithaca 1980); Kenneth Reckford, "Medea's First Exit," *TAPA* 99 (1968) 329–59; Michael D. Reeve, "Euripides' *Medea* 1021–80," *CQ* n.s. 22 (1972) 51–61; Hermann Rohdich, *Die Euripideische Tragödie* (Heidelberg 1968); Eilhard Schlesinger, "Zu Euripides' *Medea*," *Hermes* 94 (1966) 26–53; W. Steidle, *Studien zum Antiken Drama* (Munich 1968) 151–68; H.-D. Voigtländer, "Spätere Überarbeitungen im grossen Medeamonolog?" *Philologus* 10 (1957) 217–37; George B. Walsh, "Public and Private in Three Plays of Euripides," *CP* 74 (1979) 294–309; J. J. Walsh, *Aristotle on Moral Weakness* (New York 1973); Christian Wolff, "Euripides," in *Ancient Writers: Greece and Rome*, vol. 1, ed. T. James Luce (New York 1982) 233–65; Otto Zwierlein, "Die Tragik in den Medea-Dramen," *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 19 (1978) 27–63. The following articles were unavailable to me until after

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psychological struggle between reason and passion.[2] Whereas Snell argued that the speech provoked Socrates to formulate his famous dictum that virtue is knowledge, W. M. Fortenbaugh instead asserted that the passage anticipates Aristotle's concept of a bipartite soul.[3] Most recently, Christopher Gill made a case for the perceptiveness of the Stoic Chrysippus' interpretation of lines 1078–80 of the monologue, which demonstrates a psychological division "not so much within the person, and between psychological elements, but rather a division between the person as he is at the moment and as he might be, if he exercised his full potentiality for human reason. At any one moment, the person functions (in one sense rationally) as a whole; even if his functioning is (as he himself may recognize) a kind of malfunctioning."[4] From Homer onward, characters in Greek literature often seem to recognize in themselves some form of struggle between different parts of their being. Recall, for example, Achilles' famous lines in *Iliad* book 9 (645–46), "All that you have said seems spoken after my own mind [*thumon*] / But my heart [*kradiē*] is swollen with anger [*cholōi*]." Among tragedians, Euripides is notable for exploiting such moments of internal division. Nevertheless, especially given our limited knowledge of intellectual debates about ethical decision making contemporary to *Medea* (431 B.C.), we should probably be wary of both ancient and modern attempts to impose on the passage an anachronistic philosophical reading.

Alternatively, Anne Burnett and Albrecht Dihle saw the forces debating within Medea as gendered:[5] that is, the monologue presents a conflict between what the audience would have read as a masculine, heroic, and public self and a feminine, maternal self.[6] The masculine heroic self requires the killing of the

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the completion of this paper: Margaret Williamson, "A Woman's Place in Euripides' *Medea*," *JACT Review* 3 (1985) 16–20 (to be reprinted in Anton Powell, ed., *Euripides, Women and Sexuality* [London 1989]); and Michael Dyson, "Euripides *Medea* 1056–80," *GRBS* 28 (1987) 23–34.

1. See Gill on Chrysippus' and Galen's views, and see Dihle, esp. 5–11, on how later philosophy and drama produced a misreading of *Medea* as a tragedy of passion, although not all ancient interpreters discussed the dynamics of Medea's speech in these precise terms.

2. See Snell, "Das früeste Zeugnis über Sokrates." *Philologus* 97 (1948) 126; idem, *Scenes from Greek Drama* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1964) 52ff.; and idem, *The Discovery of the Mind* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) esp. 126. Among many others who have explored this view, see esp. F. Dirlmeier, "Vom Monolog der Dichtung zum 'inneren' Logos bei Platon und Aristoteles," *Gymnasium* 67 (1960) 31–32, and J. J. Walsh 16–22. Voigtländer, esp. 236–37, in contesting Müller's claim that 1078–80 are the work of a Platonic interpolator, makes a strong argument that the passage in no way directly reflects Platonic or Socratic ethics, although the concluding lines may have been influenced by contemporary Socratic thought.

3. Christmann 137–45 also describes Medea's struggle in terms that anticipate Aristotelian practical ethical reasoning.

4. Gill 140.

5. Dihle, esp. 29, accepts Burnett's assumption in order to bolster his own argument that in the monologue Medea's maternal love temporarily defeats her masculine warrior code (see below for further discussion of his views).

6. Interpreters generally view the monologue as a struggle (with a foregone conclusion) between, on the one side, Medea's (sometimes heroic) passion for revenge and, on the other side, her maternal emotions or her rational deliberations in defense of saving the children. Yet many critics

children and the maternal self defends them. The masculine self wins. As Burnett put it, Medea's internal "dialogue is held between a part of herself called *thumos* (1056, 1079), or sometimes *kardia* (1042, 1242), and another part that is *mētēr* (1038; cf. 1247, etc.). Psychologically speaking it is a struggle between Medea's masculine, honor-oriented self and her feminine, hearth-oriented self."[7] Bernard Knox, Elizabeth Bongie, Christian Wolff, and Dihle have all offered readings of the play that support, directly or indirectly, this passing remark of Burnett's.[8] Yet in fact this perspective has played virtually no role in philological discussions and close readings of the monologue itself.[9] By advocating this second position on the internal conflict displayed in the monologue I intend to confront in more detail than have previous critics the implications of assuming that the forces debating in Medea have as it were two genders. In a larger sense, I hope to consider what point Euripides is making to his predominantly or exclusively male audience about the masculine ethics and masculine heroism adopted by his heroine, and why he chose a barbarian woman to make his dramatic statement. Before turning to a more extended discussion of my own position, however, I would like to make the case for my reading of the monologue through addressing the prevailing counterargument that reads the speech as a clash in some form or other between reason and passion.[10]

II

Those who read the monologue as a struggle between reason and passion view Medea's story as a tragedy of sexual jealousy. In the famous closing lines of her monologue (1078–80), the irrational passion for revenge (*thumos*) provoked by Jason's sexual betrayal is seen in their view to be at war with her rational *bouleumata;* passion wins. In my view, this is the Roman dramatist Seneca's Medea, not Euripides'. Seneca's Medea does allow her passion to subdue her

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still assume that this conflict serves primarily to illustrate a philosophical point concerning the relation between passion and reason in ethical decisions. Voigtländer, following Müller (who nevertheless speaks [70] of a duty for revenge), argues that the speech shows an amoral struggle between two emotions, one favoring revenge, the other maternal love; in her self-division Medea makes a typically tragic protest against the nature of the world that requires the revenge and hence her own misfortune. This interpretation has been effectively contested by Christmann 65–82.

7. Burnett 22. Knox takes a position similar to Burnett's when he argues that "In this great scene the grim heroic resolve triumphs not over an outside adversary or advisor but over the deepest maternal feelings of the hero herself" (201).

8. Wolff 238–39 briefly considers the implications of adopting this interpretation of Medea's two selves. Knox and Bongie, by making the case for Medea's masculine and heroic side, offer strong indirect support for this interpretation as well. The antipsychological reading of Schlesinger 26–53, esp. 30, laid the groundwork for all these essays.

9. The exception is Dihle. See below for further examination of his views.

10. See Dihle, esp. 28–29n 18, for a summary of those views, including his own, that contest the standard passion-versus-reason reading of the speech; Zwierlein, Lloyd-Jones, Gill, and Kovacs recently take a similar position. My own objections come closest to those of Dihle, despite my disagreement with his overall argument.

reason. Euripides' Medea, whenever she explains her decisions, is proud of her intelligence and unashamed of the complex emotional and rational motives that she has for her actions; throughout the planning of her revenge, passion and reason explicitly operate in concert.[11] Medea is quite capable of recognizing that emotion can lead her to make critical errors. At 485 (see also 800–801) she complains that she was more eager (*prothumos*) than wise when she allowed her love for Jason to lead her to commit crimes against her family and to depart from her homeland. She also knows that decisions can be arrived at through a suppression of passion by reason (although she uses no technical terms to this effect), but she never makes this a goal in her own decision making. This is partly because the control or devaluation of emotions by rational deliberation is an ethical mode that she associates with the despised Jason. Thus at 598–99 Medea rejects Jason's practical rationalization for the marriage with the princess on the grounds that she wants no happiness won with pain. Jason claims to Medea that he has not been motivated by desire in his decision to marry the princess (556); he has considered (*bebouleumai,* 567) his actions and their consequences and so can claim to be *sophos* (548) in the plans he has made. In her second interview with Jason, Medea pretends to apologize for her anger (*orgas,* 870; see also 883) and lack of good sense (882, 885). She has engaged in discussion with herself (*logon,* 872; *bebouleumai,* 893) and decided to give up her anger (*thumou,* 879). Having considered her children's welfare and her impending friendless exile, she says she has come to a better understanding. Jason, pronouncing Medea's anger understandable, is delighted that after reflection Medea has accepted the superior plan (his own: *boulēn,* 913). But this is all playacting on Medea's part; she cleverly mimics Jason's own mode of ethical reasoning and feigns female subservience only in order to deceive her adversary. Although she is in full control of her reason throughout,[12] Medea never elsewhere indulges in such bloodless decision making; indeed, she aims in her revenge precisely to make Jason feel the emotions he once rejected (1360, 1370).

As would be expected in a debate that pits a maternal Medea against an avenging Medea (rather than reason against passion), there are rational as well as emotional or counter-rational considerations on both sides of Medea's internal conflict concerning the children. On the one hand, Medea first rationally reflects that killing the children will bring punishment to herself as well as to

11. In this respect I disagree with Fortenbaugh, who makes the most extensive proto-Aristotelian reading of the passage. Fortenbaugh argues that Medea often engages in Aristotelian practical ethical reasoning, in means-ends deliberation. But with Medea it is not, as in Aristotelian practical reasoning, a simple case of emotion proposes, reason disposes. She is motivated from the start in her revenge plans by justice and intellect as well (see below for further discussion). Medea does not reason against emotion in wanting to spare the children, or reason about emotion (Fortenbaugh 238n) in the monologue. As Dihle 28–29 points out, one cannot distinguish in Medea Aristotle's two forms of ethical reasoning, practical planning and the moral control of reason through emotion.

12. See *manthanō* in 1078. Despite the Nurse's fears of Medea's heroic, almost bestial wrath, the Medea we see on stage never seems close to *mania* or irrationality.

Jason and will destroy her own future (1021–39); the sight of the children with their breathtaking childish beauty and innocence then reawakens vivid maternal feelings (1040–43). Yet to the Medea who advocates revenge these maternal arguments instantly appear "soft" (1052 at 677 such soft words are associated by Medea with female subservience and deceptiveness); insofar as they violate from this opposing perspective her self-interest and reputation, the arguments of the mother are in Medea's view counter-rational. On the other hand, we come to Medea's monologue with an accumulated knowledge of all her motives for revenge, both rational and irrational, although in the speeches in which she addresses her revenge plans she stresses the rational motives for her act.[13] We have, of course, been told repeatedly from the beginning of the play that Medea is enraged at Jason's erotic betrayal of her, and in the closing scene she eloquently defends being motivated in her revenge by *erōs:* "Do you think bed [*lechos*], then, a trivial pain for a woman?" (1368; see also 265–66, 1354). Justice is an even more important motive (see 26, 160, 165, 578, 580, 582, 592, 1352–53). Medea has sacrificed her homeland for Jason; she has incurred many enemies in order to help her husband (483–87, 506–8). Jason has made his plans without thinking of the welfare of either Medea or the children. He has thus in Medea's view wronged his friends, while she has kept her side of the bargain by giving him heirs (470, 696, 698; 490–91). Above all, Jason broke his oath to Medea, an oath sworn by the gods (20–23, 161, 439, 492, 1392);[14] Medea is for this reason quite certain that the gods will support her punishment of Jason. And the final surprising appearance of the chariot of the sun seems to prove her right.

Medea does not need to review all these concerns in the monologue for them to be present in the minds of the audience. Here she stresses above all the need to take revenge regardless of the personal costs involved, and to avoid being mocked by her enemies. This argument, has its own rationality as well, although some recent critics assume the contrary. In his commentary on the passage Alan Elliott, for example, asserts that "Here as in 797, Medea is concerned not so much that her treatment has been unjust, but that her enemies may have the chance to laugh at her. Moral principle plays no part in her revenge."[15] This is taking the speech out of the context developed for it in the play as a whole, for the line is a shorthand reference to a position Medea has developed in detail earlier in the play. A Greek hero traditionally wished above all to do good to his friends and harm to his enemies. (The desire to avoid the laughter of enemies is a logical extension of this shame-culture position.) That this remained a dominant Greek ethical position as well as a major, even the major, principle of social organization in the archaic and classical periods is made clear in the first book of Plato's *Republic* (332a–b), where it is adopted quite sincerely as a definition and

13. See Bongie 42 and 44, on Medea's first scene with Jason, and Dihle 14–16.
14. On the importance of Jason's breaking of the oath, see esp. Burnett and Flory.
15. *Euripides Medea* (Oxford 1969) 94. See also Voigtländer 223.

apparently the standard popular definition, of justice.[16] A failure to win honor and defend his self-worth made a hero a fool in the eyes of his enemies. Medea has evoked this standard for her actions at several earlier points in the text. Medea succinctly explicates the conception of the self that compels her to complete her revenge: "Let no on think me of no account or powerless, nor a quiet stay-at-home. Quite the contrary: consider me hard on my enemies and to my friends kindly. That sort of person has the life of greatest glory."[17] In a world without trial by jury, without justice for women and foreigners (Jason is *xeinapatou,* 1392; see Medea's speech at 230–51), revenge, however necessary and justified from one point of view, may in its wake bring death and other devastating consequences for the revenger. The shame culture of the *Iliad* does not treat the *motives* for Achilles' wrath as irrational (though the principles governing his wrath conflict with those governing relations between *philoi*); instead the poem emphasizes the devastating effects of this (initially) justified wrath on Achilles' friends and its unforeseen consequences for the hero himself. As in the case of Achilles, Medea's pursuit of her code tragically seems to require the injury of friends as well as foes. To characterize a revenge so carefully motivated throughout the early scenes of the *Medea* as merely the product of irrationality flies in the face of the entire Greek heroic code.[18] Nevertheless, unlike Achilles, Medea fully anticipates how painful the emotional consequences of her revenge will be on herself as a woman.[19]

III

The case for reading the monologue as a debate between passion and reason rests above all on retaining lines 1078–80 of the text and on interpreting these three lines as a summation of the struggle in which Medea engages throughout the speech. Several scholars have in fact bracketed lines 1056–80 of the monologue;[20] many others have felt pressed to defend or explain them. Although deleting all or part of 1056–80 eliminates some serious difficulties in the passage,

16. Müller 70 makes a similar point, but then contradicts himself by arguing that the monologue pits two emotions against each other.

17. Lines 807–10, trans. Wolff 238.

18. See Dihle's emphasis (14–16) on Medea's warrior code as a product of her powerful intellect. As he points out, to equate this code exclusively with emotion would have shocked a Greek audience. For women's exclusion from this code, see my discussion below.

19. See Schlesinger 53, who nevertheless thinks that Medea does not at first realize the consequences of her action. I think rather (see 791 for her initial awareness of the pain her crime will bring) that she does not anticipate how powerfully her maternity will contest her determination for revenge.

20. Theodore Bergk, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte,* vol. 3 (Leipzig 1884) 512n. 140; G. Jachmann, *Binneninterpolation,* vol. 2: *Nachr. Gott. Ges. d. Wiss.* (1936) 193n. 1; Müller; Reeve; and Zwierlein. On the strength of Reeve's arguments James Diggle brackets the passage in his 1984 Oxford text. Voigtländer (emphasizing [224–25] the dramatic richness of the contested lines) and Steidle defend the passage at some length, while Lloyd-Jones and Kovacs, contesting Reeve and Zwierlein, propose briefer deletions (see infra n.12). For other recent summaries of the controversy, see Christmann 125ff. and Lesky 226–27.

arguments can be made for retaining the text as we have it. Tempting as it would have been for an actor to enlarge this remarkable speech, it is in my view too easy to assume, especially given Euripides' complex and contradictory dramaturgy, that the textual difficulties here are due to an interpolator's incompetence. Hence, while remaining uneasy about aspects of the passage, I shall base my argument almost entirely on Murray's Oxford text,[21] although my overall interpretation of the nature of the forces contending within Medea in the speech does not, in fact, depend on retaining the disputed lines.

Although there are three important arguments for deletion of 1056–80 (see infra, Appendix, for a brief discussion of the other two), only the third, the authenticity and the interpretation of lines 1078–80, is relevant to my discussion here. The debate centers above all on the translation of line 1079: θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων.[22] Several translations claim to resolve the difficulties posed by the text. Philosophically-oriented scholars often translate the line, "My passion is stronger than my rational deliberations / plans [concerning murder of the children]." The proponents of this translation variously interpret *bouleumata* as: deliberations provoked by Medea's maternal emotions; rational plans to save the children; or general and rational deliberations on the evils of her plan or on the negative effects her passionate emotion for revenge have on her reason.[23] Both the logic of the monologue itself, which brings the maternal Medea into conflict with the avenging Medea, and Medea's previous habits of deliberation make translating *bouleumata* as "rational plans to save the children" the most viable of the alternatives offered above. *Bouleumata,* both in this play and elsewhere in Euripides, are generally specific plans, rational deliberations directed to a practical goal, rather than ethical meditations about what is virtuous or bad.[24] Medea's deliberations, except when she is pretending otherwise to Jason, consistently involve considering how to put into effect specific plans proposed to her by her emotions, her heroic code, her sense of what is good for herself, and her sense of injustice (usually in combination). Even in this passage, she deliberates, not over the morality of the crime or its violation of her

21. Oxford 1902, rep. 1963; one exception is noted below. Even the almost universally bracketed 1062–63 contribute to the argument of the passage.

22. The grammar of these lines is not in question. I shall return later to lines 1078 and 1080.

23. For a recent summary of this range of interpretations, see Dihle 27–29n. 18.

24. For arguments in favor of this position, see esp. Diller 375–76. Christmann 137–45, Lesky 227, and Dihle 28–29. In their support, it should be emphasized that every other use of *bouleumata* and *bouleuō* in *Medea* refers to a precise plan or change of plans: at 372, 769, 772, 1044, and 1048 *bouleumata* refers to Medea's revenge plans, at 270 to Creon's plans to exile Medea, and at 449 and 886 to the plans of Jason and Creon for a new marriage; 402, *bouleuousa* refers to Medea's plans; 893, *bebouleumai* to Medea's false change of plans; 317, *bouleusēis* to Kreon's fear of Medea's evil plans; 37, *bouleusēi* to the Nurse's similar fear; 567, *bebouleumai,* to Jason's plans concerning his marriage to the princess; and 874, *bouleuousin,* to Jason's plans for Medea. Christmann 65–82, who argues for an opposition between the rational plans of the mother and emotional self-destructive revenge, makes the case that 1079 thus translated can form a proper climax to the struggle between mother and avenger in the monologue.

own ethical code (the injustice of harm to *philoi*), but about whether to put into action a rescue plan that will save her from pain and bring her practical advantages and pleasure in the future. She previously viewed the deed as unholy (796; see also 1383), but this knowledge did not deter her; in the monologue she gives divine authority to the murder by describing it as a sacrifice (1054).[25] Earlier in the play Medea says explicitly that women do not have the resources to do good (*esthla*), but are of every evil the cleverest of contrivers (407–9). In the monologue she observes self-consciously that she is being led by her *thumos* to a choice with bad consequences for herself. In addition, she has earlier mocked Jason for his rejection of emotion in favor of the dictates of reason.[26]

The most important argument against translating *bouleumata* as "plans to save the children," however, is that the word is used emphatically to refer to "revenge plans" twice in this speech as well as elsewhere (along with related words) in the play.[27] This consideration led Hans Diller to suggest the attractive alternative "Meine Leidenschaft Herr über meine Pläne ist."[28] In this reading Medea knows (*manthanō,* 1078) that she is about to do herself harm (*kaka*), but her *thumos* triumphantly insists on putting into action her plans of revenge.[29] Yet one could object that Diller's translation of *kreissōn* as "is master of" or "controls" is far less intuitively obvious than the comparative use of the word, "stronger than." Could the hearer easily suppress the common meaning of the word?[30]

A third reading, proposed by Dihle, who translates *thumos* as the maternal

25. For a discussion of Medea's use of the rhetoric of sacrifice and self-pity to make the murder of the children appear to herself inevitable, see Pucci chap. 4. As Pucchi stresses, Medea sometimes equates her "I" with maternal feelings, sometimes with her revenge. At other times she sees the "I" under pressure from separate forces inside herself, like *thumos*. Pucci's argument confirms from another perspective that Medea is not here determined by her passion but chooses finally to side with her *thumos*.

26. See below for further discussion of this last point. Christmann argues strongly against Snell's Socratic reading of the passage by arguing that *kaka* in 1078 means what is bad for Medea, in the sense that the murder is to her practical disadvantage as a mother and as a human being who seeks pleasure rather than pain. This interpretation makes the meaning of *kakos* throughout the passage consistent and consolidates the argument made by others that *kaka* here does not mean morally evil. Lloyd-Jones 57 dismisses the problem of a possible inconsistency in the use of *kakos* here.

27. See 372, 769, 772, 1044, 1048. Dihle 27–29 (with bibliography) consolidates the case for this extremely telling point. The word would have been ringing in the audience's ears, and in this dramatic context the term cannot be considered neutral (contra Lloyd-Jones 58). The argument that *bouleumata ta prosthen* at 1044–45 implies an imposing set of plans to save the children is very weak from the dramatic perspective of a listener; furthermore, as Voigtländer 226 recognizes, *bouleumata* in Euripides refers far more frequently to destructive than positive plans.

28. Diller 367, anticipated by J. J. Walsh 19, and defended by Steidle 165 and Rohdich 64.

29. Diller 366 also argues that since at 1060–63 Medea has rejected the notion of saving the children, at 1079 she can hardly view these plans as viable. In his favor, note that she does not speak of rescuing them after 1058, but only bemoans her loss (1071–75).

30. Lesky 227 (citing, following Kessel [*RhM* 116 (1973) 103n. 21], *Medea* 965) and Reeve 59n. 2 (citing Euripides frag. 718N2, but not giving full credit to Diller's whole argument) are reluctant to accept Diller's parallels (*Med.* 443–45, *Ba.* 880, and later philosophical passages) as sufficient evidence. I view Diller's translation of *kreissōn* as both possible and preferable, and problematic only because it is the more obscure alternative.

love that proves stronger than Medea's revenge plans, poses even more substantial difficulties.[31] Neither in this play nor elsewhere in Euripides is *thumos* equated with anything like maternal love. The *thumos* to which Medea appeals at 1056 is capable of hearing the arguments for sparing the children and being cheered by them (1057–58). But the request to the *thumos* to spare the children makes it clear that *thumos* is also capable of sacrificing them; *thumos* is thus equated at 1056 not with maternal love but with a capacity in Medea that presently favors the revenge (and will do so in 1079), but might be persuaded to spare because the children will bring it pleasure. Yet Dihle's discussion should make us wary of being too reductive in translating *thumos* simply as passion for revenge and a capacity for the irrational.[32] In both archaic poetry and Euripides, *thumos* can be virtually equated with *erōs* or anger, but it is also a more general term used to describe a force (courage, for example) that directs the self to action. The Homeric *thumos* can be affected by a vast range of feelings, from anger and *erōs* to pity and reverence, but it can also make rational decisions (e.g., *Il.* 1.193 or 2.5; *Od.* 14.490)[33] or, as in the passage from *Iliad* 9 quoted earlier, even feel itself in tension with a *kradiē* swollen with anger. In this sense it is most commonly a capacity in the self, particularly vulnerable to the persuasion of strong emotions, but not in essence irrational; when a character addresses his *thumos* in internal dialogue, it even comes close to representing what we might call a self.

A study of the term *thumos* in Euripides indicates a range of meaning comparable to epic, if somewhat narrower.[34] The Euripidean *thumos* is the seat

31. Scholars have rejected the translation for 1079 "My passion is stronger than my revenge plans," although it is grammatically correct, because this would mean that Medea has decided to save her children. Yet this is basically the argument of Dihle. Dihle's essay makes many brilliant points, but I cannot accept his ingenious but ultimately unconvincing reading of 1079. The arguments that he makes for reading *bouleumata* as revenge plans should hold as well for interpreting *thumos*. *Thumos* in the *Medea* is elsewhere said most often to be affected by *erōs* (8, 639) and anger (879, 1152), and this is even more the case with related words e.g., *oxuthumos,* 319; *thumoumenēn,* 271; etc.) Medea's feelings in this passage are not consistently against her revenge plan (Dihle 16)—they waver back and forth—and her plan is not quite so intellectually motivated as Dihle suggests. Dihle admits Medea's actions are overdetermined, that she cannot spare the children. Hence his reading makes Medea's decision to save the children unrealistic and irrational, when she elsewhere seems highly realistic. Dihle also argues that his view makes sense of the chorus immediately following the speech, where the chorus speak, not of the horror of killing the children, as elsewhere, but of the burdens of maternity. Yet there are other possible interpretations of this chorus (Buttrey 9, for example, sees it as a lament for Jason, not Medea, and I shall offer another below). See further the arguments of Zwierlein 35–37n. 24c against Dihle's interpretation.

32. See Dihle 30. Schlesinger 29 reduces *thumos* to "lebenskraft" or "vitalität." Dihle argues effectively against earlier translations and for Medea's powerful and controlling intellect, but then settles once again on equating *thumos* with emotion.

33. See Diller 364–65 on decisions made by the Homeric *thumos:* Medea's case is anomalous here because, in contrast to Homer, her *thumos* directs her to a choice described as bad. In the case of decisions made by the archaic *thumos,* reason can act in concert with emotion (e.g., *Od.* 20.9).

34. Previous discussions have looked more narrowly at *thumos* in *Medea* or in archaic poetry, where the acts influenced by *thumos,* as here, are associated with courage (see 1042, 1051, 1242) or anger. My discussion here omits lines too difficult to categorize precisely: several fragments and *Hipp.* 1087.

of emotion, of instinct, and even of deliberation and is subject to a range of emotions from anger, grief, and *erōs* to pity, hope, or pride. Medea is twice said to be struck in the *thumos* by *erōs* (8, 639) and a cloud of grief has fastened on her great *thumos* (108). Medea pretends to Jason that she will give up *thumos* (anger, 879), and Jason asks the princess to give up hers (1152). Similarly, Heracles is supplicated by Amphitryon to check the *thumos* of wild lion (a mixture of suicidal grief and anger, *HF* 1211). A *thumos* elsewhere can be violent for revenge (*Hr.* 924); Hecuba avoids the vengeful *thumos* of the blinded Polymestor (*Hec.* 1055); Aphrodite gratifies her *thumos* in destroying Hippolytus (*Hipp.* 1328). An angry person breathes out *thumos* (*Ba.* 620, *Ia.* 125, *Pho.* 454). Theseus advises those who have been wronged to bear the injustice moderately in their *thumos* (*Su.* 556). The chorus thinks that Medea's *thumos* will pity her supplicating children (865). Elsewhere a chorus can wish for a *thumos* untouched by grief (*Hipp.* 1114). In more unusual cases, the grieving Electra's *thumos* is not stirred by festive jewelry (*Electra* 176); Peleus' *thumos* is prophetic in anticipating the news of Neoptolemus' death (*promantis, An.* 1073); Creon's preference for a son-in-law is located in his *thumos* (*Medea* 310). A *thumos* under the influence of or the seat of emotions or instincts can be viewed positively or negatively. Hope may negatively influence the *thumos* (*Su.* 480); a grieving *thumos* has no stability (fr. 1039). *Thumos* can be classified as a bad thing with *axunesia* (fr. 257). A wise man does not have a *thumos* that thinks like a woman (*gunaikophron,* frr. 362, 34). Yet *thumos* (anger) can under the proper supervision be a valuable quality in the people (*Or.* 702). Achilles' proud *thumos* is uplifted at the thought of rescuing Iphigeneia from her death (*IA* 919). Heracles' *thumos* warned him not to carouse in Admetus' house (*Alc.* 829). Electra's *thumos* shows the capacity to deliberate when it is persuaded by the tokens offered by the old man of Orestes' identity (*Electra* 578).

Prior to the monologue, Medea's *thumos* is said by characters other than herself to be affected by anger, grief, and *erōs,* and, in the imagination of the chorus, it will soon be affected by pity. In the monologue she first asks it to listen to the reasons for sparing the children (1056–57). The use of *ge* to reinforce *su* in 1056 is especially telling:[35] "Do not [*mē dēta*], *thume,* do not you of all people [*mē su ge*] do these things [*ergasēi tade*]." A *thumos* that can impel Medea either to kill or to spare, and to hear the reasons on both sides for so doing, is apparently capable, like the Homeric *thumos,* of some sort of deliberate choice, even if, by 1079, the *thumos* is finally set (and was probably from the start irrevocably set) on doing things to Medea's harm (*kaka*). Hence it is better to categorize *thumos* in the monologue not as "irrational passion" or "rage" but as a capacity located in Medea that directs her to act, a "heart" that can (or at least pretends

35. On this point see Dihle 14. It could perhaps be disputed whether *ge* should be strictly attached to *su* or rather to the combination *mē su,* making the prohibition more forceful, as probably in Soph. *OC* 1414 or Eur. *Phoen.* 532, among the passages cited by Denniston *GP2* 122.

to itself that it can) choose to side either with the arguments of the revenger or the arguments of the mother (although it is predisposed to the former).

IV

In view of all the above considerations, let us now return to the problem of interpreting 1078–80:

καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα τολμήσω κακά,
θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων.
ὅσπερ μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν βροτοῖς.

The following (expanded) translation might best capture the implications of these lines in the context of this play and this monologue: "I understand what sort of bad things I am about to do [or, suffer],[36] but my heart-determined-on-revenge is master over my [revenge] plans,[37] a[n avenging] heart that is generally the greatest cause of bad consequences for mortals." I wish in particular to preserve in this rather awkward translation both the combination of reason and passion operating in Medea's *thumos* at this climactic moment (her revenge is motivated by rational heroic principles as well as avenging anger) and the transition that Medea's *thumos* has undergone in this passage. Medea's *thumos* presumably begins the monologue determined on revenge; at 1056–58 she gives it arguments for sparing the children, apparently appealing to its capacity, well known to herself, for a rational pity (*su ge*). At 1059ff. these arguments are rejected through an appeal to the counterarguments for revenge. The *thumos* Medea addresses at 1056 could *not* be categorized in a general fashion (*hosper,* 1080) as "the greatest cause of bad consquences for mortals." But by 1079 the *thumos* is irrevocably set on revenge, and it is this avenging *thumos* that, however justified from one perspective, predictably creates, as it has from Achilles onward in Greek poetry, negative consequences.

By suppressing any moral opposition between passion and reason, this translation of 1079 would make a proper and predictable climax to a deliberation by the Medea we have come to know both in the speech and throughout the play (see my further discussion below), whereas to read the speech as a victory of passion over reason would be anomalous, producing a Medea who resembles Jason (who is concerned with the ill effects of passion on reason) more than

36. This line consciously underlines the defeat of the maternal by the heroic Medea. I have accepted here Kovacs' argument (351–52) for printing *tolmēsō* (the reading in all the manuscripts except L) for *dran mello; tolmēsō* can be understand in an active or a passive sense.

37. Although I here adopt Diller's reading of *kreisson* and *bouleumata,* his translation of *thumos* as "passion" leads him to support Snell's reading of the speech as a battle between reason and passion. Diller 358 sees here a tragic tension between the goddess in Medea who accomplishes a just revenge and the woman who is painfully aware of the senselessness of her act.

herself.[38] In the latter case, the audience would surprisingly confront in the monologue the victory of an irrational masculine imperative over a rational maternity. By suppressing altogether the claims of her maternal side, this interpretation of 1079 confirms our sense that Medea's choice for revenge has been inevitable from the start, that her self-debate aims finally not at persuading herself to save the children (a plan in any case abandoned after 1058) but at making the crime seem inevitable to herself.

Plato in the *Republic* sees *thumos* as a capacity in the soul, like anger, which can ally with reason or with the appetites. Euripides' own sense of *thumos* is much more easily understood in the light of epic; Medea's *thumos,* like that of epic characters, is not so much a part of her soul as it is a capacity in herself that can reason (in a practical sense) as well as feel. In Medea's case, the *thumos* which rules her plans, if we read it in the context of the motives for her revenge offered throughout the play, unites jealousy, anger, and courage with justice and a rational principle of heroic action which has consistently operated for Medea: that of harming enemies and helping friends. This is true within the speech itself but is even more obviously true when we consider the speech in the light of the dramatic action up to this point. In sum, I would not wish to deny Euripides' interest in what later became explicitly philosophical problems.[39]

Furthermore, no philological argument can suppress the ambiguities present in language, and all possible readings of 1079 must be present at some level in the consciousness of the hearer. If the closing lines of this speech are genuine, an audience cannot but see reflected in their ambiguity the overdetermination of Medea's thoughts, emotions, and actions throughout the play. We may even recall here Jason's preference for plans that purportedly subordinate emotion to reason (though, given the nature of these plans, his preferred mode of decision making appears dubious). Yet what seems more certain than any one authoritative translation of 1079 (for scholarly controversy has demonstrated that this is impossible) is that the speech as a whole represents a clash between two posi-

38. Christmann 143 argues effectively against an anachronistic philosophical reading of the monologue, yet ends by taking a closely similar position himself. According to Gill's analysis, Chrysippus cites *Medea* 1078–80 to illustrate his account of *pathos:* "Medea, on the other hand, was not persuaded by any reasoning to kill her children; quite the contrary, so far as reasoning goes, she says that she understands how evil the acts are that she is about to perform, but her anger is stronger than her deliberation; that is, her affection (*pathos*) has not been made to submit and does not follow reason as it would a master, but throws off the reins and departs and disobeys the command" (4.2.27 [372K], Gill 140). In Gill's subtle account of Chrysippus' reasoning on this point, the Stoic view comes far closer than a Platonic or Aristotelian reading to capturing the dynamics of the monologue: in particular, Medea's self-division "between two possible (complete) selves" (Gill 142), the fundamentally rational nature of all human impulses (in the sense that they involve judgments that a certain goal is desirable), and Medea's *deliberate* rejection of the rational arguments of the mother in herself. Yet it anachronistically ignores the fact that for Medea her motives for revenge are not simply irrational. She does not have an "irrational and unnatural" (cf. 4.2.8 [368K], Gill 140) impulse to kill her children; she wants to take revenge on her enemies and save face before them, and she convinces herself that killing the children is necessary to attain this goal.

39. See frr. 220, 572, 840ff. N2.

tions in which reason and emotion unite on either side of the argument. And it is precisely this inseparable combination of rationality and irrationality, passion and intelligence, in Medea's determination for revenge that makes it so very terrifying, and, I think, far more tragic than a philosophical defeat of reason by passion.[40]

V

Through a careful dramatic orchestration of the relation between the two engendered sides of Medea that is echoed in the conflict between male and female characters,[41] the earlier scenes of *Medea* prepare for the climactic display of self-division in the monologue. (By contrast, the play does not prepare the audience to confront in the monologue a conflict between passion and reason or between two emotions.) The first scene provides disturbing hints about the contradictory aspects of Medea's character. On the one hand, Medea seems suicidal, a helpless, feminine victim of her husband's desertion. She has sacrificed everything for Jason. This is the side of Medea that moves and impresses the chorus of women. On the other hand, the Nurse, as she expresses her fears about the dangerous temperament of the proud and wrathful heroine, anticipates in her language Medea's own heroic view of herself. Her nature is royal (119–21; see Medea at 403–6); she is self-willed (*authadous,* 104; see Medea at 1028), high-spirited, and hard to check (*megalosplanchnos* and *duskatapaustos,* 109), and in her anger against the injustice (26) and dishonor (20, 33) done to her may turn against her own *philoi* (95).[42] From the moment of her first appearance on stage, Medea's female side is in this play not taken for granted but carefully defined through the relationship she creates with the chorus.[43] Her heroic, masculine side only emerges explicitly in the speeches (364–409, 764–810) where Medea announces her revenge plans, although it is implied to a lesser degree in her first and final forthright encounters with Jason.

At her first entrance Medea makes an appeal to the chorus as fellow married

40. Gill (142–43) comments on the horrifying way that Medea's rationality "deliberately intensifies, by arguments and exhortation, her own desire to carry out her revenge" (142) and on the way that she passively distances herself from her crime in announcing the final subjection of her maternal side to her *thumos.*

41. See Schlesinger's emphasis (45) on the pervasive conflict between male and female worlds in the play.

42. See my discussion of Medea's motives for revenge—injustice, dishonor, mistreatment of *philoi*—above. Still, as Buttrey 13–14 argues, we should not yet anticipate here any real threat to the children, since the audience would not have expected Medea's decision to kill them.

43. There seem to be two reasons for this. First, the play can win sympathy for Medea as victimized woman before revealing the full range of her differences from her own sex; second, Euripides must confront the mythological tradition, which often envisioned Medea as a witch with magic powers. See, however, Knox 204 and 212–13 for the ways that Euripides plays down Medea's supernatural powers here, at least until the concluding scene. Rohdich 47–55 overemphasizes the degree to which Medea has become merely a woman in this play.

women by describing her own situation in terms of the difficult life of all women and their potential for becoming victims of a male order (230–51). With this speech Medea obtains the silence of the chorus and—surprisingly, given her myth—establishes a strong association between herself and the ordinary housewife in a Greek city. The chorus approve her revenge on Jason (267) and even tacitly consent to the destruction of members of their own royal family, although they do not wish to be tortured by *erōs* like Medea but desire for themselves a moderate Aphrodite appropriate to a proper wife (635–41). For them, Medea's eloquence and just complaints against Jason and Creon represent a reversal of poetry's silencing of women through the centuries and its maligning of them as sexually unfaithful (410–30). The chorus only break with Medea, see her as other than themselves and unlike women, when she determines to include the killing of the children in her revenge on Jason. The protection of children from harm is such an intimate part of the self-interest of mothers (the chorus repeatedly remind Medea of the negative effects that the crime will have on herself: see esp. 818, 996–97, and 1261 on the waste of Medea's efforts in rearing her children), that they can think of only one example of a woman who killed her children, Ino, and she (unlike Medea) was mad when she committed her crime, and she followed the murder by suicide (1282–89).

The case for Medea as an ill-treated female victim is tellingly built up in the early scenes of the play where she adopts traditionally "feminine" weapons in her self-defense. Both Creon's gesture of immediate exile for a woman who has nowhere to go and Jason's indifference to it seem extraordinarily callous, as the shocked reaction of King Aegeus to Medea's plight later confirms (704–7). The egotistical Jason has clearly given little thought to his family's welfare, despite his belated protests to the contrary, and his callous behavior in his first scene with Medea cannot but call attention to her beleaguered situation. Creon is aware of Medea's unusual intelligence and her capacity for anger, but Medea deceives him into a temporary reprieve by using the weapons of the weak: supplication (338) and an appeal to her children's welfare (340–47). Medea also gives up trying to persuade Jason honestly. Instead, she successfully feigns being the helpless woman, given to tears and irrationality, who will now for the good of her children accept, as a proper woman should, her husband's superiority and guidance. This feminine role-playing, which in the second scene with Jason does have some basis in Medea's feeling for the children, dupes even her own husband, who should (like the Nurse) have known better.

These early scenes of the play, by building a powerful case for male exploitation of women and Medea's entrapment in a female role, may temporarily distract the audience from the initial contradictory view of a dangerous Medea presented above all by the Nurse in the first scene. Increasingly, however, the text emphasizes Medea's distance from her carefully contrived appearance of solidarity with her fellow women, as she uses her "femininity," the desire for children, and even her own maternal love to manipulate and deceive not only

Creon and Jason but even her supporter Aegeus. Furthermore, as several critics have pointed out, her eloquent first speech on the wrongs of women deceptively applies only in part to herself.[44] For Medea is far from the passive victim of marriage and masculine brutality that she claims to be. Unlike the typical housewife, she did not in fact need the dowry she complains of to the chorus (232–34); she chose her own husband and has won him by her ruthless deeds. Indeed, she often seems to envision herself, contrary to Greek practice, as an equal or even the dominant partner in the marriage. Note the use of *gamousa* at 606 (women normally marry in the middle voice); she speaks of her gift to the princess as *phernas,* or dowry (956). In her view the choice of a husband is an *agōn,* a contest (235). The clasping of right hands that confirmed Medea's marriage to Jason is a gesture typical of the affirmation of bonds between men;[45] for a marriage the man normally grasps the woman's wrist in a gesture of domination. Medea speaks of reconciliation with Jason as if it were a truce between two cities (898).

Extraordinarily intelligent (*sophē*), Medea can sing an answer to the other sex (426–27). She is not, as the chorus continue to believe (1290–92), motivated only by betrayal in bed (265–66). Medea is also responsible for Jason's fame (476–82; she even, probably contrary to the better-known tradition, kills the dragon herself, 480–82), as he himself indirectly admits when he says that she should be consoled for what has happened to her because if she had not come to Greece *she* would not have been famous (see 536–41). Medea would prefer battle to childbirth (250–51), and Euripides uses the language of athletic contest to describe her struggles against Jason (44–45, 765, 366–67, 403, 1245). Despite her own denial (407–9), Medea, though a woman, has the capacity actively to do good, as the Corinthians and Aegeus know.[46] We are told by the Nurse that Medea won the favor of the Corinthians (11–12, probably by averting a famine [see schol. on Pindar *O.* 13, 74; in some versions of her myth, Medea even ruled Corinth for a while]);[47] she wins a promise from King Aegeus that because she can make him fertile, she may live under his protection in Athens.

The desire to avenge erotic betrayal is characteristic of women in Greek poetry,[48] as we see from the chorus's sympathetic reaction to Medea and from Medea's own words (263–66); so is Medea's choice of weapon, poison, and the

44. See esp. Pucci 64ff., Bongie 36, and Easterling 182.

45. Flory 70–71.

46. Easterling 179 emphasizes that Aegeus treats Medea as a respectable religious authority.

47. See schol. *Medea* 264 and Apollodorus 1.9.28.

48. Throughout Greek drama we are of course dealing with woman as a fictional construction, not a cultural reality. The growing literature on this complex question is already too large to cite here. Much of the earlier work is cited in my essay "The Conception of Women in Athenian Drama," in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity,* ed. H. Foley (New York 1981) 127–68. Among recent discussions, see especially Froma Zeitlin, "Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama," *Representations* 11 (1985) 63–94, on the way that tragedy uses its fictional women to conduct a discourse about primarily male concerns.

deceptive rhetoric and gestures (tears, suppliancy) with which she manipulates her masculine enemies. Yet the side of Medea that plans and executes revenge, and especially the death of the children, is not represented in the language of the play as "feminine."[49] Above all, as Knox and Bongie in particular point out, the avenging Medea thinks and acts not like a classical woman but like an archaic and Sophoclean hero when he feels he has been wronged. Her first off-stage words, her screams of suicidal rage which may endanger even those she loves, may be deliberately reminiscent of Sophocles' Ajax.[50] Her brilliance, craft, and drive for survival recall the Homeric Odysseus. Like Ajax or Achilles, she would deliberately sacrifice friends to defend her honor against a public slight from a peer. She has the stubborn individualism, intransigence, power, near-bestial savagery, and lack of pity of such beleaguered heroes. As hero, she wants to do good to her friends and bad to her enemies, quell injustice, win fame (810), and protect her reputation. She is so fearless that the sword would be her weapon of choice if circumstances permitted its use (379–85, 393). Poison, the feminine weapon, is her choice of necessity (ironically, she goes back to the sword to kill her helpless children). No woman in tragedy—none of all those who take revenge—models her self-image so explicitly on a masculine heroic and even military model (see esp. 1242–45).[51] Like a hero, she wishes to live up to her identity as the child of noble ancestors; she is the granddaughter of the sun: "Advance into danger. Now is your trial of courage. You see what you suffer. You must not be mocked by this marriage of Jason and his Sisyphean in-laws, for you are descended from a noble father and from the sun" (403–6).

What is shocking about Medea, as opposed, for example, to Clytemnestra in *Agamemnon,* where we are told from the first of her masculine aspects, is that Medea's heroic side emerges fully only as the play goes on, as she shrugs off the mask of subservience she has accepted as Jason's wife and finds the means to effect her revenge. I have argued that the audience, like the chorus, is at first partly deceived by Medea's view of her plight as typically female. The first scene hints at Medea's outrage and capacity for violence, but those hints are obscured by her threats of suicide, her domestic confinement, her solidarity with the chorus, and her use of "feminine" wiles to manipulate Creon, Jason, and even Aegeus. Euripides' audience probably did not know that Medea would deliber-

49. As was emphasized earlier, when Medea describes her plans she stresses the rational and heroic motivations for her revenge and virtually ignores the erotic ones.

50. See Knox 96, and cf. infra n.51.

51. See Bongie 28 and 30–31 on Medea's masculinity, in contrast to Knox, who sees Medea as heroic on the Sophoclean model regardless of sex. When they speak and act as Attic women could not or should not, many tragic heroines, and especially Sophoclean heroines, are characterized by the text as masculine. Medea's behavior is set apart from that of any other "masculine" tragic heroine above all by the language in which she describes her revenge. Even Clytemnestra, with her man-counseling (*Ag.* 11) mind, describes her killing of her husband in *Agamemnon* not with military metaphors but with language that perverts ritual and cycles of nature. Hecuba in Euripides' *Hecuba,* whose situation and revenge are very similar to Medea's, lacks her sense of heroic dignity at all costs. She says that she would accept slavery in exchange for the chance to obtain revenge (756–57).

ately destroy her children or escape in the sun's chariot at the end.[52] They may even have feared for some time, as Buttrey argues,[53] that Medea was unwittingly destroying herself by leading her children into a death trap.

Medea plays for Creon, Aegeus, and finally Jason the part of the tragic damsel in distress in need of a masculine rescue that she finally acquires in part from Aegeus. But as the feminine mask gradually slips to reveal first an archaic hero and finally a near-goddess, the story of her revenge takes on a pattern typical of divine rather than human action.[54] Dionysus in Euripides' *Bacchae,* for example, punishes disbelievers who fail to revere him and to penetrate his disguise. Similarly, the once victimized and seemingly powerless Medea appears finally as a semidivine fury whose true nature and authority were not recognized by the mortals around her (except, to some degree, the Nurse). While fully aware of Medea's intelligence, Creon (286), Jason (527–28, 555, 568–73, 1338), and even the chorus (1291–92) see Medea as a woman, and therefore as motivated only by jealousy (whereas she herself mentions this motive only at 265–66, 1354, and 1368). For Jason, Medea is a temperamental barbarian concubine who must be cast aside for the advantages of a real Greek marriage. Jason mistakenly fails to treat Medea as a hero, to value their mutual oaths and her favors to himself. He cannot hear the heroic language and values she adopts for herself in their first encounter.[55] And so, like Pentheus, he pays for his misunderstanding.

But before the final revelation of her superhumanity, Medea has been shown to have a masculine and a feminine side—each exercising its capacity for reason and emotion—which at first establish an uneasy complicity in the pursuit of revenge but finally split in tragic conflict during the famous monologue. By the conclusion of the monologue Medea's female self is once more a victim, this time both of her masculine self and of Jason, for at 1074 (see also 1364 and 1397–98) she blames her husband for the children's death (presumably because she cannot succeed in punishing him without killing the children). What is Euripides' point in turning the tragedy of jealousy we expect in the first scene into a tragedy of gender? By this I mean, not that Medea's tragedy is *about* gender, but that it raises its tragic issues as a double conflict between male and female, both on stage in the external world and within Medea's self. And what is the significance of the structure of the play, in which the hero and finally the divinity in Medea emerge to dominate, if not entirely obscure, the victimized woman?[56]

52. See Page xxi–xxv.

53. Buttrey 12.

54. This shift from a rescue to a revenge plot-pattern is implied in Buttrey's discussion of the structure of the play (10; see also Burnett 8). Burnett 17 argues that the messenger speech describes the death of the princess in an explicit fashion characteristic of divine revenge plays. Many critics have noticed the similarities between the conclusion of the *Bacchae* and the *Medea.* On Medea as *dea ex machina* see esp. M. P. Cunningham, "Medea *apo mechanes,*" *CP* 49 (1954) 152; N. E. Collinge, "Medea *ex Machina,*" *CP* 57 (1962) 170–72; and Knox 206–11.

55. See Bongie 42.

56. My previous discussion does not intend to question the reality of Medea's female and victimized self; she remains, despite her rhetoric, confined within female social limits until her final

I do not believe one can find a simple answer to these questions. Euripides' plays tend to leave us, as here, with more questions and revolutionary critiques than answers. The attitude of the chorus of ordinary women reminds us that for Euripides' audience a proper Greek wife had no fully autonomous sense of self, no muse, no public voice (421–30, 1085–89). Legally she was under the permanent supervision of a guardian and could make no significant decisions. Any independent action on the part of a classical Athenian woman, or any pursuit of her own desires, was not acceptable in a wife unless it involved carrying out household duties such as weaving, cooking, or guarding and caring for household property and children (see also the *Odyssey*'s Penelope, who takes action only in these matters). Nor did a woman, living confined to the household and religious activities, have the knowledge or the educated discipline needed to make independent decisions (see, for example, Sophocles' Deianeira). Tragic heroes like Medea frequently do not play by the rules governing the conduct of Attic women, yet these limits are, I think, implicitly present in the language and structure of all tragedies.[57] For every action a tragic woman takes in her own interest—every action outside of self-sacrifice for family or community—receives explicit criticism within the plays as unfeminine and has destructive consequences. Even Antigone is condemned for her unfeminine behavior and brings two other deaths in her wake. Is Euripides' *Medea,* then, confirming the audience's worst fears of what will happen when a woman takes action? Is it anticipating Aristotle in arguing that women are naturally *akuros,* lacking moral authority,[58] that because they cannot control their emotions with reason they cannot be permitted moral independence but must, as Jason thinks Medea should, obey the plans of their more reasonable husbands (565–75)? And all the more so because women are so clever at the rational planning of ways to achieve the goals dictated by their emotions (see esp. 407–9 and Creon's fear of Medea's intelligence)? These are in fact the very cultural clichés that Medea exploits in her second scene with Jason, where she pretends to accept and conform to his notions of what a woman is like and what she should be. In her speech at 869ff., Medea plays on women's supposed inferiority to men in making judgments (889–93) and emphasizes the wisdom of obeying those planning wisely for herself, the king and her husband, and the folly of her anger (873–78, 882, 885, 892). Later in the scene she hides the true reason for her tears at the sight of the children by remarking that women are given to tears (928).

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supernatural departure. Her use of the magical poison (see Knox 214) does not by itself characterize her as a witch. A similar poison, a typical female weapon, is used (unintentionally) by the feminine Deianeira of Sophocles.

57. For further discussions of this issue see supra n.48 and Nicole Loraux, *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman,* trans. A. Forster (Cambridge, Mass. 1987).

58. Implied in Fortenbaugh's discussion at 238–39. See also Euripides fr. 362 on the *gunaikophrōn thumos* quoted earlier. As was remarked earlier, Jason repeatedly sees Medea's only motive for action as *erōs.* Medea flatteringly distracts Jason from his view of female nature by pretending to imitate him.

Though Greek tragedy generally tends by displaying the devastating consequences of inverting cultural norms ultimately to affirm those norms, our earlier discussion of the monologue has made it clear that this interpretation of *Medea* cannot be true in any simple sense. For we must not forget that Euripides has presented in a negative light and even punished the ethical behavior of all the male characters in the play except Aegeus,[59] who sides with Medea and displays a heroic integrity comparable to the heroine's, and that the vengeful Medea deliberately imitates a heroic brand of masculinity. Since there is for the Greeks no model of autonomous and heroic femininity outside of self-sacrifice, Medea can only turn to a male model if she wishes to act authoritatively and within *timē*. If she acts in a way that guarantees self-preservation and child-preservation, she will in male-public terms lose face and fail to make a dramatic display of her wrongs. Like all disfranchised rebels, she can tragically imagine no other self or self-defense to imitate than that of her oppressors. By this I mean, not that she sets out to imitate Jason or Creon, but that the heroic code itself oppresses women, both because it traditionally excludes and subordinates them and because it gives priority to public success and honor over survival and the private concerns of love and family. The debate between Hector and Andromache in *Iliad* 6 makes this clear in a more benign way. In this play we see that oppression in the inability of Jason to recognize Medea's heroic self and in Medea's own failure to accept the arguments of her maternal voice. Furthermore, as Walsh and Pucci have shown, the Medea who contests Jason's injustice and pursuit of profit at the cost of emotional pain (598–99) ends up adopting all too similar goals for herself.[60] She chooses to accept emotional pain in order to achieve her revenge; a victim of injustice, she ends up like Jason, wronging her friends and rejecting suppliants (the chorus who plead for the children at 853–55, and, by implication, the children, 863).[61] She wants to be understood and accepted for what she is (215–24; 292–305), but ends by doing everything to hide what she is from those around her. Thus, by pursuing her heroic code she ends by imitating even her despised immediate oppressors and harming herself.

For a moment in the monologue we hope that her maternal side will successfully contest the masculine heroic logic, but everything in Medea and her circumstances has conspired against this frail possibility. For Medea has tried to sup-

59. See Schlesinger 45. Burnett argues that this atmosphere of moral corruption makes tragic Medea's otherwise monstrous and archaic revenge.

60. See the very different arguments of G. B. Walsh 296–99 and Pucci (passim, esp. chaps. 2 and 4), who emphasizes how the oppressed Medea adopts the position of a master. Hans Strohm, *Euripides*, Zetemata 15 (Munich 1957) 3, shows how the positions of Jason and Medea have been precisely reversed by the exodus (for linguistic echoes of the earlier scene in the later one, see Burnett 22). The same is true for prologue and exodus. Jason begins by devaluing children for expedient reasons and ends as movingly paternal. Medea, in her movement toward masculinity, follows the reverse course.

61. At 1250 Medea, just before killing the children, admits they were *philoi:* but it is too late to recognize the full irony of her position.

press this voice too long. In addition, she has come to envision all that is female as despicable,[62] a source of oppression of her need to be accepted for her own capacities and to achieve due recognition, a source of bad and never of good (407–9). For Medea, women are cowards except when they are wronged in bed (263–66); they are forced to depend on one person (276); they must buy a master for their bodies (232–34); any reputation they have must be to their disadvantage (215ff., 293ff.) Maternity and *erōs*—emotional dependence on others—have tied her to Jason and led her to the predicament in which she is now trapped. In the monologue the maternal voice appears to her masculine self to present only the "soft arguments" of a cowardice to be expected from women (1052; see also 1242–46 and 776). Finally, Medea's repeated use of her femininity to manipulate and deceive has reduced her womanly side to a role so lacking in heroic integrity that she can only wish to slough it off.

Moreover, through the chorus, we have already seen how the female voice, silenced for centuries, lacks the confidence and authority necessary to make a reply to a long masculine tradition. The chorus hoped to find this female voice in Medea, after her brilliant exposure of marriage and Jason's betrayal; but even they did not really expect a victimized woman to live up to their hopes (410–45). Later, aware after the monologue that they have lost their spokeswoman[63]—or, in fact, that they had never had one—the previously timid chorus struggles to give voice to the female muse in themselves and fails (1081–1115). Pitifully, their reasoning leads them to lose their grip on their one certainty, their maternal feelings, as they wonder if it would not be better never to have experienced parenthood at all.[64] If the chorus of women can be swayed momentarily to abandon the core of their self-interest as women, it is hardly surprising that the brilliant and semidivine princess Medea finds in her maternity no positive basis for action.

Is Euripides, then, making in *Medea* a tragic point about social oppression and social change? Medea has been treated unjustly by men, and her eloquent indictment of women's lot is never denied.[65] By developing the case for Medea's oppression first, the play seems to urge us to understand Medea's later behavior as a reaction to this oppression. We saw in the monologue how Medea's female side predictably (especially given the gender relations obtaining in Greek culture) fell victim to her masculine side and Jason. Jason's failure to treat Medea as the fully human (rather than in a traditional Greek sense female) and even

62. On the general point, see Pucci 64. Jason, Creon, and even the chorus make other negative judgments of women.

63. The third and fourth stasima reverse the chorus's earlier hopes and reveal their despair and horror at Medea.

64. As Wolff 240 notes, by coming, like Medea, to overvalue self-sufficiency, they deny the human need for reproduction. Reckford 346 sees in this chorus a divorce between reason and feeling.

65. Even if, as Pucci 65ff. argues, Medea's argument contradicts itself, it presents a substantially accurate indictment of contemporary Attic reality (see Knox 219–21, Reckford 336–39, and Guido Paduano, *La Formazione del mondo ideologicale e poetico di Euripide* [Pisa 1968] 259–71).

heroic being he married with a clasp of right hands and supplicated in times of trouble propels her to ever greater daring. His own significant—if not, as Medea sometimes claims, exclusive—responsibility for the tragic outcome seems confirmed both by the appearance of the sun's chariot and by the plot pattern that structures the final scenes. Reckford sees in the alienation and corruption of Medea the self-fulfilling power of prejudice.[66] Yet Euripides also seems to imply that the oppressed, by being trapped into imitating their oppressors, can in the end only tragically silence what should have been their own true (here maternal) voice, destroy themselves, and confirm an unjust status quo.

Or is Euripides, as Wolff suggests, also using *Medea* to bring home a point about masculine ethics?[67] Greek poets repeatedly demonstrated the tragic consequences of the brand of heroic individualism imitated by Medea and of the "do good to friends, bad to enemies" ethic. Here Medea, like Achilles (or Ajax), destroys (or threatens to destroy) in her heroic wrath those who are her friends. She talks herself into believing that her revenge will be inadequate without the death of the children; for when the chorus asks her how she could endure to kill her own offspring, she replies that her husband would above all be tortured (*dēchtheiē,* 817) by this. Yet unlike Achilles, who regains his humanity in *Iliad* 24, Medea finally leaves female and even human limits behind. The audience is literally distanced from her as she appears high above the stage, and for the first time it is invited to feel pity for Jason, who, wracked with paternal anguish, has lost all identity with the loss of his children. By choosing Medea, a barbarian woman, to display the contradictions inherent in this heroic ethic and behavior, Euripides has achieved a particularly devastating and grotesque demonstration of the problematic nature of this archaic heroism—and one he might have hesitated to make through a Greek or male protagonist.[68]

True, there is a certain integrity in Medea's single-minded pursuit of this archaic masculine ethic, especially when we are offered as an alternative the dubious sophistic or unprincipled masculine behavior of Creon and Jason. The play uses Medea's heroic ethic to expose the callous amoral pragmatism of the unheroic Jason[69] and Creon, and then turns on the ethic itself as it deteriorates into a ghastly version of her enemies' behavior. By implicitly taking as her heroic models both the avenging archaic warrior Achilles and the clever and crafty survivor Odysseus, and thus conflating two brands of heroism that epic views as partially contradictory, Medea shows herself a pathetically confused imitator of heroic masculinity. By adhering blindly to her warrior code, she ironically comes

66. Reckford 345. See also Reckford 346n. 26 on the possible allusions in Medea's case to the plight of noncitizen wives in Athens after Pericles' citizenship law of 451. Knox 222 sees in the hostility expressed toward Medea as a *sophē* a reflection of Euripides' own reception by his contemporaries.

67. Wolff 238–39.

68. See Burnett on the ways that Euripides has stripped Medea's revenge of all the circumstances that mitigate other tragic revenges.

69. See Kurt Von Fritz, *Antike und moderne Tragödie* (Berlin 1962) 322ff. on how the play deprives Jason of his epic heroism.

to the peak of daring (394): the slaughter of her own children.[70] She achieves, not the fame she sought, but infamy. By going beyond the tragic, by not paying for her revenge with suicide or death (as in the case of Ajax, or Ino and Procne;[71] see Medea's own earlier courageous resolve to face death at 393), Medea further destroys the heroic integrity of her ethic. Unlike the Sophoclean hero who gains a certain authority not only by dying but by remaining tragically alienated from the world to the bitter end, the once mistreated and misunderstood Medea goes off to fit all too well into the contemporary world; indeed, she will marry Aegeus and go on, after denying progeny to Jason, to produce the child Medus.[72] Medea's final transformation into an amoral deity, something beyond the human female or male, expresses not only the death and betrayal of her maternal self[73] but what she has become through her abuse of her masculine ethic. Unlike Sophocles in the *Ajax,* with its guarded celebration of heroic glory and brutality even at the expense of humanity, Euripides seems finally to have little nostalgia for the epic past. Indeed, we might view the play as—at least in part—an implicit attack on the typical Sophoclean hero. But, above all, the poet comes close to labeling the "friends-enemies" ethic as destructive of humanity and human values and thus suitable only for gods.

In his long career Euripides created adulterous and murderous women, as well as male characters, like Jason here (esp. 573–75) or Hippolytus (*Hipp.* 616ff.), who indulge in misogynist outbursts. He also created courageous female sacrificial victims, female advocates of public ideals, defenders of the female sex like Melanippe, and a Helen who sat out the Trojan War guarding her virtue in Egypt. Aristophanes' accusation of misogyny in *Thesmophoriazusae* must be viewed in relation to that poet's own (mis)representations of women; besides, his Euripides is finally exonerated on the basis of his *Helen* and *Andromeda.*[74] Knox argues that *Medea* is neither feminist nor misogynist but a play about the wrongs done to and by women.[75] *Medea* exposes male suppression of women in marriage and the tragic results of a male refusal to recognize in women the same capaci-

70. Bongie 32, 50, 55 tends to view Medea's excessive pursuit of her code in terms that better suit the Sophoclean hero.

71. See Suzanne Mills, "The Sorrow of Medea," *CP* 75 (1980) 289–96, on the similarities and differences between Ino and Procne's story and Medea's, which includes a supernatural dimension. Rick M. Newton, "Ino in Euripides' *Medea,*" *AJP* 106 (1985) 501–2 speculates that if, as seems likely, Euripides invented Ino's killing of her children, Medea's crime truly lacks precedent.

72. In other versions (although this one was certainly known in Attic tragedy) Medus was the son of a barbarian king whom Medea married after she fled from Athens. For a discussion and a list of ancient sources, see Pierre Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (Oxford 1986) 276 and 496.

73. See Schlesinger 51. In her dissertation, "Euripides' Medea: A Study in Dramatic Mythopoeia," Stanford 1976, 121–22, Suzanne Mills, noting the similarities established between Medea and her rival, the princess, intriguingly suggests that Medea moves toward divinity through the sacrifice of a double.

74. See Froma Zeitlin, "Travesties of Gender and Genre in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae,*" in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity,* ed. H. Foley (New York 1981) 186ff.

75. See Knox 211 and also Reckford 339–40.

ties, feelings, and needs they accept for themselves; and it shows the corrupting effects of this mistreatment of a woman of tremendous feeling and intelligence. At the same time Medea's overly literal imitation of an anachronistic masculine code, her dehumanization, and her betrayal of her own sex could be said equally to confirm woman's ultimate incapacity for independence and civilized behavior. For if Euripides is using Medea to examine critically masculine heroism and masculine ethics, he cannot be arguing that women should be liberated to pursue these same goals, and there is a certain irony in the heroine's pursuit of a code that even Sophocles' *Ajax* displayed as outmoded.

Yet this play is equally about the wrongs done to and by men. By showing how Medea's concern for status and revenge at all costs can disintegrate into something uncomfortably close to the callous utilitarianism of Jason and destroy those whom her ideals were meant to protect, Euripides makes a devastating philosophical case against both the shallow modern ethics of Jason and Creon and the heroic ethics of the archaic past. Only Athens, with its harmonious blend of *erōs* and *sophia,* and Aegeus, who shows respect both for Medea's person and for her oaths, appear exempt from the general indictment; yet Athens itself is about to be visited by Medea. Medea seems to make at first an eloquent case for her own truth, integrity, and justice. Yet in the end her inability to trust her own maternal voice in the monologue destroys our hopes for a more enlightened form of human ethics, for the creation of an authoritative female identity and integrity that could contest masculine ethics, whether archaic or contemporary. By dividing Medea's self along sexual lines, Euripides creates, not a private psychological drama and/or an abstract struggle between reason and passion, but an ambiguous inquiry into the relation between human ethics and social structure.

APPENDIX

The other two main arguments against accepting the present text of Medea's monologue are as follows:

1. The children are told to go off-stage at 1053 but are still there at 1069, awkwardly witnessing in person Medea's struggle over whether to kill them. We can justify the extant text only by assuming that the children leave the stage (1053) and return at Medea's call (1069),[76] or, as seems far less dramatically awkward, that they begin to leave the stage but are temporarily arrested in their departure by Medea's distraught behavior.[77] In any case, the children are proba-

76. E. R. Dodds, "Three Notes on *Medeia,*" *Humanitas* 4 (1952) 14–15. He alters *dot'* in 1069 to *deut'*.

77. This is the view of Page 148 on line 1053, supported by Voigtländer 230–31; Steidle 163; Donald J. Mastronarde, *Contact and Discontinuity: Some Conventions of Speech and Action on the Greek-Tragic Stage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1979) 110; and Lloyd-Jones 57. Stage directions in Greek drama generally appear in the texts and mutes generally obey instructions promptly (D. Bain, *Masters, Servants and Orders in Greek Tragedy: Some Aspects of Dramatic Technique and Convention* [Manchester 1981] 33). Yet in a comparable situation earlier in the play, the Nurse twice directs

bly too young to understand Medea's words fully. Her language is euphemistic about the murder except between 1053, after she has dispatched the children to the house, and 1063. She addresses the children again at 1069, so that they would have been moving away from her during the only explicit lines, and in production this fact could be made visible by having the actor turn away from the children at appropriate moments, or speak 1053 to himself, 1069 more emphatically to the children.[78] The visual contrast between the distraught mother and the innocent children makes a stage effect worth prolonging.

2. Medea at 1045 and 1058 speaks of taking the children with her to Athens, but later in the speech (1060–63) and before (see 791 and 1013) and after (1236–43) this speech she invokes a necessity that requires their death.[79] Is Medea being inconsistent here? In my view, it seems best to argue with Schlesinger that what makes the killing of the children necessary is her revenge plan (see esp. 791–93, 817, and 1059).[80] Medea has at this point abandoned her initial plans to attack Jason's person directly (374–75). Hence, without killing the children she cannot take fully effective revenge on her husband and will be made to look like a fool before her enemies (1049–50). If Schlesinger is right, the seeming inconsistencies of the passage represent a momentary hesitation over whether to take the children and abandon the full revenge plan or to pursue her revenge plan.[81] Once

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the Tutor to take the children inside (89, 100–5); the first time they do not go in. Kovacs' objection (345) to this example, that the Nurse continues to address the Pedagogue, thereby preventing prompt obedience, applies also to the monologue, if the children are arrested by Medea's continuing speech. For a discussion of other less likely explanations of the staging here (e.g., Grube's view that Medea imagines addressing the children from 1021–80), see Reeve 54ff.

78. See Steidle 163–64.

79. Most scholars view 1062–63 as interpolated from 1240–41; G. A. Seeck, "Euripides' *Medea* 1059–68: A Problem of Interpretation," *GRBS* 9 (1968) 291, brackets 1060–63; Christmann 133–36 (see Reeve's objections, 59n. 1) proposes a lacuna here. Lloyd-Jones advocates deleting 1059–63 (yet Kovacs 352n. 17 rightly notes the problematic absence of an adversative in 1064 to show a mind change), and Kovacs deletes 1056–64. As Lesky 226 rightly objects, Seeck's deletion ignores the implications of 1059 and leaves the audience unprepared for 1236–41 (see also the chorus at 976–77 and Medea at 791 and 1013; Medea would not lament the necessity invoked here if it did not imply the killing of the children [Steidle 161]). Kovacs' proposal is ingenious, but he has no strong grounds for deleting 1056–58 (see Lloyd-Jones 54 on *ekei*); the parody in *Acharnians* of *Medea* (see *Ach.* 450–52 and 480–89, and in addition *Medea* 1242ff.) almost certainly refers to Euripides', not Neophron's, address by Medea to her *thumos*. In short, bracketing all or part of 1056–80 does not fully resolve the problems raised by those objecting to the lines.

80. Schlesinger 30–32; Voigtländer 234–35 makes a similar argument. Lloyd-Jones 55 argues against Schlesinger that a Medea who earlier made no apologies for her revenge need not offer to herself the excuse of necessity. In my view it is precisely because Medea is both determined on revenge and confronting the painful consequences of this decision that she needs at this crucial moment the reinforcement of additional arguments to make the revenge seem inevitable (the argument for necessity does not replace the argument for revenge).

81. We have no reason to find implausible either alternative that Medea mentions concerning the children. Medea never doubts her ability to escape. Though she does not explain to the audience how she will make this departure, we have no reason to view her plan to take the children with her as a lapse into wishful fantasy, a powerful example of psychological realism. The appearance of the chariot of the sun is reserved as a surprise for the audience and probably, since she feels so pressed

she has determined on the latter (as 1059 implies),[82] she must kill the children herself, rather than surrender them to the Corinthians. Finally, it should be noted that the ambiguities of the monologue in this respect have one decisive advantage: the killing of the children appears tragically determined by a combination of external and internal pressures,[83] yet the way remains open for Medea's surprising antitragic escape from Corinth in the chariot of the sun.[84]

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for time (Steidle 161), for Medea herself. Previous mythological tradition had the children die in Corinth, and in one version the Corinthians killed them in revenge for Medea's deeds (see Page xxi–xxv for a review of the mythic tradition here). The audience would thus have found convincing Medea's argument that if the children are to remain in Corinth, she must kill them to avoid their deaths at the hands of her enemies.

82. The transition from 1058 to 1059 is disturbingly abrupt, and the argument implied by 1060–63 very condensed. Yet the invocation of deities of revenge in 1059 can serve as a succinct indication that Medea has shifted back to favoring her revenge plan (Voigtländer 234) and must now pursue its implications for the children. Page 149 offers a psychological defense of Medea's sudden vacillations here.

83. As many critics have seen (see esp. Diller 362, Voigtländer 225, Easterling 188, Steidle 162, Lloyd-Jones 52 and 59, Kovacs 344–45), there is no real possibility that Medea will choose to save the children. External necessity limits her options and favors the revenge plan; the audience expects the children's death and does not know about the chariot of the sun; Medea has already invoked the gods' aid for her revenge plan (see 160, 764, 1013); above all, her powerful identity with her revenge plan makes the outcome inevitable. Yet to interpret the monologue simply as displaying the divided Medea's struggle to confront the costs of a predetermined revenge (see, for example, Lloyd-Jones) is to play down the text's moments of genuine hesitation. A combination of predetermination and active choice is typical of tragedy, but Medea's unique situation—she makes a conscious choice with full knowledge of the bad consequences of her action—makes the monologue exceptionally striking.

84. I wish to thank discerning audiences at Delphi, Connecticut College, Lehigh, Emory, Oberlin, and CUNY Graduate Center, as well as Michael Jameson and the anonymous referees for *Classical Antiquity,* for their comments and questions on earlier versions of this paper.



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"PREDATORY" GODDESSES

ABSTRACT

It is often assumed that depictions on Attic vases of the goddess Eos carrying off young mortals were meant to convey a strong negative message about the dangers of female sexuality. But can we be sure that the myths about Eos and her lovers, like those of abductions of mortals by other gods, were intended as commentaries on *human* sexual conduct? Goddesses (unlike women) are immortal, ageless, and powerful. Evidence from the ancient sources suggests instead that depictions of abductions by Eos were meant to represent both the romance and anguish of divine interventions into mortal life, and to remind their users of the inexorable power of the gods.

ABDUCTIONS OF MORTALS BY EOS AND OTHER GODDESSES

The male gods of ancient Greece are known for their interest in mortal women.[1] But goddesses also were active in seeking out mortal consorts, at least in the era before the Trojan War, when the gods were still dining with mortals ([Hes.] *Cat.*, fr. 1.1–10 MW; Hes. *Theog.* 585–587). Hesiod's *Theogony,* in the form in which it has come down to us, ends with a catalogue of Zeus's consorts and children, followed by those of the other gods (Hes. *Theog.* 886–962). To this catalogue is appended a list of "the immortal

1. Compare the Hebrew tradition about the origin of the giants known as the Nephelim: "the gods saw that the daughters of humans were attractive, and they took wives from whomever they chose" (Genesis 6.2); West 1997, p. 117.

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goddesses who bedded with mortal men and bore children who resembled the gods" (Hes. *Theog.* 967–968): Demeter and Iasion, Harmonia and Kadmos, Kallirhoe and Chrysaor, Eos and Tithonos, Eos and Kephalos, Medeia and Iason, Psamathe and Aiakos, Thetis and Peleus, Aphrodite and Anchises, Kirke and Odysseus, and Kalypso and Odysseus (Hes. *Theog.* 969–1020).[2] When in the *Odyssey* Kalypso complains that the gods are jealous of the goddesses who sleep with mortal men, she alludes to the story of Eos and Orion along with that of Demeter and Iasion (*Od.* 5.118–128). Homer also mentions Eos and Kleitos (*Od.* 15.572–575), and Sappho alludes to the story of Aphrodite and Adonis (fr. 140 Voigt).[3] The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* although mostly about the liaisons of gods with mortal women, appears to have included accounts of Thetis's marriage to Peleus (fr. 210–211 MW) and of Selene's romance with Endymion (fr. 245 MW).[4]

In view of the frequency with which these stories turn up in Archaic poetry, it is not surprising that the gods' liaisons with mortals are frequently portrayed on vases by Athenian painters, or that Eos and her lovers appear on a relatively large proportion of them. In the vases catalogued by Sophia Kaempf-Dimitriadou there are more scenes depicting Eos and her lovers than scenes portraying Zeus, either with female mortals or with Ganymedes.[5] The myth of Eos and Kephalos had special appeal for an Athenian audience because Kephalos was a local boy; so did vases depicting the abduction of the Athenian princess Oreithyia by the wind-god Boreas.[6] The Eos vases had a wide appeal for Athenian audiences, as well as for the Italian market: 37 of 210 red-figured vases listed by Carina Weiss were found in mainland Italy or Sicily, and 38 are Nolan amphoras.[7] Kaempf-Dimitriadou concluded that scenes in which gods abducted mortals might have served as reminders of the precariousness of human existence.[8] She also suggested that scenes in which Eos carried off young men might in some cases have served as consolation in time of death.[9]

In recent years, however, scholars have sought to extrapolate information from these scenes about Athenian attitudes toward human male and female sexuality. Andrew Stewart, in a detailed discussion of the Eos vases, rightly makes a careful distinction between ordinary rape of mortals by

2. On the tradition that Medeia was immortal, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.11; Braswell 1988, p. 76. The myth of Kirke may have its origins in Near Eastern epic: Ishtar in the Gilgamesh epic turns two of her lovers into animals (*Gilg.* 3.7, 6.2.26); see West 1997, p. 408, n. 14. The myths about Eos and her lovers may have influenced the characterization of Kalypso, Kirke, and Aphrodite; cf. Boedeker 1974, pp. 64–84; Friedrich 1978, pp. 39–43.

3. The myth of Aphrodite/Adonis came to Cyprus and Asia Minor from the cult of Ishtar and Thammuz in Syria; see Page 1955, p. 127. On the identity of Aphrodite with Ishtar, cf. Burkert 1992, pp. 20, 97–98. The union of Demeter/Iasion takes place in a plowed field, like the ritual marriage of the goddess Inanna to the king of Sumer. One king is even called Dumuzi, the name of her divine spouse; cf. Frymer-Kensky 1992, pp. 50–57.

4. On Selene and Endymion, see Ap. Rhod. 4.57; the story may come from Musaeus's *Theogony* (cf. Epimenides 3B2 I 33 DK; see *FGrHist* IIIb Suppl. I, p. 575). Another of Selene's mortal lovers was the Eleusinian ruler and hierophant Eumolpos, by her the father of Musaeus (Philochorus 328, *FGrHist* F208 = schol. Ar. *Ran.* 1033).

5. In the catalogue of vases in Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, pp. 76–109, there are 147 scenes with Eos and her lovers as opposed to 116 depicting Zeus and his lovers (60 with women and 56 with Ganymedes). Boreas and Oreithyia is the next most popular subject with 56, followed by Poseidon and his lovers with 40.

6. Both myths were portrayed in the akroteria of the Athenians' temple at Delos; Robertson 1975, p. 356.

7. *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 759–775, s.v. Eros (C. Weiss).

8. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, pp. 47–53.

9. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 57; Vermeule 1979, pp. 162–178; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 779, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss).

mortals and the erotic interventions into human life made by gods.[10] But he accounts for the popularity of the Eos vases by suggesting that they might have been understood as a means of defining and justifying the dominance of male sexuality: "Mythological pursuits and abductions represent nothing more or less than the projection of Athenian male desire first upon the heroic world and then upon the divine one."[11]

What role do the Eos vases play in this "projection of Athenian male desire"? Stewart suggests that the discourse about Eos and her boy victims may ultimately be intended as a warning: "not only do these pictures hint at the evils of *female* dominance (*gynaikokrateia*) and easy capitulation to desire, but nervously evoke their appalling consequences: female control of the phallus."[12] Robin Osborne agrees with Stewart that female pursuers invert the normal codes of sexual behavior.[13] In his view, the vases provide a display of what never could or should happen in Athenian society, because of the close restrictions on female desire, at least among respectable women: "in limiting scenes of female pursuit to the case of the winged Eos, pot painters were able both to suggest that women did desire men and that female desire could not be active in the real world."[14]

In the present article I argue that Kaempf-Dimitriadou's understanding of the purpose of the Eos vases is more likely to be correct: the primary purpose of the vases was to remind viewers of the power of the gods to alter the course of human life, whether for better or worse. Painters who wished to comment on the sexuality of mortal females did not need to use depictions of goddesses to do so. In any case, there is no reason to believe that Athenian men wished to discourage female passion, even within the context of marriage. Rather, what the Eos vases portray are the various stages in the uses of persuasion and constraint in the pursuit of the goddess's desire. None of the Eos vases depicts sexual activity, other than eye contact. Eos is no more "predatory" in her approaches to mortals than gods like Zeus or Boreas.[15]

Why do we suppose that vases depicting abductions of mortals by gods were intended as commentaries on mortal sexual relationships? Certainly human beings project their own characteristics onto the gods, as Xenophanes observed: "Homer and Hesiod ascribed to the gods all the actions that among men cause reproach and blame, lies, adulteries, and deceptions of one another" (fr. 21 B12 I 132 DK = 160 KRS). But it is another matter to assume that the reverse is true, that all of the actions of the gods can in turn be mirrored in the lives of human beings.[16] The Greeks never forgot about the limitations imposed on human action by the fact of mortality.[17] They made a clear distinction between human rapes and

10. Stewart 1995, pp. 74–77; cf. Zeitlin 1986, p. 150, quoting Dover 1978, p. 88: "pursuit is the role prescribed for the male, flight for the female," but these categories apply only to mortals.

11. Stewart 1995, p. 86; cf. also Zeitlin 1986, p. 150.

12. Stewart 1995, p. 86.

13. Osborne 1996, pp. 65–77.

14. Osborne 1996, pp. 67–68, 76; cf. also Frontisi-Ducroux 1996, p. 83: "a terrifying scenario to Greek men."

15. West 1966, p. 486: "[Eos] was one of the most predatory of goddesses"; cf. Friedrich 1978, p. 41: "Dawn is rapacious in her way."

16. E.g., Osborne 1996, p. 72: "just as behind every man there is a satyr restrained only by social protocols, so behind every woman there is an Eos: Female sexual desire can be rampant, too."

17. See especially the perceptive remarks of Vermeule 1979, p. 121; cf. also Stehle 1990, p. 94; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, p. 49.

abductions by gods.[18] Abduction by a god was something to boast about, even after the woman's death; but rape by a mortal was a disgrace, punishable in Athens by divorce and other social restrictions. Gods cannot serve as role models for mortal men, because gods can abduct a woman with impunity. It is essential to remember this important distinction when talking about divine abductions.[19] Gods do not (*pace* Eva Keuls) go on "raping expeditions," but choose their female consorts deliberately and carefully.[20]

A similar distinction applies also to goddesses who abduct mortal men; a mortal woman cannot carry out with impunity either abduction or adultery. Klytemnestra is killed by her son for murdering his father because she wanted to marry Aigisthos. Phaidra (who was only *thinking* about committing adultery) hangs herself when she believes that she is going to be disgraced. In his discussion of these relationships, Osborne fails to distinguish between goddesses and mortal women. He includes Phaidra along with the goddesses Eos, Aphrodite, and Selene in a list of "females in pursuit."[21] But Phaidra is mortal; she cannot carry Hippolytos away by persuasion, let alone by force. Her passion cannot do anything positive for him, such as guaranteeing that he will have a famous son or that he could become immortal. Only a goddess could bestow some or all of these benefits on a mortal man. A god could assume the form of an animal to abduct a mortal woman. But when a mortal woman mates with an animal, her lust has dreadful consequences: Pasiphae's passion for the bull produced the Minotaur.[22]

Our present-day sensitivity to the treatment of women has made it difficult to discuss with equanimity ancient myths of divine abductions of mortals, even when we can separate them in our minds from ordinary rape. The ancients themselves, however, responded to these stories in more nuanced ways.[23] When depicting divine abductions, artists avoided representing the moment of sexual union or direct manifestation of sexual arousal.[24] Like the poets, they concentrated on the process of seduction, showing how the gods persuade their mortal lovers to welcome and cooperate with their advances. As Kheiron advises Apollo, when he is planning to abduct Kyrene: "hidden are the keys of wise Persuasion of holy loves; this makes gods and men alike hesitant openly to approach a sweet bed for the first time" (Pind. *Pyth.* 9.39–41).[25]

Male gods always employ persuasion (or enchantment) to gain the cooperation of the females, even though they could easily compel mortal women by force. But a goddess cannot seduce a mortal man without his active cooperation. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite,* the goddess disguises herself as a mortal and tells an elaborate story about herself in order to reassure Anchises and encourage him to make love to her; the poet states that her power is universal, and shows the effect her presence has even on animals.[26] But the male gods, who could easily force mortal boys or women to give into them, prefer to draw their lovers by the power of their glance. Homosexual coupling is shown only in a few cases where a winged young male god has frontal intercrural intercourse with a young human male. But even here, as Martin Kilmer has shown, "there is no hint of violence." The mortal seems neither to consent nor object. His passivity brings out the disparity in power between himself and the god.[27]

18. For further discussion, see Lefkowitz 1993, pp. 20–21; cf. also Harrison 1997, p. 188.

19. Cf. Keuls 1985, p. 50, who speaks of Zeus and Hermes going on a "raping expedition."

20. Lefkowitz 1986, pp. 35–36.

21. Osborne 1996, p. 67.

22. Robson 1997, p. 81, who also cites the myth of Artemis's companion Polyphonte (Ant. Lib. 21), who fell in love with a bear: her two huge sons became savage cannibals.

23. Cf. esp. Ridgway 1999, pp. 93–94.

24. Shapiro 1992, p. 61; Calame 1999, p. 67. Even Danae's lap is covered by her cloak and dress when she receives the shower of gold from Zeus, as shown on a kalyx krater from Cerveteri in St. Petersburg, inv. ST 1723: *ARV*^{2} 360, no. 1, 1648; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 327, no. 1, pl. 1, s.v. Danae (J.-J. Maffre). Nonetheless, Stewart (1995, p. 87) suggests that by mid-century "in polite society, these images were simply no longer acceptable; in effect they had all but become pornography."

25. Clay 1989, p. 159: "not force but persuasion and guile constitute the secret tools of successful seduction." Dougherty (1993, pp. 140–141; 1998, p. 270), in her discussion of Apollo's abduction of Kyrene, emphasizes the "violence" of Pindar's agricultural metaphors, but cf. Bremmer 2000, pp. 102–103.

26. Cf. Clay 1989, pp. 158, 175.

27. Shapiro 1992, p. 66; Kilmer 1997, p. 132; and in general, Kilmer 1990, p. 270; 1993, p. 200.



Figure 1. Neck amphora by the Nausicaa Painter (Berlin F 2352). Eos approaching Kephalos. Courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz

VASE PAINTINGS OF PURSUITS BY EOS

In general, the goddess Eos's approaches to the young men she seeks to abduct do not differ significantly from those of male gods abducting boys or women. Painters show her (1) approaching the mortal, (2) catching hold of him by his hand or arm, or (3) carrying him away. An example of the first stage is provided by a neck amphora with twisted handles by the Nausicaa Painter (Fig. 1), which shows on the left a winged Eos walking with arms outstretched toward a young man, whose hunting garb identifies him as Kephalos.[28] He is walking away from her, holding his right arm with his palm facing toward her, as if warding her off. His dog jumps toward her in alarm. But at the same time Kephalos has turned his head back in order to look at Eos, and we can see that the power of the goddess's glance has begun to keep him from getting away.[29]

In a bell krater by the Christie Painter (Fig. 2), a winged Eos strides from the left toward a retreating Kephalos (again recognizable by his hunting gear). He is about a head shorter than the goddess, and is gazing back

28. Berlin F 2352, from Nola: *ARV*[2] 1107, no. 1; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 762, no. 104, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 85, no. 104.

29. On the power of the gaze, see (in general) Robertson 1975, p. 214; Buxton 1982, pp. 51, 112–113, 214, n. 86; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, p. 69; Padel 1992, pp. 62–63. On the erotic gaze, see Reeder 1995, pp. 125–126; Frontisi-Ducroux 1996, pp. 82–84; Sutton 1997–1998, p. 35.





Figure 2 *(left)*. **Bell krater by the Christie Painter (Baltimore Museum of Art 1951.486). Eos approaching Kephalos.** Courtesy Baltimore Museum of Art, bequest of Sadie A. May

Figure 3 *(above)*. **Stamnos (Walters Art Museum 48.2034). Eos approaching Tithonos.** Courtesy Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

toward her, while a comrade behind the goddess moves off to the left.[30] Hunters are out at dawn, and schoolboys also rise early. When Eos is shown in pursuit of the Trojan prince Tithonos, he is often shown holding a lyre, as if on his way to his lessons. On a skyphos by the Pantoxena Painter, a winged Eos reaches out to a young man identified by an inscription as Tithonos.[31] His right arm is bent up and back, and in his right hand he holds a lyre with which he tries to strike Eos; but again their eyes have already met, and we know that his resistance will be ineffective. When painters depict mortal couples gazing at one another, they often show a winged Eros between or near them.[32] But the gaze of the god or goddess can be effective even without the help of Eros.

In the next stage of the pursuit Eos takes hold of the young man; on a stamnos in the Walters Art Museum (Fig. 3), Eos, here without wings, is shown between two young men, striding from the left toward Tithonos, who is moving away from her toward the right.[33] She has placed her left

30. Bell krater by the Christie Painter, Baltimore Museum of Art 1951.486: *ARV*² 1048, no. 27; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 762, no. 99, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 85, no. 110; Reeder 1995, pp. 401–402, no. 131 (C. Benson). Compare the bell krater from Cumae (Paris, Cab. Méd. 423: *ARV*² 1055, no. 72; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 762, no. 100, s.v. Eos [C. Weiss]; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 185, no. 112), where a winged Eos, approaching from the left, reaches out toward a fleeing Kephalos (identified by an inscription) who holds two spears over his left shoulder; a companion, behind Eos, is running away.

31. Paris, Cab. Méd. 846: *ARV*² 1050, no. 1; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 768, no. 182, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 90, no. 173.

32. For examples, see esp. Sutton 1992, p. 27; Sutton 1997–1998, pp. 32–39; also the scene on the fragment of a loutrophoros in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University, inv. 1966.888: *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 905, no. 639c, pl. 646, s.v. Eros (A. Hermary et al.); Reeder 1995, pp. 168–169, no. 25.

33. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 48.2034: *ARV*² 509, no. 1657; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 765, no. 139, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 87, no. 130; Reeder 1995, pp. 399–401, no. 130 (C. Benson).



Figure 4. Kylix by the Telephos Painter (Boston 95.28). Eos taking hold of Tithonos. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Catharine Page Perkins Fund

arm across his back and her left hand rests on his right shoulder. Tithonos has dropped his lyre from his right hand and it falls to the ground. Behind Eos, on the left, a comrade is looking back toward Tithonos, but at the same time moving out of the way.[34]

On a kylix by the Telephos Painter in Boston (Fig. 4), a winged Eos approaches Tithonos from the left, while he moves away from her toward the right.[35] She grasps his right wrist with her right hand, has placed her left arm around his back, and has her left hand on his left shoulder. Tithonos's left arm is bent toward her at the elbow, with his hand outstretched in her direction, but not touching her. He turns around to look at her, but she is gazing upward, over his head. She does not need to attract him by her gaze, because she is holding him by the wrist, χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ, as a bridegroom might grasp the wrist of a bride.[36]

34. Compare Eos catching Kephalos on a Nolan amphora by the Niobid Painter in the Rijksmuseum in Leiden (PC 78: *ARV*² 605, no. 58; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 761, no. 77, pl. 77, s.v. Eos [C. Weiss]; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 83, no. 83), and on a pelike by the Niobid Painter, formerly in Königsberg (Univ. F 162: *ARV*² 603, no. 44; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 761, no. 76, pl. 76, s.v. Eos [C. Weiss]; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 83, no. 81).

35. Boston 95.28, from Vulci: *ARV*² 482, no. 816; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 769, no. 201, pl. 201, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 90, no. 179.

36. On the gesture, see Jenkins 1983, pp. 139–140; Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 32.



Figure 5 *(left)*. **Polychrome bobbin by the Penthesilea Painter (New York 28.167). Zephyros taking hold of Hyakinthos.** Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund

Figure 6 *(opposite, left)*. **Hydria by the Niobid Painter. Boreas taking hold of Oreithyia (Brunswick 1908.003).** Courtesy Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine. Gift of Edward Perry Warren, Esq., Honorary Degree, 1926.

ANALOGIES WITH ABDUCTIONS BY MALE GODS

In approaching her lovers in this way Eos follows what appears to be one of the customary rules of divine behavior. The tactics she employs are also used by male gods. Virtually the same stage of pursuit is shown on a polychrome bobbin by the Penthesilea Painter in New York (Fig. 5).[37] Here a winged male figure, possibly Zephyros, strides from the left toward a young male (Hyakinthos?) who holds a lyre in his left hand. The god holds his left arm behind the young man and is reaching down toward him with his right hand. The young man is about to step off to the right, but he gazes back into the eyes of the god. The stance of the god/mortal pair is similar to that seen on a hydria by the Niobid Painter in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art: a winged Boreas with winged boots approaches from the left through the air (Fig. 6).[38] The god puts his right arm around Oreithyia's waist and his left around her shoulders. Oreithyia turns toward him, but does not embrace him in return. She holds both arms in the air and is still moving toward the right, away from him. The goddess Athena, holding spear and shield, stands behind Oreithyia, looking over her head toward Boreas. She does nothing to help Oreithyia or oppose Boreas; rather, she is acting as Boreas's *pompos*: according to Herodotos (7.189.1), he made Oreithyia his wife.[39]

In the vases discussed above, the gods do not use force to compel their intended lovers to accompany them. But ancient Greek painters did not hesitate to show how women protest and suffer when they are carried off, even by a god. The exquisite wall painting in the tomb of Persephone at Vergina depicts Persephone's anguish as Hades carries her off on his chariot, while her Oceanid friend raises her arm in horror.[40] Hades may have needed

37. New York, MMA 28.167: *ARV*² 890, no. 175, 1673; *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 549, no. 44, pl. 44, s.v. Hyakinthos (L. and F. Villard); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 81, no. 53; Shapiro 1992, pp. 70–72, fig. 3.10.

38. Brunswick, Maine 1908.003, from Athens: *ARV*² 606, no. 68; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 137, no. 56, pl. 56, s.v. Boreas (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 107, no. 364.

39. On Athena as *pompos,* see Sinos 1993, pp. 80–83. On Herodotos 7.189, cf. How and Wells 1912, vol. 2, p. 215; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 134, s.v. Boreas (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou). There is a rationalized version of the myth in Plato's *Phaedrus* (229c–d).

40. *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 969, no. 213, s.v. Persephone (G. Güntner); Andronikos 1994, pp. 59–69, pls. 19–26. Cf. Cohen 1996, pp. 119–121.



Figure 7 *(above, right)*. **Kylix by the Penthesilea Painter (Ferrara 9351). Zeus taking hold of Ganymedes.** Courtesy Museo archeologico nazionale di Ferrara

to use both deception and violence to abduct Persephone, because she, like himself, is a divinity, powerful, immortal, and ageless. As the story is related in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* Zeus tells Gaia to produce an intoxicating narcissus, which Persephone wants to pick; Hades then takes her by surprise, by making the earth open beneath her feet, as he rushes out to carry her off on his chariot (*Hymn. Hom.* 2.8–18).[41]

But when gods approach mortals they do not need to rely on such violence. Vase painters show male gods employing their superior strength, and allow the mortals whom they have chosen to display surprise and initial reluctance. In a scene on a hydria in Athens, Boreas runs from the left after Oreithyia, who is fleeing to the right with her left hand raised in the air. But Boreas has caught her right hand by the wrist in his right hand and is pulling her from behind with his left hand, and she has turned her head around to look into his eyes.[42] In a kylix by the Penthesilea Painter (Fig. 7), Zeus has put down his thunderbolt and scepter and is using both his arms to pull Ganymedes toward him.[43] His left foot is braced against a rock on the lower right side of the vase, and with his right hand he grasps Ganymedes' right arm; Ganymedes' head is turned toward him, but he is walking away, as if he wanted to return to his friends, holding the fighting cock Zeus has given him in his left hand. This painting appears on the cover of Keuls's *The Reign of the Phallus,* as if it were representative of the sexual violence endemic in Athenian society. But the vase does not describe sexual life in Athens. If a human male behaved that way toward a young man, he would be harshly treated, if not by the young man's relatives, then by the young man himself. Rather, the painting depicts the conflict between a god's desire and a mortal's wish to retain his independence. The onlooker knows whose power is greater, and understands that the gods always win.

41. The narcissus in this myth is a "miraculous flower"; see Richardson 1974, p. 144.

42. Athens 13119, from Athens: *ARV*² 1656; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 135, no. 9, pl. 9, s.v. Boreas (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 105, no. 343.

43. Ferrara 9351, from Spina: *ARV*² 880, no. 12; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 157, no. 44, pl. 44, s.v. Ganymedes (H. Sichtermann); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 79, no. 34. For similar scenes, cf. a lekythos from Novoli in Taranto, Mus. Naz. 54383: *ARV*² 556, no. 108; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 156, no. 30, s.v. Ganymedes (H. Sichtermann); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 77, no. 8; and an oinochoe (with Zeus approaching Ganymedes from the right) in Basel, H. A. Cahn 9: *ARV*² 874, no. 3; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 157, no. 41, pl. 41, s.v. Ganymedes (H. Sichtermann); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 79, no. 31.





Figure 8 *(left)*. Lekythos by the Oionokles Painter (Madrid 11158). Eos carrying off Kephalos. Courtesy Archivo fotográfico, Museo arqueológico nacional, Madrid

Figure 9 *(above)*. Bird-rhyton (St. Petersburg B 682). Eos carrying off a boy. Courtesy Hermitage Museum

VASE PAINTINGS OF ABDUCTIONS BY EOS

The final phase of the pursuit is the abduction itself. In a lekythos by the Oionokles Painter in Madrid (Fig. 8), a winged Eos flies holding a young male (identified in an inscription as Kephalos) who is cradled in her arms.[44] The goddess's torso is turned toward the boy, but she looks up to the left, while the boy looks down to the right, away from her. His right arm is extended in front of her face, and his left hand still clutches his lyre. The composition brings out the tension between the goddess's desire to abduct him and his eagerness to rejoin his comrades. There is also a vivid contrast between Eos and the boy she is abducting in a bird-rhyton in St. Petersburg (Fig. 9).[45] Eos again is looking away from the boy toward the left, while he looks down to the right, and stretches his left arm downward as if reaching out to someone on the ground. Vermeule's caption for this vase is "Eos the dawn-goddess carries a boy to a better world."[46] But life in the palace of the Dawn would only be better for a boy if he could somehow be ageless and immortal. In the myths only a few mortals achieve this

44. Madrid 11158: *ARV*² 649, no. 45; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 773, no. 268, pl. 268, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 92, no. 194.

45. St. Petersburg B 682: *ARV*² 391, a (Kephalos); *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 773, no. 267, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 91, no. 193; Vermeule 1979, p. 167, fig. 17.

46. Vermeule 1979, p. 166. If the painting had some relevance to death, one would expect to find it on a lekythos rather than a rhyton; cf. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 57.



Figure 10. Etruscan bronze and silver mirror (Vatican 12241). Thesan (Eos) carrying off Kephalos. Courtesy Archivio fotografico, Musei Vaticani

status.[47] There are no inscriptions or literary documents that suggest that Athenians in the 5th century attached a happy ending to any of the Eos myths. They buried the dead just before dawn, for practical reasons, not because they supposed the goddess would be there to carry the soul away.[48] For them a benevolent winged Charon represented a good and easy death.[49] At best, scenes of Eos on funerary lekythoi might have conveyed to mourners a vague hope that the deceased, like the heroes of old, might find himself in a brighter place in the lower world.[50] It is only in later antiquity that abductions by goddesses were used to suggest a mode of death and a promise of a future existence in the light, nearer to the gods.[51]

Other scenes depict the boy sitting more comfortably in Eos's arms. An Etruscan bronze and silver mirror from Vulci in the Vatican (Fig. 10) shows Kephalos looking directly into the eyes of the goddess Thesan (Eos's

47. Zeus makes Ganymedes immortal, and also his sons Herakles and Polydeukes, who generously shares his immortality with his half-brother Kastor. Aphrodite makes Kephalos's son Phaethon a "bright divinity" (δαίμονα δῖον, Hes. *Theog.* 991), but this is a status more like that of a hero, because he is confined to one place as "the secret keeper of her temple" (Nagy 1979, p. 192); no sexual relationship is implied (Stehle 1990, p. 96).

48. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 144–145; cf. *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 779, s.v. Eros (C. Weiss). Vermeule (1979, p. 163) cites only Heraclitus (below, n. 51) in support of her claim that "Eos the Dawn goddess carried off the dead on 'the wings of the morning' or to motivate the event by simple sexual attraction or love." The notion of flying to God on the wings of the morning derives from Ps. 139.9–10 (King James Version).

49. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 337–346; cf. Garland 1985, pp. 54–59. In Etruria in the first half of the 5th century, mirrors depicting the goddess Thesan (Eos) carrying her dead son Memnon were popular. As De Puma (1994, p. 187) suggests, "she, like her mortal devotees, has had to bow to a power stronger than the king of the gods."

50. *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 779, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss).

51. As Athenaeus has Plutarch say at his learned symposium: "Whom do the goddesses abduct? [ἀναρπάζουσιν; on the translation, cf. Bremmer 2000, p. 103] Is it not the most beautiful ones? And these are the ones they live with: Eos with Kephalos and Kleitos and Tithonos, Demeter with Iasion, Aphrodite with Anchises and Adonis" (*Symp.* 566d). See also Heraclitus, *Allegoriae* (*Quaest. Hom.*) 68; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 57.

Etruscan counterpart) as she carries him away.[52] She is moving to the left, holding the smaller figure of Kephalos lightly in her arms. Her left arm is beneath his shoulders, and her right hand supports his knees. He has placed his right hand on her right shoulder, and his left arm hangs straight down; he is not looking back toward his friends or his hunting. Similarly, in a neck amphora by the Achilles Painter from Vulci, the young man has his arm around Eos's back, and looks to the left along with her.[53]

METHODS OF PERSUASION USED BY DIVINE ABDUCTORS

We now need to ask what the gods do to make abducted lovers compliant, or even actively cooperative. On a kylix by Douris in Paris Ganymedes lies back comfortably in Zeus's arms.[54] Zeus is able to hold his scepter in his left hand, because he does not need to restrain the boy who, resting comfortably, faces him. In the terracotta statue group at Olympia, Ganymedes calmly holds a cock with his left hand, his present from Zeus, while Zeus carries him under his right arm.[55] As we have seen (above, note 41), when Hades wanted to put Persephone off her guard, Gaia grew a narcissus that astounded both gods and men, and its sweet scent caused heaven, earth, and sea to smile (*Hymn. Hom.* 2.8–14). When in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* Europe was gathering flowers, Zeus changed himself into a bull and "breathed from his mouth the scent of saffron [ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος κρόκον ἔπνει]. After enticing her he picked her up, carried her over the sea to Crete, and had intercourse with her" (fr. 140 MW). When in a fragment of Aeschylus's *Kares* or *Europe,* Europe gives a brief account of what happened, she has no unpleasant memories: "and a friendly lush meadow was there for the bull; in that way, by waiting there, Zeus managed to take me, an effortless theft, from my aged father" (fr. 99.1–3 Radt).[56] Scenes in 6th- and early-5th-century vase paintings also show a contented and relaxed Europe. She is most often represented on the bull's back, riding away across the sea to Crete. In these scenes she often holds the bull's horn or neck as she sits on him, and places her other hand on the bull's back, to steady herself, as the bull rushes along.[57] Some painters show her turning around to call back to her friends, as she does in the 2nd-century B.C. poem of Moschus, which draws on these earlier versions (lines 111–112).[58] She is not only completely unafraid of the bull, but fascinated by him,

52. Vatican 12241: *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 795, no. 30, pl. 30, s.v. Eos/Thesan (R. Bloch); De Puma 1994, pp. 181–182, pl. 16.7.

53. Once Rhodes Mus.: *ARV*² 987, no. 5; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 773, no. 269, pl. 269, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 92, no. 199.

54. Paris G 123: *ARV*² 435, no. 94; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 157, no. 52, pl. 52, s.v. Ganymedes (H. Sichtermann); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 79, no. 39.

55. *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 157, no. 56, pl. 66, s.v. Ganymedes (H. Sichtermann); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, p. 79, no. 40; Dover 1978, p. 92, pl. 1; cf. Robertson 1975, p. 277, pl. 60: "the Greeks saw honour, not shame, in the youth's having a god for a lover."

56. On the fragment, see Lloyd-Jones 1971, pp. 414–417; Lefkowitz 1993, p. 25.

57. Cf. *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 78–80, nos. 22–75, s.v. Europe (M. Robertson), for a list of red-figure vases showing Europe riding: "bull generally galloping, often over sea."

58. Europe's story was told in poems (now lost) by Eumelus, Stesichorus, and Bacchylides; see Campbell 1991, p. 3; Bühler 1968, pp. 25–26.



Figure 11. Bell krater by the Berlin Painter (Tarquinia RC 7456). Europe running alongside of Zeus. Courtesy Soprintendenza archeologica, Ministero per i Beni e le attività culturali per l'Etruria meridionale

and eager to touch and embrace him.[59] She does not hesitate to climb on his back.[60]

Europe is shown contentedly running alongside the bull in a bell krater by the Berlin Painter (Fig. 11).[61] Her feet are spread wide apart, and with her left hand she holds on to the tip of one of his horns. The other side of the vase shows a girl running. Europe and the bull have not yet reached the sea, since the folds of her dress fall straight down and do not billow out in the wind; her friend is still running after her. Kilmer observes that "the 'rape' of Europe is atypical in showing contact between god and mortal; but the contact is never overtly sexual and Zeus is shown as a bull . . . what we have here is pursuit, rather than the abduction that will come from it."[62] By contrast, Keuls emphasizes the potential sexuality of this scene by stating that Europe is grasping the bull by his "phallus-horn."[63] Perhaps that is possible, but there is a simpler explanation. By having Europe hold the bull's horn and keep pace with him, the painter shows that the bull is tame and approachable.

59. In Moschus's poem Europe is ready for marriage, and responds without hesitation to the bull's approaches. Similarly, in 4th-century vase paintings, Danae is shown looking upward, with her breasts bare, collecting the golden rain in her lap, as on a bell krater from Boiotia in the Louvre (Paris CA 925: *CVA,* Paris 17 [France 46], pls. 44 [1167]:1; 45 [1168]:3; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 328, no. 9, pl. 9, p. 335, s.v. Danae [J.-J. Maffre]).

60. To speak of this abduction as "bestial rape" seems extreme; cf. Robson 1997, pp. 74, 77. There is no suggestion that Zeus remained in the form of a bull after he took Europe to Crete. Even in Moschus's poem, where the bull is extraordinarily affectionate, they leave before they have any erotic contact, with Europe (as in many vase paintings) sitting on the bull's back, holding the bull's long horn in one hand, and grasping the hem of her chiton in her other hand, to keep it from falling in the sea, while the cloth on her shoulders billows out like a sail (Moschus, *Europa,* lines 108–130).

61. Bell krater by the Berlin Painter (Tarquinia RC 7456), from Tarquinia: *ARV*² 206, no. 126; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 77, no. 2, pl. 2, s.v. Europe (M. Robertson). Kurtz (1983, p. 102) observes that this vase "represents an earlier stage in the story" than the Berlin Painter's depiction of Europe on the bull's back (Oxford 1927.4502: *ARV*² 210, no. 172; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 79, no. 41, s.v. Europe [M. Robertson]). Bühler 1968, p. 54: "Europe mit weit ausschreitenden Füssen neben dem Stier herläuft."

62. Kilmer 1997, p. 128.

63. Keuls 1985, p. 51.

POSSIBLE MEANINGS OF THE ABDUCTION SCENES

If only a relatively few of the Eos vases show her abducted lovers in such a state of contentment, it is because the vase painters are more interested in the earlier stages of the pursuit, her first approach to the young man, and his initial resistance and longing to return to his friends and previous life. It has been suggested that the painters of these vases concentrate on the negative aspects of abduction in order to send a covert message about women's sexuality:

> Woman at the mercy of the male. Women available to be taken, to be raped. The proof: the inverted motif of the rape of Tithonos or Kephalos by Eos, during which, as we have seen, looking back in "consent" is rare.[64]

But why suppose that these scenes have any bearing on the behavior of mortal women? If the Eos painters have concentrated on the negative, it is because the goddess's attentions bring at best mixed blessings to her lovers. Eos asked Zeus to make Tithonos immortal, but she forgot to ask Zeus to make him ageless; when he became too old to move or get up, she shut him up in a chamber, and locked the doors (*Hymn. Hom.* 5.220–236). Eos allows Kephalos to return to Athens, but when he is out hunting, he accidently kills his wife, Prokris.[65] By contrast, painters allow Europe to appear content because her fate is relatively good, given that mortals, at best, can never have a completely happy life.[66] She becomes the mother of three sons, each of them famous: Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon (Aesch. fr. 50.11–16 Radt).

Abduction almost always causes trouble for the mortals involved, and sometimes even leads to their deaths.[67] Semele is consumed by flames as a result of her liaison with Zeus. So, in later sources, is Demeter's lover Iasion (a brother of Dardanos) because he desired Demeter (Konon 26, *FGrHist* F21). Anchises was struck by lightning because he boasted about his relations with Aphrodite (Soph. fr. 373.2–3 Radt).[68] In most cases, as it is for Anchises, the most positive aspect of an abduction by a god is the child that it produces.[69]

Only a few mortals have no regrets. Ganymedes is made immortal and ageless, though his father Tros grieves for him until Zeus tells him what he has conferred on his son, and gives Tros a pair of immortal horses in compensation for his loss (*Hymn. Hom.* 5.210–217). Oreithyia (see above, note 38) becomes the consort of Boreas and lives with him in Thrace. Amymone is rescued by Poseidon from the unwelcome attentions of satyrs, and given the spring of water that she was searching for, hydria in hand. Some vase painters show her looking back into the god's eyes as he approaches her, holding his trident.[70] Others show her about to let him embrace her or depict them standing together in the garden of Aphrodite, like bride and bridegroom.[71]

Like vase painters, poets are willing to represent both the negative and positive aspects of divine abduction.[72] The author of the *Homeric Hymn*

64. Frontisi-Ducroux 1996, p. 88.

65. The story was told in the lost cyclic epic *Epigonoi* (fr. 5 Bernabé); for details, see Kearns 1989, p. 177.

66. Hom. *Il.* 24.525–526: "so the gods have allotted for unfortunate mortals, to live in sorrow; but they are free from cares." Cf. Macleod 1982, p. 133: "the gods, who in this book show their pity for men and demand that men pity each other, also will human suffering and never share in it."

67. Cf. esp. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, pp. 47–50.

68. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.648–649. According to Hyginus, *Fab.* 94, the lightning bolt killed him. On other variants of the story, see Austin 1964, pp. 247–248.

69. Cf. Calame 1999, p. 67.

70. For examples, see Reeder 1995, pp. 352–357, nos. 111–113; and in general, Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, pp. 28–30.

71. For examples, see Reeder 1995, pp. 358–361, nos. 114–116; Burn 1987, p. 52.

72. The author of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* sets aside obscure local myths of Apollo's abductions of mortal women and concentrates instead on how the god founded his shrine at Delphi; see Clay 1989, p. 56. But compare the emphasis in Stewart 1995, p. 76, "the Homeric hymn to Apollo recounted the god's progress from insatiable womanizer to panhellenic deity."

to Demeter describes Persephone's anguish and Demeter's grief, but he also shows Hades treating her kindly. Helios points out to Demeter that Hades is "not an unworthy bridegroom among the immortal gods," because he is her own brother and lord of a third of the universe (*Hymn. Hom.* 2.82–87).[73] Kyrene, after Apollo comes to her as a "bridegroom," becomes the founder of the city of Kyrene and mother of a son, Aristaios, who will be made immortal (Pind. *Pyth.* 9.51–65).[74] In Euripides' *Ion* Kreousa complains that she was seduced and abandoned by Apollo, and that the child she bore and abandoned was lost. Her painful narrative has struck some modern critics as emblematic of "rapes" of mortal women by the gods.[75] But at this point in the drama Kreousa does not know that in fact the god has not forgotten her after all, and is about to return to her the child she thought she had lost forever. Meanwhile, in her ignorance, anger, and confusion, Kreousa had tried to poison her child, Ion; she was jealous because she thought he was her husband Xouthos's son by another mother.[76] In the end, she is grateful to the god (Eur. *Ion* 1609–1614), even though for many years he has done nothing to mitigate her suffering.[77]

As in the case of Kreousa, mortals often make things worse for themselves through their lack of understanding. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite,* Anchises rushes into bed with Aphrodite, stripping off the clothes and jewelry with which she had so carefully adorned herself (*Hymn. Hom.* 5.162–166, cf. 58–66).[78] The poet does not describe their copulation; rather, with great conciseness, he comments on Anchises' ignorance:

> Then with the will of the gods and in accordance with fate, he, a mortal, slept with an immortal goddess, without knowing clearly what he did (οὐ σάφα εἰδώς, *Hymn. Hom.* 5.166–167).

When he realizes what he has done, he begs the goddess not to make him "strengthless among men" (*Hymn. Hom.* 5.188).[79] As the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* has the goddess observe, "mortals are ignorant (νήϊδες) and without the knowledge to recognize fate beforehand, whether of coming good or of evil" (*Hymn. Hom.* 2.256–257).

The poets use the myths to remind their audiences that nothing in mortal life is an unqualified good. That is the meaning they attach to the story of Thetis and her mortal lover Peleus (briefly mentioned in the catalogue of goddesses in the *Theogony;* see above, note 2). Thetis, unlike Eos, did not seek to capture a mortal lover. It was the will of Zeus that she marry Peleus, and she did her best to prevent him from catching her. She changed into fire, and took on the form of a savage lion that attacked him with tooth and claw. For Peleus, marrying a goddess was the pinnacle of human achievement, a voyage to the outer limits of the known world, the straits of Gibraltar:

> he married one of the high-throned Nereids, and he saw the circled throne, where the kings of heaven and of seas were seated, and they showed him their [wedding] gifts and revealed to him the power of his descendants; but a man cannot cross the dark boundary of Gadeira (Pind. *Nem.* 4.65–69).

73. Cohen (1996, p. 130) sees Helios's statement as a "dubious consolation," and the promise of marriage as an authorization of violence.

74. Cf. Dougherty 1993, pp. 144–145.

75. E.g., Rabinowitz 1993, pp. 197–201; cf. Stewart 1995, p. 80, fig. 1.

76. Lefkowitz 1993, pp. 26–29, which Cohen (1996, p. 134, n. 39) sees as "another authorization." Cf. Rabinowitz 1993, pp. 201–202.

77. Danae says to Zeus in Aesch., fr. 47a, lines 784–785 Radt, "you have the [responsibility] for the greater fault, but I have paid the whole [penalty]." Compare the fate of Antiope, who was abducted by Zeus (schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1090, pp. 304–305 Wendel), but forced to expose her twin sons and then was imprisoned and tortured. In Eur., *Antiope* fr. 208 Nauck (= fr. 33 Kambitsis), she observes: "if the gods have abandoned me and my twin sons, there is a reason for it; for some people are unfortunate, and others fortunate." Cf. n. 66, above.

78. Cf. Clay 1989, p. 171.

79. Cf. *Od.* 10.341, where Odysseus is afraid that intercourse with Kirke will make him "weak and unmanned"; Clay 1989, pp. 182–183.

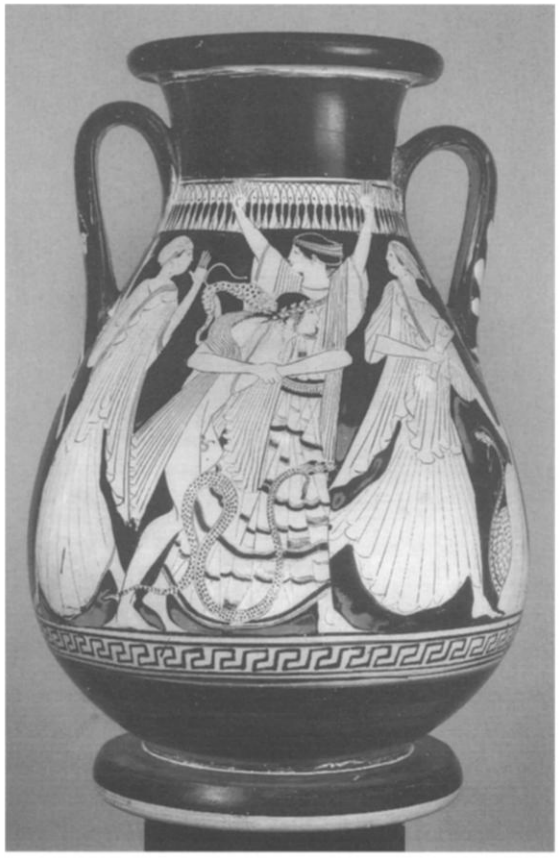




Figure 12 *(left)*. **Pelike (Louvre G 373). Peleus holding Thetis.** Courtesy Musée du Louvre, photo H. Lewandowski

Figure 13 *(above)*. **Lebes gamikos (British Museum B 298 [XXXIX-C13]). Peleus holding Thetis.** Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum

Even though his wedding to Thetis was the high point of Peleus's life, his goddess wife Thetis was miserable in the marriage (*Il.* 18.430–435), and soon left him. His son Achilles was the greatest Greek hero, but he died at Troy.

Marriages with goddesses are emblematic of the difficulties involved in extended relationships between immortals and mortals. Peleus wrestling with Thetis was a popular subject on Athenian vases from 520 to 460 B.C.[80] Reeder suggests that these scenes are intended to demonstrate the need for male control of the female's animal nature, on the grounds that hunting metaphors are linked with eroticism.[81] But Thetis is a goddess, not a mortal woman. If she is shown with snakes and even small lions (e.g., Fig. 12), it is not because her nature resembles an animal's, but rather because in the myth she turned herself into many different animals in order to avoid being caught by Peleus.[82] The vase painter has no other way of alluding to this aspect of the story, and it is also a way to identify her. No mortal woman has the power to metamorphose herself into any other form.

Whatever these scenes were intended to mean, there is little to suggest that their primary intention was to remind women of their subordinate role in society. For example, Rush Rehm argues that a scene with Peleus and Thetis on the pedestal of a lebes gamikos, beneath a picture of a wedding procession, represents "a violent abduction" (Fig. 13).[83] Thetis is raising her arms to express her resistance, like Persephone on the wall

80. *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 269, s.v. Peleus (R. Vollkommer).

81. Reeder 1995, pp. 299–300; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, p. 66.

82. Louvre G 373: *ARV*² 573, no. 9; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 239, no. 29, pl. 189, s.v. Cheiron (M. Gisler-Huwiler).

83. Rehm 1994, p. 20. British Museum B 298: *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 260, no. 117, s.v. Peleus (R. Vollkammer); Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 87, fig. 67.

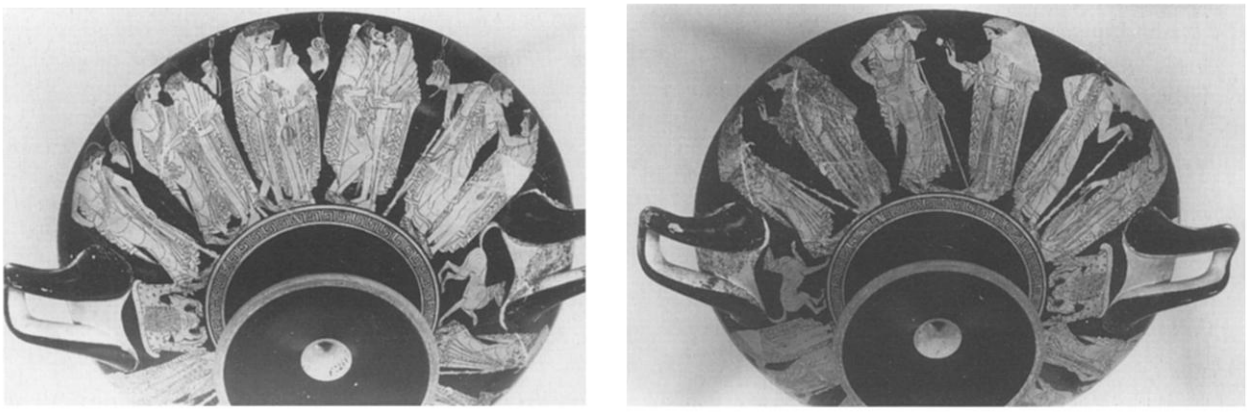




Figure 14. Kylix by Peithinos (Berlin F 2279). Sides A–B: couples courting and embracing; tondo: Peleus holding Thetis. Courtesy Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photo Johannes Laurentius (sides A–B); Jutta Tietz-Glagow (tondo).

painting in Vergina (above, note 40). But there is no explicit violence. The scene with Peleus holding Thetis shows a standstill, a moment of acquisition: both figures are static.[84] On the interior of the Peithinos kylix (Fig. 14), the mortal hero has caught the goddess in a waistlock.[85] Both are fully dressed, and neither is looking at the other; there is no erotic contact. The outside of the cup offers a striking contrast: it portrays fully dressed hetero- and homosexual mortal couples, negotiating with and embracing one another. Persuasion alone is enough in the human world, as the artist's nom de plume Peithinos ("Persuasion-man") suggests.[86] But it cannot help Peleus capture Thetis; he can gain his prize only by patient pertinacity, and with the cooperation of gods who are even more powerful than Thetis—Zeus and Poseidon. The scene tells us little or nothing about the sexuality of Athenian women, but a great deal about the power of the gods.

84. As Sourvinou-Inwood (1991, p. 66) observes, the iconography of Peleus's capture of Thetis differs radically from scenes of other abductions.

85. Berlin F 2279, from Vulci: *ARV*² 115, no. 2, and *ARV*² 1626; *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 8, no. 13, pl. 13 (R. Vollkommer); Reeder 1995, no. 106, pp. 341–343. On the wrestling hold, cf. Poliakoff 1987, p. 40.

86. Dover 1978, pp. 95–96, pl. R 196:a–b; Stewart 1995, pp. 81–82; Sutton 1997–1998, p. 30. The name Peithinos does not occur elsewhere; see Pape and Benseler 1959, p. 1154; *LGPN* 2, p. 365.

CONCLUSION

Many of the vases depicting scenes of Eos would have been used at festive occasions, such as weddings or symposia.[87] On vases given as wedding gifts, abduction scenes might even convey a sense of romantic affection; abduction by a god or goddess was an honor, despite the problems that it could introduce into a mortal's life.[88] But ultimately, vase paintings of divine abductions display recognition of the power of the gods and of mortal vulnerability. They are expressions of what Euripides says about divine intervention at the close of five of his dramas:

> Many are the forms of divinity; the gods bring many things to pass unexpectedly. And what we thought would happen did not come to pass, but the god found a means to bring about what we did not imagine. That is how this action went.

These lines celebrate the ways in which gods can change their appearance; they applaud the gods' ingenuity, and their ability always to surprise and confound mortal expectations. Their interventions can work to the advantage of the protagonists (as in the *Alcestis, Andromache,* and *Helen*) or against them (as in the *Medea* and *Bacchae*).[89] Since we know that the ancient Athenians held these views about the role of gods in human life, it is a mistake not to assume that they have some bearing on the encounters in vase paintings between gods and mortals. In assuming that abduction scenes were primarily meant to convey the complex messages about sexuality and gender that we now attribute to them, we may be preventing ourselves from seeing other meanings that were more important to the people for whom the vases were made, who still believed in the powers of their own gods.

87. Of the Eos vases listed in Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1969, there are 15 lekythoi, but 44 amphoras, 30 kraters, 28 drinking cups, 16 hydriai, 6 stamnoi, and 6 oinochoai.

88. Sutton 1997–1998, p. 31. Also see above, n. 6, on the placement of the Eos-Kephalos and Boreas-Oreithyia myths on the akroteria of the Athenians' temple at Delos; the terracotta statue of Zeus and Ganymedes at Olympia may have been an akroterion; cf. Robertson 1975, p. 277, cited in n. 55 above.

89. Eur. *Alc.* 1149–1153; *Andr.* 1284–1288; *Hel.* 1688–1692; *Bacch.* 1388–1392, and a different first line, *Med.* 1415–1419. If the lines were added later by actors, it was in order to please a public who liked such *sententiae;* Barrett 1964, p. 417. According to Roberts (1987, p. 56) and Dunn (1996, pp. 24–25), the lines are *pro forma* ritual; but cf. Lefkowitz 1989, pp. 80–82.

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LESLIE KURKE



Inventing the *Hetaira*: Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece

I. INVENTING THE *HETAIRA*

In book 2, Herodotus interrupts his narrative of the monuments of Egypt with a brief excursus about the famous courtesan Rhodopis:

> And this man [Mykerinos] left behind a pyramid much smaller than his father's, each side of three plethra short twenty feet, quadrangular, and up to half of Egyptian stone. Various of the Greeks indeed say that it [the pyramid] belongs to the *hetaira* Rhodopis (Ῥοδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι), not speaking correctly.... And somehow, the courtesans (ἑταῖραι) in Naukratis tend to be very attractive: for in the first place, this woman, concerning whom this story is told, became so glorious indeed that even all the Greeks learned the name of Rhodopis, and in the second place, later than this one, the one whose name was Archedike became celebrated in song throughout Greece (though less talked about than the former). (Hdt. 2.134-35)

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Aside from the inherent interest of this passage, Herodotus' digression contains the earliest attested use of ἑταίρα (as adjective and noun) meaning "courtesan." According to Carola Reinsberg, who has written the most recent full-length account of *"Hetärentum,"* the particular form of prostitution associated with the *hetaira* only emerged in the Greek world in the early sixth century BCE. To be sure, there is no evidence of such a category in the Homeric or Hesiodic poems, and the earliest reference to a *hetaira* is to Rhodopis, a contemporary of Sappho. Reinsberg attributes the appearance of this particular form of prostitution to an increase in long-distance trade, which produced a whole class of itinerant traders with surplus wealth to spend.[1] And yet, Reinsberg's purely materialist aitiology does not really account for the peculiarities of "Hetärentum" as a unique form of prostitution; that is to say, it does not account for the *hetaira* as a discursive and ideological construct. After all, why should an increase in long-distance trade produce a completely new conceptual category of prostitution, rather than simply increasing the numbers of *pornai* at work in burgeoning mercantile centers? What needs generated this new category? And what conceptual "work" was the opposition *hetaira-pornê* doing in Greek culture in the period of its inception? It is my purpose here to investigate the archaic "invention of the *hetaira*" in terms of its cultural milieu and the ideological interests it served.

If we are to understand this dimension of the *hetaira-pornê* binary, we must begin by recognizing its discursive or representational function. Traditional accounts have foundered because they insist on reading *too* literally; thus, the bulk of scholarship on ancient prostitution uses literary texts to attempt to reconstruct the "real lives" of "real women." At the extreme, this methodology leads to absurdities like Lesky's extended discussion of whether or not patrons "really" fell in love with their *hetairai*, as they did in New Comedy.[2] In contrast, I will not assume that literary texts offer an unmediated reflection of ancient realities; instead, I will treat texts (both literary and visual) as sites where ideology is forged through representation. In particular, we must accept the fact that our texts offer us very little usable information about the "real lives" of "real women"; instead, they may allow us to see something of the needs and investments of the men who created them.

In fact, scholarly commentary on ancient prostitution has already moved to the level of discourse or ideology perforce, because of the difficulty of establishing a clear-cut empirical distinction between the *hetaira* and the *pornê*. According to the traditional scholarly account, the opposition between the two categories is one of status. The *hetaira* is a "courtesan" or "mistress," often supported by one or two men alone, serving as their companion at symposia and revels, as

1. Reinsberg 1989.161. On the dating and aitiology, Schneider 1913.col. 1332 offers very much the same account.

2. Lesky 1976.112–16. Though not always carried to such an extreme, this is, in essence, the approach of Schneider 1913; Licht 1932; Herter 1957, 1960; Keuls 1985; Reinsberg 1989, etc.

well as servicing their sexual desires. The *pornê*, in contrast, is the common streetwalker or occupant of brothels, providing sex for payment to a large and anonymous clientele. The terms of this opposition are confirmed by Xenophon's portrait of the courtesan Theodote, interviewed by a wry Socrates in the *Memorabilia* (3.11). Theodote, expensively appareled and attended by an entourage of her mother and well-groomed maids, explains that she supports herself by the kindness of "friends" (φίλοι) who are willing to give her gifts in return for "gratification" (χαρίζεσθαι, 3.11.4–14). Xenophon's language very deliberately locates Theodote's sexual "favors" within an economy of aristocratic gift exchange, in which *philoi* who are "wealthy and lovers of beauty" (τοὺς φιλοκάλους καὶ πλουσίους) exchange gifts and gratify one another. The *pornê*, in contrast, who derives her name from the verb πέρνημι, "to sell (especially slaves)," represents the commodification of sex for pay.[3]

And yet, as is well known, there is frequent slippage between the two terms in ancient sources, and it is often difficult to maintain the distinction in status. For both the *hetaira* and the *pornê* can be slave or free, both can have a "pimp" or "pander" or be "self-employed." And there is, finally, a large grey area of women of uncertain status—the flute-girls, acrobats, and dancers who provide the largely unremarked backdrop to the symposium. When they provided sexual services as well (as they apparently often did), were they *hetairai* or *pornai*?[4] This slippage and confusion of terms have led certain scholars to question the stability and reality of the *hetaira-pornê* distinction in antiquity. Thus, for example, Sir Kenneth Dover contends,

> ... the dividing line between the two categories could not be sharp; how, for instance, should one classify a woman who had intercourse with four different men in a week, hoped on each occasion to establish a lasting and exclusive relationship, and succeeded in doing so with the fourth man? Moreover, whether one applied the term *pornê* or the term "*hetaira*" to a woman depended on the emotional attitude towards her which one wished to express or to engender in one's hearers. Anaxilas fr. 21 draws a distinction in terms of loyalty and affection, but fr. 22, an indignant vilification of the greed and deceitfulness of women who sell themselves,

3. On the opposition, see Hauschild 1933.7–9; Herter 1957.1154, 1181–82; Herter 1960.83; Peschel 1987.19–20; Harvey 1988.249; Calame 1989.103–104; Dover 1989.20–21. Thus Harvey 1988.249: "The word *hetaira*, 'companion,' was a euphemism for a woman with whom a man of the leisured classes maintained a fairly long-term sexual relationship, based on 'gift-giving' (cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.11), whereas a *pornê* is a woman from whom any man might buy a single session on a purely commercial basis." On the special association of the verb *pernêmi* with the sale of slaves, see Benveniste 1973.112; on the etymology of *pornê*, see Chantraine 1968–1980.888.

4. On this class of women and their sexual services, cf. Aristophanes *Wasps* 1341–70; Xenophon *Symposium* 2.1, 2.7–22, 3.1, 9.2–7; Plato *Symposium* 176e7–8, 212d6; and see the discussions of Herter 1960.97–98; Peschel 1987.21–25.

begins and ends (lines 1, 31) by calling them *hetairai* but in the middle (line 22) calls them *pornai*.[5]

James Davidson takes this argument one step further, suggesting that we must "view such representations not as reflections of discrete realities, but as discursive strategies, attempting to create distinctions in precisely those areas where difference is most awkward and problematic."[6] According to Davidson, this discursive opposition is constituted along the axis of gift- vs. commodity-exchange, identified with the *hetaira* and the *pornê* respectively:

> . . . it is possible to distinguish two main dynamics, two distinct tendencies in the language used to describe expenditure on women in antiquity especially in Greece. One group of statements, associated with the idea of the *hetaira* deals with specific women, often named and individually characterised, and emphasises the control they exercise over men and their appetites. It is fundamentally a phobic discourse, which we can associate with the discourse of gift-exchange and seduction, a never-ending cycle of *involvement,* founded on dissimulation and avoidance of definition. Another strategy, associated with the idea of the *pornê*, attempts to depersonalise, reify and commodify women, their bodies, their time and their services, constantly defining and separating them into discrete units. It is primarily a discourse of contempt. In terms of expenditure, this discourse focusses on waste and loss, and ephemeral pleasures.[7]

5. Dover 1989.21; cf. Hauschild 1933.8–9, Lesky 1976.107–108, and Vernant 1980.58–61 on the fluidity of different female statuses. In effect, the same position is espoused by Licht 1932.330 (if in somewhat more old-fashioned terms): "The Greeks, if they wished to avoid the ugly name 'whores' (πόρναι), delicately called girls who sold themselves for money by the name of ἑταῖραι, properly 'comrades,' 'companions.' "

6. Davidson n.d. p. 4 (cf. Davidson 1994.139–42). On the fluidity of such discursive categories, cf. Henry 1986.147: "The difference between wife and harlot is not absolute, but rather resides in men's ability to define and maintain the borders between the two."

7. Davidson 1994.115–211 (quotation taken from 141–42; italics in original). We might compare Davidson's analysis of this discursive opposition with the general model of Kopytoff 1986. According to Kopytoff, all cultures constitute a spectrum along which objects (and often people) move, from one pole of complete commoditization to another, of complete "singularization" or "individuation": "To be saleable for money or to be exchangeable for a wide array of other things is to have something in common with a large number of exchangeable things that, taken together, partake of a single universe of comparable values. To use an appropriately loaded, even if archaic term, to be saleable or widely exchangeable is to be 'common'—the opposite of being uncommon, incomparable, unique, singular, and therefore not exchangeable for anything else. The perfect commodity would be one that is exchangeable with anything and everything else, as the perfectly commoditized world would be one in which everything is exchangeable or for sale. By the same token, the perfectly decommoditized world would be one in which everything is singular, unique, and unexchangeable" (Kopytoff 1986:69). In Kopytoff's terms, the *pornê* is the "perfect commodity"; the *hetaira* the ultimate "singular."

I consider Davidson's notion of "discursive strategies" an essential analytic tool for understanding the *hetaira-pornê* binary, though I would not wholeheartedly endorse his characterization of the discourses under discussion, for two reasons. First, Davidson focuses on "expenditure" and economics generally as devoid of politics. Yet, I take it as axiomatic (especially for the earlier period) that a conflict over economic systems is also, inextricably, a political conflict. For, as several scholars have argued, in the archaic period, competing exchange systems correspond to diverse political positions in an ongoing struggle between "middling" and "elite" ideologies. Thus, Ian Morris traces out two strands in archaic poetry (both, of course, the products of aristocratic poets): on the one hand, those aristocrats who "deliberately assimilated themselves to the dominant civic values within archaic *poleis*," thereby forging a "middling" tradition; on the other hand, those who espoused the elitist tradition, claiming that their "authority lay outside these middling communities, in an inter-polis aristocracy which had privileged links to the gods, the heroes, and the East." The middling tradition, which Morris traces back to major societal upheavals of the eighth/seventh centuries, tends to be represented in archaic elegy and iambic, by poets embracing a moderate style of life under the supreme authority of the polis, rejecting both extremes of excessive wealth and aristocratic display *and* of abject poverty. The elitist tradition emerges as an oppositional voice, most clearly in monodic lyric, mobilizing the heroic past, links to the gods, and a lifestyle of Eastern-influenced luxury (*habrosyne*) to reassert the propriety of aristocratic preeminence.[8] As Morris observes succinctly, "Much of the social history of the Archaic period is best understood as a conflict between these two conceptions of social order."[9] As part of this structure, I would suggest, the elite position valorizes gift exchange as its distinguishing system, while the middling tradition, in opposition, espouses and supports the invention and circulation of money as an egalitarian, civic institution.[10] Clearly, the construction of *hetaira* vs. *pornê* functions within this system, mapping the opposition of gift and commodity onto the circulation of women.

The tension between middling and elite strands within the discourses of archaic poetry leads to my second disagreement with Davidson: Davidson's analysis is based almost entirely on fourth-century Athenian sources, primarily Attic law speeches, which both temporally and generically represent the unequivocal triumph of "egalitarian" ideology in Morris' terms.[11] That is to say, Davidson's

8. Morris 1996.19–48 (quotations drawn from p. 27 and p. 19, respectively). For the elements of the elitist tradition, Morris is following Mazzarino 1947, Arthur 1984, Kurke 1992.

9. Morris 1996.20.

10. For the elite valorization of gift exchange, see Herman 1987; Morris 1986, 1989, 1996; Kurke 1991, 1992, 1995. For the civic, egalitarian function of coinage, see Will 1954, 1955, 1975; Kraay 1976.317–28; Vernant 1982.91–101; Seaford 1994.191–234; Howgego 1995.16–18; von Reden 1995.175–81.

11. On the complex workings of democratic ideology in the speeches of the Attic orators, cf. Ober 1989. Davidson also relies on the evidence of fragments of Middle Comedy. For the purposes

characterization of these two discourses presents only half the picture, once democratic ideology has "cleared the field," as it were. In contrast, I would like to recover the discursive conflict over these terms that was still an active *process* in the archaic period by drawing as much as possible on contemporary sources (both literary and visual).

I would suggest that it is no accident that the category of the *hetaira* appears roughly contemporaneously with the adoption of coinage by the Greek cities.[12] For if coinage represents an egalitarian institution of the polis, the *hetaira* is an invention of the symposium; as her name implies, this is her proper sphere.[13] And, as Oswyn Murray notes, the symposium is constituted and ritualized as an "other" space, distinct from—even antithetical to—the public domain of the polis:

> The *symposion* became in many respects a place apart from the normal rules of society, with its own strict code of honour in the *pistis* there created, and its own willingness to establish conventions fundamentally opposed to those within the *polis* as a whole. It developed its own metasympotic discourse on the laws of sympotic behaviour, and its own sense of occasion.... The distinctive manipulation of Greek sexuality in the homosexual bonding of young males through *symposion* and *gymnasion* is one aspect of this self-conscious separation; another is the creation of a type of "free love" associated with the *hetaira* and the other

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of this discussion, I wish to avoid consideration of prostitutes (both *hetairai* and *pornai*) in Old, Middle, and New Comedy, because the permutations of the system are immensely complicated and, I believe, dependent on the archaic model I attempt to sketch out here. Thus, comedy seems to have available for its use both sides of the archaic system: it can appropriate the aristocratic valorization of the *hetaira* (especially as applied to an ἀστή, a citizen girl, as in Antiphanes fr. 210 K.-A.) or it can choose to celebrate the democratic availability of *pornai* (as in Philemon fr. 3 K.-A., Euboulos fr. 67 K.-A., Xenarchus fr. 4 K.-A.). Given this complexity, I have tried to avoid basing any arguments on comic evidence; yet, given the extreme scarcity of material, especially for the early period, I have on occasion drawn on comedy for support of an argument based on other materials (e.g., Anaxilas fr. 21 K.-A., p. 112; Antiphanes fr. 210 K.-A., pp. 116–17; Euboulos fr. 41 K.-A., p. 140). For extended discussion of prostitutes in the comic tradition, see Hauschild 1933; Fantham 1975; Anderson 1984; Henry 1985, 1986; Konstan 1987; Wiles 1989; Brown 1990, 1993.

12. In the 1950s, E. S. G. Robinson challenged the current orthodoxy on the dating of the beginning of coinage, downdating the earliest electrum coins to the third quarter of the seventh century, based on a careful reexamination of the Artemisium basis finds. Though some of his arguments have been challenged, recent advances in numismatic methodology (especially the analysis of die links and coin hoards) have tended to confirm Robinson's estimates or even downdate coinage still further. Thus M. J. Price has recently proposed a date in the last quarter of the seventh century for the earliest Lydian and East Greek coins found at the Artemisium, while estimates for the earliest mainland Greek coinages (those of Aigina, Athens, and Corinth) range from ca. 580 to 550 BCE. See Robinson 1951, 1956; Kraay 1964, 1976, 1977; Price and Waggoner 1975; Price 1983. For other discussions which support the late dating, cf. Kiyonaga 1973; Kroll and Waggoner 1984; Karweise 1991; Howgego 1995.2–6. Proponents of an early 7th century date: Weidauer 1975, Kagan 1982.

13. On the close connection of *hetairai* to the symposium, see Herter 1960.95–97; Brendel 1970.19, 29–36; Peschel 1987; Calame 1989.103–108; Reinsberg 1989.91–120.

attendants or entertainers at the *symposion*; a third is the development of forms of ritual exhibitionism and violence in the *komos* at the end of the session.[14]

Thus Murray notes the sympotic frame for the invention of the *hetaira*, but limits her to an instrument of "free love." I would add an economic (and hence political) dimension to the constitution of the category. Within the "anti-city" of the aristocratic symposium, the discursive category of the *hetaira* participates in the complete exclusion of the public sphere, especially the city's monetarized economy.[15] Instead, the impulse to mystify economic relations for sex generates the category of the *hetaira* within the framework of gift exchange. As the fourth-century comic poet Anaxilas observed, the *hetaira* gratified her patron πρὸς χάριν, "as a favor."[16] And while the *hetaira* affirms and embodies the circulation of *charis* within a privileged elite, the *pornê* in aristocratic discourse figures the debased and promiscuous exchanges of the agora. Thus I would concur with Davidson's mapping of the *hetaira-pornê* binary along the axis of gift- vs. commodity-exchange, though I would suggest a different moral inflection for this discursive opposition in the archaic period.

If we are seeking contemporary evidence for this opposition and the purposes it served, we must turn to archaic poetry. The *pornê* had been a staple of blame poetry since Archilochus. Thus later commentators report that Archilochus used the term μισητή, "lewd" or "lascivious" for "a woman who is common and easy" (τὴν κοινὴν καὶ ῥᾳδίαν), in a one-liner that became proverbial, "A woman with thick ankles is a whore" (περὶ σφυρὸν παχεῖα, μισητὴ γυνή, fr. 206W). The same sources preserve a whole string of other abusive designations Archilochus coined for the *pornê* (frr. 207–209W): δῆμος ("because she is common to the *demos*"), ἐργάτις ("working girl"), and μυσαχνή ("froth of defilement," "on the analogy

14. Murray 1990.7; cf. Murray 1983.265–66 on the political context of monodic lyric: "Alcaeus' band of *hetairoi* was no longer organised only or primarily for military exploits; it was more significantly a form of political organisation in response to the emergent city-state, designed to perpetuate aristocratic control of the state against the *demos*."

15. The complete exclusion of money from sympotic texts and iconography is noted by von Reden 1995.205–206 with 214–15 n. 50.

16. Anaxilas fr. 21 K-A:

ἐὰν δέ τις μέτρια †χαὶ λέγουσα
τοῖς δεομένοις τινῶν ὑπουργῇ πρὸς χάριν,
ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρείας ἑταίρα τοὔνομα
προσηγορεύθη, καὶ σὺ νῦν οὐχ ὡς λέγεις
πόρνης, ἑταίρας δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τυγχάνεις
ἐληλυθὼς ἄρ' ὡς ἀληθῶς· ἔστι γοῦν
ἁπλῆ τις. (B.) ἀστεία μὲν οὖν, νὴ τὸν Δία

And if someone [even speaking measured things?] does service to those in need of something as a favor, from her companionship she has been called a *hetaira*—and you now happen to have fallen in love, not with a *pornê* (as you say), but with a *hetaira* then truly. She is someone honest then. (B.) Yes, by Zeus, and refined.

of Homeric 'sea-foam'").[17] These terms, even without their context, suggest the negative associations of the *pornê*—lewdness, pollution, the humiliating necessity of working for pay, and excessive commonality in the public sphere.

The discourse of the *hetaira* in archaic poetry stands in radical opposition to that of the *pornê*. In contrast to the shockingly coarse and explicit language of blame, the presentation of the *hetaira* is delicate and indirect; indeed, so indirect that we need some ingenuity in locating the *hetaira* in Greek verse. For, as a recent student of Greek prostitution has observed, those aristocratic sources well disposed to the institution never use the term *hetaira*, preferring polite periphrases. (Xenophon, for example, introduces Theodote coyly as "the sort of woman who would keep company with any man who persuaded her," *Mem.* 3.11.1.)[18] This suggests that "*hetaira*" is a term of derision, applied by those outside the aristocratic symposium to mock the sympotic equality of prostitute and elite participant (*hetairos*). In any case, then, we cannot expect to find the term itself in archaic sympotic poetry. Still, several fragments of Anakreon (together with the guidance provided by the later authors who quote him) bear out the ideologically loaded opposition of *hetaira* and *pornê*. Anakreon, the quintessential sympotic poet, provides a surprising number of references to both types of prostitute in his meager corpus, and though he is generally read simply as the hedonistic celebrator of wine and love, I would suggest that these references form part of a specific political agenda.

One of Anakreon's most familiar fragments, fr. 78 Gentili (= 417 PMG, the address to the "Thracian filly"), may be directed to a *hetaira*, at least to judge from the introduction of the first-century CE commentator Herakleitos who quotes it:

> καὶ μὴν ὁ Τήιος Ἀνακρέων ἑταιρικὸν φρόνημα καὶ σοβαρᾶς γυναικὸς ὑπερηφανίαν ὀνειδίζων τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ σκιρτῶντα νοῦν ὡς ἵππον ἡλλογόρησεν οὕτω λέγων·
>
> πῶλε Θρῃκίη, τί δή με λοξὸν ὄμμασι βλέπουσα
> νηλέως φεύγεις, δοκεῖς δέ μ' οὐδὲν εἰδέναι σοφόν;
> ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι,
> ἡνίας δ' ἔχων στρέφοιμί σ' ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου·
> νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκεαι κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις,
> δεξιὸν γὰρ ἱπποπείρην οὐκ ἔχεις ἐπεμβάτην.
>
> And indeed Anakreon the Teian, reproaching the meretricious [lit. "hetairic"] attitude and disdain of a haughty woman, allegorized her skittering mind as a horse, speaking thus,

17. The explanatory commentary is provided by Eustathius to Homer, p. 1651.1, 1329.33 and Suetonius *de blasph.* pp. 49–51 Taillardat (all cited by West as testimonia to fr. 206). For other references to *pornai* in archaic poetry, see Archilochus *dub.* fr. 302W, *spur.* fr. 328W; Hipponax frr. 135, 135a, 135bW; Alkaios fr. 117b V. For a speculative reconstruction of what prostitution signified in Archilochus' poetic system, see Burnett 1983.78–97.

18. D. Christodoulou, private correspondence.

> "O Thracian filly, why, looking askance at me with your eyes, do you flee pitilessly, and think that I know nothing skillful? Know that I would mount the bridle well upon you, and holding the reins, I would turn you about the limits of the track. But now [as it is], you feed in meadows, and lightly frisking, you play, for you do not have a skillful rider experienced with horses."

Two elements in the poem tend to confirm the later commentator's identification of its addressee as a *hetaira*. First, her address in the opening words as "Thracian filly" suggests a foreign origin: recall Herodotus' mention that Rhodopis was originally from Thrace (2.134).[19] Second, the characterization of her current activity in line 5 of the poem: "But now you feed in meadows, and lightly frisking, you play." As Bruno Gentili has observed, the image of a horse ranging free in a meadow—as opposed to safely locked in its stall—suggests a woman who is sexually free and promiscuous.[20] And yet the poem evokes no moral disapproval of the woman's "loose" behavior, instead playfully suggesting that the speaker could offer her a more skillful "ride." There is no hint of economic negotiation for favors, for the Thracian filly, like Xenophon's Theodote, must be *persuaded* to turn her attention elsewhere. The poem as a whole conjures up the privileged space of the symposium, where the speaker (whose self-representation as a skillful "rider" marks him as an aristocrat) banters cheerfully with a female symposiast.

Anakreon fr. 93 Gentili (= 373 PMG) produces very much the same effect:

> ἠρίστησα μὲν ἰτρίου λεπτοῦ μικρὸν ἀποκλάς,
> οἴνου δ' ἐξέπιον κάδον· νῦν δ' ἁβρῶς ἐρόεσσαν
> ψάλλω πηκτίδα τῇ φίλῃ κωμάζων †παιδὶ ἁβρῇ†.[21]
>
> I breakfasted, having broken off a little bit of slender honey-cake, and I drained my vessel of wine; and now I delicately pluck the lovely Lydian lyre, celebrating the *komos* with a dear and dainty girl.

19. Cf. also the use of πῶλος, which, according to Hesychius, was a term for *hetairai* in Euboulos (Hesychius s.v. πῶλος). Cf. Gentili 1958.193n. 3.

20. Gentili 1958.186–94. To the parallels collected by Gentili one might add the metaphorical use of φορβάς in Pindar fr. 122.19 SM; Sophocles fr. 720 Radt; Pollux 7.203. Claude Calame suggests to me that the language of Anakreon's poem is, in fact, deliberately ambiguous: a large part of its wit (and seductiveness) inhere in the rhetorical technique of praising a *hetaira* by assimilating her to a virgin. Thus, much of the poem's diction would be equally appropriate to a virgin girl as yet "unyoked." For the same assimilation of a *hetaira*'s appearance and behavior to that of a "modest virgin," cf. Xenophon *Mem.* 3.11.14, and see the passages cited below, pp. 140–41.

21. παιδὶ ἁβρῇ is marked corrupt for metrical reasons; but notice that, among the emendations Gentili prints in his apparatus criticus to fr. 93 are πάϊδ' ἁβρῇ and παῖδὶ ἁβρῇ, which heal the meter with very minor changes. Alternatively, Wilamowitz suggested that a proper name was concealed by this corruption (1884.317n. 27; 1913.103n. 1). Thus I assume that "delicate girl" or something very like it stood in this spot; but even if the line ended with a proper name, that would not much affect my argument, since the gender and status of this mysterious figure are still determined by τῇ φίλῃ earlier in the line.

Wine, the pektis (or Lydian lyre), and the *komos* establish the sympotic setting of this brief fragment, while the twice-repeated ἁβρῶς, ἁβρῇ evokes a context of aristocratic luxury. As scholars have argued, the espousal or rejection of *habrosyne* represents a political and ideological choice in archaic Greek poetry. Here as elsewhere, Anakreon's wholehearted embrace of the "cult of *habrosyne*" signals his allegiance to an aristocratic elite with close links with the East.[22] And central to the lifestyle of *habrosyne* in this sympotic fragment is the company of a "girl" who is φίλη, "dear"—in this context, almost certainly a *hetaira*. Again, there is no talk of wage or payment, only the language of pleasure and aristocratic friendship (φίλη). The relationship of symposiast and *hetaira* is completely mystified as one of mutually comfortable and willing companionship.

The link between the "cult of *habrosyne*" and the mystified erotic relations of the *hetaira* is confirmed by a brief reference to Anakreon in Clement of Alexandria's *Paidagogos* (2nd/3rd century CE). While fulminating against women's luxurious and indecent motions, Clement quotes a snippet of the sympotic poet (Anakreon fr. 138 Gentili = 458 PMG):

> αἱ δὲ γυναικεῖοι κινήσεις καὶ θρύψεις καὶ χλιδαὶ κολουστέαι παντελῶς· τὸ γὰρ ἁβροδίαιτον τῆς περὶ τὸν περίπατον κινήσεως καὶ τὸ
>
> σαῦλα βαίνειν,
>
> ὥς φησιν Ἀνακρέων, κομιδῇ ἑταιρικά.
>
> Womanly movements and indulgences and luxuries must be curtailed entirely; for luxuriousness of movement in walking about and "going swaggeringly" (as Anakreon says) are altogether meretricious [lit. "hetairic"].

Everything we know about Anakreon suggests that, ironically, the collocation of terms ἁβροδίαιτον and σαῦλα βαίνειν would have been positively valued by the earlier poet, and, to judge from Clement's climactic denunciation (ἑταιρικά), used to characterize a luxurious and lascivious *hetaira*.[23]

Thus the fragments of Anakreon suggest a very specific context for the "invention of the *hetaira*": she is a product of the sympotic space where the lifestyle of *habrosyne* was actively espoused as a form of self-definition and distinction by an aristocratic elite throughout the sixth century. Within the world of the symposium, the conceptual category of the *hetaira* served several different functions. First, the constitution of this category within the framework of aristocratic gift exchange enabled the complete occlusion of the explicit, monetarized economics of the public sphere. In this respect, the *hetaira-pornê* binary functioned just like the opposition of metals and money, to define and differentiate the sympotic world

22. On the political implications of *habrosyne*, see Mazzarino 1947; Arthur 1984.37–49; Kurke 1992; Morris 1996; on this fragment in particular, Kurke 1992.93–94.

23. Other frr. of Anakreon that refer to women in sympotic settings (and hence, probably to *hetairai*): fr. 48 Gentili, 427 PMG (on which, see Section III below); fr. 136 Gentili, 455 PMG.

from the public space of the agora in elitist discourse. For a striking characteristic of aristocratic sympotic poetry in the archaic period is its frequent use of the imagery of metals and refining metals to figure the consistency and dependability of the authentic aristocratic self. Thus, in one of the image's many occurrences in the Theognidean corpus, the speaker bemoans his plight:

Οὐδέν' ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύναμαι διζήμενος εὑρεῖν
πιστὸν ἑταῖρον, ὅτῳ μή τις ἔνεστι δόλος·
ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατρίβομαι ὥστε μολύβδῳ
χρυσός, ὑπερτερίης δ' ἄμμιν ἔνεστι λόγος.

(Thgn. 415–18)

Seeking, I can find no trusty comrade like to myself, the sort who has no trickery within. But going to the touchstone, I am exposed like gold rubbed beside lead, and we have the reputation (literally, reckoning) of superiority.

On another occasion, the speaker uses the same imagery of testing gold on the touchstone to assert his own purity and quality:

εὑρήσεις δέ με πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ὥσπερ ἄπεφθον
χρυσὸν ἐρυθρὸν ἰδεῖν τριβόμενον βασάνῳ,
τοῦ χροιῆς καθύπερθε μέλας οὐχ ἅπτεται ἰός
οὐδ' εὐρώς, αἰεὶ δ' ἄνθος ἔχει καθαρόν.

(Thgn. 449–52)

You will find me for all deeds like refined gold, ruddy to see when rubbed on a touchstone; on top of the surface no black rust fixes nor mold, but it has always a pure bloom.

It has been argued that this imagery in archaic poetry must be understood in relation to the suppressed fact of coinage: aristocratic sympotic poetry speaks obsessively of metals as if to deny the existence of coinage, trying to replace silver with gold and symbolic with essential value.[24]

Indeed, it may be that archaic poetry explicitly made the analogy between the *hetaira* and the sympotic "language of metals." For we find the association of the *hetaira* with gold in Middle Comedy, where it may represent an inheritance from an older sympotic discourse. Thus Chrysis ("Goldie") is a common *hetaira*-name attested from the fourth century on (Timokles fr. 27 K.-A., Menander *Samia*, Lucian *Dialogues of Courtesans* 8); while the fourth-century comic poet Antiphanes offers what might be read as an extended gloss on the name (fr. 210 K.-A.):

οὗτος δ' ὃν λέγω
ἐν γειτόνων αὐτῷ κατοικούσης τινὸς
ἰδὼν ἑταίρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο,

24. For extended argumentation, see Kurke 1995.

ἀστῆς, ἐρήμου δ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ συγγενῶν,
ἤθός τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης
ὄντως ἑταίρας· αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοὔνομα
βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὄντως ὂν καλόν.

This one of whom I speak caught sight of a *hetaira* living at his neighbor's house and fell in love with her, a citizen girl, but bereft of guardian and relatives, possessed of a golden nature when it came to virtue, truly a "companion." For the rest of those women harm the name that is truly fair with their ways.

The notion that possessing a "golden nature" (ἤθός τι χρυσοῦν) makes her a "true *hetaira*" recalls Theognis' repeated wish to find a *pistos hetairos* just like himself, "refined gold when rubbed on a touchstone." The similarity of language and theme suggests that the "hooker with a heart of gold" who becomes a staple of New Comedy is an adaptation of an older aristocratic ideal.

We may find a bit of evidence for the sympotic origins of this association in a pair of Attic skolia preserved by Athenaeus (Ath. *Deipn.* 15.695c–d = Carm. Conv. 900, 901 PMG):

εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἐλεφαντίνη
καί με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροιεν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν.

εἴθ' ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοίμην μέγα χρυσίον
καί με καλὴ γυνὴ φοροίη καθαρὸν θεμένη νόον.

I wish I were a beautiful ivory lyre, and beautiful boys would bear me to the Dionysiac dance.

I wish I were a big, beautiful, unsmelted golden ornament, and a beautiful woman would wear me—a woman who had made her mind pure.

Two of the twenty-five Attic skolia Athenaeus transmits, these poems have been taken as relics of archaic sympotic culture.[25] These two couplets clearly belong together, with their iterated wish, the pairing of ivory and gold, "beautiful boys" and a "beautiful woman." It is this last pairing of παῖδες and γυνή that suggests that the beautiful woman may be a *hetaira*, since the association of desirable boys and women is a standard sympotic topos.[26] Given this possibility, what is striking about the second couplet is the way in which the characterization of the καλὴ γυνή echoes that desiderated for a *pistos hetairos* in the Theognidea:

μή μ' ἔπεσιν μὲν στέργε, νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας ἄλλῃ
εἴ με φιλεῖς καί σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος.

25. Reitzenstein 1893.13–17 argues that Athenaeus' compilation of 25 skolia (or drinking songs) is based on a collection that was already constituted by the mid-fifth century, with many of the individual poems dating back to the archaic period.

26. Cf. Theognis 723–24 and Aristophanes *Clouds* 1073 (the pleasures advocated by the Ἄδικος Λόγος): παίδων γυναικῶν κοττάβων ὄψων πότων κιχλισμῶν.

ἤ με φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἤ μ' ἀποειπών
ἔχθαιρ' ἀμφαδίην νεῖκος ἀειράμενος.
ὃς δὲ μιῇ γλώσσῃ δίχ' ἔχει νόον, οὗτος ἑταῖρος
δεινός, Κύρν', ἐχθρὸς βέλτερος ἢ φίλος ὤν.
(Thgn. 87–92; 87–90 approx. = 1082c–f)

Do not show liking for me, but hold your mind and wits in another place, if you love me and a trustworthy mind is in you. Either love me once you have made your mind pure or reject and hate me openly raising a quarrel. But he who holds his mind divided with a single tongue, this one is a terrible companion, o Kyrnos, being a better enemy than a friend.

Theognis requires that a *philos hetairos* have a mind that is "trusty" (πιστός) and "pure" (καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον), while the Attic skolion characterizes the *hetaira* in precisely the same terms (καθαρὸν θεμένη νόον). But the association of *hetaira* and *hetairos* extends even further, for in both cases the "purity" (καθαρόν) of the ideal "companion" is associated with gold. Thus at Theognis 449–52 (quoted above), the *pistos hetairos*, like refined gold, "always has a pure bloom" (αἰεὶ δ' ἄνθος ἔχει καθαρόν, 452). In the Attic skolion, metonymy replaces metaphor: the beautiful woman's "pure mind" is identified with the purity of gold by relations of contiguity—by the association with the beautiful golden jewel worn on her breast.[27]

This imagistic assimilation of *hetaira* and *hetairos* suggests a function beyond the narrowly economic: the category of the *hetaira* seems at times to entail a deliberate mystification of status, an effort to play down distinctions between the symposiasts and their female companions.[28] That is to say, as Ian Morris has observed of elitist ideology in general, status boundaries of male and female are minimized, while the single distinction—aristocratic elites vs. others—becomes paramount.[29] The deliberately obscure standing of the *hetaira*[30] assists the constitution of this inviolable barrier between the sympotic space and all those outside it (hence the derisive use of the term itself to characterize what, from the outside, must have seemed the bizarrely egalitarian dynamics of the aristocratic symposium). Finally, in contrast to this odd identification, the presence of sexually

27. Note that there may still be a mark of distinction between *hetairos* and *hetaira*, in the fact that the jewel of the καλὴ γυνή is ἄπυρον, "unfired, unrefined" in contrast to the purified gold of the male sympotic companion.

28. This is perhaps partly the necessary result of constituting the relation as one of gift exchange, which requires approximate equality of partners.

29. Morris 1996.36: "the elitists legitimated their special role from sources outside the polis; the middling poets rejected such claims. The former blurred distinctions between male and female, present and past, mortal and divine, Greek and Lydian, to reinforce a distinction between aristocrat and commoner; the latter did the opposite.... Elitist poetry was the oppositional literature of an *immanent elite*, an imagined community evoked in the interstices of the polis world—at interstate games, in the arrival of a *xenos* from a different city, or behind the closed doors of the symposium."

30. Recall the terms of Davidson's analysis of the discourse of the *hetaira*: "a never-ending cycle of involvement, founded on dissimulation and avoidance of definition."

available women infused the sympotic space with a generalized eroticism which was an important element in the lifestyle of *habrosyne* (at least as Sappho and Anakreon celebrated it).[31] As such, the women functioned as so much sympotic furniture, like the couches and pillows—objects to serve the needs of the male symposiasts and create a certain atmosphere. (Thus, Anakreon's Thracian filly may have a choice of mounts, but it is never in question that she is the horse and the male the rider.[32])

One might say that the relative discursive primacy of these two latter functions depends on whether one focusses on the internal workings of the symposium or on its oppositional relation to the public sphere: if the former, emphasis falls on the hierarchy of male symposiasts and female attendants; if the latter, on the companionship and identity of *hetairoi* and *hetairai*. The dialectic between these two positions is precarious and difficult to maintain, and it is perhaps for this reason that scholars have tended to latch onto one function to the complete exclusion of the other.[33] Even in archaic representations, the balance is occasionally lost, and the discourse flip-flops precipitously from one pole to the other.

II. THE *PORNÊ* AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

But before we can explore the faultlines within the ideology of the *hetaira*, we must complete the opposition. Several other fragments of Anakreon suggest the terms of the portrait of the *pornê* as the *hetaira*'s opposite number. The sole appearance of the stem πορν- in the corpus of Anakreon occurs in fr. 82 Gentili (= 388 PMG), a stunningly savage lampoon of a certain Artemon:[34]

πρὶν μὲν ἔχων βερβέριον, καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα,
καὶ ξυλίνους ἀστραγάλους ἐν ὠσὶ καὶ ψιλὸν περί
πλευρῇσι ⟨δέρριον⟩ βοός,

νήπλυτον εἴλυμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος, ἀρτοπώλισιν
κἀθελοπόρνοισιν ὁμιλέων ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων,
κίβδηλον εὑρίσκων βίον,

31. Cf. Murray 1990.7. Richard Neer has suggested to me that part of the point of this erotic element is to counter the association of *habrosyne* with effeminacy by those hostile to this aristocratic lifestyle. On representational links between *habrosyne* and effeminacy, see Kurke 1992.98–106.

32. Contrast her position to that of the boy in Anakreon fr. 15 Gentili (= 360 PMG), who is the "charioteer" of the speaker's soul. This erotic objectification of women as part of the sympotic entertainment is clearly reflected in Carm. conv. 904 PMG, which strikes a very different note from fr. 901: ἃ ὗς τὰν βάλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει, τὰν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν·/ κἀγὼ παῖδα καλὴν τὴν μὲν ἔχω, τὴν δ' ἔραμαι λαβεῖν. ("The sow has one acorn, but longs to take another; and I have one beautiful girl, but long to take another.")

33. Thus, for example, Keuls 1985.160–86 registers only the erotic subjugation of the *hetaira*, while Calame 1989 and Reinsberg 1989 mainly emphasize the elements of equality and companionship in her status.

34. Text after Gentili.

πολλὰ μὲν ἐν δουρὶ τιθεὶς αὐχένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐν τροχῷ,
πολλὰ δὲ νῶτον σκυτίνῃ μάστιγι θωμιχθείς, κόμην
πώγωνά τ' ἐκτετιλμένος·

νῦν δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων χρύσεα φορέων καθέρματα
πάϊς Κύκης καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἐλεφαντίνην φορέει
γυναιξὶν αὕτως

Formerly having a turban, wasp-like headcoverings, and wooden dice in his ears and a worn oxhide around his ribs, unwashed covering of a lousy shield, keeping company with breadwomen and willing whores, wicked Artemon made his living by crime, many times putting his neck in the stocks, many times on the wheel, and many times having his back scourged with a leather lash, and his hair and beard plucked out; but now he mounts carriages, wearing golden earrings, the child of Kyke, and bears a little ivory parasol—just like women.

A single sentence of twelve lines, this poem (complete or not) represents our most substantial fragment of Anakreon. It has traditionally been read as abuse of a social climber, and Christopher Brown has recently confirmed that reading by offering a compelling word-by-word analysis in which he demonstrates the movement of its subject Artemon from the lowest rungs of society (1–9) to sudden arriviste wealth and luxury (10–12).[35] Thus, Brown suggests that the βερβέριον, some kind of tight "wasplike" headcovering, is intended to contrast with the long, flowing hair of aristocratic fashion, while "wooden dice" for earrings represent a poor man's version of outlandish Eastern ornament. He cites parallels in Theognis and Aristophanes for the rustic and low-class garb of worn hide, and notes that "breadwomen" and "willing whores" suggest coarse lowlife companions.[36] He interprets κίβδηλον εὑρίσκων βίον as "he made his living by crime," and points out that the next stanza continues the theme of Artemon's criminality: "Pollux (10.177) records that dishonest traders were put on the rack (δόρυ) and whipped. From Aristophanes we learn that adulterers suffered depilation."[37]

35. Brown 1983 convincingly refutes the revisionist reading of Slater 1978, who claims that the fragment represents two different incarnations of ritual transvestism. Cf. also Davies 1981 for an attack on Slater 1978.

36. Brown 1983.12–13. As Brown notes, we cannot determine whether ἑθελόπορνοι is intended to refer to male or female prostitutes, since it is a compound adjective of two terminations. The association of breadsellers and prostitutes is common in Greek literature: Brown cites Aristophanes, *Frogs* 112; cf. also Pollux' mention that Hermippus referred to a prostitute as a "rotten whore" and a "sow" in a play called *The Breadwomen* (Ἕρμιππος ... ἐν Ἀρτοπώλισι φησὶν, ὡς σαπρὰ πόρνη, καὶ κάπραινα, Pollux *Onomasticon* 7.202). For the association, cf. also Herter 1960.74–75; for "breadbaker" as slang for prostitute or courtesan, see Garrett and Kurke 1996.

37. Brown 1983.13–14. Specifically Pollux says, "When Kratinos says in the *Nemesis*, 'having his neck in the pillory,' it must be understood that this was a certain kind of market-regulatory equipment, in which the one who does wrong concerning the market must put his neck and be whipped" (Κρατίνου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐν Νεμέσει, ἐν τῷ κυφῶνι τὸν αὐχένα ἔχων, ἦπου νοητέον, ὡς σκεῦος ἦν τι ἀγορανομικὸν, ᾧ τὸν αὐχένα ἐνθέντα δεῖ μαστιγοῦσθαι τὸν

Brown notes in conclusion,

> In the first section of the poem Anacreon depicts Artemon as socially low, criminal, and sexually loose. When we next see him, he is miraculously changed, no longer crass and inelegant, but outfitted in golden jewellery, carrying a parasol, and riding on σατίναι. If it were not for the last line, we might suppose that Anacreon is merely describing Artemon dressed as an Ionian aristocrat, but the phrase γυναιξὶν αὔτως makes the reference to effeminacy explicit. What we have of the poem does not allow us to say with any precision in what way Artemon is effeminate, but it is undeniable that something about his new life-style is woman-like. His effeminacy is underlined by the appellation πάϊς Κύκης (11). It has been suggested that this phrase indicates that Artemon is of illegitimate birth, which would be appropriate to his low origins. This is plausible, but it is more relevant to note the basic ambiguity of the word παῖς, which can be used of either sex, and here its collocation with the name of the mother suggests a female child.[38]

I find Brown's detailed analysis completely persuasive and would suggest that, following his reading, we must take this abuse as the flipside of the fragments already considered. For if they constitute the privileged sympotic world of *habrosyne*, this fragment reaffirms that lifestyle by programmatic opposition. And indeed, in the fragment's first three stanzas at least, the contrast crucially depends on locating Artemon in the agora, a public space characterized by debased and illicit mercantile and sexual exchanges.[39] His designation as ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων and πάϊς Κύκης makes his low-class origin and status explicit,[40] while his garb of worn oxhide delivers the same message more obliquely, to judge from a Theognidean parallel:

> Κύρνε, πόλις μὲν ἔθ' ἥδε πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι,
> οἳ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἤιδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,

περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κακουργοῦντα, Pollux *Onomasticon* 10.177). In the same context, Pollux notes that "Deinolochos in the *Amazons* spoke of the [harness] of the retailer's yoke" (καπηλικοῦ ζυγοῦ).

38. Brown 1983.14.

39. This is not to say that the agora really *was* such a space, simply that it was represented as such in elite discourse. Indeed, I have been persuaded by the arguments of von Reden 1995.171–94 for what she calls an "embedded money economy" within the Greek city: "A crucial distinction between coinage and other wealth lay in the question of their origins. The recognition of coinage as a recompense meant the acknowledgment of the *polis* as an institution that controlled justice and prosperity. Agrarian wealth and ancestral treasure, by contrast, referred to a divine order of justice which could be controlled by humans, if at all, only by religious ritual. The introduction of coinage indicates the shift of authority over social justice from the gods to the *polis*" (1995.175). In this context, I suggest that elite resistance to the authority of the polis manifested itself in the negative representation of the agora as merely a site for disembedded and debased exchanges (thereby denying the political functions of both agora and coinage).

40. Though Gerber (1970.234) and Brown (1983.14) prefer to read a suggestion of effeminacy into πάϊς Κύκης, Young (1973.413) takes it as an intimation of illegitimacy.

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον,
ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεος.
καὶ νῦν εἰσ' ἀγαθοί, Πολυπαίδη· οἱ δὲ πρὶν ἐσθλοί
νῦν δειλοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν;
ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶντες,
οὔτε κακῶν γνώμας εἰδότες οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν.

(Thgn. 53–60)

Kyrnos, this city is still a city, but the people are different. Those who before knew neither judgements nor laws, but used to wear out goatskins about their ribs and pasture outside of the city like deer—they are now the "good," son of Polypaos, while those who were formerly noble are now base. Who could endure seeing these things? And they deceive each other, laughing at each other, knowing the wisdom neither of the base nor of the good.

Brown cites Theognis line 55 to demonstrate the association of leather garments with low-class rustics, but in context I would suggest that it conjures up another group as well. As I have argued, the characterization "they deceive each other, laughing at each other" in line 59 represents an aristocratic sneer at the practice of retail trade (*kapêleia*), so that we may read Theognis' boorish rustics garbed in goatskin also as *kapêloi*. Given the parallel, the association with *kapêleia* may also be the implication of Artemon's secondhand skins in Anakreon's lampoon.

However that may be, lines 4–9 of Anakreon's poem consistently associate Artemon with petty traders in the agora, first with "breadwomen" (4) and then with merchants punished for dishonest dealing on the rack (7–8). It is noteworthy that, in each case, trade is closely paired with some form of morally debased sexual activity: Artemon keeps company with "breadwomen and willing whores" in stanza two, while he suffers the punishments for commercial deceit and adultery in stanza three. I would contend that this coupling is deliberate, for each debased activity, mercantile and sexual, figures the other. To be a petty retailer is to be a "willing whore," and a thieving merchant an adulterer (and vice versa): in aristocratic terms, the disembedded economics of the agora taints all it touches. The exact center of the fragment, line 6, adds the final element to this picture—κίβδηλον εὑρίσκων βίον. Brown is right to emphasize its metaphorical usage; as he notes, in Aristophanes κιβδηλία means "dishonesty." Nonetheless, κίβδηλος is the *vox propria* for adulterated metal or counterfeit coin, so that here it continues the theme of deceit by conjuring up the specter of coinage.[41]

The one other appearance of Artemon in the extant fragments of Anakreon may participate in the same denunciation of the public sphere. Athenaeus cites

41. Brown 1983.13, citing Aristophanes, *Birds* 158. For κίβδος and κίβδηλος signifying a base alloy, see van Groningen 1966.50–51 (*ad* ll. 117, 119); Hangard 1963.62–66, 94; LSJ, s.v. κιβδηλεία, κίβδος. On the other hand, κίβδηλος is used to designate generically various kinds of counterfeit coin: see Stroud 1974.171–72 and Caccamo Caltabiano and Radici Colace 1983.442–43.

the two-line fragment, whose second line had become proverbial (fr. 8 Gentili = 372 PMG):

ξανθῇ δ' Εὐρυπύλῃ μέλει
ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων.

The notorious Artemon is a concern to blonde Eurypyle.

Though Athenaeus explains περιφόρητος literally as "being carried around on a couch on account of luxurious living,"[42] Artemon's epithet seems actually to mean "carried around [in the mouths of all]," hence "notorious" or "infamous." The term may even indicate sexual looseness and availability, for, as Brown notes, an Aristophanic scholiast refers the proverb ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων "to a boy who is fair and snatched by all" (ἐπὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἁρπαζομένου πρὸς πάντων παιδός, Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 850 = Gentili fr. 8, *test.* ii).[43] In either case, whether he is "borne around" in mouths or hands, the epithet refers disparagingly to Artemon's excessive circulation in the public domain. And it may be that this public promiscuity is associated with prostitution, since Artemon's companion in the fragment bears the suggestive name Eurypyle, "wide gate." Though later ancient writers speculated that Eurypyle was one of Anakreon's lovers, her name is most apt for a prostitute (again with emphasis on her promiscuity or public availability).[44]

Another more substantial fragment that may chronicle the career of a prostitute is fr. 60 Gentili (= 346 PMG), first published from papyrus in 1954:[45]

οὐδε . . . [.] ς .φ. . α̣ . . [. . .] . . [
φοβερὰς δ' ἔχεις πρὸς ἄλλῳ
φρένας, ὦ καλλιπρό[σ]ωπε παίδ[ων.

καί σε δοκέει μὲν ἐ[ν δό]μ̣οισι
πυκινῶς ἔχουσα [μήτηρ
ἀτιτάλλειν· σ[ὺ δὲ — ⏑ βόσκεαι

τὰς ὑακιν[θίνας ἀρ]ούρας,
ἵ]να Κύπρις ἐκ λεπάδνων
ἐρο]ε̣σ̣σ̣α̣[ς κ]ατέδησεν ἵππους.

42. Cf. Plutarch *Pericles* 27 (= Gentili fr. 8, *test.* iii).

43. Brown 1983.14 with n. 79. Cf. Slater 1978.186 n. 8 for the negative connotations of περι-compounds; thus Theognis 581–82: ἐχθαίρω δὲ γυναῖκα περίδρομον ἄνδρα τε μάργον, / ὃς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν βούλετ' ἄρουραν ἀροῦν ("I hate the woman who runs around and the greedy man who wants to plow another's field") and Pollux *Onomasticon* 7.203, who lists περίπολις as a term for a *pornê*.

44. Cf. Brown 1983.7. For ancient sources who cite Eurypyle as a lover of Anakreon, see Dioscurides *AP* 7.31.10, Antipater Sidonius *AP* 7.27.5; for modern scholars who follow their lead, see Smyth 1963.290, Gerber 1970.233; for opposition, Brown 1983.7. For the obscene use of πύλη, see Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 250, 265, 423, 1163 and especially *CAF* adesp. 805, in which δημίαισι πύλαις is glossed as "common whores" by Hesychius (s.v.) and cf. Henderson 1991.137.

45. Text after Gentili's edition.

.....]δ' ἐν μέσῳ κατῆ⟨ι⟩ξας
ὁμάδ]ῳ, δι' ἅσσα πολλοί
πολ]ιητέων φρένας ἐπτοέαται,
λεωφ]όρε, λεωφόρ' Ἡρο[τ]ίμη,

Nor . . . , and in addition you have fearful wits, o lovely faced of children. And your mother imagines that, holding you at home, she fosters you assiduously, but you graze [instead?] in the hyacinth fields where Kypris bound down lovely mares [freed] from the yoke. And you leapt into the middle of the throng, through which many of the citizens are fluttered in wits, O much-trafficked, much-trafficked Herotime . . .

Significantly, the epithet the poem's subject Herotime bears in the fragment's last legible line—λεωφόρος—had been preserved independently from antiquity as a term Anakreon used to designate a *pornê* (Suda 3.429 Adler; Eustathius *Il.* 1329.34 = fr. 163 Gentili, 446 PMG). Hence, there is at least some evidence in the ancient lexicographical tradition that this fragment concerns a common prostitute, though its damaged and partial state makes it difficult to reconstruct with any certainty.

For the most part, I follow the interpretation of Gregorio Serrao, who reads the fragment as a sequence of diverse moments in the life of Herotime, chronicling her development from innocent young girl to public prostitute.[46] Thus the opening lines describe her as a timid child (1–3), whose mother imagines that she is safely immured and supervised within the house (3–6). But with a strong syntactic break in line 6 (and probably a δέ answering the μέν in line 4),[47] the lovely faced child is revealed grazing "in hyacinth fields where Kypris binds down lovely mares [freed] from the yoke." As Gentili has forcefully argued, horses in the hyacinth fields of Kypris represent those who have abandoned themselves to sensuality; the hyacinth is sacred to Aphrodite, and horses ranging free (like Anakreon's Thracian filly) suggest women who are promiscuous and readily available.[48] Finally, according to this interpretation, the last four lines complete the picture, setting Herotime in public among a throng of admirers. As Serrao concludes, the fragment represents "the normal *cursus honorum* of a high-class courtesan."[49]

As opposed to other interpretations, which make the καλλιπρόσωπε παίδων of line 3 a boy, or insist that the contrast is one of simultaneous, contradictory attitudes in a lascivious girl who pretends to be "nice," Serrao's reading has the virtue of making coherent sense of the lines preserved.[50] Yet perhaps because of a

46. Serrao 1968, with the refinements added by Cavallini 1990. Serrao offers a comprehensive summary of other interpretations of the fragment to date.

47. Posited first by Gallavotti 1955.48.

48. Gentili 1958.182–90.

49. Serrao 1968.51.

50. For the former interpretation see Latte 1955.496; Merkelbach 1956.96–97; West 1994.102; for the latter, Gentili 1958.194. Gerber (1976.121) objects to Serrao's reading that all the verbs are

certain delicacy in Italian scholarship, which tends to characterize all Anakreon's female subjects as *hetairai*, this reading has not taken account of all the shifts and developments within the fragment.[51] For, while Gentili and Serrao acknowledge the contrast of the protected, enclosed space of the mother's house and the open meadows of Aphrodite, they do not recognize the abrupt and shocking shift in tone between the third and fourth stanzas of the poem (which precisely corresponds to the representational shift from *hetaira* to *pornê*). That is to say, lines 7–9 may figure a sexually available woman, but do so in lyrical and allusive terms, constructing an idyllic "other" space of sexuality (hence their similarity to the landscape of the "Thracian filly"). In contrast (marked by δέ in line 10), the last stanza locates Herotime very explicitly in the real space of the city center and culminates in the degrading refrain λεωφόρε, λεωφόρ' Ἡροτίμη. The contrast has the effect of exploding any illusions that might remain about Herotime's status and, with a surprise twist, demoting her definitively from "high-class courtesan" to common whore.[52]

It is striking that the moment of her exposure corresponds exactly to the mention of citizens (πολιητέων) and her location ἐν μέσῳ (which we might read as a brutal Anakreontic joke on the catch phrase of egalitarian ideology[53]). This collocation suggests that what Serrao terms the fragment's "malicious irony" (1968.50) is directed not simply at the hapless Herotime, but also, through her, at the public sphere of citizen activity. As in the scathing lampoon of Artemon, the public domain of the agora is depicted as obscene and debased through the location and circulation of the *pornê* within it.

On this reading, the movement and strategy of this fragment seem to be the opposite of fr. 82 Gentili (though for the same thematic point). Where the Artemon poem moves through a meticulous comic blazon of Artemon's corrupt activities in the public sphere to a final brief description of his incompetent aping of the

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present-tense, whereas we should expect a shift from past- to present-tense forms if the poem does in fact chronicle the career of a single figure over time. This criticism has some force, but given the fragmentary state of the poem, it is hard to be sure. Thus, we do not really know what "you have fearful wits" (2–3) refers to, while the rest of the fragment can be understood as a single moment viewed from three perspectives: (1) the mother, who believes Herotime is safely immured within the house; (2) the speaker who describes Herotime as a *hetaira*; and (3) the speaker who describes Herotime as a *pornê*. If my reading is correct, this movement is calculated to shock and surprise the listener.

51. Thus Gentili, Serrao, and Cavallini consistently refer to Herotime as *"etera"* rather than *pornê*, the category the ancient lexicographical tradition supports.

52. For consideration of possible contexts for such a representational shift, see Section III below. For a similar interpretation (though without the political dimension), see Gallavotti 1955.50: "Tuttavia Erotima è soltanto una ragazza, molto giovane, e con qualche esperienza, la cui resistenza ha indispettito il maturo postulante. Questo è il motivo e la tonalità dell'ode, che si colloca a mezzo fra i carmi più teneri e gli altri di più aggressiva e scoperta virulenza nel libro amoroso di Anacreonte."

53. For the civic, egalitarian significance of ἐν μέσῳ or ἐς μέσον, see Detienne 1996.89–106; Morris 1996.36–37.

lifestyle of *habrosyne*, the Herotime poem lingers over the mystified beauties of innocent girlhood and adult sensuality before gleefully exploding them with a final vision of the "much-trafficked" Herotime leaping into the midst of the *hoi polloi*. Indeed, the poem's use of Homeric echoes (much commented on by scholars) confirms this movement. As Serrao notes, lines 6–9 of the fragment echo the language and imagery of *Iliad* 15.263–68, a simile describing Hector's renewed vigor for battle:[54]

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων,
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο,
κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθώς,
ῥίμφα ἑ γοῦνα φέρει μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων·

As when some stalled horse, corn-fed at the manger, has broken his bond and run, striking his hooves over the plain, accustomed to wash in a well-flowing river, glorying in his strength—his head is held high, and his mane flows about his shoulders; and trusting in his splendor, his knees bear him lightly to the haunts and pasturage of horses.

Even if we take the application of this image to the domain of erotics as "mock-epic" or tongue-in-cheek, the echo identifies Herotime fleetingly with a Homeric hero and, by association, endows her with a certain stature. But, as has also been noted, λεωφόρος itself is a Homeric word, appearing once in an Iliadic simile:

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἵπποισι κελητίζειν ἐὺ εἰδώς,
ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ πολέων πίσυρας συναείρεται ἵππους,
σεύας ἐκ πεδίοιο μέγα προτὶ ἄστυ δίηται
λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδόν· πολέες τέ ἑ θηήσαντο
ἀνέρες ἠδὲ γυναῖκες· ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
θρῴσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, οἱ δὲ πέτονται·

(*Iliad* 15.679–84)

And as when a man skilled in riding horses, who, when he yokes together four horses from many, driving them from the plain, speeds toward a great city along a highway (lit., a people-bearing road); and many men and women marvel at him, but he keeps leaping and shifting continuously from horse to horse, and they fly along.

Gentili cites this passage to parallel the crowd of admiring citizens in lines 10–12 and to justify the reading κατῆ⟨ι⟩ξας as *variatio* for the Homeric θρῴσκων, but he does not seem to register the precise context of λαοφόρος as an epithet of ὁδός.[55] Given the allusion, Anakreon's climactic use of λεωφόρος represents a

54. Serrao 1968.44–46. The same simile is used at *Iliad* 6.506–14 for Paris entering battle.
55. Gentili 1958.191–92.

brutal and sudden demotion, as it were: in Homeric terms, Herotime has been abruptly transformed from a horse (9) or a rider (10) to a public thoroughfare.[56]

By my reading, λεωφόρος gives the game away: it registers aristocratic loathing for the commonality or universal availability of resources in the public sphere. It is significant, then, that the same implication of too-great accessibility characterizes a whole string of abusive epithets for *pornai* attributed to Anakreon by later commentators and lexicographers. Thus, in addition to λεωφόρος, the Suda offers the terms πανδοσία and μανιόκηπος, while Eustathius adds πολύυμνος to the list (frr. 163–65 Gentili = 446 PMG). μανιόκηπος signifies the mad (and therefore indiscriminate) lust of the *pornê*, since κῆπος, "garden" or "orchard" figures the female genitalia. πανδοσία and πολύυμνος share the same ironic compound structure: their second elements, "giving" and "hymning," normally positive in aristocratic terms, are negated by their first elements, which signify the universal scope of the activities. She who "gives herself to everyone" is not participating in gift exchange, but in the common traffic of the marketplace; she who is "hymned by many" incurs not praise but blame.[57]

The proliferation of references to *pornai* in the Anakreontic corpus is itself intriguing. Other scholars have recently noted the diversity of Anakreon's poetic output even in its fragmentary state. Thus both Christopher Brown and Patricia Rosenmeyer have emphasized the existence of blame poetry as another facet of Anakreon's rich poetic talent, opposing it to the light, witty sympotic verse of the traditional conception.[58] Yet I would suggest that behind this apparent diversity of forms—praise and blame, sympotic celebration and abuse—there is a coherent political agenda. While the sympotic fragments constitute an ideal world of aristocratic *habrosyne*, much of Anakreon's abuse vilifies the tenets of egalitarian ideology and the civic center that is their symbolic site. The poet is not simply lampooning contemporary individuals who have crossed his path (like Artemon and Herotime), but the non-elite "other" through these representatives. And the frequency of his abusive references to whores, I would suggest, is an index of the level of aristocratic anxiety at the emergence of the public sphere.

In a sense, the argument for the *political* significance of the ready availability of the *pornê* has already been made for a later period by David Halperin. Halperin

56. The same shocking inconcinnity is, in fact, embodied in the combination of epithet and name, λεωφόρ' Ἡροτίμη. The name Herotime, "honored by the hero" or "honor of the hero" seems very aristocratic and evocative of the noblest Homeric characters, while the epithet λεωφόρος explodes the name's aristocratic pretensions. (The significance of the name Herotime was suggested to me independently by Deborah Boedeker and Kate Gilhuly.) In modern Greek, λεωφορεῖον is the regular word for "bus"; Taillardat 1967.124, in his commentary on the ancient term, notes that in modern French such a woman is "un vrai boulevard."

57. Other possible references to *pornai* in Anakreon: fr. 124 Gentili, 439 PMG; fr. 157 Gentili, 480 PMG καταπτύστην, "execrable" (feminine; cf. Anaxilas fr. 22.6 K.-A., describing prostitutes as τοῦ καταπτύστου γένους, "of that execrable race"); and especially fr. 347 PMG, line 12 τὴν ἀρίγνωτον γυναῖκα (perhaps the second line of a new poem? see fr. 72 Gentili).

58. Brown 1983; Rosenmeyer 1992.37–49; cf. Fränkel 1973.300–301.

brilliantly analyzes what we might call the somatics of Athenian democratic ideology: the bodily integrity of the male citizen (first instituted by Solon's abolition of debt-bondage) and his "democratic right" to penetrate others. Based on these two pillars of democratic ideology, Halperin argues that we must understand as a paired structural system the heavy political sanctions against male citizen prostitution and the institution of cheap, state-subsidized brothels where *pornai* are available for all.[59] To allow oneself to be penetrated indiscriminately for pay is to feminize oneself and prove oneself unworthy of citizen rights (hence the punishment of *atimia* for a citizen male who has prostituted himself in the past and then wants to act in the public sphere). On the other hand, in Halperin's account, to be a citizen means always having a place to put your penis; thus there is a tradition that Solon himself, who first constituted citizen bodily integrity, also founded a series of state-subsidized brothels, so that any citizen, no matter how poor, could enjoy a *pornê*.[60] Few scholars would accept the ancient tradition crediting this founding act of benevolence to Solon, but, as Halperin notes, the authenticity of the tradition matters less than its existence, since it shows "that some people in classical Athens evidently considered prostitution an intrinsic constituent of democracy."[61] This position takes the association of the *pornê* with the indiscriminate availability of resources in the public sphere, which we have charted in Anakreon, and valorizes it as an index of democracy. Thus, the same discursive system has been turned on its head in the service of egalitarian ideology.

The fourth-century comic poet Philemon offers us an enthusiastic paean to Solon's wise innovation (Philemon fr. 3 K.-A.):

σὺ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὗρες ἀνθρώπους νόμον·
σὲ γὰρ λέγουσιν τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον, Σόλων,
δημοτικόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πρᾶγμα καὶ σωτήριον,
(καί μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἁρμοστόν, Σόλων)
μεστὴν ὁρῶντα τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων
τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν
ἁμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
στῆσαι πριάμενόν τοι γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους
κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.
ἑστᾶσι γυμναί, μὴ 'ξαπατηθῇς· πάνθ' ὅρα.
οὐκ εὖ σεαυτοῦ τυγχάνεις ἔχων, ἔχεις
⟨ἐρωτικῶς⟩ πως. ἡ θύρα 'στ' ἀνεῳγμένη.
εἷς ὀβολός· εἰσπήδησον. οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ εἷς
ἀκκισμός, οὐδὲ λῆρος, οὐδ' ὑφήρπασεν,

59. Halperin 1990.88–104.

60. Sources (assembled in Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 13.569d) are Philemon fr. 3 K-A (4th c. BCE) and Nikander of Kolophon 271/2 F9 Jacoby. As Halperin (1990.186n. 89) notes, these may not be independent traditions; Nikander could be cribbing from Philemon.

61. Halperin 1990.100–101; quote taken from 187n. 89. Surprisingly, Herter 1960.73 defends the Solonian provenance of Athenian brothel-foundation.

ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἦν βούλει σὺ χὤν βούλει τρόπον.
ἐξῆλθες· οἰμώζειν λέγ', ἀλλοτρία 'στί σοι.[62]

But you invented a law for all mankind; for they say that you, Solon, first envisioned a matter democratic and saving, by Zeus, (and it's appropriate for me to say this, o Solon). Seeing the city crammed with young men, and seeing them having their necessary nature and going wrong in the direction of what didn't belong to them, you set women you'd bought in [public] places, arrayed for action and common to all. They stand there naked, lest you be deceived: look everything over. Say you're not doing well, you're feeling erotic. The door's open. [Price] one obol: jump right in. There's no coyness, no nonsense, she doesn't snatch [herself] away, but straightway whichever one you want and in whatever position you want. Then out you go: tell her to go hang, she's nothing to you.

Even if this speech is tongue-in-cheek (and Kock suggested long ago that it was spoken by a pimp),[63] it parrots the catch phrases of democratic discourse: Solon's invention serves "all mankind" (1), it is "democratic" (3), and provides women who are "common to all" (9). And, the speech suggests, Solon's innovation achieves this effect of political democracy by completely disembedding the women from any social networks. Thus prostitution prevents young men from "going wrong in the direction of what doesn't belong to them" (7)—a roundabout reference to adultery with citizen wives or daughters.[64] In contrast, Solon's prostitutes are available to everyone precisely because they *belong* to no one. The last line blithely asserts, "she's nothing to you" (literally ἀλλοτρία, "she's not your property, of your household"). But if the prostitutes of this speech are constituted in opposition to citizen wives and daughters enmeshed in the networks of household and family, they are also defined in opposition to *hetairai*. In contrast to the elaborate games of ornamentation and self-presentation Xenophon's Theodote describes, these brothel-inmates are "stripped for action," completely naked. What they offer, in contrast to the seduction and romance of the *hetaira*, is demystified sex, figured, as in the case of Eurypyle, by the "open door." Instead of a connection of *charis*, they provide a physical act with a stranger (ἀλλοτρία, 16).

Indeed, in their perfect interchangeability and alienability, the prostitutes in this speech approximate the circulation of coinage in the public sphere. Like coinage, the success of the system is predicated on their symbolic sameness (one girl is much like another) and ability to circulate (once you're done with her,

62. I follow the text of Kassel-Austin, except for transposing νόμον (2) and Σόλων (1) with Kock, and reading ⟨ἐρωτικῶς⟩ πως (12) with Edmonds.

63. Kock 1880–1888, vol. 2.479 (*ad* fr. 4.4). In fact, this line seems to me to suggest rather a young citizen male who has himself enjoyed the benefits of Solon's system.

64. The contrast of the ready availability of prostitutes with the dangers of adultery is a comic topos; cf. Euboulus fr. 67 K.-A.; Xenarchus fr. 4 K.-A.

she's ἀλλοτρία).[65] Like coinage, (according to this tradition) they represent a civic intervention in the circulation of goods and services to equalize the status of all citizens. For, as coinage breaks down the aristocratic monopoly on precious metals and top-rank goods and provides a standard against which all labor can be measured, these state-subsidized prostitutes (at least in the Athenian imaginary) endow all citizens with an equal phallic power. If *hetairai* function like metals in the fantasy of the aristocratic symposium, the *pornê* circulates like money in the agora. James Davidson notes that, at the extreme of the commodifying discourse that characterizes the *pornê*, the woman is represented as bearing the name of the coin that is her wage: thus in a brothel scene on a cup by the Ambrosios Painter (late sixth century BCE), one of the inmates is labeled "Obole."[66]

It is precisely the equalizing power of the universal availability of resources that aristocratic discourse abhors, and, I have argued, allegorizes through the figure of the *pornê*. As a final piece of evidence for the elite position, I would like to juxtapose Philemon's celebration of Solon's "democratic" reform with an anonymous two-line drinking song preserved by Athenaeus (Ath. *Deip.* 15.695e = 905 PMG):

> πόρνη καὶ βαλανεὺς τωὐτὸν ἔχουσ' ἐμπεδέως ἔθος·
> ἐν ταὐτῷ πυέλῳ τόν τ' ἀγαθὸν τόν τε κακὸν λόει.
>
> The whore and the bathman have the same nature consistently; [each] washes good and bad alike in the same trough.

65. Henry 1992.261 emphasizes the commodification of the women in Philemon fr. 3 K.-A. Cf. the remarks of Simmel (1978.376–377) on the conceptual connections between money and prostitution: "Since in prostitution the relationship between the sexes is quite specifically confined to the sexual act, it is reduced to its purely generic content. It consists of what any member of the species can perform and experience. It is a relationship in which the most contrasting personalities are equal and individual differences are eliminated. Thus, the economic counterpart of this kind of relationship is money, which also, transcending all individual distinctions, stands for the species-type of economic values, the representation of which is common to all individual values. Conversely, we experience in the nature of money itself something of the essence of prostitution. The indifference as to its use, the lack of attachment to any individual because it is unrelated to any of them, the objectivity inherent in money as a mere means which excludes any emotional relationship—all this produces an ominous analogy between money and prostitution."

66. Davidson 1994.156, 163–64; on the cup (which is currently in a private collection in Munich), see Zanker 1975 (with pl. 33, no. 148) and discussion in Williams 1993.96–97 (Immerwahr 1984.11 expresses some doubt that the name should be interpreted as "Obole"). For another identification of *pornai* with money/coins, cf. Euboulos fr. 82 K.-A and see Davidson 1994.143–73.

All this suggests that Halperin's structural opposition (forbidden male citizen prostitution : subsidized female prostitution) represents only the democratic half of a four-way opposition. If we add the domain of the aristocratic symposium to his model, we get:

hetaira : *pornê*
good (sympotic) eromenos : male whore,

both of which oppositions can be figured as

metals : money (or gold : silver).

Within this system, each term can signify in opposition to any and all others, depending on the discursive needs of the context.

This couplet, perhaps itself a product of the archaic symposium,[67] functions like Anakreon's ironic compounds πανδοσία and πολύυμνος. For the first line offers what looks like anomalous praise of the whore and the bathman: in aristocratic terms, "to have the same nature consistently" is the highest desideratum.[68] The second line then springs the trap: what whore and bathman do consistently is equalize noble and base by immersing them in the same common filth. One could hardly wish for a more graphic image to express aristocratic revulsion at the indiscriminate exchanges of the public sphere.[69]

III. IDEOLOGICAL FAULTLINES

Let us return to the *hetaira* and the ideological ambiguities that surround her, considering first another domain of evidence—visual representations.[70] The iconography of Attic vase painting tends to corroborate the dating and context for the construction of the *hetaira* gleaned from the literary sources. Vases painted in the first half of the sixth century (600–550) represent sympotic scenes without any female participants; as Reinsberg notes, though *pornai* are mentioned as early as Archilochus, they do not participate in aristocratic banquets or at least are not considered worthy of representation.[71] Then slowly, starting in the mid-sixth century, individual female participants appear in scenes of symposia and *komoi* (first on black-figure, then on red-figure vases). Finally, in the last quarter of the sixth century, scenes of symposia with several *hetairai*, with the participants ranging from fully clothed to undressed, and scenes of explicit sex become popular for approximately fifty years (525–475 BCE).[72] The shapes of the vessels make it certain that these representations were painted for use at symposia: indeed, seventy-nine percent of all such images occur on drinking cups.[73] Some scholars want to attribute this phase of explicit sex scenes to a

67. See above, n. 25.

68. Cf. Theognis 315–18, 319–20, 1083–84.

69. For explicit association of baths and *pornai*, cf. Aristophanes *Clouds* 991–97, *Knights* 1397–1401. In the former, the Δίκαιος Λόγος, spokesman for the old aristocratic education, insists that a well brought up young man will shun the agora, baths, and *pornai*. In the latter, the Paphlagonian is punished by being relegated to the gates of the city, where he will "sell sausages . . ., be abused for getting drunk with *pornai*, and drink the dirty water from the baths."

70. For this entire discussion of the visual evidence, I owe thanks to Richard Neer for his insights and conversation, which helped me formulate issues and arguments.

71. Reinsberg 1989.108.

72. Brendel 1970.19–36; Sutton 1981.74–113 and 117, Table L.1; Peschel 1987; Reinsberg 1989.104–12; Stewart 1996.156–67.

73. See Sutton 1981.75 and 117, Table L.2; Sutton 1981.75 reckons that 88% of all such representations occur on vases specially designed for sympotic use (the other 12% are imaginable in that context, but not limited to it). See also Brendel (1970.30) who emphasizes the shift in venues of erotic representations from the archaic to the classical period; in the former, the bulk of such scenes occur on drinking cups; in the latter period, they shift to other types of vases and objects like mirror cases, which would have been used in private.

"popularization" of the aristocratic symposium and the spread of the custom to newly wealthy traders, as if "real" aristocrats could not have been capable of such coarse pleasures.[74] There is no internal evidence for such a shift in clientele; indeed, just the opposite, since the period of the production of these vases is almost exactly contemporary with the so-called Anakreontic vases, and in two cases both elements of representation occur on the same vessels.[75] The Anakreontic vases (so called for the figure of Anakreon labeled on three of them) represent male symposiasts reveling in extravagant Eastern garb—long, flowing robes, turbans and headbands, earrings, and even parasols.[76] These images represent the visual equivalent of the literary "cult of *habrosyne*" embraced in elitist sympotic poetry. Thus these representations flourish in the last quarter of the sixth century (when perhaps, with the rise of middling ideology and mercantile wealth, the aristocratic elite had to work most strenuously to distinguish itself), and disappear abruptly in the democratic climate of the post-Persian War period.[77] I would suggest that the explosion of representations of female participants at symposia forms part of the same phenomenon; one element of the carefully crafted lifestyle of *habrosyne* was refined sensuality, figured on the vases by the presence of accommodating female partners. As Reinsberg recognizes, we cannot necessarily conclude from the visual evidence that women only entered the world of the symposium in the last third of the sixth century—only that, at this point, they became "worthy of representation,"[78] not for themselves but for the ways in which their presence served and affirmed the ideology of *habrosyne*. It is this shift in representational practices (both literary and visual) that I have termed "the invention of the *hetaira*."

74. Reinsberg 1989.108; cf. Brendel 1970.26. Reinsberg uses as evidence the naming of the pot-painter Smikros on one such vase, but it is a mistake to "read" such moments of self-portraiture as literal fact rather than fantasy: see Robertson 1992.26, Neer forthcoming. Another scholarly strategy for avoiding the implications of these images and exculpating Greek aristocrats is to claim that these scenes were painted purely for the export market, for Etruscans who liked that sort of thing (cf. Reinsberg 1989.105–108). For a cautious rejection of taking these sex scenes as painted for the Etruscan market, see Sutton 1981.109–12; for an authoritative dismantling of the theory of production for the Etruscan market in general, see Arafat and Morgan 1994.

75. For the connection of lovemaking scenes and Anakreontic vases, see Sutton 1981.98; Stewart 1996.167. The two vessels are (1) Berlin no. 3251 by the Thalia painter, dated ca. 510 BCE (discussed below), in which several of the male participants sport *sakkos* (snood) and earrings; and (2) Athens, Vlastou-Serpieri 74 MVF, dinos frgs. by the Pan Painter, dated 470–460 BCE, in which both male participants wear earrings.

76. On these representations and their significance, see De Vries 1973; Snyder 1974; Kurtz and Boardman 1986; Frontisi and Ducroux 1990; Miller 1992.

77. See Kurke 1992.97–104.

78. Reinsberg 1989.108. Reinsberg (1989.114) nearly catches the ideological force of these images: "Auch für die Männer verkörperte das Symposion in jener Zeit einen Lebensstil, den man gern nach außen trug. Nur so kann die namentliche Bezeichnung einzelner Zecher verstanden werden. Man zeigt sich im Habitus eines Mannes von Welt, mit Lebensart, der sich einen Luxus leisten kann, der einst der Aristokratie vorbehalten war."

But the visual evidence also confirms the shifts and indeterminacy in the status of the *hetaira* I suggested for the literary sources. On the one hand, the constitution of an impermeable boundary between the symposium and the outside inspires a mystification of the *hetaira*'s standing and the identification of *hetaira* and *hetairos*. On the other hand, as if in compensation for this strange sympotic equality, other images accentuate the relations of domination between male symposiast and female attendant. Though some scholars have attempted to construct a developmental narrative out of these two classes of images, they are almost contemporary and so suggest rather the simultaneous, contradictory possibilities for the representation of the *hetaira*.[79]

The first category of image is exemplified by a kylix in Berlin, dated to ca. 510 BCE (the name-piece of the Thalia Painter; Figures 1 and 2).[80] The outside of the vessel depicts eight men (six unbearded, all with erections) and nine women, all of them naked and engaged in an orgiastic *komos*. The remains of five lampstands indicate that it is evening or night, while the cups and cooling-jars some of the participants still carry suggest the late stages of sympotic celebration. The figures range from a couple engaged in wild dance, to a *hetaira* leading a young man off by his penis, to a bearded man pursuing a running *hetaira* with an aulos-case suspended from his erect penis, to a couple standing in the far corner copulating. If we had any doubts about the status of these women, several of them are labeled with names that confirm that they are *hetairai:* [Aphr]os ("Foamy," linking her to the foam-born Aphrodite); Korone ("Crow"); Thalia ("Blooming," or "Festivity", as an adjective a traditional epithet of banquet and symposium); Smikra ("Little one" or "La petite," whose name appears on several *hetaira* scenes at the turn of the century).[81]

Several elements of iconography visually assimilate the male and female participants in the *komos*: all the women and several of the men wear earrings and elaborate snoods or headcoverings (*sakkoi*), the only difference being that the women have ponytails that emerge from the back. Because most of the men are represented as unbearded youths, their profiles are almost identical to those of the *hetairai*, except for slight shading that indicates the first growth of beard along their jaw lines. Indeed, as one scholar has noted in the case of the dancing couple, "The treatment of bodies, head, and extremities is nearly identical."[82] Furthermore, as has also been noted, the women seem to take a very active role in

79. Thus Peschel 1987.197–209 wants to trace a development toward greater intimacy and emotional connection in representations of the period 500–475 BCE, while Reinsberg 1989.114–20 suggests that an increase in scenes of sympotic violence correlates with the rise of democratic ideology after ca. 500 BCE.

80. Berlin inv. 3251; *ARV*^{2} 113, 7, *Para.*^{2} 332, *Add.*^{2} 173. On this cup, see Brendel 1970.22–25; Peschel 1987.50–55. (On all the vases discussed in this section, I have drawn much from the careful descriptions of Peschel 1987.)

81. On these and other *hetaira*-names on vases, see Peschel 1987.74–79, 183–84.

82. Peschel 1987.53: "Die Haltung von Körper, Kopf und Extremitäten sind nahezu identisch."

the sex depicted.[83] Thus at one end of the frieze, a *hetaira* leads a man off by his penis, turning to look back at him, while at the other end, the female of the copulating pair raises her leg and grasps her partner enthusiastically. Perhaps most remarkably, the woman next to this couple raises her left leg high in dance while a young man reclining in front of her seems to be about to initiate cunnilingus. If this is indeed what the vase depicts (and there is some dispute on the matter), it is the only representation of cunnilingus in all of Greek art. For the protocols of Greek culture regarded oral sex as particularly demeaning for the partner who gave it, so that, while scenes of women fellating men are fairly common, depictions of cunnilingus are almost non-existent.[84] Thus, this extraordinary frieze seems to unsettle the hierarchical relations of sex usually encountered in Greek representations: it is not at all clear who is servicing and pleasuring whom in this sympotic fantasy.

The same elements of assimilation of male and female partners and the female's taking an active role in sex are evident in the cup's tondo, which depicts the complex intertwining of four bodies in what appears to be another stage of the evening's entertainment (Figure 3). A lamp, *klinê*, several pillows, and a stool mark this as a symposium scene. A bearded man is copulating with a young woman, who has her right leg hooked over his thigh and threatens him with a sandal raised in her right hand. Behind them sits a young man, watching the activity and masturbating. The male partner of the couple gazes downward, apparently watching a young woman who lies beneath or in front of the couch, who seems also to be masturbating.[85] She supports her head with her left hand, her eyes are shut, and her right hand rests on her crotch. The composition connects the three figures on the couch, since their legs overlap and the young man stretches out his left hand behind the raised sandal in the *hetaira*'s right. All three figures face right, gazing in profile so that their heads form an arc. The female figure below is isolated by her closed eyes and the strong horizontal demarcation of the couch separating her from the other figures, but their combined gazes lead us to her supine form at the bottom of the tondo. All four figures have nearly the same elaborate hairdo, treated the same way, and it is difficult to untangle and identify the various limbs of the couple in the center.

The effect of the tondo, as Peschel notes, is to fuse the entire sympotic group into a single organism, the alternating male and female bodies united

83. Peschel 1987.51.

84. On the possibility of cunnilingus, see Brendel 1970.23; Sutton 1981.91; Peschel 1987.50–55; Kilmer 1993.71; for a different interpretation of the figures, see CVA Berlin 2, p. 14; Dover 1989.101–102; for the relative status of partners in oral sex, see Dover 1989.100–102, 182–84.

85. For the possibility that this female figure, labeled Smikra, is masturbating, see Greifenhagen 1967.25n. 82; Brendel 1970.24n. 22; Sutton 1981.92; Peschel 1987.52; Kilmer 1993.65. Other scholars insist that she is simply resting or asleep, but as Sutton observes, this interpretation does not account for the position of her right hand, nor for "the obvious interest of the man above in what she is doing."

by their intercalated limbs, their gaze, and their common sexual arousal.[86] The same can be said of the cup's outside frieze, in which the almost identical male and female bodies form a snakelike whole, moving in unison in an elaborately choreographed dance of desire. This fusion gives palpable form to the ideal of the aristocratic symposium, which unites its participants while excluding all others, and, I would contend, the sexual and iconographic identification of female and male participants serves the constitution of this ideal.

A similar identification (for a similar end) may explain a series of eight representations ranging from 520 to 480 BCE, which Peschel designates *"reine Hetärensymposia,"* "*hetaira*-only drinking parties." On these vases, one, two, or more *hetairai* are represented at symposia, aping the dress and activities of male symposiasts: they recline at the head of the couch, drink, play kottabos, and sometimes even wear their clothes in male fashion (with just himation draped over the lower body).[87] Both Peschel and Reinsberg take these representations as proof that *hetairai* had their own symposia in this period (as a way of asserting their status),[88] but these images are susceptible of another interpretation. I would suggest instead that these vessels represent fantasies painted for the gaze of male symposiasts, who enjoyed seeing their own activities mirrored in those of sexually available female "companions" (often nude or semi-nude). As evidence for male consumers of these images, I would cite a hydria attributed to Phintias now in Munich (dated to ca. 510 BCE).[89] The principal representational field of the hydria depicts a music lesson, in which a youth and a boy (labeled Euthymides and Smikythos respectively) accompanied by their paidagogos, receive instruction in the lyre from a bearded teacher. On the shoulder of the hydria, immediately above this scene, two *hetairai* are shown reclining on pillows, playing kottabos and engaged in animated conversation (the pillows and drinking cups signal the sympotic context). The two are dressed like typical male symposiasts: upper body completely bare, lower body covered by a loosely draped himation. The thinner of the two, on the left, turns to her companion and speaks as she casts the lees of her wine; lettering between the two gives us her words, "For you, beautiful

86. Peschel 1987.54–55.

87. See Peschel 1987.70–74 and 110–12 for discussion of all known examples of the type.

88. Peschel 1987.73–74; Reinsberg 1989.112–14 (see also Robertson 1992.27). Both Peschel and Reinsberg contend that the labeling of the figures in various scenes of *hetaira*-symposia proves that the vase-painters wanted to represent "real people" at "real occasions," though as Peschel herself notes, most of the *hetaira*-names preserved on vases are clearly *"redende Namen,"* given to the women to signify their profession (Peschel 1987.74–81). Cf. Csapo and Miller 1991.380 and Goldhill 1992.197 for skepticism about Reinsberg's assumption that representations of all-female symposia prove that they really happened. My reading of these vases is similar to that suggested by Csapo and Miller 1991.380: "We may freely doubt the existence of *'Hetärensymposien'* in Archaic Athens. Did hetairai really get together to drink and play kottabos? Or is this simply a humorous inversion of reality (where prostitutes play for the favors of free youths), an erotic daydream, and the painter's witty compliment to a παῖς καλός, a symposium joke for the symposium?"

89. Munich 2421; *ARV*^{2} 23, 7, *Para.*^{2} 323, *Add.*^{2} 155.

Euthymides, [I cast] this" (καλοι σοι τενδι Εὐθυμιδει).[90] The object of her desire is thus one of the participants in the music lesson in the register below. In this case, it seems, the *hetairai* on the hydria's shoulder are there to ventriloquize male desire: male symposiasts can savor the fantasy of a gathering of sexually active women sharing their longing for the beautiful Euthymides.[91] And through their shared desire, the represented *hetairai* can stand metonymically for the eroticized sphere of the elite symposium generally.

A similar effect is produced by the *hetaira*-symposium represented on a psykter (wine-cooler) in St. Petersburg, signed by Euphronios.[92] On this vessel, four entirely naked *hetairai* (each labeled and occupying a quarter of the visual field) engage in typical sympotic activities. Smikra plays kottabos, while to her right, Agape holds one skyphos and offers the other to Sekline, who plays the aulos. On Sekline's right, Palaisto holds a kylix in her left hand and a skyphos in her right, paying no attention to Smikra, who turns to tell her for whom she tosses her wine lees (lettering at her side reads "I toss this for you, Leagros"). As if to confirm the interior, sympotic setting, all four recline on mattresses and pillows, and an aulos-case hangs suspended on the wall between Agape and Sekline.

Leagros, for whom Smikra casts her wine, was the subject of frequent "kalos" inscriptions on contemporary vases, suggesting that he too is the object of male homoerotic desire triangulated through a fantasized all-female symposium.[93] But what is truly remarkable about the vessel is the representation of Palaisto, who gazes directly out at the viewer as she drinks, her face mask-like and half concealed behind her raised cup (Figure 4). For frontality is quite rare in Attic red-figure vase painting and confined to certain well-defined contexts. One such context is symposium scenes, where drinkers are sometimes represented frontally, the bottoms of their faces concealed behind the skyphos as they drink. As Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux argues, this convention transforms them into masks—like Dionysus himself, who presides over drinking—and offers a mirror held up to

90. Or, according to a slightly different reading and interpretation recently proposed by Csapo and Miller 1991.373–80, the inscription represents a dialogue between two speakers: one *hetaira* asks τοι τενδι ("For whom [shall I toss] this?"), while the second answers καλοι Εὐθυμιδει ("For beautiful Euthymides").

91. We may compare this triangulation of desire to the literary topos of praising a young man's attractiveness by imagining his effect on female spectators: cf. Pindar *Pyth.* 9.97–103, *Pyth.* 10.59 (vs. *Ol.* 10.100–105, where the gaze of homoerotic desire is expressed directly through a comparison of the boy victor to Ganymede). One difference between these two phenomena is that Pindar's choral poetry uses desiring women as a metonymy for the city as a whole (hence, they are "maidens" and their mothers), while the vase representations deploy these figures as metonymy for the sympotic group (hence, the women are *hetairai*).

92. Hermitage B 644; *ARV*^{2} 16, 15, *Para.*^{2} 509, *Add.*^{2} 153; dated to ca. 510 BCE.

93. On the homoerotic and aristocratic context of kalos inscriptions, see Robinson and Fluck 1937; Shapiro 1983, 1987. Robinson and Fluck 1937 list 45 "Leagros Kalos" inscriptions on vases; Beazley *Addenda*^{2} 396–97 adds another half-dozen instances; Boardman 1992.47–48 counts "about 80 occurrences" of the name, which he contends "were inscribed within a comparatively short period toward the end of the sixth century." (I owe these references to Richard Neer.)

the viewer who encounters the image as he himself puts the cup to his lips.[94] In these cases, the painted image is the drinker's double and counterpart, inviting complete identification with the perfect sympotic world of the cup. Palaisto's frontal gaze, behind the skyphos that masks the bottom half of her face and makes her features indistinguishable from a male symposiast's, produces the same uncanny effect: her eyes seize the viewer and draw him in, even as the dedication of the kottabos throw to the beautiful boy Leagros suggests that the vessel was intended for a male audience.[95] The psykter, or wine-cooler, would have stood in the center of the *andrôn*, where male symposiasts, reclining and engaging in the same activities as the represented *hetairai*, could contemplate the eroticized scene, both desiring and identifying with the painted participants in their luxurious pursuits.

But if these vessels (and others like them) achieve the sexual and sympotic assimilation of *hetairoi* and *hetairai*, other contemporary vases take pains to rearticulate the differences and hierarchy within the sympotic world. On one kylix by the Pedieus Painter, housed in the Louvre (dated ca. 510 BCE), repeated scenes of violence and sexual abuse of female participants contrast starkly with the jovial antics of the Thalia Painter's cup (Figures 5 and 6).[96] Like that vessel, the outer frieze of the kylix represents a continuous scene of an orgiastic *komos*, in which at least four women and eight men, all nude, participate.[97] Of the figures sufficiently preserved, all the men sport enormous erections, and, with one exception, are involved in sexual threesomes or foursomes. At one end of the frieze, a young man kneels on a cushion, holding a drinking-horn in his right hand (evidence of the symposium from which this *komos* has developed), while a *hetaira* squats on all fours in front of him, taking the head of his oversize penis in her mouth. Lines around her mouth signify the effort she must make to accommodate him, while his left arm is stretched over her back, evidently to force her should she pull away. On the other side of the handle, another *hetaira* is precariously perched on her side on a stool, with her back to the viewer. A young man on her left guides his penis into her wide-open mouth with his left hand and holds her back with his right. Another, bearded komast stoops slightly to enter her from behind, supporting her

94. Frontisi-Ducroux 1989.163 with figure 228, 1996.85–86. On the categories of figures represented frontally, cf. Korshak 1987, who notes that Eurphronios' *hetaira* is probably the earliest representation of sympotic frontality (p. 11).

95. Another element that may assimilate or identify the represented *hetairai* to male symposiasts is the figures' distinctly masculine physiognomy. Peschel (1987.71) and Robertson (1992.27) note this, apparently ascribing it to an early inability to represent female physiognomy successfully, but perhaps the physical similarity is deliberate. We might also note that three of the four *hetairai* hold two drinking cups each—are they meant to be proffering them to male viewers, inviting them into the scene?

96. Louvre G 13; *ARV*^{2} 86, α, *Add.*^{2} 170. On this vase and others like it, see Brendel 1970.27–30; Keuls 1985.180–86; Peschel 1987.57–70; Reinsberg 1989.117–20; Stewart 1996.165.

97. The vase is broken, so that there may be other figures whose activities cannot be made out. Peschel 1987.64–65 suggests that there is yet another pair of figures copulating in the damaged space next to one of the handles.

right leg on his shoulder, with his left hand in the small of her back. With his right hand, he holds a sandal extended over her torso, with which to threaten her. Like the first *hetaira*, lines around her mouth underscore the size of the penis she is fellating, while lines drawn on her neck suggest the uncomfortable twist of her body. She appears to be using her right arm to steady herself on the stool, while her left hangs limp and useless in front of the young man's legs. To the right of this group, another young man bends over a *hetaira* kneeling on all fours in front of him and forces his penis into her mouth (his left arm encircles her head to prevent any resistance). Though the vessel is broken at this point, the remains of two feet behind hers, pointing in the same direction, and a right hand stretched over her back make clear that another komast takes advantage of her position to enter her from behind. Finally, on the other side of the handle from this group, a *hetaira* squats and offers herself obediently for a komast to enter from behind. Here again, the vase is broken, but her partner's lower leg is preserved behind her. In addition, there are remains of a bearded man striding behind her right to left, apparently with his right arm raised. Peschel suggests that he, like the other bearded komast, wields a sandal to threaten or excite the copulating pair in front of him.[98] Another young man behind him strides toward the pair, apparently to provide more light, since he holds a lamp stretched out in his right hand (he has just removed it from a lampstand still clutched in his left hand). He, too, sports a huge erection and seems eager to join in the activity.[99]

As Peschel notes, everything in this vase serves to differentiate the male and female participants. The women are perforce objectified and passive in the sexual acts represented, while the men dominate and direct these activities (thus Peschel takes as emblematic the limp and useless left hand of the *hetaira* balanced on a stool). Furthermore, the men's heads consistently occupy the upper register of the visual field (even when they are stooping or kneeling); in contrast, all the women are portrayed in animal-like postures, squatting or on all fours, their heads well below those of their male partners. Finally, the painter has carefully differentiated the physiognomy of the male and female figures: all the male komasts have slim, elegant physiques, while the females have large, sagging bodies, in which the contours of breasts and buttocks are grotesquely exaggerated.[100] The result of these systematic contrasts is to unite the male komasts through the humiliation and objectification of the women. Here again, as Peschel notes, the threesome with the *hetaira* on a stool produces effects emblematic of those of the frieze as a

98. Peschel 1987.63.

99. Richard Neer suggests to me that this youth's approach with a lamp may have a more sinister purpose, since lamps were used for depilation (cf. Aristophanes *Lys.* 823–28, *Thesmo.* 238–48, *Eccl.* 13–14; Attic cup in the manner of Onesimos [*ARV*^{2} 331, 20] and see discussion in Kilmer 1982).

100. Peschel 1987.62–66; cf. Reinsberg 1989.117–18. Brendel 1970.27 optimistically suggests that this vase "is intended as a vehicle of social criticism," but Sutton (1981.107–108) and Peschel (1987.387n. 144) rightly dissent from this position.

whole: the two males form a unit, connected by the gaze of the bearded komast at his youthful counterpart, and by their hands just touching on the woman's back. The male sympotic group fuses around and through the violence done to the purely instrumental female subordinates.[101]

And yet, even here, hidden within the scenes of violent sexual domination that decorate the cup's exterior frieze, its tondo offers a remarkable image of sympotic companionability (Figure 7). The circle of the tondo frames two figures: in front a woman, elaborately dressed in a chiton and playing a large lyre, supporting it with her left hand and holding the plektron or pick in her right; behind her, a young man naked except for a himation draped over his shoulders and short boots (*kothornoi*?), with his right arm encircling the lyre player and his left hand extended out behind her, holding a kylix and supported by a walking stick. The female figure is drawn entirely in profile, while the young man behind her pivots—his right leg (the only one shown) is in profile, but his shoulders and head are presented frontally. As a result, his body surrounds and frames hers, and their faces seem to merge. Her mouth and his form one continuous line, their chins and noses touch, their hairlines meet, and their eyes are drawn identically. But for a slight asymmetry caused by the tilt of his head behind hers, their features form a single face. The drawing of their bodies effects the same merging of figures: the flat elaboration of drapery makes it hard to untangle her form from his, and there is a confusion of arms and hands. It almost appears to be the *woman*'s left arm that extends with kylix and walking stick, except for the hand that peeks through and supports the strings of the lyre. The walking stick itself, that phallic object *par excellence*, is not actually held by the hand that supports the cup; it seems instead to hover strangely behind, properly attached to neither figure. All these visual details conjure a moment of perfect sympathy and identification between *hetairos* and *hetaira*. I have been describing two different classes of vases that represent the contradictory constructions of the *hetaira*, but in fact, the Pedieus Painter's cup captures in a single object the oscillation between identification and difference, companionability and humiliation. Both are available to the viewer in the dialectic of tondo and outer frieze: the drinker, draining his cup, could savor a private moment of idyllic refinement and sympathy, or flip the cup over for graphic scenes of group sex and sympotic domination.

On occasion, we can catch this same sudden shift from idealizing mystification of the *hetaira* to violence or abuse preserved in the literary remains. Thus in a fragment of Anakreon quoted by Athenaeus because of the unusual term for a

101. Cf. Peschel 1987.63–64; Reinsberg 1989.117–18; Stewart 1996.163–65 on the "homosocial male bonding" achieved by these scenes. Stewart, following Reinsberg, attributes these scenes of explicit violence in sympotic settings to the pressure of democratic ideology to figure as clearly as possible the phallic power of the male citizen participant. But this interpretation collapses the opposition of symposium and public sphere and fails to account for the temporal and iconographic links with the Anakreontic vases and the abrupt disappearance of both types around 480–475 BCE.

drinking cup the poet uses, we serendipitously catch a flash of sympotic abuse (fr. 48 Gentili = 427 PMG):[102]

μηδ' ὥστε κῦμα πόντιον
λάλαζε τῇ πολυκρότῃ
σὺν Γαστροδώρῃ καταχύδην
πίνουσα τὴν ἐπίστιον.

Do not babble like the swell of the sea, drinking your cup down greedily together with noisy Gastrodore.

The speaker prescribes correct sympotic behavior to the addressee, holding up Gastrodore as a negative exemplar.[103] The use of the feminine participle πίνουσα makes clear that the addressee is a woman participating in the symposium (and therefore almost certainly, like Gastrodore herself, a *hetaira*). The speaker singles out two features of bad sympotic behavior—endless chatter (λάλαζε) and the greedy gulping of wine (καταχύδην πίνουσα)—and identifies them with the benighted Gastrodore.

To understand what is at stake in these prescriptions, we need to set Anakreon's brief fragment against later literary sources that contextualize somewhat more the discourse of the *hetaira*'s proper behavior at banquet and symposium. Thus, Athenaeus tells us at one point, "Euboulos in *The Hunchback* introduces a decorous *hetaira* (κοσμίαν ἑταίραν) by saying,"

ὡς δ' ἐδείπνει κοσμίως,
οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄλλαι τῶν πράσων ποιούμεναι
τολύπας ἔσαττον τὰς γνάθους καὶ τῶν κρεῶν
ἀπέβρυκον αἰσχρῶς, ἀλλ' ἑκάστου μικρὸν ἂν
ἀπεγεύεθ' ὥσπερ παρθένος Μιλησία.
(Athenaeus, *Deip.* 13.571f-572a = Euboulos fr. 41 K.-A.)

How decorously she used to dine, not just like those other women who, making balls of leeks, were stuffing their jaws with them and were shamefully gobbling down meats, but she would just taste a little from each dish like a Milesian maid.

Nearly half a millennium later, Lucian puts a similar description into the mouth of a mother advising her daughter on how to become a classy *hetaira*, citing the example of another successful young woman:

102. Text after Gentili, who reads Γαστροδώρῃ for Γαστροδώρῳ in line 3.

103. For the topos of advice on sympotic behavior, which is extremely common in archaic poetry, cf. Alkaios frr. 50, 58, 332, 335, 338, 346, 347a, 352, 369, 376, 401 V, Anakreon frr. 356, 383, 396, 410, 412 PMG, Theognis 211–12, 413–14, 473–510, 627–28, 837–44, 873–84, 989–90, 1039–42, 1047–48, Xenophanes fr. 1 DK. As Kate Gilhuly points out to me, though prescriptions to *hetairoi* on how to *drink* are frequent, only women are advised how to *eat*. This association of the woman with the *gastêr* is inevitably demeaning (cf. Just 1989.163–64, 185–86).

ΚΡΟΒΥΛΗ· τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατακοσμοῦσα ἑαυτὴν εὐπρεπῶς καὶ εὐσταλὴς οὖσα καὶ φαιδρὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἄχρι τοῦ καγχαρίζειν ῥᾳδίως καθάπερ σὺ εἴωθας, ἀλλὰ μειδιῶσα ἡδὺ καὶ ἐπαγωγόν, εἶτα προσομιλοῦσα δεξιῶς καὶ μήτε φενακίζουσα, εἴ τις προσέλθοι ἢ προπέμψειε, μήτε αὐτὴ ἐπιλαμβανομένη τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἢν δέ ποτε καὶ ἀπέλθῃ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον λαβοῦσα μίσθωμα, οὔτε μεθύσκεται—καταγέλαστον γὰρ καὶ μισοῦσιν οἱ ἄνδρες τὰς τοιαύτας—οὔτε ὑπερεμφορεῖται τοῦ ὄψου ἀπειροκάλως, ἀλλὰ προσάπτεται μὲν ἄκροις τοῖς δακτύλοις, σιωπῇ δὲ τὰς ἐνθέσεις οὐκ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας παραβύεται τὰς γνάθους, πίνει δὲ ἡρέμα, οὐ χανδόν, ἀλλ' ἀναπαυομένη.

ΚΟΡΙΝΝΑ· Κἂν εἰ διψῶσα, ὦ μῆτερ, τύχῃ;

ΚΡ· Τότε μάλιστα, ὦ Κόριννα. καὶ οὔτε πλέον τοῦ δέοντος φθέγγεται οὔτε ἀποσκώπτει ἕς τινα τῶν παρόντων, ἐς μόνον δὲ τὸν μισθωσάμενον βλέπει· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι φιλοῦσιν αὐτήν. καὶ ἐπειδὰν κοιμᾶσθαι δέῃ, ἀσελγὲς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀμελὲς ἐκείνη ἄν τι ἐργάσαιτο, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἅπαντος ἓν τοῦτο θηρᾶται, ὡς ὑπαγάγοιτο καὶ ἐραστὴν ποιήσειεν ἐκεῖνον· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῆς ἅπαντες ἐπαινοῦσιν.

(Lucian, *Dialogues of Courtesans* 6.294)

Krobyle: In the first place, she adorns herself attractively and she's neat and beaming toward all the men, not to the point of laughing out loud easily, as you tend to, but smiling sweetly and attractively. Next, she's clever company and never cheats a visitor or an escort, and never throws herself at the men. And if ever she gets a wage for going to dinner, she doesn't get drunk—for that's ludicrous and men hate women like that—nor does she vulgarly stuff herself with dainties, but she picks at [the food] with her fingertips, [eating] in silence, and she doesn't stuff mouthfuls into both cheeks, and she drinks quietly, not greedily gulping, but taking breaks.

Korinna: Even if she happens to be thirsty, Mother?

Kr: Especially then, o Korinna. And she never speaks more than necessary, nor makes fun of any of the men present, and she has eyes only for the one who's hired her. And on account of this the men love her. And when it's time to bed down, she would never do anything loose or sloppy, but from everything she hunts this one thing, how she might lead him on and make that man her lover. And these are the things all men praise in her.

This coincidence of passages suggests that ironic commentary on the *hetaira*'s eating and drinking habits was a literary topos (perhaps of Old and Middle Comedy) and that the Atticizing Lucian drew on this tradition for his mock-*hypothekai* of mother to daughter.

In both cases, the prescription for the decorous behavior of a *hetaira* entails presenting herself as the perfect mirror of the *kalos kagathos* who is her client, and, by her daintiness and delicacy, providing the simulacrum of a well-bred

young lady (ὥσπερ παρθένος Μιλησία). Lucian in particular reveals that this mirroring of *kalokagathia* requires the denial on the part of the woman of all appetite or excess: she must dress neatly, smile but not laugh out loud, eat and drink daintily (even when she is thirsty), and not talk too much. Finally, in bed she must do nothing loose (ἀσελγές) or sloppy (ἀμελές)—that is, the woman must be nothing more than an attractive surface onto which the man can project his own desires without interference.[104]

In all three cases, the activities that are censured are those that shatter the mirror, as it were, by underscoring the *hetaira*'s difference, both of gender and of class. Thus both Euboulos and Lucian explicitly label the excessive consumption of food as low-class (Euboulos αἰσχρῶς; Lucian ἀπειροκάλως), while both strongly advise against behaviors that were for the Greeks stereotypically "feminine"—gluttony, bibulousness, and licentiousness.[105] Anakreon's four-line fragment, I would suggest, censures the same articulations of difference, for gulping down wine is proof of coarse origins, while the empty babble signified by λαλάζω is particularly associated with the female.[106] The fragment, by exposing Gastrodore's difference, ostracizes her from the sympotic group, and, in the process of representation, brands her by its rhetoric as a *pornê*. As several scholars have noted, "Gastrodore" is a joke name ("Gift of the belly" or "Piggy") that replicates on a stylistic level her déclassé activities (we might compare this sobriquet to the visual representation of the grotesquely enlarged bodies of *hetairai* by the Pedieus Painter).[107] But what assimilates Gastrodore even more emphatically to the representation of the *pornê* is her epithet πολυκρότη, which I rendered above as "noisy." For, as Christopher Brown notes, "it seems more pointed to understand [the epithet] as meaning 'much-pounded' and referring to Gastrodore's promiscuity."[108] On this interpretation, the coarse adjective πολυκρότη takes us back to the domain of the *pornê* in Anakreon's abuse, recalling terms like πολύυμνος, πανδοσία, and λεωφόρος.

This is not to say that we must imagine some real occasion on which a hapless *hetaira* misbehaved and thereby called down the wrath of the sympotic poet (though this may have happened); rather the intrinsic indeterminacy of the category makes the *hetaira* available for various kinds of affirmation of the

104. I owe this interpretation of Lucian to an unpublished paper by Kate Gilhuly. Cf. Socrates' admonitions to Theodote on correct behavior with her *philoi* (Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.10–11, 14). For a parallel reading of the construction of the ideal wife in Xenophon's *Oikonomikos*, see Murnahan 1988.

105. See the discussions of Dover 1974.100–102 and Just 1989.157–64, 184–93, both with ample citation of ancient sources. See also Henry 1992.258–59 for the association of women with immoderate consumption of food and drink.

106. On λαλάζω, see Carson 1994 and cf. Anaxilas fr. 22.23 K.-A., Horace Odes 1.22.10.

107. Wilamowitz 1913.155n. 1; Brown 1983.3. Wilamowitz even suggests that the victim's real name is Metrodore, which occurs frequently in inscriptions from Ionia.

108. Brown 1983.3; for the obscene sense of κροτέω (like English "bang") cf. Henderson 1991.171n. 88.

sympotic group. She can serve as its mirror, supporting the games of privilege and desire, or as its other, uniting the group by her instrumentality or exclusion. Thus, in this instance, the real impetus behind these prescriptions of proper behavior is less how women conduct themselves than how the true nobility of the male sympotic group shines through by contrast.

In another instance, a different kind of violation of the norm provokes a vertiginous discursive shift from *hetaira* to *pornê*. Near the end of the first book of the Theognidea, we find these strange lines:

μή μ' ἀφελῶς παίζουσα φίλους δένναζε τοκῆας,
Ἄργυρι· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἔπι,
ἡμῖν δ' ἄλλα μέν ἐστι, γύναι, κακὰ πόλλ', ἐπεὶ ἐκ γῆς
φεύγομεν, ἀργαλέη δ' οὐκ ἔπι δουλοσύνη,
οὔθ' ἡμᾶς περνᾶσι· πόλις γε μέν ἐστι καὶ ἡμῖν
καλή, Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ.

(Thgn. 1211–16)[109]

Do not, playing bluntly, abuse my dear parents, Arguris; for upon you is the day of slavery, but for me, although there are many other evils, o woman, since we are in exile from our land, nonetheless grievous slavery is not upon us, nor do they sell us. And there is also for us, at any rate, a beautiful city, resting on the Lethaean Plain.

These verses, especially the final couplet, have provoked an enormous amount of scholarly controversy. Some scholars understand the speaker's final riddle to refer to a city in mainland Greece or Ionia, others interpret it as a cryptic reference to the underworld, spoken by a dead man.[110] There is also dispute about the identity of the addressee: one critic takes the poem as a funerary epigram, addressed by a dead man to his widow, Arguris; another understands "arguris" as a type of silver bowl, and the whole poem as the imagined exchange between two funerary monuments.[111] But, as van Groningen notes, these fanciful interpretations have very little support in the text, and none of them accounts for the emphatic references to slavery.

I follow van Groningen in taking these lines instead as an imagined moment of sympotic confrontation, in which the speaker lashes out at a *hetaira* who has presumed to mock his parentage.[112] In doing so, she has in a sense assimilated *hetairos* to *hetaira* too much (or in the wrong direction), attempting to make them equivalents on her level. This is also to disrupt the perfect, unobtrusive

109. I follow van Groningen (1966) and West (1992) for the division of poems, but van Groningen and Young (1971) for the reading Ἄργυρι (vs. West's Ἀργυρί).

110. Young 1971 (app. crit. *ad loc.*) takes the city to be Magnesia; Harrison 1902.277, Carrière 1948.133–34, McKay 1961a, and Nagy 1985.77 understand the "Lethaean Plain" to signify the underworld.

111. For the former interpretation, see Carrière 1948.133–34; for the latter, McKay 1961a, 1961b.

112. van Groningen 1966.438–39.

mirroring the *hetaira* should provide: recall that Lucian's mother-to-daughter advice includes a prohibition against "making fun of any of the men present" (οὔτε ἀποσκώπτει ἔς τινα τῶν παρόντων). The woman's attempt at appropriation combines with the male symposiast's own uncertain position (he is an exile, after all) to produce a violent negative reaction. As in Anakreon's Gastrodore fragment and the Pedieus Painter's cup, the differences in status must be fiercely rearticulated. Thus the speaker reminds Arguris in no uncertain terms that she is a woman (γύναι) and a slave, stripping away the mystifications of status that usually surround the *hetaira*. To do so is to transform her discursively into a *pornê*, as the emphatic use of the verb περνᾶσι indicates. The verb occurs only here in Theognis: suddenly, the buying and selling of the agora erupt into the pristine space of the symposium. In context, it is surely no accident that the object of this vilification bears the name Arguris, "Silvery." As we have seen, Chrysis ("Goldie") is a common *hetaira*-name (at least from the fourth century on),[113] bespeaking the aristocratic values the *hetaira* should properly reflect, but "Arguris" is attested nowhere else. Here the name signifies in two registers at once: within the sympotic language of metals, it encodes its bearer's hybris and presumption against the aristocratic "gold standard," while in the idiom of the agora, it evokes the image of money (*argurion*) and so confirms the woman's identification as a *pornê*.[114]

It is this radical rearticulation of distinctions, I suggest, that accounts for the speaker's final enigmatic lines. Whatever we take to be their reference, we can make sense of the *impulse* to riddle within the poem's logical economy. For speaking and understanding riddles distinguishes the sympotic *agathoi* or *sunetoi* from all others, in particular from the "simple, blunt playing" (ἁφελῶς παίζουσα) of the slave Arguris.[115] In addition, the riddle's content serves to remystify the

113. Cf. Timokles fr. 27 K.-A.; Menander *Samia*; Lucian *Dialogues of Courtesans* 8; Schneider 1913. coll. 1363–64 and see discussion above.

114. Cf. Figueira 1985.152: "Aithon [the name the speaker gives himself at Thgn. 1209] upholds his position against Arguris, who has experienced slavery, while the speaker, for all his other troubles, has not. Her name is an adaptation of the word for silver, *arguros*. The name is unattested otherwise, but compare Khrusis, the name of a courtesan (Lucian *Courtesan Dialogues* 299–301). Can Arguris be a generic figure who embodies the capacity for enslaving or for confounding social distinctions inherent in money?"

115. Cf. Nagy 1979.222–52; 1985.22–30; 1990.147–50 on *ainos* and the *sunetoi*, and for Theognis' articulation of this position, cf. Thgn. 681–82. Mark Griffith suggests to me that there might also be a pun on παίζουσα and παῖς meaning "slave," so that παίζουσα signifies essentially "slave talk" in contrast to the riddling discourse of the sympotic *sunetoi*. In this context, we might note that the category of the *pais* (as eromenos) shares some of the ideological ambiguities of the *hetaira*. Thus, in most cases in the Theognidea, the *pais* is the object of the speaker's erotic interest, affection, and paternalistic advice, but, on occasion, the boy's bad behavior precipitates an articulation of his unequal status. Notice in particular the way in which Theognis concludes his famous reproach to Kyrnos at 237–54: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγης παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς, / ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ' ἀπατᾷς (Thgn. 253–54, "But I don't happen upon [even] a little respect from you, but you deceive me with words just as if I were a little boy."). These lines unnervingly reveal the vulnerability of the *pais* and the asymmetrical relation that exists between

symposiast's status, endowing him with an idealized homeland physically and conceptually inaccessible to his base interlocutor. Indeed, given the rhetorical effect of the riddle, we might go a step further and understand the "city on the Lethaean Plain" as a kenning for the symposium itself, playing on the usual association of wine and song with forgetfulness (λησμοσύνη.)[116] In support of this interpretation, it might be suggested that κεκλιμένη in line 1216 is also a sympotic image: the city "reclines" on the Plain of Forgetfulness like a banqueter on his couch. Thus, having located Arguris squarely in the domain of the agora, the speaker constitutes his "homeland" as an inviolable sympotic paradise. The absolute distinction between them is reinforced by a final bit of wordplay: while the speaker enjoys the embrace of sympotic forgetfulness (λήθη), he consigns Arguris to "grievous slavery," transmuting her name by a pun from Arguris to ἀργαλέη.[117]

Thus, while the literary and artistic remains of archaic and classical Greece may provide us very little "real data" about the lives and situations of "real women," the discourses of prostitution function as a lens through which we can bring into focus certain political and ideological conflicts, as well as the faultlines within those ideological formations. The opposition of *hetaira* and *pornê* seems to function within a complex network of economic, social, and political differentiation of middling and elitist traditions, whereby the aristocratic symposium invents the *hetaira* to shield itself from the public sphere, which it figures and traduces through the obscenity of the *pornê*. Egalitarian discourse, in contrast (at least by the fourth century) can embrace precisely what the aristocratic texts revile, celebrating the universal availability of *pornai* as an emblem and badge of democracy.[118] Yet even within the elitist construction, the representational category of the *hetaira* seems to involve its makers in an ideological double bind. Her sexual role at the symposium depends on difference and pulls against her complete assimilation to the male symposiasts. And if the category is created originally to constitute a pristine sympotic space, the pressures

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erastes and eromenos. We might imagine that complications could arise from the tension between the erotic mystification of the boy's position and his unequal or uncertain status in the sympotic world of men. On the ideologically precarious position of the boy, see Foucault 1985.187–214; Dover 1989.39–109; on pederasty and the symposium, see Lewis 1985; Bremmer 1990.

116. This solution to the riddle was suggested to me by Mark Griffith; for the association of wine and/or song with forgetfulness, cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 55, 102; Alkaios fr. 70.9–10 V; Euripides *Bacchae* 279–85.

117. For another literary text that enacts the same abrupt discursive shift from *hetaira* to *pornê* to ward off the anxieties of male symposiasts, see Pindar fr. 122 SM (with discussion in Kurke 1996).

118. I am referring here to the strand of democratic discourse represented by Philemon fr. 3 K.-A.; this is not to deny that there are other inflections of the system available within democratic ideology. Thus, for example, the pseudo-Demosthenic *Against Neaira* ([Dem.] 59) takes a different tack, systematically opposing the sacralized public space identified with the Basilinna to the foreign corruption of *hetaira* and *pornê* as interchangeable terms. We might see this system as an adaptation of the aristocratic model to democratic ends.

and anxieties of the male participants occasionally refashion her as a *pornê*, with all the disembedded economics attendant on that category. Of necessity, then, the trafficking of the agora infiltrates the symposium, as the celebrants struggle desperately to distinguish themselves from the women they have introduced, now become bearers of difference.

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Figure **1.** Antikensammlung, inv. no. 3251. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Thalia Painter, ca. 510 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

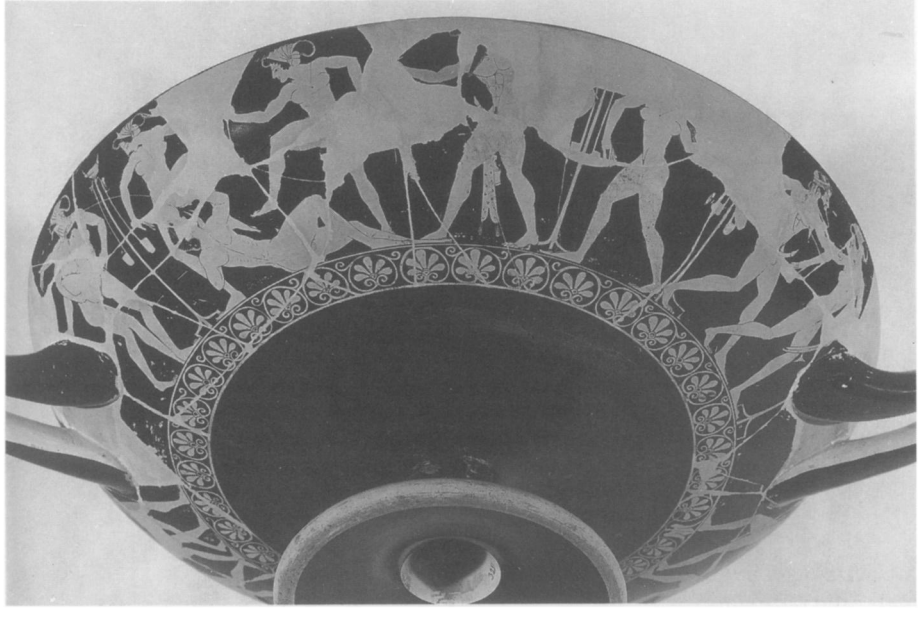


Figure **2.** Reverse of Figure 1. Photo courtesy of Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Figure **3.** Tondo of Figure 1. Photo courtesy of Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz

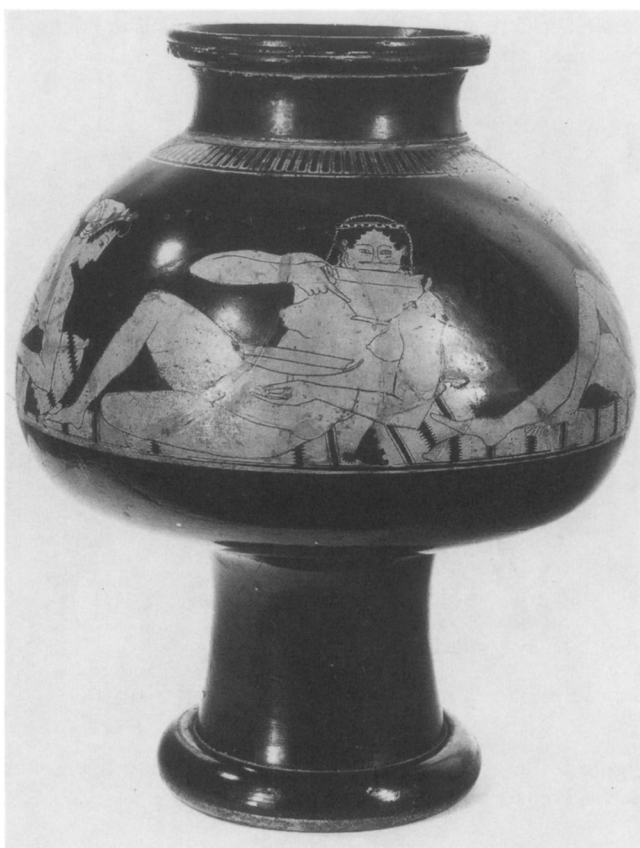


Figure **4.** Hermitage, inv. no. 6.1650. Attic red-figure psykter painted by Euphronios, ca. 510 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of the Hermitage Museum



Figure **5.** Louvre, inv. no. G 13. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Pedieus Painter, ca. 510 B.C.E. Photo by M. Chuzeville, courtesy of the Louvre.



Figure **6.** Reverse of Figure 5. Photo by M. Chuzeville, courtesy of the Louvre.



Figure 7. Tondo of Figure 5. Photo by M. Chuzeville, courtesy of the Louvre.



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SAPPHO, HERODOTUS, AND THE *HETAIRA*

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THIS STUDY BEGAN with a dot—or rather, two dots. The first is the editorial dot printed by Lobel and subsequent editors under the first omega of Sappho fragment 15b.11 L-P, V (= *P Oxy.* 1231 frag. 1.i.11), as supplemented by Wilamowitz:

Δ]ῳρίχα τὸ δεύ[τ]ερον, ὡς πόθε[ννον

That dot leads to the second, for what is visible on the papyrus before the rho is merely a dot of ink, and it is not compatible with an omega.[1] The printed text depends entirely on a story about Sappho and her brother Charaxus. According to ancient reports, Charaxus went to Egypt as a wine merchant, became enamored there of a slave-prostitute named Rhodopis, and lavished sums on her; at the least he bought her her liberty. Upon his return to Mytilene, Sappho, calling the woman not Rhodopis but Doricha, composed a poem or poems attacking him, or perhaps both him and her, on account of this expenditure. With Δ]ῳρίχα, fragment 15b could be interpreted as part of Sappho's invective.

The discrepancy between the printed text and the papyrus led me to reexamine our understanding of the evidence for the story. It first occurs in a digression in Book 2 of Herodotus (without the name Doricha) and it recurs with additions (including the name) and variations in Strabo, Athenaeus, Ovid[?], and other late sources; an epigram of Posidippus also refers to it. I have concluded that all the evidence that bears on the story will not help restore this or any other fragment of Sappho and does not point to the existence of any such narrative or rebuke in poems known or lost to us. For from Herodotus' tale of the *hetaira* Rhodopis, interpreted in the context of his narrative, and from the hints in the later sources, what we can reconstruct is not a poem of Sappho's but a stage in the fifth-century reception of Sappho and her poetry, one most likely represented in the work of Cratinus or of another of Herodotus' comic contemporaries.

1. The dot of ink is easily visible in the photograph (pl. 6) in Williamson 1995 and in *P Oxy.* vol. 10, pl. 2; I am grateful to Dr. Dirk Obbink, Lecturer in Papyrology at Oxford, for assisting me in examining the original in the Bodleian Library, where he confirmed my reading of the papyrus. The *editio princeps* printed Δω]ρίχα, ignoring the dot; Lobel (1925) printed the omega outside the bracket. I will discuss the text in more detail in section 6.

I will refer to the texts and apparatuses in the editions of Sappho by Voigt (1971), Lobel and Page (1963), and Campbell ([1982]1990) by the editors' names or initials. "Sa." = "Sappho" in abbreviations.

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1. COMPILING THE EVIDENCE

The references to this story are presented as testimonia in the modern editions of Sappho, but shorn of the original contexts that would allow us to judge their significance. Although slight differences in the presentations in recent editions hint at difficulties in interpreting them,[2] these all reflect the assumptions, which Denys Page states explicitly in his commentary, that we can see Sappho's text through the transparent filter of the later authors, who would have read in the poems the biographical information they report: "that Herodotus *(with Sappho's poems in front of him)* confused two different persons, seems to me as devoid of likelihood as of confirmation" and "the extravagance of the liaison . . . aroused her fury. [note:] *The tradition is uniform* on this point, and *there is little room for doubt that the common source was Sappho's text*" [my emphases].[3]

These assumptions are problematic. Recent studies have given us more insight into how both ancient biographical inferences and modern preconceptions have influenced our reading and reconstructions of the texts. The link between the story and the text could be discussed in the light of these as an episode of modern reception; the starting point could be Wilamowitz' Δωρίχα as a typical instance of his expectation that he would find proper names.[4] But the problem is complicated by the authority of Herodotus and the apparent confirmations of his narrative in Strabo and Athenaeus. These have conferred on the story the status of a given, and exempted it from review.[5] Yet in the last few decades discussions of Herodotus have come to examine (in the light of modern criticism generally) the structure and func-

2. In L-P we need to look at Sappho frag. 202, which puts it among the evidence for Sappho's poetry. But Voigt, who adheres to the enumeration of L-P, vacates position 202 (without comment) and presents the relevant testimonia as frag. 254a–g, among the evidence for the poet's life that had not been included in L-P. Campbell ([1982]1990) retains the number 202, but includes additional material among the "Testimonia" that he places before the fragments, with new numbers; this procedure has the odd result, in one case, of separating into two parts a continuous passage from Athenaeus. The fullest citations and least analytic collection of material are in Gallavotti (1962, vol 1, esp. Test. 13–15, 29, 71); I will cite sources not included in 202 L-P = 254 V by Campbell T and Voigt numbers. No editor of Sappho includes the alternate stories about Rhodopis that I will discuss.

3. [1955] 1965, p. 49, n. 1, p. 51 with n. 1; Page supplies here, in his discussion of frags. 5 and 15, a much fuller version of the passage from Herodotus, but not of the later tradition. His discussion is primarily a polemic against interpretations that cite Sappho's disapproval of her brother's behavior as evidence of her good character (he names only Weir Smyth [p. 50, n. 3], but the original is in Wilamowitz 1913, 73).

4. Cf. Ἄγαλλι in frag. 16 (Nicosia 1976, p. 130, n. 23). I will not rework that approach here, but I do rely on the studies that have been devoted to reading Sappho, and to understanding the context in which she composed poetry, without adopting biographical hypotheses or any of the tendentious assumptions that mark her modern reception. Critical overviews of the biographical traditions, followed by attempts to confront the texts or particular problems without their influence, can be found in Williamson 1995, esp. her first chapter, and Most 1996; the polemical treatment by Parker 1996, which is directed especially at modern constructions of Sappho's social circumstances, has full bibliographic notes; duBois 1995 emphasizes the importance of confronting the texts without familiarizing biographical expectations. For bibliography on the reception, see Most, Parker, and the other essays in Greene 1996, and add Prins 1999. On ancient biography, see below, and n. 30.

5. The restoration of Sa. 15.11 is now so completely taken for granted that the fragment itself has come to be regarded as proof of the story on which it depends. Thus Lloyd's claim, "Sappho's F.5 and 15b both speak of her brother's indiscretions, F.15b naming the woman as Doricha" (1975–88, 3:86), overlooks the fact that even if we extend the greatest credulity, frag. 15b contains no reference to indiscretions and is only connected to Charaxus by the mention of the restored name. Denys Page, in his rebuttal to Wilamowitz'

tion of his narrative, his stated or implied purpose, his assertions of authority, his modes of reporting, and his cultural context, greatly widening the simple controversy, begun in antiquity, over his reliability. These discussions suggest that it is worth asking what the story is doing in his history before we take it at face value.[6]

And it is even more open to question whether Strabo, Athenaeus, and the later sources are independent guides to what was in the poems. Each could have known a text of Sappho, but each was also a link in a chain of ancient scholarship and could have had in front of himself the text of Herodotus or various types of prior, post-classical scholarship, including peripatetic and Hellenistic biography, and have been repeating information from them. The work of, especially, Lefkowitz (1981) and Arrighetti (1987) has shown that "no one from the late fifth century onward expected what we call 'biography' to be historical in our sense of the word history, but that rather the work and the man defined and represented each other" (Lefkowitz 1991, 125), and in consequence the biographical tradition was rich in tendentious inferences and unconcerned with evaluating sources.[7] To use the Hellenistic testimonia, we need to consider what indications they give of their origin.

To reassess the evidence I will first examine the testimonia in their contexts. In the case of Herodotus, the information about Charaxus is just one

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estimation of Sappho, provided the most detailed, and most widely cited, account of the correlations between the fragment and the story ([1955] 1965, 48–51). Part of the tradition is cited as reliable information in *OCD*[3], s.v. "Naucratis" (with an erroneous reference to Sappho) and the story is credited by historians of varying interests (Murray 1993, 231; Boardman 1980, 132; Reinsberg 1993, 170), and even by two recent literary critics explicitly wary of biographical data, duBois (1995, 181–82) and Williamson: "The number of allusions to this story suggest that it had some basis. . . . and it is plausible that her main anxiety should have been for her family's name and fortune" (1995, 139).

6. The issues involved are represented in the papers and responses in Boedeker 1987b and are discussed especially in Dewald's and Marincola's bibliographic essay there (pp. 9–40); Moles (1993, 88–92, 114–21) gives a balanced account of the contemporary debate within his own argument; see also Thomas 1996. Different conclusions involve different claims about the thematic significance of the narratives. I rely here on a consensus that Herodotus' presentation of himself and his stories deserves careful attention. Thus, at one extreme, Fehling (1989) has called the veracity of almost every statement Herodotus makes into doubt and urged more attention to Herodotus' novelistic techniques, but Lateiner (1991), too, who argues on behalf of Herodotus as a historian, proposes that we pay attention to the nuances in his presentation of his sources. Hunter (1982, 304–13) surveys the range of opinions about Herodotus and the highly discrepant theories of Herodotus' sources for Book 2; Lloyd, in his three-volume commentary (1975–88), attempts, with complete confidence in the essential historicity of Herodotus' work, to tease out these sources in detail. In regard to matters that belong to early history, whether the story is true and what kind of claim Herodotus makes on behalf of his version are separate questions; in the case of this passage, the problem is what kind of claim we understand him to be making. Hartog (1988) has reformulated much of the debate over the *Histories* as a whole in terms of Herodotus' effort to establish credibility with his audience (see especially pp. 212–59, 310–22). My concern here is much narrower, but, as will appear below, I find the passage under discussion relevant to Herodotus' presentation of his efforts as a historian, and therefore I regard the audience as part of the context; I assume that the audience was Athenian.

7. Even those who attach considerable weight to the ancient evidence must have reservations: the whole matter of Sappho's unrequited love for Phaon has few, if any, adherents, and so it is generally recognized that comedy has infiltrated at least this falsehood into the biographical tradition. Dörrie (1975, 15–29) provides a hypothetical reconstruction of how the biography was derived entirely from the inventions of Middle Comedy and from gossipy exaggerations of Alexandrian scholarly conclusions. His model depends on the unlikely assumption of an almost complete ignorance of the actual poetry through the fifth and fourth centuries (apart from the probable efficacy of oral tradition, there is evidence of a book text; see Lobel 1925, xiii–xiv, on stichometric notations and Yatromanolakis 2001, 166, on a possible early vase representation).

part of a coherent story that is actually about Rhodopis and of which the other elements have no likelihood of an origin in Sappho's poems. That story, although apparently a digression, is linked thematically to its immediately preceding section, the story of the pyramid-builders, and to the whole preceding narration of Egyptian history.[8] Simply as a question of method, modern scholarship seems to have started off on the wrong foot by positing a separate source for the Charaxus element (and by implication requiring a separate source for each element) before investigating the larger question of origin raised by the narrative as a whole; in fact, it will appear likely that supposing a separate origin for the individual elements creates more problems than it solves, and that Herodotus' handling of the whole story is better explained by the assumption that he was putting to his own use a story already familiar to his audience. The fuller contexts will also make it easier to recognize the direct or indirect dependence of the later authors on Herodotus or subsequent scholarship, and the unlikelihood that they were consulting a text of the poems. I will also add the evidence of the epigram by Posidippus, which does not confirm the modern reconstruction of the story, and reexamine the possible references to any part of the story in the surviving fragments of Sappho. In the last two sections I will attempt to reconstruct an alternative origin for the story and speculate on what, in Sappho's poems and reputation, inspired the fiction.[9]

In the following three sections I have underlined the words in my summaries of the texts that correspond to the portions excerpted in Lobel-Page's and Voigt's testimonia, and I have italicized some words (in addition to significant transliterated terms) whose importance might become apparent only as the evidence accumulates.

2. HERODOTUS: PYRAMIDS AND PROSTITUTES

Among the many interwoven themes of Book 2, the story of Rhodopis' life brings together—partly concluding but not resolving—some topics and motifs related to the question of memory and memorialization. This theme, of course, occurs throughout his work, but Herodotus pointedly reminds us of his own interest in these topics near the start of the Egyptian *logos,* and they are also topics of particular importance for the Egyptians, so many of whose monuments are memorials (their interest in their own antiquity is

8. Boedeker shows how some stories, even though they are present in a "paratactic" rather than "syntactic" relationship to the main narrative, comment on it by "suggestion and juxtaposition" (1987a, 201). Benardete, who argues that all portions of the narrative are completely integrated into Herodotus' exposition of his thought, offers the fullest exploration of the themes of this passage, as well as helpful observations on the spiritual and the material in the Egyptian *logos* and in the pyramid story in particular (1969, 1–6, 30–31, and chap. 2, passim).

9. We are not faced with a stark choice of accepting the testimonia at face value or eliminating them in every respect. Parker's polemic (1996, cited above) rejects almost everything. Lardinois' reply (1994, 58–64) argues that the continued availability of the text gives some credibility to the testimonia, so that they should be read critically but can trusted in some respects. He is, however, addressing a general feature of the corpus (the age of the audience) and not a particular event or story (he too cites the Phaon episode as an example of a misreading of a first-person reference that is typical of ancient biography). I will be more interested here in the literary history that the testimonia, collectively, imply.

the first thing we learn about them [2.2]).[10] It becomes clear that the Egyptian notion of preservation in time includes a conception of the afterlife radically different from the Greeks', for they take care to preserve the material body as a correlate of the individual soul even after death. One of the markers of Herodotus' identification of himself as a Greek—of his distancing himself from the Egyptians, whose concern for the past he seems to admire—is that he shrinks from—indeed, makes a point of shrinking from—the fact that they also preserve the body of a god who died; in these contexts he adopts a periphrasis that avoids both the name Osiris and (usually) the fact of his divinity.[11]

A peculiar aspect of Herodotus' presentation of this theme in the historical section of Book 2 that culminates in the Rhodopis episode is that he joins to it the theme of female sexuality. Stories and descriptions involving titillating sexual detail are characteristic of Herodotus' ethnographies in general, and are a key element in their orientalism: the "other" is defined by its deviance from "our" sexual practices. Many of the stories in Book 2 have parallels in the other ethnographies, and individually they may have additional thematic connections. But it is particularly characteristic of Book 2 that the stories involving sexual topics are closely interwoven with reports of memorial monuments and dedications. Note, in contrast, that sexuality does not figure at all as an aspect of the monumental buildings of the Babylonians (or others) in Book 1, although Book 1 certainly has its share of discussions of sexual interest. By this interweaving of sexual deviance with material preservation, Herodotus marks his awareness of the unreliability of the Egyptian form of memory and, indirectly, makes a case for his own way of understanding how, within the Greek tradition, memory of the past is to be achieved.

Book 2 of the *Histories* begins with a survey of the geography, anthropology, and natural history of Egypt. In chapter 77 Herodotus turns from the fauna to the people. He opens with the remark that by cultivating μνήμη the Egyptians of the land above the Delta have become λογιώτατοι (77.1). But the significance of that comment is left hanging, for instead of embarking on

10. His *apologia* for the length of the narrative in 35.1 (. . . πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει καὶ ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην) closely connects it with the program of memorialization announced at the start of Book 1 (ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά). For a summary of the passages noting the Egyptian interest in recording and remembering, see Hartog 1988, 280. The use of major buildings and dedications as historical memorials is not unique to Book 2, of course, but it is especially prominent there; Erbse (1992, 149) supposes that Herodotus took his general pattern for the use of monuments from his Egyptian sources.

11. 2.61.1: τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὗ μοι ὅσιόν ἐστι λέγειν, 86.1: . . . τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν, 132.2: . . . τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι, 170.1: . . . τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τοὔνομα. Despite his language, there is no evidence that this scrupulosity has to do with respecting any Egyptian taboo. Most commentators have attributed Herodotus' refusal to name Osiris in these passages to his general reluctance (2.3.2) to relate what he heard in Egypt about *ta theia* (Lloyd 1975–88, 2:17–19, 356; Benardete 1969, p. 53 and n. 44; Lateiner 1991, 64–67), but there is a difference between this periphrasis, a *praeteritio* that occurs each time in a discussion of funerary practices or remembrances and that thereby emphasizes that the immortals died and have mortal remains among the Egyptians, and the passages in which he actually does not provide information (cf. the mystery practices connected to Osiris further on in chaps. 170–71). In chaps. 61–62 he is not otherwise reticent, nor does he identify the breast-beating he describes as in any way part of a religious mystery.

the history it could seem to promise, he continues as if he had merely made one ethnographic observation, and goes on to make others. He describes the care of the body and other customs of the Egyptians, and ends with a description of mummification, the longest and most detailed segment of the section. In this—the preeminent passage for the Egyptians' memorialization of the material body—the thematic elements I have mentioned are conjoined for the first time. Herodotus draws attention at the start (86.2) to the existence of the mummified body of the one whom he will not name (i.e., the god Osiris) and closes with the information that the bodies of prominent or beautiful women were kept back from the potentially necrophiliac embalmers for a few days (89). After this—as if he had forgotten something—he reiterates (91.1) an earlier observation (79.1) that the Egyptians do not adopt the customs of Greeks or others, in order to insert an exception, the Chemmites, who did observe the Greek form of memorialization, an ἀγῶνα γυμνικόν (91.4)—that is, a commemoration featuring the (non-sexual) Greek style of nudity—for the presence (not death) of a hero. After finishing the ethnography with remarks on life in the Delta, Herodotus begins the historical section anticipated in his opening remark, announcing his almost complete dependence on the *logoi* of the Egyptians (99.1). But these *logoi* now have a cultural context that sets them apart from those of the Greeks.

After describing the works of Min, the first king, he passes over 330 rulers who left nothing significant to show, mentioning only the one queen, Nitocris, famous for her revenge of her brother's assassination, and Moeris, who excavated a lake. The first career he describes at length is that of Sesostris, who, in addition to other markers of his achievements, commemorated his victories over enemies who lacked courage by setting up pillars marked with a woman's genitals (102.5, 106.1).[12] His successor Pheros suffered a blindness that could only be cured by the urine of a woman who had not committed adultery. He had difficulty locating one—his wife and the others who failed are commemorated in the existence of the city in which he put them to death by fire—but he married the woman whose urine proved successful; he also put up a number of dedications celebrating the recovery of his sight. Given the requirements of the cure, it is reasonable to see here a metonymic transformation of a story of *impotence;* just as the private incapacity is transfered to the visible eye, the women's normally hidden moral state is rendered material and verifiable. Pheros' successor was Proteus. In a lengthy digression (113–19), Herodotus recounts the Egyptians' story of Helen's sojourn in Egypt during his reign. In this account, Paris was forced ashore on his way back to Troy with Helen and the property he had stolen from Menelaus; Proteus, condemning Paris for this treatment of his host, deprived him of all his ill-gotten gains. Herodotus demonstrates that Homer must have known this version of Helen's story, but had rejected it because it is not so suitable to *epic poetry* as the story he does tell. The digression

12. Between the two mentions of the pillars, Herodotus discusses, among other things, the probable Egyptian origin of the non-Greek practice of circumcision. Sesostris' pillars reverse the Greek herm, which Herodotus took pains to describe as a wholly Greek invention in chap. 51.

emphasizes the contrast between *logos* (Egyptian and Herodotean) and Greek poetry as the memory of the past; the former prosaicly makes sexual escapades unheroic and reprehensible, while Greek poetry treats them as a motive for heroic action.[13] He himself prefers the *logos* of the Egyptians, which agrees with his own estimation (*epilegomenos*) of the improbability of the Homeric version (120); but Herodotus emphasizes divine justice as the motivation. Throughout, Herodotus maintains his stance that he is reporting what he heard from the Egyptians; he makes no mention of Stesichorus or any possible Greek source.

Although the Egyptians may condemn adultery, we are at once reminded that their stories are marked by the aberrant treatment of female sexuality, as well as by their peculiar notions of how life continues after death. Herodotus makes an immediate transition in chapter 121 to a long story about Proteus' successor Rhampsinitus, who was enormously wealthy but plagued by a tricky thief; he set his daughter up as a *prostitute* as part of a plan to catch him, yet ultimately married his daughter to him.[14] The history of Rhampsinitus also makes prominent the theme of the continuity of life, for he visited the underworld. The description of the ritual that commemorates his trip gives Herodotus the chance to remark on the Egyptian belief in the immortality of the soul and in transmigration (123.2). This remark is immediately followed by the stories of the pyramid-builders, in which the two themes of sexuality and memorialization again come together.

Herodotus feels no need to introduce or describe pyramids or explain their purpose, either here or earlier in Book 2 when he referred to the pyramids as known landmarks (2.8, 2.12, 2.97; other pyramids are mentioned in 101 and more fully described in 148–49). He brings on Rhampsinitus' successor Cheops (124) with the report that he ended the long history of good rule for Egypt, for he closed the shrines, prevented sacrifices, and instead set his subjects to great labor on his own behalf.[15] Herodotus describes their labor of building what turns out to be Cheops' pyramid, and ends with the story that Cheops was so unrestrained in evil that he set up his daughter as a *prostitute* in order to acquire sufficient funds for it. She added a surcharge in kind, one brick from each customer, in order *to leave a memorial* (μνημήιον καταλιπέσθαι) of herself: with these she built her own smaller pyramid, in front of her father's. Cheops' successor, his brother Chephren, gets less than a page (127), despite his pyramid; it was smaller than Cheops', but the lower course was of fancy (ποικίλος) *Ethiopian stone*. He continued Cheops' closing of the shrines; both brothers were hated by later Egyptians,

13. To Herodotus' question, whether the Greeks tell a μάταιον λόγον about Troy (118.1), the Egyptian answer appears to be, yes. "Empty" or "idle" words (LSJ, s.v.) are not merely false. Herodotus is picking up a theme from the start of Book 1, where he minimized the significance of the Homeric story and was clearly setting up his own history in competition with epic.

14. For an analysis of the structure of this story as a contest between the king and the thief in which other Herodotean themes are prominent, see Munson 1993, 38–41. Herodotus marks the prostitution episode as unbelievable (121ε1.4).

15. Benardete (1969, 55) notes the significant juxtaposition of the mention of metempsychosis and of Cheops' closing of the shrines (below); its significance is not lessened by the fact that a belief in metempsychosis is actually contrary to all evidence of Egyptian religion (Wilson 1970, 8–10).

who *name the pyramids* after a contemporary shepherd. Chephren's successor, Cheops' son Mycerinus, reopened the shrines and was a just ruler (129). He is also associated with a curious dedication and ritual, involving a gold-plated wooden cow and an adjacent chamber with statues of naked women (which Herodotus saw). There are alternative stories explaining this dedication. In one, the cow is simply the tomb of his beloved daughter; according to the other, the king had raped his own daughter. The cow is featured in an annual ritual of mourning for the god whom Herodotus does not name (132.2). Mycerinus also had a pyramid built for himself, much smaller than Cheops', but built half way up out of the *Ethiopian stone;* it is this pyramid that some Greeks (μετεξέτεροι Ἑλλήνων) say was built by Rhodopis the *prostitute* (ἑταίρης γυναικός, 134.1).

At this point Herodotus digresses from the royal history to discuss Rhodopis, asserting that those who attribute the pyramid to her can hardly have known who Rhodopis was; for her wealth was not adequate to the expense of a pyramid, and she lived much later, in the time of *Amasis*. The argument of his digression can be seen from an outline:

I. [Her background, which explains when she lived]
  A. [her origin]
    1. She was a Thracian, owned by Iadmon, and a fellow slave of *Aesop* the prose story-writer (τοῦ λογοποιοῦ).
    2. We know that Aesop was a slave of Iadmon's from what happened later in *Delphi*:
      Iadmon's grandson took recompense for Aesop's murder.
  B. [The start of her career]
    1. She was brought to Egypt to work by Xantheus the Samian.
    2. She was freed at great expense by the Mytlinean Charaxus, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the song writer (τῆς μουσοποιοῦ).
II. [Her deeds, which explain her wealth]
  A. [She was successful in her profession]
    1. She stayed on in *Egypt* and by exercising her charm made a fortune, relative to who she was, but *not sufficient for a pyramid.*
    2. We know the extent of her wealth from what is in *Delphi.*
      Desiring *to leave a memorial* (μνημήιον . . . καταλιπέσθαι) by doing something *unique,* she dedicated a tenth of her wealth in the form of iron roasting spits (ὀβελούς).
  B. The *hetairai* of *Naucratis* typically exercise great charm.
    1. [This is seen in their fame]
      a. Rhodopis, the subject of this *logos*, was famous throughout Greece.
      b. *Archidice,* who lived later, was the subject of *song* throughout Greece, although less gossiped about in conversation.
    2. [and in the consequences of their activities]
      When Charaxus returned home after freeing Rhodopis, Sappho, in lyric, rebuked him vehemently (κατεκερτόμησέ μιν).[16]

16. Compare the analysis by Lloyd (1975–88, 3:84–87), who remarks that the detailed comment on the expenditure is "deferred, somewhat untidily" to the next chapter after Herodotus first mentions it. But Herodotus has thematic concerns that provide the structure of the exposition and take precedence over the need—as perceived by Lloyd—to document his observations one at a time. The structure also reflects traditional formal features. The introduction of Charaxus begins a ring narrative that is closed by the reference to his fate at his sister's hands at the end of the chapter. That also closes ('Ροδώπιος μέν νυν πέρι

After the digression on Rhodopis, Herodotus relates the activities of three more kings and brings what we might call his prehistorical section to an end. He repeats that this has been the *logos* of the Egyptians (142) and summarizes the account of human and divine chronology that they provided to him and, earlier, to the *logios* Hecataeus. When he resumes the history, he identifies what follows as the common *logos* of Egyptians and others. No sexual themes recur until the story of the final king, Amasis. In the story of the transition from Apries to Amasis Herodotus makes his next, and final, reference to the corpse of the god whom he will not name (170); he then relates how Amasis, upon coming to the throne, gave the Egyptians a lesson on the mutability of material things (172). Amasis, a pious philhellene, took a Greek wife, but, *impotent* with her, falsely accused her of using magic against him. Unlike Pheros' wife, however, she survived; after her silent vow of a statue dedicated to Aphrodite, the king was finally able to consummate their marriage.

The Egyptians' *logos* may be opposed to Greek song in respect to the latter's portrayal of erotic interest as a heroic motive, but it nonetheless features fathers who pander daughters and one who perhaps commits incest, adultery as a serious problem, pillars marked with female genitalia (the opposite of the Greek practice), and an emphasis on the body rather than the soul; their memory of the past mirrors their fear of necrophilia in their memorial practice of preserving bodies. Rhodopis, the third example of a prostitute, is correlated with Cheops' daughter; like her, she wanted to leave a memorial—μνημήιον καταλιπέσθαι—of her earnings. The term μνημήιον occurs only in these two places in Herodotus, despite the frequency of μνη- derivatives throughout the work and the ordinariness of that phrase in Greek. The repetition confirms that the Rhodopis episode is to be understood in thematic connection to the historical section, and is not just incidently related to it by the attribution of the pyramid. (It does not matter whether one regards this as the unconscious reflex of a fabulist whose methods are essentially similar to those of an oral poet, or the deliberate signal of a self-conscious prose compiler.) And while Rhodopis is like the earlier prostitute in her desire for the memorial, she is like the later prostitute Archidice in being known in song (although more indirectly): through her association with the brother of the *musopoios* Sappho, her erotic exploit, however reprehensible, became a poetic subject. The digression about Rhodopis looks backward to the way the past is preserved in Egyptian *logos* and in Greek song.

πέπυμαι) the encompassing narrative of Rhodopis that begins with the summary point—her wealth—and then drops back to tell her birth (Thrace) and upbringing (Iadmon, Xantheus, Charaxus), describes her exploits, and concludes with a generalization about the marvels of her class and a slight overshoot to the future of one character in the story (on the structure of such narratives, see Slater 1983; the influence of hymnic patterns—*genos, trophe, praxeis, kleos*—is also evident). The portion of the text quoted as a testimonium reads: 'Ροδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. . . . Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος 'Ροδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλεϊ Σαπφὼ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. Note that ὡς is a temporal conjunction, not a causal particle; the reason for Sappho's response has to be inferred.

But the Thracian Rhodopis looked to Delphi for her memorial, says Herodotus. So she is also unlike Cheops' daughter. For both Rhodopis and Aesop, the memory of the person is marked by wealth at Delphi, not by a monumental tomb containing a ritually preserved body. The physical memorial of success is separated from the bodily remains, and enters the world of *logos* at Delphi.[17] Rhodopis transcends the world of song, unlike her Naucratite successor Archidice, and becomes more like the *logopoios* Aesop. She looks forward to the form of memory promoted by the fifth-century narrator.[18]

It seems to be Herodotus' desire that we take this story with a grain of salt. Although Herodotus indicts the association of Rhodopis and the pyramid on the grounds of chronology, the whole section on the pyramid builders is notorious for its chronological displacement. The builders are set after Proteus, who is coeval with the Trojan War, and Rhampsinitus, who appears to correspond to the series of Rameseses. This puts them about a millennium and a half too late; the pyramids in fact belong in the time of the more than 330 early rulers for whose reigns Herodotus has nothing remarkable to report. This is the only major part of Herodotus' chronology that is glaringly at odds with the modern reconstruction of early Egyptian history. Explanations have varied.[19] But he appears to be addressing an audience who has some awareness of Egypt, since the description of the building of the pyramids begins without any introductory statement about pyramids and even without mention of the word itself; he assumes the audience knows what Cheops built (2.124.1.5). So I would emphasize the splendid irony with which Herodotus, at the climax of the section most out of order chronologically, accuses others of being ignorant of chronology. While we can doubt whether a Greek audience would have appreciated the full extent of the chronological displacement, to appreciate the irony they would only need to recognize that he has placed after the Trojan War what should have gone be-

17. I am grateful to Jacob Stern for pointing out to me the importance of Delphi as a point of contrast to non-Greek memorials throughout the *Histories*.

18. What little material there is to document the character of Aesop in Greek literature and art suggests that in the classical period he is distinguished by the attributes (barbarian, slave, and deformed) that oppose him to a Greek male (Lissarrague 2000). But in Herodotus' use of him here the salient fact referred to is that Apollo made the Delphians pay recompense for murdering him; he had accused them of being greedy, and the implication is that Apollo vindicated him as a reliable witness. Hartog (1988, 296–97) treats *musopoios* and *logopoios* (here and in Herodotus' references to Hecataeus) as two species of *mythopoios, mythos* always being unreliable in Herodotus. But although *-poios* may be pejorative, given the prominence of the contrast between poetry and *logos* in the Helen digression (2.112–20, where the Egyptian version is always a *logos,* but the Greek version is only a *logos* in 118.1.1, when it is not attributed directly to Homer), and considering the emphasis on *logos* throughout Book 2, that contrast cannot be written out of this passage. Poetry is intimately connected with *mythoi; logoi* are not, and may or may not be reliable. Aesop is not Sappho, even if he is also not Herodotus.

19. Wallinga (1959) reviews the problem, and revives the theory of Flinders Petrie, that a scribe took one papyrus roll out of order: the passage 124.1.3 through the end of 136 (beginning μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον) should follow 99, even though such a move wrecks the μὲν . . . δὲ contrast of εὐνομίην . . . κακότητα in 124. Lloyd (1975–88, 1:188–1889) rejects this and follows Erbse in making the error a consequence of Herodotus' understanding that there had been no great accomplishments before Moeris; he used the only place left by his scheme, and the pyramid builders were "finally allotted their place for artistic reasons." This seems to be the modern consensus. Benardete (1969, p. 56, n.55) attributes the original mistake to the Egyptians, who preserved a reputation of good government for the kings before Rhampsinitus; he takes Herodotus' remarks on Rhodopis to signal his awareness of the error.

fore.[20] Another indicator of ironic intent is his report of what Rhodopis intended as a unique form of dedication, the roasting spits (ὀβελούς). Both Herodotus and his audience would have been aware that such spits were not unique at Delphi, either as "sacred furniture" or as the archaic units of exchange that gave a variant form of their name to a contempory unit of money (Lloyd 1975–88, 3:87; Jeffery 1990, 122–24).

Herodotus chose to report one legend and then to oppose it with another, more complex story, but we should follow his hints by not taking the second to be a definitive statement either.[21] By her multiple ties—to the daughter of Cheops, pyramids, and the Egyptian materialism of memory, but also to Delphi and dedications of wealth; to Sappho (also famous for sex; see below) and song, but also to Aesop and *logos;* to ancient kings and legend, but also to the historical time of Amasis and Greek trade—his Rhodopis is a transitional figure. She both brings to a close and looks beyond this history of great and wondrous *erga,* for her story reminds us that, however remarkable it is for its scope, this record is flawed in its origin by its connection to the suspect memorial practices of the Egyptians, almost as flawed as the record preserved by Greek song.[22] The *logos* told by the Egyptians does not qualify as the permanent understanding of human achievement that Herodotus intended as his ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις, and so he needed to make a fresh start. The close of the first portion of his Egyptian narrative (2.142–46) presented a somewhat rigorous discussion of human and divine chronology, in which he emphasized the difference between knowledge and belief. At 147.1 he announced that the continuation of Egyptian history would be based on *logoi* that others, beside the Egyptians, confirm. That history's final episode is the career of Amasis; and, although Herodotus had said that Rhodopis belonged to this era, she is not mentioned again, replaced as an erotic figure by the king's pious wife.

The details of Rhodopis' life are essential to the function of the digression as a commentary on the history. Herodotus' concern with his sources is explicit in Book 2, but in the Rhodopis episode we are given only a vague "some Greeks" for the incorrect attribution of the pyramid and, most

20. Lloyd (1975–88, 1:193) concludes that Herodotus was working with a well-established chronological framework, elaborated by his predecessors. On the audience's familiarity with Egypt and the work of Hecataeus, cf. Marincola 1987, 123 and passim, and see below.

21. Lateiner (1991, 80–86) discusses Herodotus' presentation of alternative versions, including those in which he distances himself from some narratives that he does not reject outright; in the appended inventory, he classes the Rhodopis passage as one in which Herodotus expresses a preference without regarding it as sufficiently convincing to reject the alternative. But in this case, obviously, what Herodotus does not reject is the possibility that the truth about Rhodopis lies elsewhere altogether; he certainly rejects the story that she built the pyramid.

22. For the most part, the Egyptian history falls in the middle ground between rejection (the story of Rhampsinitus' daughter is incredible) and affirmation (the Egyptian story of Helen is credible because Homer knew it and his own version is improbable). Erbse (1992, 150) goes too far in saying that because the pyramid of Cheops' daughter does not exist, it follows that Herodotus expects the reader to see through the irony of the unbelievable report of her career as a prostitute. There are smaller pyramids adjacent to the three great ones, so the nonexistence of her pyramid is not self-evident (see Lloyd 1975–88, ad loc.), and even if the story of her brick collection seems unrealistic to us, the episode gains in credibility as an instance of the extreme consequences of Cheops' evil. Nothing in the episode itself or in its circumstances justifies treating it as ironic. Herodotus simply leaves it (in indirect discourse) as the Egyptians' story, postponing his implicit judgment to the end of this portion of the narrative.

unusually for this book, no clue at all for his sources for the counter-story. In that respect, this digression is like the digression on Helen in the history of Proteus, which does not mention the Greek sources (although it at least attributes the story to the Egyptians) and which also occasions Herodotus' reasoning on comparative veracity. For the incorrect attribution Hecataeus and the Ionian geographers are the obvious choice; he will have some fun with Hecataeus' naiveté about the scope of Egyptian chronology in chapter 143. But Hecateus can only have gotten the story from the Egyptian Greeks, that is from Naucratis.[23] That rules out both Hecataeus and the Naucratites as the source of the correct version. If we separate the elements, we need a minimum of five sources. Herodotus calls on Delphi to confirm the existence of the dedication; that is his only explicit citation in the whole digression. The story of Aesop at Delphi could have been a separate, commonly known Delphic legend. Delphi is a source of truth for Herodotus, and these two elements are the only ones for which he seems to engage in a process of inquiry to validate his statement. He gives no indication that the song of Sappho that he mentions is the source (or confirmation) of the details of his story about Charaxus and Rhodopis; if, nonetheless, we adopt the assumption that he is using it as a source, we need yet another source for the rest of the life of Rhodopis and the synchrony with Aesop—these can hardly have been drawn from Sappho's invective, and there is no hint at all of where they could have come from.[24] And, finally, the comment on Archidice (who is later than Rhodopis and therefore later than Sappho) requires that we additionally postulate the existence of the songs referred to there as popular songs. However, the fact that he can report the whole narrative without any pretense of offering a source suggests that, at least in broad outline, it must have been similar enough to something the audience knew, or thought they knew. Moreover, the ironic quality introduces a note of parody that depends on familiarity. Since the locale of the story turns out to be Naucratis—and that is explicit in the closing section of the digression (the part that mentions Sappho's poetry), where the emphasis is on the theme of the powers of the *hetairai* of Naucratis—it is prima facie simpler and more probable that the whole story belongs to a source concerned with tales, or a tale, from Naucratis and about Rhodopis (rather than from Lesbos and about Sappho), and that it does not represent a novel composition drawn from disparate sources. That would also explain the prominence of Aesop within the narrative. Yet since it is probably a Naucratite version that he corrects, Herodotus would not have heard it there. Just as he was silent

23. Marincola (1987) demonstrates the unusual emphasis on sources in Book 2 of the *Histories;* he concludes that Herodotus is here most concerned to correct the accounts of Hecataeus and perhaps other Ionian geographers, whom he regularly refers to as unnamed Greeks or Ionians. But they could only have been intermediaries: the credulous geographers must have heard the information originally in the Greek milieu in Egypt.

24. Herodotus has a vocabulary that marks his practice (or, if one wishes, his pretense) of investigation using sources and proofs (see, in general, Fowler 1996, who shows how his practice places him in the fifth-century milieu); of course, he often does not cite sources, or cites them in ways we cannot credit. But I think that there is an extra burden of proof on any claim that something he mentions as part of his narrative is in fact his source, when he does not use any language to indicate that fact.

about Stesichorus, Herodotus may now be keeping silent about a poetic source that his audience would have known and recognized.

Before trying to determine more exactly where Herodotus found the story, however, the significance of the later testimonia must be evaluated. If they are the independent witnesses to the supposed diatribe of Sappho's that modern scholarship has taken them to be, the significance of her poem for Herodotus would have to be given greater weight; but even if they are not, they may still offer helpful evidence.

3. RHODOPIS IN STRABO AND IN HELLENISTIC SCHOLARSHIP

Strabo's mention of Rhodopis, like Herodotus', is part of a description of the great pyramids at Giza (in 17.1.33 = 3.379 Kramer). Strabo too describes the third as smaller but more expensive than the other two; however, his description of it is somewhat fuller. He says that the lower part is made of a *black stone* from *Aethiopia* that is hard and difficult to work; he continues: "It is said to be the tomb of the *hetaira,* made by her lovers, the woman who is called Doricha by Sappho the lyric poetess—she had become the beloved of her brother Charaxus when he imported Lesbian wine to Naucratis—but named Rhodopis by others."[25] He immediately adds another story (μυθεύουσι δ' ὅτι), which is an incompatible explanation of the association of Rhodopis with the pyramid: when she was bathing in the river an eagle snatched up one of her sandals, flew away, and dropped it in the lap of the king; stirred by the strangeness of the event and by the shape of the sandal, he sought out the owner; she was found and brought to Naucratis, and he married her. The pyramid is her queenly tomb.

Strabo records the variant stories without comment or criticism. Unlike Herodotus, he is following a geographical order, not a chronological one, but like him he is distracted by Rhodopis into telling stories about her from Naucratis. His first story adds details to what we find in Herodotus, but it also differs crucially in not attributing the actual building of the pyramid to Rhodopis. The version of the story in which the lovers build the pyramid is also found, in a fuller form, in the slightly earlier work of Diodorus Siculus (his information and most of his language are assumed to come from the late fourth-century description by Hecataeus of Abdera).[26] Diodorus (beginning in 1.63.2) includes an account of the architectural features of the pyramids, which is also fuller than Strabo's, as well as of the expense involved in building them. Diodorus does follow a chronological arrangement, but he gives less anecdotal information about the kings than Herodotus did, and his selection of detail shows little interest in the stories

25. λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἑταίρας τάφος γεγονὼς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐραστῶν, ἣν Σαπφὼ μὲν ἡ τῶν μελῶν ποιήτρια καλεῖ Δωρίχαν, ἐρωμένην τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς Χαράξου γεγονυῖαν, οἶνον κατάγοντος εἰς Ναύκρατιν Λέσβιον κατ' ἐμπορίαν, ἄλλοι δ' ὀνομάζουσι Ῥοδῶπιν (Strabo 17.1.33). The editors' abbreviation of the quotations from both Herodotus and Strabo disguises their close similarity; Strabo's immediate transition from a description of the stone to the ascription to the prostitute is parallel to Herodotus' report: Mycerinus' pyramid is smaller than his father's, . . . λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ αἰθιοπικοῦ. τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροί φασι Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, . . . (2.134.6–7).

26. *FGrH* 264 F25 (vol. 3A; see especially pp. 43–44). In the commentary (3A Komm., 75–78) Jacoby justifies his claim that Diodorus Siculus is dependent on Hecataeus here.

Herodotus told; however, he characterizes Mycerinus' reign in very similar terms. His narrative emphasizes the pyramids as exceptional constructions; he says that Mycerinus' is built of a *black stone* similar to the Theban (1.64.7). At the end of his description (1.64.13), he remarks that on the subject of pyramids there is very little agreement either among local residents or among writers; to illustrate this he gives an alternative *name* for the builders of each of the three, none of them the same as the shepherd of Herodotus 2.128. Then he adds that some say that the third pyramid is the tomb of Rhodopis, which some nomarchs among her lovers built at their common *expense* out of their affection for her.[27] He has no interest in Sappho and her brother or in the glamor of Naucratis, and has nothing more to say on the subject, but proceeds to the successor of Mycerinus.

Strabo's Rhodopis, then, combines at least two sources. The mention of the devoted lovers indicates that one line of source material is what we might call (following Jacoby) Hecataeus-Diodorus, whether he used it directly, took it from someone who had used it, or found it in a common source. The inclusion of Charaxus indicates a line of source material more closely connected to the text of Herodotus. There is a similar mix in the description of the expensive lower courses of the third pyramid. Herodotus had described them as being of fancy (ποικίλος) Ethiopian stone, Diodorus as being of black stone, and Strabo as being of black stone that was from Ethiopia.[28] Since the Herodotean information about Charaxus has been supplemented (Charaxus was a wine merchant; Sappho calls Rhodopis Doricha), the source is not simply Herodotus. On the other hand, it is not likely that Strabo took the information independently from the text of Sappho. He has no concern here with Sappho; indeed, he shows very little interest in her, even when he reaches Lesbos and Mytilene in his survey. There he records her presence and describes her with stock Hellenistic praise as a wonder of nature, unrivalled as a poet by any other women, but has nothing more to say (13.2.3 = Campbell T7; his discussion of the Leucadian cliffs suggests a very different kind of source [see n. 32]). The additional story of the seductive sandal indicates that he is using source material that goes far afield from anything relevant to Sappho or Herodotus. Strabo's concerns are focused on what is said about Egypt and, more particularly, about either Naucratis or the pyramids of Giza. He does not appear to have had a book of lyric poetry in front of him, or a biography of the poets, from which he was constructing his own critique of Herodotus—to have decided to check up on Herodotus' story by looking through the text of Sappho. The added information, including the observation that Sappho and Herodotus use different names for the *hetaira* to whom the pyramid is said to belong, must have its source in Hellenistic scholarly traditions attached to or opposing

27. Diod. Sic. *Bibliotheca* 1.64.14: 'Ροδώπιδος τάφον εἶναι τῆς ἑταίρας, ἧς φασι τῶν νομαρχῶν τινας ἐραστὰς γενομένους διὰ φιλοστοργίαν ἐπιτελέσαι κοινῇ τὸ κατασκεύασμα.

28. Of course, he did not necessarily take this detail from prior writers. Dueck (2000, p. 42 and n. 20, p. 186) notes Strabo's recording of his personal experience in Egypt but shows that he does not present his own observations as exclusive of his use of earlier voyagers' books.

Herodotus' account of the pyramid-builders. Strabo is likely to have been using a commentary on Herodotus—Aristarchus wrote one in the second century (Pfeiffer 1968, 224)—or some form of compilation, perhaps a collection of local histories, that had taken over material from Herodotus and supplemented it with later scholarship.

This is not an infinite regress. Somebody, at some point, did compare Herodotus' text to Sappho's, and make the identification of Doricha and Rhodopis that became part of the Herodotean material that Strabo used. The question for us is whether we can rely on that identification as a confirmation of Herodotus' story about Sappho's poetry. The answer lies in what we can determine about how such information was compiled. Let us consider first the other material about Rhodopis that Strabo found.

Herodotus criticized the attribution of the pyramid to Rhodopis on the grounds that even a successful *hetaira* could not have amassed the necessary funds. Although Hecataeus-Diodorus does not share Herodotus' interest in the Sapphic connection, its version of the Rhodopis story, which features the devoted lovers who were nomarchs and shared the expense, answers this specific criticism. Strabo omits the extra detail about the financing and leaves the impression that Charaxus was one of the group, even as he proceeds to the alternative that has nothing to do with Charaxus or multiple admirers. His information appears to have been compiled from the efforts of earlier historians (such as Manetho) or ethnographers (such as Hecataeus of Abdera himself)[29] who responded critically to Herodotus' narrative; they would have provided alternate explanations of "the tomb of Rhodopis the *hetaira*" that saved the local tradition from Herodotus' rationalizing critique, or simply rejected him altogether (she was honored by a club of wealthy admirers, she was really a queen). Without the mention of financing, the polemical point has been lost and the original connection to a particular comment by Herodotus is obscured.

Similarly, the identification of Rhodopis as Doricha solves a particular problem: Herodotus says Sappho rebuked her brother for the relationship with Rhodopis, but the name "Rhodopis" does not occur in Sappho (that much is certain from Strabo's remark, whatever his source, and certainly no trace of it has ever been identified in our fragments). Hellenistic scholars explained its absence as best they could, by saying that "Rhodopis" was the same as "Doricha," a name they did find. In this case ancient commentary is not trying to disprove Herodotus' account, but to provide information on a single point in his text in order to reconcile it with what was known. From our point of view, the identification would only have fit if the story of Rhodopis in one author matched the story of Doricha in the other, but for ancient scholars exegesis began with biography, and their standards for the connection of biography to the text were rather less demanding than ours. The outstanding characteristic of such scholarhip is its total lack of interest

29. Jacoby (*FGrH* 3A Komm., 79–82) argues that Hecataeus based his account on Herodotus', but interweaves both criticism of him and material from other sources.

in the poetic context: biographical explanations were constructed for words or phrases that proved, for whatever reason, puzzling.[30] This time they had the biographical information from Herodotus; the puzzle was to find a name to pin it to in Sappho. Doricha's availability to be Rhodopis need not have had much to do with the poem in which she appeared. Since the exegesis of the poets appears to have preceded the creation of commentaries on the historians, the explanation that Doricha was Rhodopis most likely originated as an explanation attached to the text of Sappho, but it was attached by someone who knew the version in Herodotus. Once it was assimilated into Hellenistic scholarship as independent biographical information, it would have been available to a subsequent commentator on Herodotus, perhaps in a commentary on Sappho's poems that he consulted at this point, but more likely as part of a separate *vita* or of other compendia, where it was joined with additional information on Charaxus. From him it passed to Strabo, or to the texts Strabo used.[31]

The context in which Strabo presents his information leads to the conclusion that his equation of Doricha and Rhodopis is likely to be a report of a Peripatetic or Hellenistic inference. There is no reason to suppose that it is a better inference than any other, such as, that Anacreon loved her, or that Sappho was a good housekeeper, or that she jumped off the Leucadian cliffs.[32] Strabo's collection of material does indicate that the name Doricha occurred in Sappho, but it offers no independent testimony for anything found in Herodotus.

It is useful to remember at this point that nowhere in the ancient tradition is any reason given for the different names. Page's claim ([1955] 1965, p. 49, n.1) that Rhodopis is a professional nickname, and that Sappho scorned to use it, is frequently cited, but, taken prejudicially, either name is "troppo parlante" and suited to an *hetaira* (Aloni 1983, p. 32, n. 75). The identity of the two is critical to any claim for the historicity of the story, because Herodotus' statement that Rhodopis was at her peak during the reign of Amasis strains the chronology for Sappho, although not quite to the breaking point

30. The earliest life that we know of is by the Peripatetic Chamaeleon (c. 350–after 281). On ancient biography in general see Lefkowitz 1981 and Arrighetti 1987, referred to above. The latter includes a discussion of Chamaeleon's methods (pp. 141–90), as does Lefkowitz' detailed examination of the Pindar *Vitae* (1991, 90–96). On the Hellenistic lack of interest in what we call context, see her discussion there of the Pindar scholia (147–60). On early collections of glosses, see Pfeiffer on Philitas, Zenodotus, and Callimachus (1968, 90–91, 115–18, 135); cf. his comments on Callimachus' pupil Hermippus, who wrote biographical supplements to the Πίνακες "in a more novelistic vein" (p. 150).

31. A modern parallel to Strabo can be seen in Boardman (1980, 132). In a topographically arranged work, he describes a variety of archaeological finds relating to the history, politics, and society of Naucratis. After mentioning one dedication to Aphrodite, he remarks more generally on the reputation of its women, adapting Herodotus' phrase, and repeats without comment the story of Rhodopis, adding the variants from Strabo and Athenaeus in a note.

32. Chamaeleon reported in his Περὶ Σαπφοῦς (frag. 26 Wehrli) that some explained that Sappho was the girl from Lesbos vainly pursued by Anacreon in *PMG* frag. 358; the story was also told by the poet Hermesianax (early third century B.C.E., frag. 2.47–51 Diehl) in his no doubt tongue-in-cheek catalogue of lovers. We are told all of this by Athenaeus (13.72 ff = T8 Campbell), who rejects it on the basis of chronology (he has no problem with the biographical interpretation of Anacreon's poem). The housekeeper reference comes from *P Oxy.* 2506 (see p. 221 below). The Leucadian jump is the most notorious piece of Sapphic biography; Strabo quotes it from Menander when he describes the cliffs (for a list of testimonia, see T23 Campbell with nn.).

(Saake 1972, 37–50; di Benedetto 1982, 228–30), and creates the suspicion that Herodotus' narrative might not be true.[33]

4. SAPPHO AND CHARAXUS IN ATHENAEUS AND IN THE LATER TRADITION

The story that Athenaeus provides, two centuries after Strabo, is the most complete, because it employs motives. The passage occurs in his discussion of famous courtesans in Book 13 (13.69 = 13.596bc Kaibel); there is some suggestion of a geographical arrangement.

Athenaeus, of course, draws from a wide variety of sources; nonetheless, despite the absence of anything to do with pyramids, it is clear that this particular section is ultimately derived from Herodotus. A feature of the narratives in Book 13 is the devotion of the women's lovers. After concluding his discussion of Athenian courtesans with a description of the excessive tomb Harpalus built for one mistress and his excessive expenditure on another, Athenaeus introduces Naucratis with a generalization that recalls Herodotus': "Naucratis also produced famous *hetairai,* distinguished for their beauty: lovely Sappho in her poetry attacked Doricha, of whom her brother Charaxus had become enamored when he went to Naucratis as a merchant, for she had taken great sums from him."[34] Athenaeus then cites Herodotus by name: Herodotus calls her Rhodopis, unaware that the woman who dedicated the much talked of spits that Cratinus spoke of in [a lost quotation] is different from Doricha; Posidippus composed an epigram for Doricha, and mentions her frequently in his *Aethiopia* (*Aesopia?*).[35] After quoting Posidippus' epigram on the remembrance of Doricha in Naucratis (to which I will return), Athenaeus resumes reporting what is in Herodotus' text, even quoting him: Archidice was from Naucratis and a beautiful *hetaira;* for, as Herodotus says, Naucratis typically has charming courtesans.[36] Athenaeus thereupon moves on to a number of other cities and their famous courtesans, beginning, oddly enough, with Eresos on Lesbos. Some sources name

33. On the form of the name Doricha, see below. Aloni (1983), in what is perhaps the closest to a revisionist interpretation, makes the difference in names and the chronological difficulty the keystone of his argument. He adopts a functionalist reading of Sappho, following the lead of Rösler (*Dichter und Gruppe* [Munich, 1980]) on Alcaeus. He assumes that Herodotus' story is derived from frag. 5 (discussed below), frag. 15 (= an invective against Doricha), and the lost invective against Charaxus; and that, because his chronology is impossible, Herodotus must have confused two different women who figured in the same type of story. He then argues that this doublet establishes the existence of a genre of song: rebukes of merchants who squandered their wealth on a prostitute. The poems would thus link the addresses to Aphrodite in Sappho and the prominence of prostitution in major trading ports in the hypothesis that Sappho's *thiasos* represents the interests of an aristocratic circle engaged in commercial voyages, under the protection of Aphrodite, which were in opposition to the values of the traditional aristocracy represented by Alcaeus in the songs for his *hetaireia*. This argument does not defend the historicity of the episode related by Herodotus.

34. The brevity of the quotation in Lobel-Page and Voigt and the ellipsis within it obscure the relationship to Herodotus: ἐνδόξους δὲ ἑταίρας . . . ἤνεγκεν καὶ ἡ Ναύκρατις· Δωρίχαν τε, ἣν ἡ καλὴ Σαπφὼ ἐρωμένην γενομένην Χαράξου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς κατ' ἐμπορίαν εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν ἀπαίροντος διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως διαβάλλει ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ Χαράξου νοσφισαμένην (L-P, V). Campbell puts the following section, through the quotation from Posidippus, in T15. Only Gallavotti (Test. 29) quotes the whole passage.

35. Schott's emendation of Αἰθιοπίᾳ to Αἰσωπίᾳ assumes that Posidippus' Doricha is Herodotus' Rhodopis, the fellow-slave of Aesop. The epigram appears to accept that equation, and it is even harder to imagine a connection of Doricha and Ethiopia.

36. Athenaeus 13.69.22: φιλεῖ γάρ πως ἡ Ναύκρατις, ὡς ὁ Ἡρόδοτός φησιν, ἐπαφροδίτους ἔχειν τὰς ἑταίρας; compare Herodotus 2.135.5 φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἑταῖραι.

Eresos as Sappho's birthplace,[37] but Athenaeus associates it with the Sappho who was a prostitute and the lover of Phaon and gives no hint that he connects this Sappho (the "other Sappho," see below p. 229) with the poet whom he has just mentioned.

Whatever may have induced Athenaeus to proceed from Naucratis to Eresos, the passage with which we are concerned seems to contain some of the same expansions as the sources Strabo used. There is no indication here that Athenaeus is thinking of, let alone using, a text of Sappho, rather than material from a commentary on Herodotus, which he may have second-hand, as part of a history of Naucratis. That explains and is confirmed by two strange features of this passage. The first is that he does not quote Sappho on Doricha, even though he quotes Posidippus. Posidippus' lines are appropriate to a discussion of Naucratis, as are, apparently, Cratinus'. For Athenaeus does not say that the Rhodopis of Cratinus is not a Rhodopis from Naucratis; he says that the Rhodopis of Naucratis who dedicated the spits is not the woman from Naucratis, also called Doricha, who seduced Charaxus.[38] In the context of Naucratis and famous prostitutes, neither he nor his source appear to have any lines of Sappho to quote that mention Doricha. Athenaeus makes only one other possible reference to Sappho's work or life that is not accompanied by a quotation (10.425a = Sa. 203 L-P, V); in that he mentions Sappho's praise of her brother Larichus in his capacity as a wine steward. This example both reminds us of the rarity of such unaccompanied references and reinforces the suspicion that biographical "information" about Sappho's relations with her brothers had become separated from the poems—if it was ever attached to them in the first place.[39]

37. *Suda* Σ 107= T 2; *Anth. Pal.* 7.407 = T 58; and see Campbell's note to T 12.

38. Athenaeus believed that Herodotus did indeed confuse two different persons. Gow and Page on Posidippus are slightly more cautious than Page in his commentary on Sappho (cited above): ". . . Doricha, who seems to have been confused with Rhodopis, if indeed they were different persons . . . Athenaeus does not disclose the grounds for his belief, but Doricha may well have assumed, or been given, a name more suitable to her profession" (Gow and Page 1965, 2:497). Lloyd (1975–88, 3:86–87) misreads the referent of the relative pronoun, so that he has Athenaeus ascribe the dedication to Doricha.

The discussion has been confused by the discovery in Delphi of a fragment of the base of a dedication bearing the inscription . . . ΚΕΡΟΔ . . . , and datable to after 540 (described by Jeffrey 1990, p. 102, pl. 12.7 = *SEG* 13.364). This could be supplemented as . . . ανεθε̄]κε Ροδ[ō̄πις . . . , and would not be inconsistent with Herodotus' story (as Jeffrey cautiously remarks): a Naucratite *meretrix* celebrated her successful career some decades after Charaxus sponsored it. But that should not be regarded as more than a possibility (so too Treu 1963, 235). The inscription need not have been metrical, for example, and could have been dedicated by someone from Rhodes. It is only wishful thinking to say, as Lloyd does, that "the identification of Sappho's Doricha and Rhodopis, though frequently disputed, is suported by epigraphic evidence . . . , Rhodopis being Doricha's nickname," since neither Herodotus nor the inscription make any mention of Doricha (and once we allow the professional nickname, we have to wonder about the number of Roseyfaces in the business). And Lloyd's rationalizing observation that spit dedications had possibly become a "standard way of testifying to one's devotion or leaving a personal memorial" (p. 87) ignores what Herodotus says about her intent to leave a unique dedication. Most to the point, a dedication by a Rhodopis is also not inconsistent with what Athenaeus says when he alleges that Herodotus made a mistake. There is no reason to think that Herodotus made up either the name Rhodopis or the existence of a dedication at Delphi; possible archaeological confirmation of a dedication by someone named Rhodopis confirms nothing in his text or in Athenaeus' in regard to Charaxus.

39. A little earlier in the same long list of examples of notable wine stewards he does quote Sa. frag. 141, which mentions Hermes; it is possible that the mention of Larichus was in the same poem, but he gives no indication of that. (I am relying on Voigt's compilation of the testimonia, pp. 427–28.)

But the stranger feature of the passage is the gender of Sappho's target. Athenaeus here is the only source for the datum that Sappho attacked Doricha. According to Ovid[?] (see below) and Herodotus, her ire was directed against Charaxus. Strabo says nothing about the content of the poem in which Doricha is named. It is possible that there were a number of invectives, although no one testimonium suggests in any way that Sappho attacked both of them. But it is simpler not to multiply entities. Athenaeus or his source, in haste or misled by a condensed quotation, must have misunderstood the antecedent of the gender-neutral Ionic pronoun in Herodotus' concluding phrase, κατεκερτόμησέ μιν, even though the context makes it quite clear. So although this solitary mention of an invective against Doricha may tempt us to look for the poem, it is not grounds for concluding that it must have existed, especially in the face of evidence to the contrary—evidence that, we shall see, does exist. The passage from Athenaeus adds nothing to confirm the story in Herodotus or clarify the content of Sappho's poetry, but it does make even clearer what we learned from Strabo, that material from a commentary on Herodotus had become part of the Hellenistic scholarly apparatus used for discussing Egypt and Naucratis.

The information on Sappho and Charaxus that Strabo and Athenaeus report appears to represent a common Hellenistic biographical tradition of which various details appear in late sources.[40] Ovid[?] *Heroides* 15 (T16 Campbell, 263V ref. only, not in L-P) also has the story (marvellously condensed: 63 *arsit inops frater meretricis captus amore*); his Sappho says that she directed her remarks against her brother, who has now gone to sea to repair his losses, although she characterizes what she said as dutiful advice (*monui . . . pia lingua*). The *vita* of Sappho found in *P Oxy.* 1800 frag. 1 (252 V, T1 Campbell, cf. 202–3 L-P) reports names for her father (Herodotus' and a close variant), the names of her three brothers, Charaxus' excess expenditure on Doricha, and her affection for Larichus.[41] The *Suda* entry for one of two Sapphos (Σ 107 = T2 Campbell) also names the three brothers, but it gives eight different names for her father, records the apparently comic name for her husband, and reports her reputation for *aischra philia*.[42] Among a large set of fragments from a scholarly compendium of the first to second century C.E. (*P Oxy.* 2506 = T14 Campbell; frag. 213A V, Campbell; *SLG* S273–78), there are many places in which the name Charaxus could be read (as well as the mention of Sappho's care for her brother Erigyius' clothes) but nothing is certain.[43] The only addition to the information in Strabo and

40. Dörrie (1975, 29) conjectures that Didymus, in the first century B.C.E., must have compiled all the then existing biographical traditions in the work that Seneca scornfully cites, *an Sappho publica fuit* (*Ep.* 88.37 = T22 Campbell).

41. . . . [πατρὸς δὲ Σκαμ]άνδρου, κα[τὰ δέ τινας Σκα]μανδρωνύ[μου· ἀδελφοὺς δ'] ἔσχε τρεῖς, ['Ερ]ι-[γυιον καὶ Λά]ριχον, πρεσβύ[τατον δὲ Χάρ]αξον, ὃς πλεύσας ε[ἰς Αἴγυπτον] Δωρίχαι τινὶ προσε[νεχθε]ὶς κατεδαπάνησεν εἰς ταύτην πλεῖστα. τὸν δὲ Λάριχον <νέον> ὄντα μᾶλλον ἠγάπησεν.

42. This Sappho comes from Eresos; the second entry, Σ 108 = T3, records a Sappho from Mytilene who was a lyre player and perhaps a poet, and who drowned herself for love of Phaon; this attribution of birth-places apparently reverses Athenaeus'.

43. Page, its original editor, calls the compendium a commentary, but Pfeiffer (1968, 222) denies this, and says it belongs to the category of "περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα" literature, in which "the interweaving of biographical

Athenaeus is a late report that Charaxus had children by Rhodopis; this is found in the *Suda* entry for Aesop (I will return to it below).[44]

The late tradition of Charaxus' adventure appears to be built from materials that originally excerpted, expanded, or contested Herodotus' narrative. It offers no independent confirmation of his story and gives no indication that there was a self-evident source for it in the poetry of Sappho. The only things we can infer with certainty are that the name Rhodopis did not occur in the text of Sappho and that the name Doricha must have been found somewhere in it.

5. DORICHA: THE TESTIMONY OF POSIDIPPUS

Herodotus' story contains two biographical details that have been considered essential to the reconstruction of Sappho's text: that Sappho's brother Charaxus indulged his passion for a woman in Egypt, and that Sappho attacked him in verse. Despite the lack of confirmation, it remains possible that he was referring in passing to a poem that he and his audience were familiar with, a bit of common culture, even if he was totally erroneous in connecting its contents with Rhodopis. For there is in fact a witness to a poem about Doricha and Charaxus by Sappho, although Lobel-Page (followed by Voigt) chose not to include it among the testimonia for Sappho's works. It is the epigram of Posidippus that Athenaeus quotes:[45]

Δωρίχα, ὀστέα μὲν †σ' ἀπαλὰ κοιμήσατο δεσμῶν†
χαίτης ἥ τε μύρων ἔκπνοος ἀμπεχόνη,
ἥ ποτε τὸν χαρίεντα περιστέλλουσα Χάραξον
σύγχρους ὀρθρινῶν ἤψαο κισσυβίων.
Σαπφῶαι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν
ᾠδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες.
οὔνομα σὸν μακαριστόν, ὃ Ναύκρατις ὧδε φυλάξει,
ἔστ' ἂν ἴῃ Νείλου ναῦς ἐφ' ἁλὸς πελάγη.

Doricha, your bones . . . the bands of your hair, and the perfume-breathing shawl in which you once wrapped the handsome Charaxus, and joining him to your flesh, grasped the wine cup in the small hours. But the white ringing pages of Sappho's dear song abide and will still abide. Happy your name which Naucratis will preserve thus as long as a ship from the Nile goes upon the wide salt sea. (trans. Campbell)

Whatever the difficulties of the reading in the first couplet, the motif, or topos, is clear enough: the body is gone, but the fame will live on on the

material and problems with the interpretation of selected passages of texts, often starting from long lemmata is typical." Voigt titles it "Commentarius in Lyricos vel Vitae Lyricorum." It appears to represent the fully developed biographical tradition.

44. There are two other late testimonia cited in Lobel-Page and Voigt. Photius = *Suda* P 211 could be drawn from Strabo, or from his source: Rhodopis was a Thracian, a slave with Aesop to Iadmon of Mytilene; Charaxus the brother of Sappho ransomed her; Sappho calls her Doricha. Appendix to the Proverbs 4.51 (1.445 Leutsch-Schnw.) reports that both Sappho and Herodotus mention Rhodopis; it makes no mention of Doricha and it is probably a hasty summary of the earlier material (Wilamowitz 1913, p. 19, n. 1).

45. Text from Page 1975, lines 1650–57. A. S. Hunt mentioned this poem in his notes to *P Oxy.* 1231. Campbell includes it as part of his additional testimony from Athenaeus (T15), as does Gallavotti, as part of an even longer citation of Athenaeus in his collection of ancient sources *sulla vita e la leggenda* (1962, no. 29).

page. The "problem" here is that the epigram hardly makes sense unless the poem praised Doricha; it contradicts Athenaeus' statement directly and Herodotus' by implication.[46] We are left to ask ourselves, at this point, who would have known and been using a text of Sappho, and have read it with an understanding of it as poetry rather than as a treasury of biographical references, and who is most likely to be writing for an audience that would know a text of the original. I suggest that the Alexandrian poet not only is our only witness to an actual poem, but is also most likely to be our best source for the character of what Sappho wrote, although he too may be adapting it for his own purposes. For the night of pleasure he describes does conform to Herodotus' report of how Charaxus was spending his free time in Naucratis. I will return to the question of why he confirms one detail and contradicts the other, but the discrepancy between the two writers does make it more likely that what Herodotus referred to and expected his audience to know was not necessarily an accurate representation of what Sappho wrote.

6. DORICHA AND CHARAXUS IN THE POEMS OF SAPPHO

At this point, it will be useful to review whether we find any confirming evidence for the affair and the reproach in the fragments. We require one that could not reasonably be supplemented in any other sense, or that at least shows some unambiguous correspondence with Herodotus' story. The name Doricha has been read in two places.

Fragment 7

Δωρί]χαc . [. . . . .] . [
]κην κέλε̣τ', οὐ γαρ̣ [
]ᾳιc 3
]κάνην ἀγερωχιᾳ[
]μμεν' ὄαν νέ̣ο̣ιcι[
] . αν φ[ι]λ[. . . . . .] . [
]μα . [

This is Voigt's text, which, uncharacteristically, is much less conservative than that in Lobel-Page, which is restricted to a transcription of the papyrus without any word-divisions.[47] The chi on the first line could equally well be a kappa, and is not printed in L-P: only the center of the angle and

46. For Gow and Page the problem is φίλης in line 5: ". . . here relevant only to what she wrote about Doricha. The adj. can hardly mean *friendly,* for according to Athenaeus ([13.69]; cf Hdt. 2.135) Sappho's references to Doricha were the reverse" (ad. loc., their emphasis). One could, of course, claim, as Wilamowitz does, that Posidippus is being ironic: "Sehr geschickt und auf wissende Leser berechnet ist es, daß es so aussieht, als hätte Sappho die Liebe ihres Bruders gefeiert, die sie gescholten hatte" (1913, p. 19, n. 1). But I do not see the grounds here (other than our own expectations based on Herodotus) for the kind of irony that would make words mean their opposite as a source of humor at the expense of the ignorant (the ones who know about Doricha but not Sappho), nor do I find it typical of Posidippus' epigrams in G-P or of those in the preliminary version of the new Milan papyrus (Bastianini and Gallazzi 1993), which are graceful compliments, prayers, or dedications—playful but not suggesting a delight in such heavy-handed irony. I will return to this below.

47. Line 5 is particularly problematic: the third nu is written above the second, and although Hamm (Voigt) defends ὄαν = οἷαν as typical of Lesbian phonology (1958, p. 27, §55b1), this is the only example of that pronoun without the iota.

the two right-pointing legs are preserved, and the kappas and chis are not distinguished by the length of these. Dr. Obbink advised me that he found it more like the kappas with a ligature at the bottom and identical to the other κα combinations. The probable ἀγερωχία in line 4 is a suggestive indicator of the poem's tone, but we hardly know how it was to be construed. This fragment, in other words, probably did not name Doricha, but may have; what it said about her, if it did, is beyond recovery.

We return, then, to Sappho 15. It is the first fragment of the major Sappho papyrus, *P Oxy.* 1231. At the start of the first preserved column there are line-ends representing two stanzas (1–3 syllables from between the sixth to tenth position of each line). An additional scrap with a few letters on three lines cannot be securely located as the beginnings of any of these. The third stanza, however, is much more readable; it is presumed to be the final stanza of its poem because it is followed by the first line of Sappho 16 (Ο]ἰ μὲν ἰππήων . . .), although the loss of the right margin leaves no coronis visible (both V and L-P supply it; there are no significant differences in their texts).

Κύ]πρι κα[ί σ]ε πι[κροτ̣.]ạν ἐπεύρ[οι 9
μη]δὲ καυχάσ[α]ιτο τόδ' ἐννέ[ποισα
Δ]ωρίχα τὸ δεύ[τ]ερον ὡς πόθε[–
–] ἔρον ἦλθε. 12

Cypris, may she also find you [. . . harsh], and may Doricha, telling of this, not boast how he (?) came the second time [to longed-for] love. (my trans.)

The gap in the supplement in line 9 is left by the editors for either πικροτάταν or πικροτέραν. The verbs in line 10 could also be καυχάσαντο and ἐννέποντες (Wilamowitz' preferred readings, reported in the *editio princeps,* along with ἐπεύρ[ον and οἱ] δὲ); in that case Δ]ωρίχα would be the subject of the verb in line 12.

But a restoration and interpretation of these lines, independently from the story, as an invective against Doricha are not justified. The actual remains of the beginning of line 11, represented in the texts by the dotted omega, is the dot of ink at the edge of the papyrus. This dot is close to and at the height of the bottom of the loop of the following rho (which is fairly high). It cannot possibly belong to the upper portion of the right upright of an omega, since those quite consistently curve in towards the left, and it is too high to be the lower right apex: the trace is not compatible with an omega, and therefore it is not compatible with Δωρίχα.[48]

48. It is harder to say what the trace is compatible with. It could be part of a horizontal line, either the final point or part of a line extending into or through an abraided area around the point where the loop of the rho is closed. The extended center bar of an epsilon is ruled out by the meter; the cross-bar of a tau, as in στρότον, two lines below (16.1), would be in the right position. But below the ink spot and just to the left of the bottom of the rho there is a smudge of dirt (this is not clear on the plate, where only a gray dot can be seen, but Williamson's photograph shows it). Within that another ink dot, directly below the first, can be detected (I am relying on Dr. Obbink's observation). This not only makes the omega even more unlikely, it also rules out tau. Perhaps eta should be considered; its right vertical consistently bows inward, while the upper right apex is directly above the lower. Since the rho of line 11 forms a straight line with the initial delta of line 10 and the epsilon of line 12, slightly to the right of the center of the pi of line 9 and slightly to the left of the center of the epsilon of 16.1 ο]ἰ μεν, there are at least two letters missing, and possibly three before the rho. But there is a fundamental difficulty in that words, or names, ending in -¯ρῐχᾱ in

And even if this were the spot where Doricha had been found, the poem is not necessarily hostile to her or in any way relevant to Herodotus' story. The supplement of πικρο- in line 9 betrays the bias towards reaffirming Herodotus, for πι[στοτ'.] would fit equally well—a prayer for constancy.[49] There is no reason to assume that one of the lovers in the poem is masculine; in this poem, as in many others, Sappho could be referring to events in the activity of the women she associated with. Indeed, given the rarity and limited distribution of names in -ιχος, it is probably more likely that -]richa and Sappho's brother Larichus belonged to the same Lesbian milieu than that he and a Thracian woman whom their brother Charaxus met in Egypt both happened to have a name of the same infrequent linguistic type (or that Sappho, to offend, gave her a name similar to her own supposedly better behaved brother's).[50]

The fragments of Sappho, therefore, offer practically nothing to confirm or deny the existence of a Doricha in them, and in what little they do offer, they give no indication of the poet's attitude or of "Doricha's" role. Under these circumstances, the positive evidence of a friendly poem implied by Posidippus must be preferred to Athenaeus' possible misreading of μιν in Herodotus' description of a rupture between the siblings.

That rupture, moreover, also cannot be confirmed from the fragments; it is in fact put in doubt. The poem that appears most probably to involve Charaxus is fragment 5:

Κύπρι καὶ] Νηρήιδες ἀβλάβη[ν μοι
τὸν κασί]γνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεσθα[ι
κῶσσα ϝ]οι θύμωι κε θέλητι γένεσθαι
πάντα τε]λέσθην,

ὅσσα δὲ πρ]όσθ' ἄμβροτε πάντα λῦσα[ι
καὶ φίλοισ]ι ϝοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι
–⏑–ἔ]χθροισι, γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι
–⏑⏑ μ]ηδ' εἷς·

τὰν κασιγ]νήταν δὲ θέλοι πόησθαι
–⏑– τίμας, [ὀν]ίαν δὲ λύγραν
–⏑– οτοισι π[ά]ροιθ' ἀχεύων
. . . .

Greek are quite rare. ΔΩ does fit the space, but it could only be adopted as a correction of the evidence: e.g., Δω][·]ρίχα. The final long alpha could also be the genitive singular of a masculine a-stem name (construed as the genitive with ἔρον).

49. This reading was originally proposed by Schubart (1948, 314), but with the usual bias; he took the verb at the end of the line to be first singular, with Sappho making a wish to her favorite deity for assistance in her campaign against Doricha. The meaning of καυχάομαι need not be pejorative; although the word has pejorative connotations in later Greek, so does archaic boasting in general. In Pind. *Isthm.* 5.51 καύχημα is the legitimate boast to martial prowess that yields to the celebration of athletic victory. According to Sa. frag. 193 (test.), Sappho boasted (μεγαλαυχουμένης) of her poetic skill.

50. The suffix -ιχος is discussed by Chantraine (1933, 402–4); it provides a number of Boeotian names, as well as, e.g., the more familiar μείλιχος < μέλι. Since doublets in -ος and -ης do occur with other suffixes (pp. 31–32), perhaps the genitive of the name of one of Sappho's other brothers should be considered: the name Larichos occurs only in the biographical tradition, where it could represent a normalization of Larichas (Dörrie 1975, 139, notes that the Greek traditions mostly have forms of Χάραξος but Photius [see Sa. 254d V] has -ας and the Ovid MSS. point to *Charaxes*). An alpha would fit the marks no better and no worse than an omega. But nothing is probable or even likely, only possible.

> [Cypris and] the Nereïdes, grant to [me] that [my] brother return and that [whatever] he wishes with his heart to be, be accomplished, and that he resolve/atone [whatever] he previously did amiss, and become a joy to [his friends] and . . . . to his enemies, and may we have not even one . . . and may he wish to make [for his sister?] honor(s), and . . . sorrowful pain [to/for . . .] (he) previously grieving. . . . [my trans.]

These lines are usually taken to refer to a misdeed (ἄμβροτε) by the "brother" of line 2 and to a hoped-for reconciliation. The brother is assumed to be Charaxus and the misdeed is assumed to be Rhodopis. But that interpretation is not in the text: it depends on Herodotus. Sappho's reference to herself, a supplement in line 9, is also not necessary.[51] A stricter reading can only say this is a prayer that someone come back successful, having made up previous losses, without any indication of their cause or type. It is not clear that the phrase ἄμβροτε . . . λῦσαι would or could have at this period the moral significance that would be normal in later classical Greek. Williamson, noting the political and public language of the fragment, prefers an explanation based on Mytilene's political strife (1995, 136–40). The early uses of λύειν are concrete; it could have here the financial meaning from which "atone" is derived. Ovid's version (lines 65–66) suggests that Charaxus was at sea in order to solve financial difficulties, although Ovid, of course, accepts the cause supplied by the biographical tradition. Since the poem is a prayer for (presumably) Charaxus' safety and success, apparently on his departure, it is in any case unlikely that it could be the poem Herodotus refers to.[52]

The fragments of Sappho, such as we have them, offer no support for the tradition in regard to Charaxus. Together, the Posidippus epigram and fragment 5 could lead us to expect only friendly and affectionate relations. They suggest the same conclusion about Herodotus' story as do the implications of the problem of the double name and the absence of quotation in Athenaeus, that the story never had an unambiguous source in the songs of Sappho, even if we assume that it reflects something in them.

51. This is Voigt's text, but she lists two alternatives: γεν]νήταν (Schubart) and αἰ]νήταν (Page). And as the journal's reader pointed out to me, -γνητον in line 2 could also be the end of a man's name, and the whole poem could have nothing to do with Charaxus at all (but I am inclined to believe that if it were a man's name, the tradition would have incorporated him into the biographies). It is worth remembering that no fragment of a poem or lemma is extant in which the name Charaxus is even a possible supplement; it occurs only in commentary or testimonia.

52. So Page ([1955] 1965, 50), who assumes that safety from Doricha is what Sappho prays for. Others have assumed a closer relationship between frag. 5 and the Herodotus story. Lasserre (1989, 191–93, without mentioning Ovid) takes it to be a prayer that he recoup his finances in order to restore to the family the honor that they lost when he squandered his associates' profits on Rhodopis—and so, in effect, a rebuke. The modern commentators are generally vexed over the number of Charaxus' voyages they must postulate to coordinate the fragments with Herodotus. Cavallini (1991, 100–109) seeks instead to locate the invective (which she assumes must exist) in the extremely lacunose frag. 3, finding support in the equation 6:]οιδήσαις = *Ep. Sapph.* 117: *crescit.* But this argument depends on far too many prior assumptions to carry any weight. For the genre of the poem, *propempticon,* see Treu (1963, 184–85). The language of frag. 5 is, in fact, so conventional that it is not neccessary that it refer to anything in particular; compare specifically Thgn. 691–92 W, and for the language and thought Hom. *Od.* 23.286; Thgn. 341–43 W; Solon 13.67–70 W (= Thgn. 587–90 W); Sa. 1.25–27; and Aesch. *Sept.* 166, 176. I leave aside here the inherent improbability, given our understanding of archaic society and of the politics of the aristocracy of Mytilene, that Sappho would have made public, in any form, an attack on her own brother.

7. SAPPHO AND RHODOPIS IN ATHENS?

"Rhodopis" appears to be a name around which stories gathered. There is no reason to privilege Herodotus' version as primary or as more likely to be true than the others. We have the woman for whom a man lost his sense and fortune, who built the pyramid, who was honored by the pyramid, who dedicated the spits at Delphi, and who lost a sandal and became a queen. Her exemplary beauty became the subject of a rueful proverb: ἄπανθ' ὅμοια καὶ Ῥοδῶπις ἡ καλή.[53] There seems to have been a confusion of her stories with those of other legendary women.[54] "Rhodopis" is the signifier not of a particular historical personage but of sexual excess as a typical characteristic of power and wealth (although there may once have been a glamorous demimondaine who put the name in circulation).[55] For Herodotus her stories served to sum up his doubts about the Egyptian cultivation of *logos* as a satisfactory source of history, despite its opposition to epic. His doubts were grounded in the Egyptians' excessive devotion to the material body, which he identified with an improper obsession with and use of feminine sexuality. He presented the Rhodopis stories in a form that suited his purpose. It would have been ineffective if the audience did not find his presentation of the story acceptable; since he gives no source for it and little argument on its behalf, it must have been in some way familiar.

Every explanation, even taking Herodotus at face value, requires that we posit some literary work of which we have no direct evidence. Since supposing that the story is a composite of different elements not only goes against the manner in which Herodotus handles the story, but has the additional disadvantage of requiring separate explanations of how Herodotus and his audience came to adopt each element, the most promising solution would be a single source or set of sources that had already drawn together Rhodopis, Naucratis, Delphi, Aesop, and Sappho and Charaxus in a context that justified his ironic treatment of them. That could only be comedy. Given what we already know of Sappho in the comic tradition, such a context is, indeed, imaginable; it only requires that we date her entry into it somewhat earlier than our explicit references provide.[56] And there are hints in the evidence for the story that not only point to the comedy of the third quarter of the fifth century but also suggest something about the comic themes involved.

53. The quotation from the Appendix to the Proverbs included in Sa. 202 L-P (next to last item) = 254f V belongs to one of the citations of this proverb; it shows up three times in the *Suda* (A 2897, Π 191 [παντα], P 210); for further references and the meanings attributed to it, see n. 61.

54. In the fragments of Manetho, the building of the Third Pyramid of Giza is attributed to the Egyptian Nitocris (cf. Herodotus 2.100), who is described as "blond in complexion" and, in one version, "with rose-colored cheeks"; Nitocris, Rhodopis, and Cheops' daughter (with the relevant fragments of Manetho from Waddell's Loeb) are discussed by Coche-Zvie (1972). Her conclusions (which are based on accepting the existence of a Rhodopis [= Doricha] in the reign of Amasis) are that each figure represents a separate tradition, but that they did influence each other as they acquired legendary status.

55. One might compare the fabulous embellishments attached to the career of the Englishwoman Eliza Gilbert, who gained notoriety for her attractiveness and her involvements (under a different name) with both an artist and a king (see S. Bruce, *Lola Montez* [New Haven, 1996]).

56. They are collected by Campbell, T 25–26, T 26 n. 1.

To identify Rhodopis Herodotus uses the idiom Ῥοδῶπιος ἑταίρης γυναικός (134.1), in which ἑταίρης is a noun.[57] The term *hetaira* has a double life in the late fifth century. The older usage, to refer to a woman as a member of a group with a common interest, parallel to *hetairos,* existed side-by-side with the sexualized meaning. Earlier in the century Pindar used it for the gatherings of *parthenoi* rejected by the adulterous adventuress Coronis (*Pyth.* 3.18), and the unromantic huntress Cyrene (*Pyth.* 9.19). Later, in Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 528, Praxagora certainly expects her husband to understand the adjectival use innocently in reference to a friend giving birth (γυνή . . . ἑταίρα καὶ φίλη), even though the chorus uses the sexual meaning explicitly in line 1161. Context and phrasing obviously determine the denotation (whatever double entendres Aristophanes may or may not intend). In its earlier sense the stem *hetair-* evokes especially the aristocratic world and idealized comradeship of the symposium; so Herodotus, relating how Ariston took Agetus' wife, emphasizes the depth of Ariston's betrayal of his friendship with Agetus by repeating *hetairos* several times (6.61–62). That sympotic ideal is especially represented by the poetry of Alcaeus, and Herodotus uses the masculine expression corresponding to his description of Rhodopis only once, to describe a companion to whom Alcaeus sent a poem: Μελανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ (5.95). Although the "digression" in which Alcaeus appears (the sole mention of him) seems incidental, it immediately follows a topic dear to the hearts of Athenian symposiasts, who sang Alcaeus' poem—the evils of tyranny and the fate of Hippias. But at some point in the century the feminine form *hetaira* became "party-girl" as well as "companion in the party." In that sense we know it from the world of comedy. Although Athenaeus cites Sappho (13.571d) to illustrate the innocent use of the term, his subsequent quotations in that passage make it clear that playing the two meanings off against each other was a feature of at least Middle and New Comedy.

Sappho was associated with the world of the symposium. In the fragments cited by Athenaeus, she uses *hetairai* to refer to the singer's companions (frag. 160), as does the *Suda* (Σ 107), and to the companionship of Leto and Niobe (frag. 142). The (late) story about Solon learning her poems (Aelian ap. Stobaeus *Flor.* 3.2.58 = Campbell T10) envisions sympotic performance; she appears as a poet and musician on fifth-century vases, and on one keeps company with Alcaeus.[58] But at some point Sappho also experienced the same development in "meaning." She became a figure in comedy known for her sexual involvements rather than, or as well as, her aristocratic erotic poetry. That transformation is reflected in the obscene pun in the alleged name of her husband[59] and in the stories of her unrequited love

57. Cf. Smyth §986 and K-G §405 a) 1.

58. For a technical description of the vases, see Richter 1965, 1:72 and for a discussion (with plates), Snyder 1997. The most complete survey of possible representations is in Yatromanolakis 2001; he points out evidence of sympotic (or kommastic) contexts for Sappho's reception in the fifth centrury. Most (1996, 32) reaches the same conclusion. Note that my concerns here are not whether her own performances were actually sympotic but whether she used sympotic language and how she was received in Athens.

59. For the history of the recognition and disregard of the joke, see Parker 1996, pp. 146–47 and nn. 2–6.

for Phaon. In this new role, she must also have been connected with the new meaning of *hetaira,* for the later tradition speaks of a Lesbian Sappho who was a lyre player or *hetaira*. Scholars apparently explained her double role by generating a second Sappho (Athen. 13.596e [discussed above]; *Suda* Σ 108 = T 3 Campbell; Ael *VH* 12.19 = T4 Campbell) and then wondered if they were the same person (Sen. *Ep.* 88.37 = T22 Campbell; see Most 1996, 15–16; and Dörrie 1975, pp. 21–22 with n. 22); that connection may well explain Athenaeus' apparently arbitrary transition from the *hetairai* of Naucratis to those of Eresus, one of whom was named Sappho (above, p. 220). Most of the evidence for Sappho and Phaon in comedy is Middle Comedy or later, but one comedy named *Sappho* is attributed to Ameipsias, a contemporary of Aristophanes. While we cannot know in which decade the persona of a person famous for sex was joined to the literary figure, I find it striking that Herodotus' only uses of *hetaira*—which are also the first surviving occurrences of the word in Greek in the sense of "prostitute" or "courtesan"—occur in a passage that connects the *hetaira* in question to Sappho. I conclude that Herodotus is reflecting a contemporary development whose popular expression would be found in comedy. In either sense, Sappho appears to have become the paradigmatic *hetaira.*[60]

If we return to Athenaeus' version of Herodotus' story, there is evidence pointing more specifically to a comic origin. Correcting Herodotus' use of the name Rhodopis, he distinguishes the woman in Herodotus' story from the Rhodopis who made a dedication of spits at Delphi and is mentioned by Cratinus. Just as the ancient commentators generated two Sapphos to accommodate irreconcilable personae, Athenaeus is supposing two women named Rhodopis to reconcile the figure celebrated by a comic poet with the woman in Herodotus' story about Charaxus (in both cases, the ancient writers exclude the possibility that one figure might be derived from the other). But in the process he provides us with the starting point that Rhodopis figured in a comedy by Cratinus. The beginning of Cratinus' career is at least contemporary with Herodotus'. We can make no assumptions about the context in which Rhodopis and the spits appeared.[61] Some surviving titles

60. M. Henry notes that this is the first occurrence of *hetaira* in this sense in *OCD*[3], s.v. Recent studies of this form of high-cost prostitution, have shown that it is to be associated especially with the sympotic elite (Reinsberg 1993, 80–162; Kurke 1997; Davidson 1997, 109–36). Kurke makes clear that the term seems to be much later than the practice, which was originally described by euphemistic periphrases; she suggests that the usage originates as a term of derision, applied by outsiders to mock the sympotic equality of elite and prostitute (p. 113). Such a use would not be out of keeping with Herodotus' ironic tone. Perhaps the comic representation of Sappho gave currency to the double meaning of the word. Many of the passages from Herodotus discussed here are analyzed in terms of their significance for Greek cultural history by Kurke (1999).

61. The Athenaeus passage is included among the fragments of uncertain origin, 369K-A = 331K. The trimeter proverb that I mentioned above (p. 227), ἄπανθ' ὅμοια, καὶ Ῥοδῶπις ἡ καλή, is also included among the fragments of Attic Comedy, *incerti poetae* *489 K-A = 579 Kock. It appears in collections (the apparatus in K-A provides a list of the sources; they consider its comic origin doubtful) with two different explanations: ταῖς τύχαις ὁμοίως ὑποπεπτώκασιν οἱ θνητοί, and τοὺς οὖν πολὺ ἀπολέσαντας ἀργύριον, τὸ διάφορον τῆς μίξεως πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας συνορῶντας, ἐπιφωνεῖν τὸ λεγόμενον (K-A prefer <ἀ>διάφορον). The first makes the proverb obviously Delphic in tone, although hard to construe; it sounds like a bowdlerization. Taken in accordance with the second (whose gist is clear, whatever the reading), the proverb's syntax is clear and, with its more specific reference and its disparagement of Rhodopis as object rather than subject of the experience, its sounds more authentic; it would be quite suitable to an Attic comedy.

indicate that Cratinus used what we might call literary-historical settings or literary figures.[62] But whatever the context, a comic source for Herodotus' Rhodopis seems to me to be much more likely than a source in Sappho's poems, and Athenaeus' citation makes Cratinus look like a good candidate for the author. Rhodopis, as a legendary *meretrix* would be a foil for the comic treatment of Sappho as an *hetaira*. A comedy introducing Rhodopis from Naucratis, and involving Delphi, is also a likely source for Herodotus' treatment of Rhodopis and Aesop in parallel. Such a comedy, in fact, could account for most, if not all, of the elements of Herodotus' story, as well as for its tone (a comedy could also have introduced a self-consciousness about the role of poetry).

There are no grounds for guessing whether Herodotus is using one or several contemporary comic sources (and comic poets had no exclusive rights to their own material), and whether or not he introduces some variations of his own. But just as in the case of his suppression of Stesichorus, his audience would be perfectly well aware of what he was doing, and in both cases the passages in question would discredit—one explicitly, one implicitly—the authority and prestige of Greek poetry, each naming a poet (Homer, Sappho) while accepting a dubious version of events from a poet not named but well known (Stesichorus, Cratinus?).[63]

8. THE SONGS OF SAPPHO

It is self-evident how the female poet of love could come, in the comic imagination, to be associated with a *hetaira*. The involvement of Charaxus with a courtesan, however compatible with that reinterpretation of Sappho, would need to be separately explained.[64]

A late shred of evidence, offering a concrete detail not in Herodotus, may point to the content of a comedy and to its background in a well-established genre of Sapphic poetry. In the entry for Aesop, the *Suda* (AI 334 = Sa. 254e V) concludes with Herodotus' information about both Aesop and Rhodopis,

62. E.g., *Archilochoi, Odysses, Dionysalexandros;* the riddle-writing (and probably apocryphal) poet Kleobouline was a character in a play named after her, *Kleoboulinai* (test. i in K-A, from Athenaeus; Sappho had this role in a Middle Comedy by Antisthenes [Sappho T 25 Campbell]); *Cheirones* featured Solon *redivivus* (246 K-A = 228 K), but perhaps more as a political than literary hero; Cratinus also mentioned Phaon and Aphrodite in one play (frag. 370 = Sa. 211.b.ii L-P, 211.c V), but there is no necessary connection to the legend about Sappho.

63. Lateiner (1991, 99) documents Herodotus' rejection of poets as historical sources. Fehling allows an unknown poetic source for the stories of Cadmus (1989, 140). Moles points out that although the series of reciprocal kidnappings in the first chapters of Book 1 is "billed as 'Persian' and 'Phoenician', as if Herodotus had meticulously consulted Oriental sources, its content is solidly Greek"; he argues that the content also has serious undertones, about the nature of history and historiography, so that Herodotus is able to use it and distance himself from it simultaneously (1993, 95–96). The relationship of Herodotus to the poetic tradition is discussed extensively by Nagy (1990, esp. 215–49, 321–35), with reference to this passage among others; he emphasizes the similarity of Herodotus' work and of song, both in their aims and in their relation to epic. In emphasizing Herodotus' opposition to the poets here I take that fundamental similarity for granted; it is the basis of the competition.

Herodotus' blatant adaptation of a comic treatment is, as a literary and intellectual exercise, quite different from the later biographers' use of comedy as a reliable source, although I suspect that they would not have understood it that way.

64. Most (1996, 35) has pointed out that whatever the distortions of the comic and biographical tradition, they represent something in somebody's reading of the poems; they had to start from somewhere.

but adds that Charaxus took her as a wife and had children by her.[65] This could have been generated as an embellishment to the version in Herodotus (note the absence of the name Doricha), and be of no significance, although it is puzzling, in that case, why it survives under Aesop, but not under Rhodopis. But if it represents another or a fuller version of a comic presentation involving Aesop, Rhodopis, and Charaxus—and it certainly sounds like a comic episode—then Herodotus may simply have omitted it, as a distraction from his needs, when he says that she was freed and remained in Egypt, where she practiced her trade so successfully (2.135.2).[66] It suggests that behind the narrative of Charaxus' sexual entanglement may lie a comic travesty of a wedding, and so of the various types of wedding songs.

Within his telling of the story Herodotus may have left a more precise hint of some of what was in the comedy, in the verb he uses to describe the poem of Sappho's that the editors, taking the story too literally, have vainly sought: Σαπφὼ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. The simple κερτομέω, "mock," can fit a variety of situations (without any implication about the underlying relationship between the parties), as can the Homeric ἐπικερτομέω (only once in Herodotus, at 8.92, when the Aeginetan commander throws a taunt back at his ally Themistocles). But Herodotus uses the compound κατακερτομέω elsewhere only to descibe Harpagus' vengeful taunting of Astyages, after Harpagus finally brought down the king who had served him his children (1.129.2); otherwise the word is not found before late Hellenistic authors. It appears to be a very strong term, restricting κερτομέω to its harshest meaning in the same way that καταγελάω restricts γελάω.[67] Either Sappho was being quite savage in this supposed poem of rebuke, of which we have no other trace, or Herodotus himself, in choosing this unusual word, is maintaining the ironic tone of the passage. For κερτομέω also seems to be the *vox propria* for a specific kind of mockery, risqué teasing appropriate to sex and marriage, as illustrated by Hermes' song of his parents in the *Hymn to Hermes* (54–59):

65. ἣν ἑταίραν γενομένην . . . Χάραξος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σαπφοῦς ἔλαβε γυναῖκα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννᾷ. There may be a hint of this tradition as well in Tzetzes' summary of the story: Χάραξος . . . τὴν Ῥοδῶπιν τὴν ἑταιρίδα ἐκ Ξάνθου ὠνήσατο, . . . καὶ ταύτῃ συνῆν (*Proll. Com.*, [*CGF* p. 26 = Koster 1.11a.1.44–49 = Sa. 254g V]), since otherwise the συνῆν would be extremely otiose, but that is a possibility not to be ruled out for this author, and he seems, here and in the next paragraph, to be following Herodotus quite closely. (The fact that this is in the *Prolegomena de Comoedia* is incidental; it is merely part of a frigid conceit, that Sappho is a trope for *sapheneia*.) Campbell accepts the story: "this may account in part for S[appho]'s hostility" (n. 2 to the quotation from Herodotus in Sa. 202).

66. The comic source or sources may have been more about Aesop than Charaxus or Rhodopis. His prominence in Herodotus' narrative, the possibility that Posidippus mentioned Doricha in an *Aesopia* (above, p. 219), and the curious detail of the Suda's entry suggest his importance to the history of Charaxus' adventure.

67. Page, rejecting the meaning "reproach" (preferred by the defenders of Sappho's moral character), adds, "mock, taunt, jeer at" to LSJ's "rail violently" ([1955] 1965, p. 50, n. 2). Unlike καταγελάω, κατακερτομέω appears more often with the accusative than genitive; the absolute usage (as in 1.129.2) is most common. Two of the instances of the word (in Ps.-Philo and Σ *Od.*) claim to be reports of Aristotle. κερτομέω itself is normally a poetic word; it is found in tragedy but—despite the obvious suitability of its meaning—forms of neither the simple word nor its compounds are comic. Searching on -κερτομ- I found only two instances from comedy (otherwise unreadable), both of the simple form; one from Epicharmus (98.75 K-A, in a lemma from a commentary); the other probably from the *Kleoboulinai* of Cratinus (**test.* ii K-A).

θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδεν
ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίης πειρώμενος, ἠύτε κοῦροι
ἡβηταὶ θαλίῃσι παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν,
ἀμφὶ Δία Κρονίδην καὶ Μαιάδα καλλιπέδιλον
†ὃν πάρος ὠρίζεσκον† ἑταιρείῃ φιλότητι,
ἣν τ' αὐτοῦ γενεὴν ὀνομακλυτὸν ἐξονομάζων·

. . . and, as he tried it, the god sang sweet random snatches, even as youths bandy taunts at festivals. He sang of Zeus the son of Cronos and neat-shod Maia, the converse which they had before in the comradeship of love, telling all the glorious tale of his own begetting. (trans. Evelyn-White)

Here (in addition to the subject matter) παραιβόλος ("with a side meaning"; see LSJ) and ὀαρίζω (the *locus classicus* is Hom. *Il.* 22.127–28) set the context for κερτομέω.[68] There appear to be songs of sexual innuendo among Sappho's wedding fragments, particularly fragments 111 (the bridegroom equal to Ares) and 110 (the bigfooted door-guard, in a poem that also made jest of the bridegroom).[69] Had Sappho composed the various songs for her brother's wedding, a correct description of one of them, no doubt, could be ἐν μέλεϊ Σαπφὼ πολλὰ ἐκερτόμησέ μιν. That comedy could make an opportunity for its own ribaldry out of wedding song is clear from the finale of Aristophanes' *Peace;* in this case, the interpretation of it as vituperative could come from the comic source or be Herodotus' own. For an audience who would have known both original wedding songs (including, probably, Sappho's) and the comic travesty, the compound verb would be doubly appropriate, and the harsh interpretation of mockery directed to the groom allows Herodotus to maintain his supposed stance of rejecting the frivolity of sexual content in the poetic tradition.[70]

68. In 5.83.12 Herodotus uses the adjective form to describe the songs of women mocking women in a ceremony for what are obviously fertility deities. Compare ἐπικερτομέω in *Anacreonta* 37.8 and [Theoc.] 20.2.

69. On obscenity and sexual teasing in wedding songs, see Burnett 1983, pp. 218–19 and nn. 21, 22. The ribaldry of these is denied by some; for the relevant bibliography see Hague 1983, p. 141, n. 8, and the discussion in Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990, 91–95 (who notes that the motif of ritual obscenity is common in wedding songs, but doubts that this is an example). Demetr. *Eloc.* 167 (110a L-P, 110 Test. V) criticizes the style in which Sappho makes fun of the ἄγροικος νυμφίος. One can suppose that she really was making jokes at his country origins, or that Demetrius took too literally language that suggested the barnyard. R. Muth, taking Demetrius literally, is perplexed on the relation of such language to the wedding ceremony, since "Spott is das Gegenstück des Lobs" (1954, p. 38, n. 45); but the kind of jest she was actually making was more likely (as Hague treats it) a kind of praise. But the groom can be teased without praise, from the evidence of the opening of Theocritus 18, discussed below.

70. Aloni (1997, lxvi–lxxv), who accepts the ancient story, argues that the attack on Charaxus would belong to a group of poems by Sappho that are part of the same tradition of blame poetry that we associate with "iambic" in the Ionic poets. However, the evidence for such poetry by Sappho is quite thin. The best examples (55, 57, 71 L-P, V) are apparently addressed to women and may represent rivalry in performance, but we certainly cannot rule out the possibility of political attacks in the fragments (Sa. 99 L-P [= Alc. 303A V] perhaps contains an allegation of sexual inadequacy; if so, another, alleging excess, is not unlikely). It remains possible, then, even without crediting the story, to suppose that an invective against a man, even a man named Charaxus, was reinterpreted as Sappho's attack on her brother. This would add a number of complications. I doubt that such a genuine misinterpretation, in the style of later biographers, was likely in the fifth century, or that Herodotus disingenuously invented it as a novelty, without being clearer about the source; if it were a comic invention, it would not change the conclusions very much. In Theocritus 18 (see below), the chorus mock the groom by suggesting that he is too exhausted for the wedding night on account of his excessive drinking; other possibilities suggest themselves, suitable to the crudeness of Attic comedy.

Ribaldry would be part of comedy's involvement of Charaxus with a courtesan, but the story also seems to require expenditure. And it is unlikely that the ribaldry itself would be so significant a part of Sappho's or any other poet's wedding poetry as to inspire a full travesty. The more formal songs, to accompany the bride or serenade the newlyweds, would be the more important source for characterizing detail. Indeed, there exists one fragment, usually assumed to be from the praise of a bride, that not only conveys an atmosphere of luxuriant expenditure, but describes the bride as foreign (Sa. 44.5–6, 7–10 V):

Ἕκτωρ καὶ συνέταιρ[ο]ι ἄγοισ' ἐλικώπιδα
Θήβας ἐξ ἱέρας . . .
ἄβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν ἐνὶ ναῦσιν ἐπ' ἄλμυρον
πόντον· πόλλα δ' [ἐλί]γματα χρύσια κἄμματα
πορφύρ[α] καταὔτ[με]να, ποίκιλ' ἀθύρματα,
ἀργύρᾳ τ' ἀνάρ[ι] θμα [ποτή] ρ[ια] κἀλέφαις.

. . . Hector and his companions are bringing the lively-eyed, graceful Andromache from holy Thebe . . . in their ships over the salt sea; and (there are) many golden bracelets and (perfumed?) purple robes, ornate trinkets and countless silver drinking-cups and ivory. (trans. Campbell)

I do not wish to assert that the wedding of Charaxus is the context for fragment 44. Wedding songs are generic (according to frag. 105b test. Sappho compared one groom to Achilles), and this mythic paradigm for a processional need not apply to anyone in particular (and need not even be part of a wedding song); but it suits this case especially well, and illustrates an element of what I take to be the likely basis for a comic treatment: diverse wedding songs that included praise of the bride (described as coming from a distance), references to wealth (which could be deliberately misundertood as excess expenditure), and ribald teasing of the groom.[71]

Doricha's name did occur somewhere in Sappho's poems.[72] Whatever the context, it prompted fourth-century scholars to make an association that brought Sappho, the comedy, and Herodotus into alignment as factual sources. It is their work that Posidippus reflects. His epigram, in our tradition, sounds decadent: was Charaxus being faithful (to his sister) in his fashion? But the eroticism of the epigram is different from but not opposed to the eroticism of epithalamia. If Theocritus 18 is, as generally assumed, an

71. I assume that this description could point to any number of wedding songs, involving different phases of the wedding ceremony, although ribaldry directed to someone named Charaxus would seem to be essential. Biographically inclined critics can hope that he really was her brother, and really did marry a woman named Doricha, who came from Naucratis, where, it is well established, Lesbian merchants were in residence who certainly could have had daughters. For summary and bibliography of the debate over frag. 44, see Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990, 105–8 and Hague 1983, p. 141, n. 9.

72. Bergk (1878–82), in his note to Sa. 78.1 = 81.4 V, L-P (σὺ δὲ στεφάνοις, ὦ Δίκα, πέρθεσθ' ἐράτοις φόβαισιν), suggests reading Δώριχα there in place of ὦ Δικα to supply the favorable mention implied by Posidippus. The suggestion has been mostly ignored (it is not even in Voigt's apparatus), but the existence of a Dika among the women associated with Sappho has not been confirmed by any subsequent discovery (the name is in the part of the text found only in Athenaeus; Dika is at best a possible conjecture in frag. 82A V, L-P), and it may be worth further consideration. I am grateful to André Lardinois for bringing this to my attention.

example of the Sapphic motifs of the latter (Gow 1965, 2:348–49) then the references to staying awake and not sleeping, and joining under one cloak, belong to both, even if the marriage song is somewhat more coy (cf. Sa. frag. 197, Libanius' report that Sappho prayed the night be made double). Posidippus' goals are literary.[73] The epigram is playful, for an audience who know their texts and are up to date with literary scholarship. Using the motifs of epithalamia and taking as its occasion the Alexandrian interest in the local celebrity of Rhodopis (and perhaps the literary precedent of epigrams for *hetairai*), it reconciles the praise that Sappho wrote with the travesty that the commentators made authoritative when they associated the two names.

*

Reduced to selected testimonia for a poem or poems by Sappho, the story of Charaxus and Rhodopis in Herodotus has the charm of an episode from a picaresque tale or a *Bildungsroman,* with Charaxus at its center. But no extant fragment can be read to correspond with Herodotus' version of events, and the subsequent citations of it do not stand up as independent confirmations of an origin in Sappho's songs; the weight of what evidence there is, both positive and negative, makes it likely that there is no such poem as has been supposed. Read for its own sake in the *Histories,* the episode has Rhodopis at its center and proves to be woven thematically into Herodotus' presentation of Egyptian history; the parts relevant to Charaxus or Sappho are closely integrated with the parts that have nothing to do with them and the episode asks to be taken as a whole. A reading that takes account of the story's context and Herodotus' language, tone, and handling of sources, and that attends to the details of the later tradition where they take up the same subjects, suggests that he has adopted or adapted a single source that his audience would recognize, most likely a motif from a comedy or comedies that took advantage of the new, second meaning of *hetaira* to bring together incidents based on a travesty of various types of wedding songs, such as are found in Sappho, with stories about Rhodopis and her fellow slave Aesop.

This conclusion accords with our knowledge of Sappho's place in the comic tradition and with our best understanding of the ancient use of biography; it takes account not only of the differences among the sources but also of their full contexts, and it explains the absence of quotation. It includes the Posidippus fragment as part of the evidence. It understands the "digression" in Herodotus to be both purposeful and artful within his own concern to establish the character of his history. Above all, it confronts the fact that only by stretching and cutting have the fragments of Sappho been

73. Gutzwiller (1998, 157–70) discusses some of Posidippus' erotic epigrams and their reference to literary tradition. She compares 17 to Asclepiades' celebration of Archeanassa, a famous *hetaira* of earlier times, in 41 G-P = *Anth. Pal.* 7.217.

made to fit the couch of Rhodopis, and asks of her instead only poetry of the kind that there is ample evidence she wrote.[74]

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Subversive Laughter: The Sayings of Courtesans in Book 13 of Athenaeus' Deipnosophistae
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SUBVERSIVE LAUGHTER: THE SAYINGS OF COURTESANS IN BOOK 13 OF ATHENAEUS' *DEIPNOSOPHISTAE*

LAURA MCCLURE



Abstract. Although the witticisms of courtesans recorded by Athenaeus in Book 13 of the *Deipnosophistae* (577d–85f) comprise an important source, if not of the actual words of hetaeras, at least of the genres and verbal conventions identified with them, they have received scant attention from classical scholars. The content and context of these remarks reveal a complex verbal dynamic in which obscene punning challenges normative class and gender categories and represents the hetaera as in discursive control. By ventriloquizing these witticisms, Athenaeus' interlocutors appropriate yet another aspect of Athenian literary heritage to articulate their own self-presentation as they vie for discursive status.

ALTHOUGH THE NUMEROUS WITTICISMS of courtesans recorded by Athenaeus in Book 13 of the *Deipnosophistae* (577d–85f) comprise an important source, if not of the actual words of hetaeras, at least of the genres and verbal conventions identified with them, they have received scant attention from classical scholars. Previous assessments have emphasized the role played by these witticisms in the hetaera's subordination and objectification, but they have failed to account for their discursive function within the context of Athenaeus. This essay will argue that the content and context of these remarks reveal a complex verbal dynamic in which obscene punning challenges normative class and gender categories and actually depicts the hetaera in discursive control.[1] Whether in the symposium and its public correlative, the comic theater, or in

[1] As Henry 1992, 262, argues, "Besides their eloquence and bravado, the courtesans Myrtilus praises speak only as the self-defined objects of men's sexual pleasure"; cf. also Henry 2000, 504. Keuls 1985, 199, similarly describes the cultivated hetaera as "a fabrication of the male mind," whose witticisms consist of "male-generated jokes, hinging on puns and sexual innuendo." Faraone 1999, 156 and n. 90, views the hetaera's repartee as part of a generalized preference for male speech modes, exemplified in magical practice by their use of *agōgē* spells normally deployed by men; cf. Luc. *DMeretr.* 4.1; *AP*5.205; Theoc. *Id.* 2.23–32.

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Athenaeus' literary banquet, the hetaera's speech provokes the laughter that both seduces and ridicules.[2] This parodic, carnivalesque discourse inserts into the conversation of respectable men a risqué jesting that comically exposes and denounces the pretensions of philosophers.[3] By ventriloquizing these witticisms, Athenaeus' interlocutors appropriate yet another aspect of Athenian literary heritage to articulate their own ethical self-presentation in their quest for discursive status.[4]

Composed in the late second to early third century C.E. by Athenaeus of Naucratis, the *Deipnosophistae* portrays a fictional banquet modeled after Plato's *Symposium* that occurs over a two-day period at Rome. Until recently, classical scholars have largely viewed this encyclopedic compilation as a work of little literary merit although an important source of literary quotations and social customs; indeed, it provides a staggering amount of both: the author quotes directly from Attic tragedy more than 250 times and makes reference to approximately 260 Athenian comic poets.[5] The work falls squarely within the genre of sympotic literature initiated by Plato and Xenophon, one that perhaps originates in the salacious after-dinner story of the adulterous Aphrodite Odysseus tells to the Phaeacians in the *Odyssey* (Hom. *Od.* 8.266–369). As a literary genre, the symposium encourages joke telling, witty anecdotes, and comic action "because such a wide variety of incidents and situations can be allowed to take place naturally and spontaneously" (Anderson 2000, 318). Thus even in Plato's *Symposium*, Aristophanes' jester-like hiccup (Pl. *Smp.* 185c–e; γελωτοποιεῖς, cf. 189a–b) and Alcibiades' drunken appearance with an *aulētris* (Pl. *Smp.* 212d) interrupt an otherwise serious (and sober) round of speechifying. These discourses of pleasure have a subversive aspect because they interrupt the otherwise orderly progression of speeches.

[2] Davidson 1997, 135, argues that the hetaera's literary allusions frequently disguise obscene propositions in a sort of verbal striptease that shows a "resistance to closed meaning, to definition."

[3] A recent strand of criticism views these witticisms as a parodic lampooning of the philosophical tradition; see Hawley 1993, 87, and Davidson 1997, 93. For Hawley, courtesans' jokes undercut or parody the catalogues of maxims uttered by women in Plutarch, e.g., *Apophthegmata Lakonika*, and other such sources. Similarly, Kurke 2002 argues that courtesans' jokes in Machon's *Chreiae* provide a subversive and democratic discourse in an era of Macedonian political rule. I am grateful to Leslie for letting me read a version of the essay before its publication.

[4] On the notion of performing the self as a means of articulating status in the Second Sophistic period, see Gleason 1991, and most recently, Whitmarsh 2001.

[5] On the number of quotations from tragedy, see Collard 1969, 168; on allusions to fifth-century comedy, see Sidwell 2000, 137.

In his introduction, Athenaeus states that he has recounted the fine sayings of educated men, those well versed in *paideia* (τοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἐμπειροτάτους . . . τῶν καλλίστων, 1.1a). The conversation will include innumerable kinds of jokes (σκωμμάτων εἴδη μυρία, 1.1b) as well as educated table banter (παίζοντος, 3.108f). The plan of the discourse will reflect the banquet's menu, and the arrangement of the books will coincide with the courses of the dinner (1.1b). The narrator then sets forth a catalogue of the party's primary speakers: historical personages such as Athenaeus himself; Larensis, the Roman host; Galen, the doctor; Ulpian, resident Atticist and chief speaker; the philosopher Cynulcus, the stereotypically impoverished philosopher who despises the encyclopedic learning of his tablemates; and Myrtilus of Thessaly, a *grammatikos* who is given to frequent attacks against philosophers. The cast also features numerous other named guests as well as "a host of anonymous and briefly intrusive extras" (Baldwin 1976, 24). All are "sophists" in the sense that they represent the learned professions (Baldwin 1977, 38).

Like its Platonic prototype, a proper banquet consists of καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ξυμπόται καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι, refined gentlemen who speak in an orderly fashion even when drunk (κοσμίως, 3.97b); they also significantly do not include prostitutes at their table. Athenaeus has followed this prescription since women do not appear as interlocutors in his book, although in actual practice, hetaeras and female entertainers, such as flute girls, mimes, and dancers, participated in the performance culture of the symposium (X. *Smp.* 3.2; Pl. *Smp.* 176e). In addition to providing theatrical entertainment, hetaeras probably engaged in verbal exchanges with their male clientele, which may have taken the form of poetic and rhetorical improvisation, riddle-telling, philosophical discussion, *chreiae*, and verbal games.[6] Hetaeras enter Athenaeus' discourse principally in Book 13. Introduced through quoted snippets of Middle and New Comedy, Attic oratory, and historians such as Phylarchus and Theopompus, their presence signals a transition to the erotic discourse of the philosophical banquet, thereby reinforcing the notion of a metasymposium.[7] Book 13 is also the only section of the *Deipnosophistae* designated by a special title, *Peri Gunaikōn*, and it uncharacteristically begins with an invocation to a Muse, Erato, patron of love poetry, in which the narrator

[6] Lukinovich 1990, 264, discusses the verbal features of sympotic entertainment, including riddles. See also 162b–e; Anderson 2000, 318–19.

[7] Pellizer 1990, 181; on Athenaeus' metasymposium, see Milanezi 2000, 401. In art, the appearance of hetaeras in sympotic scenes on vases used by symposiasts serves a similar function, for which see Neils 2000, 208.

asks for help in recounting his "erotic catalogue" (τὸν ἐρωτικὸν . . . κατάλογον, 555b; Henry 1992, 261). This poetic invocation suggests an epic endeavor while at the same time emphasizing the itemizing aspect of Book 13, much of which concerns itself with lists of hetaeras' names and other elements borrowed from Hellenistic prosopographies of courtesans.

An opening anecdote about the comic poet Antiphanes and Alexander the Great, recorded by Lycophron in his *Peri Kōmōidia*, informs the reader that Book 13 will focus on low genres and their characters. When the king voices his displeasure at the play Antiphanes recites for him, the comic poet responds that only a man who participates in contribution dinners (ἀπὸ συμβολῶν) or gives and receives blows over a hetaera (555a) could fully appreciate his subject. As Myrtilus later points out, the symposium is the appropriate context for this comic and erotic discourse while syllogisms and philosophical discussion are to be avoided (περὶ ἀφροδισίων ἁρμοστὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ οἴνῳ μνείαν ποιεῖσθαι, 607b). The symposium, like the comic theater—two performance venues elsewhere equated by Socrates (ὡς γὰρ ἐν συμποσίῳ μεγάλῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ, Plut. *Mor.* 10c–d)—may be viewed as sites of "actual and symbolic struggle," a kind of carnival setting where hierarchical rank is temporarily suspended and the drinking facilitates a kind of licensed release (Stallybrass and White 1986, 13). In one account, the symposium's temporary relaxation of norms actually enabled the Thebans, with the help of a few men disguised as hetaeras, to regain political control of their city after a period of Spartan domination (X. *HG.* 5.4.4). The special context of the symposium or its public counterpart, the comic stage, also allowed for verbal license that both mocked and derided its participants. Its discourse produced, in the words of Mikhail Bakhtin, festive laughter, "the laughter of all the people. . . . directed at all and everyone, including the carnival's participants" (Bakhtin 1984, 11–12). Viewed from this perspective, the courtesan's crude jokes and their obscene counter meanings temporarily disrupt social hierarchies, diminishing persons and discourses of high status (Bakhtin 1984, 10; Stallybrass and White 1986, 10–11). In Book 13, Myrtilus marshals this low discourse to ridicule or parody the philosophical tradition of the Cynics; in fact, he uses their own genre of the *chreia*, the witty remark, against them by placing it in the mouths of courtesans.

The author embeds the jokes of hetaeras in the lengthy speech of the buffoonish *grammatikos*, Myrtilus, who is suitably named after a poet of Attic Old Comedy (566e). His speech forms part of a standard rhetorical debate over the virtues of loving women versus boys staged between himself and his rival, Cynulcus. Myrtilus repeatedly characterizes his own

discourse as a catalogue (590a–c; 555b; 599e), and his continual preoccupation with the names and nicknames of hetaeras (he mentions over 150) amply demonstrates his form of knowledge. Indeed, his strained discussion of the change in the length of the vowel "a" in the name of one courtesan, Mānia, from μᾰνία (madness, 578b–c), shows his pedantic, and erotic, proclivities.[8] Such empty academic exercises, however, invite the moral censure of Cynulcus, who derides Myrtilus for neglecting the Homeric tradition in favor of lowbrow genres like comedy and erotic treatises.

Myrtilus, in his opening parry, a quotation of Hermeias' *Iambics* similar to the invective choliambics of Hipponax, delivers a scathing denunciation of the Stoics and their love of boys: "Listen, you Styacs, merchants of chatter (ἀκούσατ', ὦ Στύακες, ἔμποροι λήρου, 563e)." The phrase contains an obscene pun on the word Στύακες, the reading of manuscripts CE. The word may refer to the epithet σκύλακες (pups) bestowed upon the Cynics as well as to the verb στύω (swell), a state brought about in these philosopher "boy watchers" (παιδοπῖπαι). This attack on the hypocritical lifestyle and precepts of philosophers, especially their love of boys (563e–66d), assimilates their sexuality, in the manner of Attic Old Comedy, to their profession, a strategy also adopted by Cynulcus.

The philosopher, in turn, denigrates Myrtilus as a γραμματικώτατος (570b), viewing his knowledge as the vacuous product of patronizing taverns and public houses, venues associated only with the lowest social class since, in the words of Isocrates, "not even a slave would dare to eat or drink in a tavern":

> σὺ δέ, ὦ σοφιστά, ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις συναναφύρῃ οὐ μετὰ ἑταίρων ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἑταιρῶν, μαστροπευούσας περὶ σαυτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἔχων καὶ περιφέρων αἰεὶ τοιαυτὶ βιβλία Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Ἀντιφάνους, ἔτι δὲ Γοργίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, πάντων τούτων συγγεγραφότων περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι Ἑταιρίδων. ὦ τῆς καλῆς σου πολυμαθίας, ὡς κατ' οὐδὲν ἐμιμήσω Θεόμανδρον τὸν Κυρηναῖον, ὅν φησι Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐδαιμονίας περιιόντα ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι διδάσκειν εὐτυχίαν, ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλε. (567a–b)[9]
>
> But you, O Sophist, you associate constantly not with male friends but with courtesans, having around yourself not just a few procuresses, and always

[8] Hawley 1993, 86. On the character of Myrtilus in the dialogue, see Baldwin 1977, 45–46.

[9] This is the first use of the word πορνογράφος; for a discussion of the term, see Henry 2000, 508.

> carrying around the sorts of books written by Aristophanes, Apollodorus, Ammonius, Antiphanes, even Gorgias of Athens, all of whom have written treatises entitled *On Athenian Courtesans*. O what lovely learning you have! You do not at all resemble Theomander of Cyrene, of whom Theophrastus says in his book *On Happiness* that he went about professing to teach about good fortune, whereas you only teach about lust!

Cynulcus here alludes to the lists of hetaeras and the anecdotal accounts of their lives and sayings that originated in the Hellenistic period.[10] Indeed, the literary tradition even attributes authorship of a related type of treatise to historical hetaeras such as Elephantis, a courtesan of Alexandria, copies of whose sex manual the emperor Tiberius allegedly supplied at his country estate for ready reference during orgies (Suet. *Tib.* 43), and Philaenis, author of a licentious volume on *aphrodisia* mentioned by Athenaeus in connection with the cookbook of Archestratus (335c–e; 457e).[11]

With the hapax ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος, Cynulcus equates Myrtilus' status as a sophist and grammarian with his depraved lifestyle; and, while the latter emphatically denies that he is an *erōtomanēs*, he nonetheless admits his erotic sensibilities (ἐρωτικός, 599e). By such methods, Cynulcus introduces the subject of prostitution that will dominate the table talk throughout the remainder of Book 13. To the invective against married women earlier voiced by the symposiasts with ψέγειν at 559e, the philosopher now adds a vilification of high-priced courtesans, the *megalomisthoi* familiar from the pages of oratory and the comic stage and from whom many comic plays borrowed their titles (567c–d).[12] In so doing, he imitates his Cynic forebear, Diogenes, who once compared attractive hetaeras to "death mixed with honey" (θανασίμῳ μελικράτῳ, D. L. 6.61). Nor is it a coincidence that the philosopher provides the first

[10] Athenaeus alludes to several such authors in this passage and elsewhere who wrote treatises on Athenian hetaeras: Antiphanes, a poet of Middle Comedy (first play c. 358 B.C.E.; 587b), Aristophanes of Byzantium (257–180 B.C.E., 586b and 591d) who listed the names of 135 Athenian hetaeras, Apollodorus of Athens (180–120 B.C.E., 586a, 591c), Ammonius (second century B.C.E., 587b), Lynceus of Samos (583e), Gorgias of Athens (c. 44 B.C.E., 583d), and Callistratus (591f). For a list of Middle and New comedies that took their titles from the names of hetaeras, cf. 567c and Hawley 1993, 88 n. 4.

[11] Brendel 1970, 67 n. 70, discusses the scant evidence for Hellenistic erotic treatises and art catalogues.

[12] Davidson 1997, 106, borrows this term from Athenaeus to refer to "the rich and famous ones, the ones catalogued in scholarly treatises, had plays written about them and speeches composed on their behalf, the ones whose *bon mots* were recorded in anecdotal collections."

references to oratory in Book 13, a genre from which he borrows the strategy of using hetaeras as a vehicle of invective against his rhetorical opponent. Myrtilus, however, puts a twist on this time-tested technique by delivering what amounts to an encomium of hetaeras, the central portion of which includes their witticisms at table. This praise speech actually serves another purpose, however: by exposing the hypocrisy of Cynulcus and his kind, it turns them into objects of sympotic and comic ridicule.

THE SPEECH OF HETAERAS

In his opening defense of "real" hetaeras (τῶν ὄντως ἑταιρῶν), those capable of an "honest love" (φιλίαν ἄδολον, 571b), Myrtilus draws on a fragment of Ephippus to emphasize their value as genteel entertainers who brighten the spirits of their clientele by means of their flattering and agreeable conversation:

> ἔπειτά γ' εἰσιόντ', ἐὰν λυπούμενος
> τύχῃ τις ἡμῶν, ἐκολάκευσεν ἡδέως·
> ἐφίλησεν οὐχὶ συμπιέσασα τὸ στόμα
> ὥσπερ πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι στρουθίοις
> χανοῦσ' ὁμοίως, ἧσε, παρεμυθήσατο
> ἐποίησέ θ' ἱλαρὸν εὐθέως τ' ἀφεῖλε πᾶν
> αὐτοῦ τὸ λυποῦν κἀπέδειξεν ἵλεων. (Ephippus, *Empolē* fr. 6 K.–A. = 571f)
>
> And then if one of us happens to come in feeling troubled,
> she greets him with pleasant flattery;
> she kisses him, not squeezing her lips close together,
> as if he were hateful to her, but opening her mouth as
> sparrows do; she sits him down, she soothes and cheers him,
> and soon takes away all his trouble and makes him happy again.

Making pleasant conversation appears to have comprised a major portion of the hetaera's art: Socrates also mentions cheering words (ὅ τι ἂν λέγουσα εὐφραίνοις, X. *Mem.* 3.11.10) as one of the hetaera's many seductions. The Hellenistic poet Machon similarly describes the courtesan Mania as "being well equipped in speech and conversation" (φωνῇ δ' ὁμιλίᾳ τε κεχορηγημένη, Machon 198 = 578c). In one of Lucian's dialogues, the successful hetaera not only keeps a smile on her face but also provides her clients with clever companionship (and of course, there is a sexual connotation here: προσομιλοῦσα δεξιῶς, *DMeretr.* 6. 3). A lover in one of Alciphron's letters praises the flattering blandishments and the

Siren-like conversation of his hetaera (ὁμιλίαις, Alciphr. 4.11.7). In fact, the talk of hetaeras on the Greek comic stage is typically filled with endearments: in one fragment quoted by Athenaeus, brothel workers attract customers through their use of flattering diminutives, calling old men πατρίδια and young men ἀπφάρια (569c).[13] So also the Athenian courtesan Philaenium in Plautus' *Asinaria* is described as deploying *verba blanda* (525).

The hetaera's speech both contains multiple levels of signification while at the same time figuring her as masculine: in a fragment of Anaxilas quoted by Larensis at the beginning of Book 13, the prostitute's brazen self-advertisement is simultaneously riddling, flattering, and obscene:

> Σφίγγα Θηβαίαν δὲ πάσας ἔστι τὰς πόρνας καλεῖν,
> αἳ λαλοῦσ'[14] ἁπλῶς μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς τισιν,
> ὡς ἐρῶσι καὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ σύνεισιν ἡδέως.
> εἶτα "τετράπους μοι γένοιτο, φησί, σκίμπους ἢ θρόνος,"
> εἶτα δὴ "τρίπους τις," εἶτα, φησί, "παιδίσκη δίπους."
>
> (Anaxil. fr. 22.22–26 K.–A. = 558d)

> It is possible to call every *pornē* a Theban Sphinx;
> they chatter not in simple language, but in riddles,
> about how sweetly they like to love and kiss and come together.
> And one says, "Let me have a four-footed bed or chair";
> another, "Make it a tripod"; still another, "A two-footed gal."
>
> (Trans. adapted from Gulick)

Here the hetaera (the word is used later, and interchangeably, with *pornē*) recasts the riddle posed by the Sphinx and solved by Oedipus. ("What walks on four feet in the morning, two feet in the afternoon and three feet in the evening?") into an obscene advertisement of her sexual expertise. Riddles, defined by Athenaeus as "a problem put in jest" (γρῖφος πρόβλημά ἐστι παιστικόν, 448c), regularly accompanied drinking at the symposium and often alluded to the accoutrements or conditions of the drinking party.[15] At the same time, the hetaera parodies the liter-

[13] According to Webster 1974, 102, hetaeras in Menander are given to using "nursery endearments" and to swearing oaths; see also Henry 1985, 57–60; Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 131.

[14] I follow Causabon's emendation here, in the place of λαβοῦσ' of ms. A, and λαβοῦσαι of mss. CE.

[15] Martin 2001, 63; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 150e–f and *AP* 14.14 (*aulos*); 14.23, 36 (pickled fish); 14.26 (a linen hand-towel); and 14.52 (wine). Note that the hetaera Thais at Alciphr. 4.7.8 attributes riddle telling to the philosopher-sophist Euthydemus.

ary tradition, reducing the tragic predicament of Oedipus to a vulgar joke.

There is also a tradition of females propounding riddles: New Comedy features a mother-daughter pair riddling about sleep in a fragment of Alexis' *Hypnos* (449d–e) and Sappho's famous riddle about a letter (450e–51b). Likewise, Cleobolina, the daughter of one of the seven sages, tells a riddle about an *aulos* (Plut. *Mor.* 150e–f). In contrast, prostitutes frequently pose obscene riddles, such as the one about phallus told by three Samian girls while drinking at the Adonia (Diphilus fr. 49 K.–A. = 451b).[16] Anaxilas represents courtesans as riddle tellers, who use their fawning speech—double in meaning and potentially obscene—to entice clients. Because the riddle teller manipulates "the normal borders of referential speech" and thus controls access to meaning, the hetaera through her conversation temporarily wins discursive mastery over her interlocutors.[17] For this reason, one supposes, the mock legal contract portrayed in Plautus' *Asinaria* prohibits the Greek courtesan Philaenium from speaking in double meanings (*verbum . . . perplexabile*, 792).

According to Myrtilus, the hetaera's ability to manipulate meanings and deliver witty double entendres results from *paideia*, a masculine familiarity with rhetoric and the literary tradition:

> καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ ἑταῖραι μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐφ' αὑταῖς, παιδείας ἀντεχόμεναι καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασι χρόνον ἀπομερίζουσαι· διόπερ καὶ εὔθικτοι πρὸς τὰς ἀπαντήσεις ἦσαν. (583f)
>
> Other hetaeras also thought very highly of themselves, getting an education and devoting their time to learning. For this reason they were quick at rejoinders.

Myrtilus later identifies *paideia* with the tradition of erotic verse initiated by the lyric poets (601a). These educated hetaeras are represented as engaging on equal discursive footing with their male interlocutors and

[16] Since many riddles revolved around aspects of the symposium, the hetaera might have served as a common subject; indeed, one solution to the riddle posed at Thgn. 861–64 is the hetaera whose feminine identity is highlighted by adjectives, αὐτομάτη, ἑσπερίη, ὀρθρίη; see Martin 2001, 60.

[17] Hasan-Rokem and Shulman 1996, 5. Although he does not specifically mention riddles, Davidson 1997, 135, discusses the ambiguity of the hetaera's speech, which he characterizes as "notoriously enigmatic, parodic and punning." I am indebted to Angela Pitts for her sharing with me her wonderful discussion of riddles in her unpublished dissertation on Sappho's literary afterlife.

even, at times, turning the tables on them through their witty repartee.[18] Thus Athenaeus describes the courtesan Gnathaena as "exceedingly quick in her answers" (σφόδρα δ' ἦν εὔθικτος πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, 583f) and "very adept and not unsophisticated in her replies" (ἐμμελὴς δ' ἦν πάνυ ἡ Γνάθαινα καὶ οὐκ ἀνάστειος ἀποφθέγξασθαι, 585b). Mania is similarly termed ἀστεῖα in her responses (ἀστεία τις ἀποκρίνασθαι, 578e), while the *aulētris* Lamia is said to be "quick and sophisticated" in her rejoinders (εὔθικτος καὶ ἀστικὴ πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, 577d). The latter example is of special interest: the word ἀστική is actually Schweighäuser's emendation for ἀττική, the reading of all three manuscripts, suggesting perhaps an affinity between this type of verbal sophistication and classical Athens. Indeed, in a fragment of Anaxilas, the designation ἀστεία distinguishes the hetaera from her brothel counterpart, the *pornē* (Anaxilas fr. 21 K.–A. = 572b), while in Theocritus' *Idyll* 20, a hetaera describes her kisses as ἀστικά (Theoc. *Id.* 20.4) as she mocks the rude manners of a country bumpkin (ἀγροίκως, 20.3). For Aristotle, the category of τὰ ἀστεῖα—apophthegms, puns, and double-entendres—comprise an important aspect of male rhetorical training (Arist. *Rh.* 1411b–13b), and, in fact, such clever remarks could earn a defendant acquittal in the Athenian law courts.[19]

On the Roman side, Philaenium in Plautus' *Asinaria* utters *dicta docta* (525) in addition to her blandishments, while the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius inserts the witticisms of Augustus' daughter Julia into a fictional Roman dinner party mostly concerned with a discussion of Vergil. A couple of Julia's jokes turn the table on her male interlocutors, perhaps subverting, as Richlin has argued, Augustan moral discourse.[20] Her obscene double entendre, "I never take on a passenger unless the ship is full" (Macrob. *Sat.* 2.5.9), resembles in some respects the obscene jokes of Athenaeus' courtesans. Nonetheless, her table talk is termed *eleganter*

[18] Hawley 1993, 77, inexplicably insists that "the evidence . . . for [hetaeras'] alleged 'culture' is in fact scarce (77)," a view that is directly contradicted by 584a, 588b, and passim. Although not often described as σοφή by Athenaeus as in other texts, the adjectives εὔθικτος and ἀστεῖα suggest a degree of verbal sophistication. For the adjective σοφή and cognates as applied to prostitutes, cf. Axionicus fr. 1 K.–A. (a tambourinist described as σοφώτατε); Theophilus fr. 12.7 K.–A. (a harpist is σοφή); and Alciphr. 4.7.8, σοὶ νῦν μάλιστα φανοῦμαι σοφή). Hawley further notes that *sophisma* may refer to fellatio in Theopompus fr. 36.3 K.–A.; see also Henderson 1991, 183; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 546 and *Ec.* 895–96.

[19] Halliwell 1991, 293, and n. 55 points out that defendants in Attic oratory received acquittals through their use of τὰ ἀστεῖα; cf. Dem. 23.206; Lys. 24.18; Ar. *V.* 567.

[20] Richlin 1992, 73. It is possible that in attributing such joking to Julia, the tradition attempts to assimilate her to a prostitute, especially given her legendary sexual misconduct; for further discussion, see McGinn 1998, 170.

(2.5.6) and thus wins the admiration of her male audience (*mirantibus*, 2.5.2; *mirarentur*, 2.5.9). Although these witticisms may support the notion of educated hetaeras, the fact that many revolve around obscene meanings and temporary inversions of status affiliates them more fully with the subversive discourse of comedy and its function as social and literary parody.

FIGURES OF SYMPOTIC RAILLERY

Athenaeus and his contemporaries draw upon comic conventions that associate raillery or *skōmmata* with lower class characters such fishwives, innkeepers, prostitutes, and parasites.[21] The literary tradition frequently represents courtesans and parasites as subversive members of court and table; such figures direct their derisive humor toward their patrons, their paramours, and even each other. According to Alciphron, this type of raillery comprises one of the key components of the drinking party, together with songs, drinks, garlands, perfume, and sweetmeats (Alciphr. 4.14.3). Thus two hetaeras in another of his letters tease their lovers as they process to a pastoral symposium (τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλας ἐσκώπτομεν ἢ τοὺς ἐραστάς, Alciphr. 4.13.2). Their activity is referred to as παιδία (4.13.3), a type of verbal play also associated with the sophists at Athenaeus' table and with parasites (below). A hetaera in another letter mocks (κωμῳδήσασα ἀκολάστως, 4.13) a jeering bystander in response to his obscene pun on συκᾶς, a metaphor for the genitals in Middle Comedy and later literature: "Lucky is that place where you are going, since it will have lots of figs!" (μακάριον ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον ὅποι βαδίζετε, ὅσας ἕξει συκᾶς, Alciphr. 4.13.2).[22] The hetaera's mockery, represented by the participle κωμῳδήσασα, temporarily figures the hetaera as in discursive control: instead of serving as the typical object of comic abuse, the hetaera ridicules her interlocutor. And, in fact, the structure of this exchange typifies those found between the hetaera and her clientele in Athenaeus, especially the aggressive ridicule directed toward specific individuals (ἔσκωπτε: Mania, Machon 245 = 579c; Gnathaena, Machon 322 = 580f).[23]

[21] Halliwell 1991, 289 and n. 40; cf. also Hom. *Il.* 20. 251–52; Ar. *Eq.* 1400, 1403; *V.* 496–469, 1388; *Ra.* 549, 857–58; *Pl.* 426–28, 435–36; Pl. *R.* 395d 6–7; *Lg.* 935a1.

[22] A prostitute in Axionicus fr. 1.4 K.–A. bears the name Ischas (dried fig); see Henderson 1991, 134 and n. 137.

[23] On the aggressive function of laughter in ancient Greek culture, see Henderson 1991, 42–43; and Halliwell 1991, 287.

The hetaera's male sympotic counterparts include parasites, flatterers, and the *gelōtopoios* or clown who paid for their dinners with jokes (614c; Xen. *Sym.* 1.14–15).[24] In Book 14, Ulpian informs us, quoting a line of Anaxandrides, that the mythical Rhadamanthys and Palamedes "invented the practice of the freeloader telling jokes" (τὸ δ' ἀσύμβολον εὗρε γελοῖα λέγειν Ῥαδάμανθυς/ καὶ Παλαμήδης, Anaxandr. 10 K.–A. = 614c). Like the hetaera, the jester delivered mocking jests or insults, *loidoria* and *skōmma* in classical prose, to produce laughter and also parodied tragic and comic scenes that included the imitation of various types of characters.[25] In Book 8 of the *Deipnosophistae*, the musician Stratonicus plays a similar role, and not insignificantly he also figures as the subject of nine anecdotes from Machon's *Chreiae* (Machon 91–167 = 348e–49f). His witticisms are embedded in Cynulcus' lengthy speech about fish (347d–52d) that begins with a well-known riddle about a fish recast as an insulting joke directed at a rival musician (347f); both of these speech genres were associated with hetaeras, as we saw above. His humor also involves puns, double meanings, sexual innuendo, and the unconventional use of proverbs, idioms, or quotations (351a–b; Gilula 2000, 426–27). The musician's verbal facility resembles that of the hetaera; he too always has a ready quip (περὶ τῆς εὐστοχίας αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, 348d). At the same time, Stratonicus, with his sharp tongue and clever rejoinders, shares a vision similar to that of Athenaeus' fellow diners, a penchant for humorous word play, literary quotation, and verbal competition, all reflecting a cosmopolitan perspective.

The masculine character of the hetaera's jesting is further seen in her similarity to these male figures at table, particularly the *kolax*, the flatterer or parasite, who makes a lengthy appearance at Athenaeus' table in Book 6 (234d–62b). At the banquet and on the comic stage, such figures ridicule their superiors while also serving as the targets of their jokes, as a parasite in a play of Epicharmus states, "There I am elegantly witty, and I cause much laughter and I praise my host" (τηνεὶ δὲ χαρίης τ' εἰμὶ καὶ ποιέω πολύν / γέλωτα καὶ τὸν ἰστιῶντ' ἐπαινέω, 235f–36a). In Menander's *Kolax*, the function of the parasite at the symposium is to produce *paidia*, that is, to laugh loudly, to mock others, and to drink a lot (ἀδρὸν γελάσαι, σκῶψαί τιν', ἐμπιεῖν πολύν, 258d). Alexis in his *Poiētae* describes one famous Athenian parasite, a certain Eucrates nicknamed

[24] Milanezi 2000, 403, notes that the word *gelōtopoios* does not appear until Xenophon; cf. X. *Smp.* 1.11, *An.* 7.3.33; Pl. *R.* 620c; and 613–16.

[25] Milanezi 2000, 405–6. The *gelōtopoios* Philip in Xenophon's *Symposium* thus plays at likenesses (6.8–7.1).

the Lark (ὁ Κόρυδος), as both the joke teller and the butt of humor, "Yes indeed, I want to be laughed at and always to say funny things" (πάνυ τοι βούλομαι / οὗτος γελᾶσθαι καὶ γέλοι' ἀεὶ λέγειν, 241d). The fact that the Lark had a reputation for prostituting himself (ὃς ἐδόκει πεπορνεῦσθαι, 241e) further underscores his similarity to the courtesan; even his derisive nickname contributes to his objectification, as do those of the famous courtesans such as *Phtheiropyle* (Louse-gate, 586a), *Lēmē* (Conjunctivitis, 569f), and *Hys* (Sow, 583a). Indeed, a joke that conflates the high cost of the Lark's sexual services with the price of a thrush (241e) plays on the parasite's sexual availability and commodity status in much the same way as jokes made about and by hetaeras.

The verbal license afforded by the context of the symposium and the temporary inversions it effects are seen in an anecdote about Philip of Macedon and his parasite: when the king made a joke at his parasite's expense, the latter responded with a role-inverting quip, "Then shall I not maintain you (instead of the other way around)?" (εἶτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ σέ, ἔφη, θρέψω, 248e). The subversive aspects of this humor did not always sit well with its patrons: a miscalculated joke that playfully poked fun at Arsinoë, the wife of Lysimachus, had a disastrous result. Telesphorus, a member at court, embedded a derisive jab against the queen, who was prone to vomiting, in a tragic reference to Euripides' *Antiopē*:

> κακῶν κατάρχεις τήνδ' ἐμοῦσαν εἰσάγων.
>
> (fr. adesp. 395 + 184 TGF² = 616c).

> You are starting trouble by bringing in this vomiting woman.

Altering τήνδε Μοῦσαν (this Muse) to sound like τήνδ' ἐμοῦσαν (this vomiting woman), Telesphorus foolishly exposed Arsinoë's embarrassing sickness.[26] The hazards of court humor are amply illustrated by Telesphorus' punishment: locked in a cage like an animal, he starved to death—possibly a just penalty for a sponging dinner guest who jokes at the expense of his host. Hetaeras similarly adapted tragic verse to expose the foibles of their interlocutors, inverting social status within the context of the vignettes that feature them, although unlike the original verse, their connotations are characteristically obscene.

[26] This pronunciation joke recalls the actor Hegelochus' famous mistake while delivering a line from Euripides' *Orestes*. His breathless delivery of γαλῆν instead of γαλήν' changed the intended meaning of the sentence from "I see the calm after the storm" to "I see the weasel after the storm." Cf. E. *Or.* 279; cf. Ar. *Ra.* 303–4; Strattis, frs. 1 and 60 K.–A.; and Sannyrion, fr. 8 K.–A.

THE LAUGHTER OF HETAERAS

Hetaera's jokes are frequently accompanied by derisive and aggressive laughter, denoted by the verb γελάω, that figures them as masculine; indeed, according to Theophrastus, such laughter is characteristic of the *kolax* (Thphr. *Char.* 2.4), the flatterer or parasite described above. In Herodotus' *Histories*, the word conveys not happiness or pleasure but rather "scorn, arrogance or self-delusion" (Lateiner 1977 and 1989, 28, n. 48). The verb very rarely occurs in connection with women in the *Deipnosophistae*: all feminine examples refer to hetaeras and most occur in Book 13. Thus the courtesans Lamia and Mania mock and reject their clients' advances with their laughter (γελάσασα, Machon 184 = 577f; Machon 255 = 579d). The close connection between the hetaera's laughter and her masculine insolence gains further support in an anecdote in which the sophisticated Lais laughs as she wittily insults the poet Euripides (ἡ δὲ γελάσασ' ἀπεκρίθη, 582d). The laughter of the courtesan Nico, who quips that Sophocles' boy favorite, Demophon, should take her πυγή and give it to Sophocles (ἡ δ' εἶπε γελάσασα, 582f), also shows a comic mastery of the situation. Similarly, Theocritus' *Idyll* 20 describes a hetaera as alternately enticing and mocking a simple herdsman, a scene that concludes with violent laughter at the rustic's expense (σοβαρόν μ' ἐγέλαξεν, 20.15).

The subversive and aggressively masculine aspects of the hetaera's laughter are tangible in another anecdote about a laughing hetaera. In Book 9, we find the appropriately named Gnathaena (Jaws) indulging in cooked testicles at a banquet. While the other women politely pretend not to notice this obscene feast (ἠκκίζετο, 384f), "man-slaying" Gnathaena heartily guffaws (ἡ δ' ἀνδροφόνος Γνάθαιν' ἀναγελάσασ' ἅμα, 384f) as she snatches up two and gulps them down. The laughter of hetaeras has a subversive effect: here it clearly induces anxiety in Gnathaena's (male) interlocutors, connected as it is with her predatory sexuality and prodigious appetite, because it potentially emasculates men even as it seduces them.

In the only other example of female laughter outside of Book 13, the courtesans Melissa and Nicion are described as laughing at the humble fare, the bowls of lentil soup, set before them at a symposium of Cynic philosophers:

> γέλωτος οὖν ἐπιρραγέντος παρῆν ἡ θεατροτορύνη Μέλισσα καὶ ἡ κυνάμυια Νίκιον· αὗται δ ἦσαν τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἑταιρίδων, ἀποβλέψασαι οὖν αὗται εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα καὶ θαυμάσασαι ἐγέλων. καὶ ἡ Νίκιον ἔφη· "οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες γενειοσυλλεκτάδαι, ἰχθὺν ἐσθίει;" (157a–b).

> After a burst of laughter, the stage-pounder Melissa and that dog-fly Nicion entered; for these were very well known courtesans. Glancing with wonder at the things placed before them, they laughed. And Nicion said, "Don't any of you beard-gatherers eat fish?"

The scornful hetaera sounds a lot like one of Athenaeus' banqueters: not only does she parody Aristophanes with the word γενειοσυλλεκτάδαι (cf. στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδη [gossip-gatherers], Ar. *Ra.* 841), she goes on to quote the epigrammatist Meleager and the philosopher Antisthenes, a pupil of Socrates, advising the Cynics to "take themselves from life" (ἐξάγειν ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ βίου) for tolerating such food. The laughter of these hetaeras, like those of Book 13, thus parodies the practices and doctrines of the Cynic philosophers, namely their frugal symposia, and their discursive presence at table indirectly ridicules its primary proponent, the Cynic Cynulcus. For the philosopher has just delivered a lengthy account of the ascetic practices of the Cynics, an account that provokes the derisive laughter of everyone at the banquet (γελασάντων δὲ πάντων, 159f). As I will show in the remainder of this paper, Myrtilus deploys the discourse of hetaeras in Book 13 to much the same end.

GENRES OF COURTESANS: ATHENAEUS' SOURCES

The witticisms of hetaeras, along with those of parasites, formed a familiar literary sub-genre in classical antiquity. An anecdote recorded by Strabo exemplifies the genre: reproached for refusing to work in wool, a courtesan responds with a phallic pun, "Yet I, such as I am, have taken down three webs / masts in this short length of time" (ἐγὼ μέντοι ἡ τοιαύτη τρεῖς ἤδη καθεῖλον ἱστοὺς ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, Strabo 8.6.20). The joke hinges on an inversion of normative social roles: instead of weaving, the work of a respectable wife, the hetaera plies her trade in the bedroom, subduing men in an almost martial fashion. Such jokes were deemed worthy of writing down and made the rounds either through personal collections—Philip of Macedon apparently maintained a joke book filled with the amusing sayings of contemporary comedians (614d)—or in more formal tracts such as the *Chreiae* of the Hellenistic poet Machon.[27] The

[27] A native of Corinth or Sicyon, Machon spent most of his life at Alexandria where his comedies were produced. The subject matter and style of the *Chreiae* suggest the influence of both Attic Old and New Comedy, although the vocabulary is prosaic and colloquial; even the meter approximates prose rather than poetry; for a fuller account of Machon and his oeuvre, see Gow 1965, 3–24, and Kurke 2002.

parasite, Eucleides, nicknamed the Beet, occasionally uttered witty apophthegms "worthy of publication" (οὐκ ἀνάξια[28] βιβλίου, 242b), but, according to Athenaeus, the unevenness of his humor ultimately rendered him obscure.

Although it is unclear how the witticisms of hetaeras became transmitted to Athenaeus, it is likely that he consulted many of the same sources as Aelian, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and Pollux (Hawley 1993, 76). These works included several collections of jokes told by hetaeras, as well as those by parasites, predominantly the *Chreiae* of Machon (577d–83d), but also the *Apomnēmoneumata* of Lynceus (probably 583f, 584b–85f) as well as the *Geloia Apomnēmoneumata* of Aristodemus (possibly 585a). Indeed, Athenaeus uses the terms *chreiae*, *apophthegmata*, and *apomnēmoneumata* more or less interchangeably throughout his work (cf. 348e; 579d, 588a). Moreover, because some *chreiae* are attributed to multiple authors—for example, Machon assigns one anecdote to the courtesan Mania (263 = 578e) that Lynceus elsewhere attributes to Gnathaena (584c)—it is likely that there was a well-established oral tradition in circulation. In *chreiae*, in contrast to maxims or proverbs, stock figures such as kings, soldiers, parasites, and courtesans engage in dialogue in a familiar narrative setting.[29] The form is quite flexible, allowing for alteration, improvisation and last minute changes of venue and character (Gilula 2000, 429). By the late second century C.E., the term had a specific, technical meaning and became a regular feature of the *progymnasmata* of the imperial rhetors.[30] The extreme obscenity found in most of Machon's *Chreiae* has led to the speculation, correct in my view, that they are meant as a parody of this philosophical and rhetorical

[28] I follow Casaubon's emendation here.

[29] Hawley 1993, 76, observes that the *chreia* involves "a brief narrative setting, introducing at least one person, an attribution of at least one proper name as protagonist (often a famous individual), a question, and then a final capping answer, often in direct speech." He further argues that the apophthegm or anecdote, because brief, represented an appropriate speech genre for women. He does not, however, account for the anecdotal traditions surrounding women who are seen as violating or subverting in some way normative gender roles, such as the *Apophthegmata Lakōnika* of Plutarch or the hetaeras of Machon, not to mention the fact that many such apothegms are also attributed to powerful men. Hock and O'Neil 1986, 22–25, delineate the four characteristic features of the *chreia* as follows: it contains a saying or action; it is concise, often only one sentence in length; it is spoken in character and is applicable to everyday life. Gilula 2000, 429, identifies the basic structure of the *chreia* as an either-or question "to which the witty saying is an answer which completely ignores the alternatives offered in the question and surprisingly comes up with a third possibility."

[30] On *progymnasmata*, see Hock and O'Neil 1986.

tradition; indeed, Gow himself struggles to understand their pedagogical purpose ("highly unsuitable for the schoolroom," he remarks).[31]

As a genre, the *chreia* apparently originated in classical Athens among philosophers, sophists, and other literary figures (Hock and O'Neil 1986, 4–5); Plato even attributes a *chreia* to Sophocles (Pl. *R.* 1.329b–c). The literary genre, however, dates at least to the fourth century B.C.E., according to Diogenes Laertius, who mentions several works entitled *Chreiae* by philosophical authors of this period.[32] Indeed, he tells us that Diogenes the Cynic himself composed a *Chreiae* (D.L. 6.80). If we are to believe Diogenes Laertius, this philosopher had a reputation for witty quips that heaped scorn on his interlocutors (κατασοβαρεύσασθαι, D.L. 6.24 and *passim*), as in the following:

> ἰδὼν Ὀλυμπιονίκην εἰς ἑταίραν πυκνότερον ἀτενίζοντα, "ἴδε," ἔφη, "κριὸν Ἀρειμάνιον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος κορασίου τραχηλίζεται." (D.L. 6.61)
>
> Upon seeing an Olympian victor glance repeatedly at a hetaera, he said, "See how the ram, frenzied for battle, has had his neck rung by a common girl."

Such witticisms may have served as the model for those attributed to hetaeras since they feature the same stock characters and similar kinds of role inversion. Lynceus' account of one of Phryne's witticisms beautifully illustrates the technique of philosophical parody at work in the hetaera's version of this genre: when someone poses a question (ζητουμένου) as to why wreaths are hung at the symposium, Phryne responds, "to guide the soul" (ὅτι ψυχαγωγοῦσιν, 585e), a quip that possibly plays on the *zētēmata* of the Stoics (cf. 553e–54b, 670a–e). Certainly, Myrtilus' lengthy quotation of Machon's *Chreiae* functions similarly at Athenaeus' banquet, parodying philosophers, specifically the Stoics and their pretentious discourses.

While it is clear that Machon provides the bulk of the witticisms attributed to hetaeras in the *Deipnosophistae*, the relation of Machon to his predecessor Lynceus remains unclear (Gow 1965, 19–21; Ogden 1999, n. 65–66). Certainly the difference between the two versions of the "stone"

[31] Gow 1965, 14. On Machon's *Chreiae* as a philosophical parody, see Davidson 1997, 93 and 104, and Kurke 2002.

[32] Gow 1965, 12–14; the authors mentioned by Diogenes include Aristippus (D.L. 2.85, 4.40); Demetrius of Phalerum (5.81); Hecaton the Rhodian, a follower of Panaetius (6.32); Metrocles (6.33); Diogenes (6.80); Zeno of Citium (6.91); Persaeus (7.36); and Ariston of Chios (7.163).

joke—Machon attributes it to Gnathaena (578e), Lynceus to Phryne (584c)—militates against the view that Machon borrowed it from Lynceus. In any case, Lynceus' anecdotes (583d–85e) appear less fully developed than those of Machon; they provide little in the way of dramatic setting and characterization and mostly involve quotidian puns without the graphic obscenity of Machon, as seen in the philosophical witticism of Phryne above. The subject matter of Aristodemus' *Geloia Apomnēmoneumata*, if we are to judge by Gnathaena's joke about a cistern (λάκκος), appears to have been much cruder than that of Lynceus. His account features some of the same courtesans as Machon, including Gnathaena (583f, 584b–e, 585a–b), Phryne (584d, 585e–f), Nico (584f), Callistion (585c), and Lais (585d); but to these he adds Metanira (584f), Glycera (585c–d), and Thais (585d–e).

SAYINGS OF HETAERAS

Let us turn now to the actual witticisms of hetaeras as quoted by Myrtilus. Most hinge on an obscene pun that deflects a demeaning sexual request and thus puts the interlocutor in his place.[33] Through her witticisms, the hetaera gains the upper hand over her male interlocutors; she literally "wins" in the discursive exchanges of the symposium, playing the part of the joke teller rather than serving as the target of the humor. My larger point, however, concerns the function of these jokes at Athenaeus' table. By placing the speech of courtesans in Myrtilus' mouth, the author portrays him as deploying an erotic and comic discourse that disrupts the orderly progression of sympotic conversation. Just like the courtesans he ventriloquizes, he ultimately triumphs, reducing his competitor to a mere "dog" (611c–d).

The late fourth-century courtesan Gnathaena had the widest reputation for her humor; she also reputedly composed a literary treatise, *Nomos Sussistikos* ("Table Manners"), that outlined, probably parodically, sympotic protocol for her lovers.[34] Other examples of her wit occur in the

[33] Hawley 1993, 77, divides their quips into the following groups: witty puns (578e, 584d, 580d–e, 582 a, 584b–85f); literary or political allusions (579e–80a, 582c–d; 584); sexual double entendres (579d, 580b, 581f); and blatant obscenity (580f).

[34] Gow 1965, 107. According to Aristodemus (= 585b), Gnathaena wrote a treatise on dinner parties (νόμον συσσιτικὸν συνέγραψεν, καθ' ὃν δεῖ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ὡς αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα εἰσιέναι, κατὰ ζῆλον τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα συνταξαμένων φιλοσόφων). It apparently amounted to 323 lines, according to Callimachus in his *Nomoi* (fr. 433 = 585b) and began ὅδε ὁ νόμος ἴσος ἐγράφη καὶ ὅμοιος. Hawley 1993, 77 argues, as does Davidson 1997, 104, that Athenaeus by referring to Gnathaena's treatise parodies such works. See also Kurke 2002.

Apomnēmoneumata of the Samian Lynceus (584b) and in the *Geloia Apomnēmoneumata* of Aristodemus (585a). Her special gift perhaps reflects her status as a crone, a character type frequently associated with scurrilous joking in Attic Old Comedy; indeed, at one point she is referred to as "almost a coffin" (ὁμολογουμένη σορός, 580c).[35] Such verbal talents apparently ran in the family, as her granddaughter or daughter, Gnathaenion (little Gnathaena), is also quoted numerous times in Book 13.[36] Lastly, many of the rejoinders are attributed to the quick-witted Lamia, a well-known *aulētris* (577d) associated with Demetrius Poliorcetes, the Macedonian king famous for his numerous liaisons with courtesans.

TRAGIC ALLUSIONS

The many witticisms that involve tragic allusions not only reinforce the association of *paideia* with the Greek hetaera, they also perversely convert the hetaera, an outsider and normally a foreigner, into the purveyor of classical Athenian literary culture. The parodic send-up of Oedipus' riddle in the fragment of Anaxilas discussed above exemplifies the genre in which a hetaera obscenely burlesques a tragic idea or even parodies tragic language. For example, Gnathaena, asked to pay the expenses for a drinking party in advance, replies to the slave messenger of her lover Andronicus, the tragic actor, "Cursed slave, what word hast thou spoken!" (ὀλόμενε παίδων, ἔφη, ποῖον εἴρηκας λόγον, 584d), a line from an unattributed tragic play (fr. 837 TGF[2]). Here pure Attic speech is put in the mouth of the person least likely to speak it—a foreigner and outsider. The gesture is doubly ironic as every speaker at Athenaeus' table serves to negotiate his or her own identity in relation to this same cultural past, with Ulpian the Atticist serving as the guardian of the pure, classical Greek language.

[35] For a Roman parallel, consider that Julia apparently told her jokes when she was 38, which was on the verge of old age in classical antiquity; see Richlin 1992, 70.

[36] Prostitution appears to have been an intergenerational practice transmitted from mother to daughter as Athenaeus and his sources regularly refer to the matrilineal descent of courtesans (and there is some inscriptional evidence to support this; for which see Ogden 1996, 94–95). Thus we hear of Damasandra/Timandra, mother of Lais the Younger and of Theodote (535c; 574e); Nannion, mother of Corone 2 (587b); and Corone 1, the mother of Callistion (583a); the Epicurean Leontion, the mother of Danae (593b–d); Gnathaena, mother or grandmother of Gnathaenion (585a); and Thalassis, mother of Glycera (586c). Nannion's daughter, Corone 2, earned the sobriquet "Grandma" because of her inherited profession: "Now there was a daughter of Nannion named Corone who acquired the name Tethe (Grandmother) because of her triple prostitution" (ἐκ τριπορνείας, 587b). In Plautus' *Cistellaria*, the procuress Syra speaks of bearing a daughter from a transient union and training her in the arts of prostitution (Pl. *Cist.* 39–41).

Most of the hetaera's tragic rejoinders revolve around an obscene double meaning and borrow much from the comic technique of tragic parody. The first *chreia* quoted by Myrtilus depicts the *aulētris* Lamia delivering a ribald riposte to the infamous Macedonian king, Demetrius Poliorcetes:

> ὑπερβολῇ δὲ τῆς Λεαίνης σχῆμά τι
> περαινομένης εὖ παρά τε τῷ Δημητρίῳ
> εὐημερούσης, φασὶ καὶ τὴν Λάμιαν
> τὸν βασιλέ' εὐμελῶς κελητίσαι ποτέ
> ἐπαινεθῆναί θ'· ἡ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀπεκρίθη
> "πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Λέαιναν, εἰ βούλει, κράτει." (Machon 168–73 = 577d)
>
> When Leaena had executed a certain position
> extremely well and had found favor with Demetrius,
> they say Lamia also once rode gracefully atop the king,
> and thus won his praise. And she retorted as follows,
> "In view of that, take on Leaena too if you like!"

The joke plays on two different sexual *schēmata* associated with each prostitute and also with specific animals. The double meaning inheres in the pun on Leaena, another famous courtesan associated with Demetrius, and λέαινα, the Greek word for lion and for the lioness *schēma*, a position in which the woman crouched with her posterior raised.[37] The specialty of her rival, Lamia, is the antithesis of this pose: she rides atop the man equestrian-style, a *schēma* considered demeaning even for prostitutes.[38] On another level, the line itself alludes to a climactic scene in Euripides' *Medea*, in which Medea says to Jason, "In view of that, call me a lion, if you wish" (πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ λέαιναν, εἰ βούλῃ, κάλει, E. *Med.* 1358). But here the hetaera has modified the word at line end from κάλει to κράτει. Moreover, the dramatic context of the line reinforces the idea of female discursive dominance: raised aloft in the position of *dea ex machina*, Medea utters these lines over her emasculated husband just before departing in her dragon chariot.[39]

[37] On the lion position, cf. Ar. *Lys.* 231, οὐ στήσομαι λέαιν' ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδος, and the scholion, σχῆμα ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἑταιρικόν; it frequently appears on vases and hand mirrors, for which see Stewart 1997, 177–81. For a visual representation of a crouching lion, see Boardman 1986.

[38] For another link between Lamia and Leaena, cf. 253a, where according to Democharες, the Athenians supposedly built temples to Aphrodite Leaena and Aphrodite Lamia as a compliment to Demetrius. On κελητίζω, see Heath 1986; Henry 1992, 264; on its use in this anecdote, see Davidson 1997, 196–97, and Kurke 2002.

[39] For the discursive dominance of Medea in Euripides' play, see McClure 1999a; for its application to Machon, see Kurke 2002, who sees it as a political declaration of "the

In another vignette that features Demetrius, the courtesan Mania makes similar use of tragic allusion when she consents to Demetrius' request for her ass:

> αἰτουμένην λέγουσι τὴν πυγήν ποτε
> ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Μανίαν Δημητρίου
> ἀνταξιῶσαι δωρεὰν καὐτόν τινα.
> δόντος δ' ἐπιστρέψασα μετὰ μικρὸν λέγει
> "'Αγαμέμνονος παῖ, νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι . . ." (Machon 226–30 = 579a).
>
> They say that when king Demetrius once asked
> for Mania's ass, she demanded a gift in return from him.
> After he had given it, she turned around and after a little while said,
> "Child of Agamemnon, now it is possible for you to. . . ."

Her retort alludes to a passage in Sophocles' *Electra* where the Paedagogus says to Orestes, "Child, now it is possible for you to see those things for which you were always eager" ('Αγαμέμνονος παῖ, νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι / παρόντι λεύσσειν, ὧν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ἀεί, S. *El.* 2). The joke, however, resides in the omission of the infinitive λεύσσειν of the original text: Demetrius does not ask merely to *see* her ass but rather alludes to anal intercourse.[40] The anecdote receives additional frisson if one considers that Mania may be quoting the parodic lines of the wife of the tragic actor Theodorus who refused to allow him into her bed until he returned victorious from a tragic competition (Gow 1965, 103; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 737b).

Play on tragic phrases similarly occurs in the Gnathaenion's retort to Gnathaena when the latter pressures her to reconcile with a lover:

> ἡ δ' εἶπε, "μῆτερ, πῶς, ἔφη, μέλλω φιλεῖν
> τὸ μηδὲν ὠφέλημα, τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς στέγας
> τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος δωρεὰν θέλοντ' ἔχειν." (Machon 384–86 = 582a)
>
> Mother, she said, how can I kiss
> that good-for-nothing, one who wants to possess
> under one roof all hollow Argos as a gift.

The phrase "hollow Argos" comes from a passage in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* in which Oedipus curses his son Polyneices (S. *OC* 1387; cf. 378) but here it euphemistically refers to her own body. The phrase τὸ μηδὲν ὠφέλημα may also be taken from a tragedy while στέγη puns on

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superiority of a quintessentially Athenian poetic genre to the crude physical demands of Athens' boorish conqueror."

[40] Thanks are owed to Peter White for his trenchant clarification of this joke.

house and brothel.[41] By taking a tragic phrase or statement out of context and imbuing it with obscene meaning, the speaker parodies the tragic genre in a manner familiar from comedy while at the same time deflecting the demeaning requests of her clients.

Elsewhere the courtesan pokes fun at the literary pretensions of dramatic poets and actors, again turning the tables on her male interlocutors. In a joke that apparently made the rounds, Gnathaena bests her lover, the comic poet Diphilus:

> παρὰ Γναθαίνῃ Δίφιλος πίνων ποτέ
> "ψυχρόν γ', ἔφη, τἀγγεῖον, ὦ Γνάθαιν', ἔχεις."
> "τῶν σῶν γάρ, εἶπεν, ἐπιμελῶς, ὦ Δίφιλε,
> εἰς αὐτό γ' ἀεὶ δραμάτων ἐμβάλλομεν." (Machon 258–61 = 579e).
>
> Drinking once at Gnathaena's house, Diphilus remarked,
> "That vessel you have is cold, Gnathaena."
> "That's because we always deliberately put in
> some of your plays," she said.

As a term of literary criticism, ψυχρός denotes something tedious and devoid of humor, so we hear of the "frigid" witticisms of the parasite Eucleides (242b).[42] Although there is no evidence for any obscene usage of ἀγγεῖον, it is nonetheless tempting to interpret both quips as professional put-downs.

Indeed, Machon's subsequent retelling of the anecdote implies as much; here the poet represents the rejoinder as an attempt to conceal a different lover's inferior gifts of snow and cheap fish:

> αἰσχυνομένη τὰ δῶρα μή τις καταμάθῃ
> φυλαττομένη τε πολὺ μάλιστα Δίφιλον
> μὴ δῷ δίκην μετὰ ταῦτα κωμῳδουμένη . . . . (Machon 271–73 = 579f)
>
> Ashamed that someone might learn about the gifts,
> and being especially worried about Diphilus,
> in case he should pay her back by putting her in a comedy . . .

[41] For this view, see Gow 1965, 124, who relates τὸ μηδὲν ὠφέλημα to A. *Pr.* 613, ὦ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα θνητοῖσιν φανείς; cf. E. *Tr.* 703. He also notes that στεγός commonly refers to a brothel.

[42] On ψυχρός as a feature of dramatic poetry, cf. Ar. *Th.* 170, ὁ δ' αὖ Θέογνις ψυχρὸς ὢν ψυχρῶς ποιεῖ; the frigidity of his tragedies apparently earned him the nickname Χιών; cf. Ar. *Ach.* 138–40 and the scholion to v. 11. For the "frigid" jokes of parasites generally, see Thphr. *Char.* 2.4.

In this exchange, as in the previous version, the two speakers vie for discursive control: Diphilus, through his comedies and his public humiliation of the hetaera, and Gnathaena through her witticisms at table.[43] After a long setup, we finally get the punchline: overjoyed at his large serving, Diphilus remarks,

> "νὴ τὴν' Αθηνᾶν καὶ θεούς, ψυχρόν γ', ἔφη,
> Γνάθαιν', ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον ὁμολογουμένως."
> ἡ δ' εἶπε "τῶν σῶν δραμάτων γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς
> εἰς αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τοὺς προλόγους ἐμβάλλομεν." (Machon 281–84 = 580a)
>
> "By Athena and the gods," he said,
> "your cistern sure is *cold*!"
> And she replied, "That's because we always
> deliberately put in some of your prologues!"

The use of λάκκος here, a word frequently paired with πρωκτός in Attic Old Comedy, clearly shows the obscene intent of Diphilus' remark. And yet, Machon gives the hetaera the last word by having her counter the poet's implied obscenity with an insult about his work. Moreover, the put-downs that temporarily place the hetaera in the dominant discursive position also cast the male in a sexually, and grammatically, passive role: Diphilus is said to be loved by her (ὑπ' αὐτῆς . . . ἀγαπώμενος, Machon 265 = 579e) and is even designated her most esteemed *erōmenos* (τιμώμενος μάλιστα τῶν ἐρωμένων, Machon 264 = 579e).[44]

Diphilus appears to have been a frequent target of prostitutes' ridicule: in an anecdote ascribed to Lynceus, Gnathaena berates the poet for his failure in another dramatic competition:

> ἐν ἀγῶνι οὖν ποτε αὐτὸν ἀσχημονήσαντα σφόδρα ἀρθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου συνέβη καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν. κελεύοντος οὖν τοῦ Διφίλου ὑπονίψαι τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τὴν Γνάθαιναν, ἡ δὲ "τί γάρ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἠρμένος ἥκεις;" (583f)
>
> It once happened that Diphilus, disgracefully defeated in a dramatic competition, was "raised" out of the theater but he went to Gnathaena's house

[43] The comic poet Philippides also pilloried Gnathaena for her gluttony in one of his plays (fr. 5 K.–A.); see Gow 1965, 8–9. Similarly, at Alciphr. 4.2.5 the hetaera Glycera fears that she will have to endure Menander's λοιδορία on the comic stage.

[44] Trying to solve this difficulty, Gow 1965, 107 suggests that ἐρωμένων has a middle rather than passive meaning; on p. 108, he remarks that the verb ἀγαπάω in these contexts normally has an active meaning and thus applies to the male, not to the hetaera, as in Anaxil. fr. 22 K.–A., ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἑταίραν ἠγάπησε.

> nonetheless. When Diphilus enjoined her to wash his feet, she replied, "Why should I, when you come to me not being raised up?"
>
> (Trans. adapted from Gulick)

The poet's public humiliation in the theater effects a status reversal, rendering him unworthy of the servile attention that courtesans typically lavish upon their lovers, a displacement further compounded by the hetaera's witticism. The joke, which was probably a standard one, plays on the idea of the poet's literary creation, the hetaera, a stock figure in comedy, "talking back" to her creator. Menander, returning home "down on his luck," perhaps after a similar professional failure, endures the obscene ridicule of Glycera, also one of his own characters. After he rejects the hot milk she offers, the hetaera quips, "Get rid of the upper part and use what's below" (ἀποφύσα, εἶπε, καὶ τῷ κάτω χρῶ, 585c). The joke plays on the double sense of γραῦς as old woman and the wrinkled scum that forms on the surface of boiled milk.

One last anecdote represents an encounter between the fifth-century hetaera Lais and the poet Euripides in which she mocks him with a line from his own play in much the same manner as the god Dionysus in Aristophanes' *Frogs* when he awards the prize to Aeschylus (Ar. *Ran.* 1471). Upon seeing the poet in a garden with his writing tablet and stylus, the hetaera engages in the following exchange:

> "ἀπόκριναι, φησίν, ὦ ποιητά μοι,
> τί βουλόμενος ἔγραψας ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ
> 'ἔρρ', αἰσχροποιέ;'" καταπλαγεὶς δ' Εὐριπίδης
> τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῆς "Σὺ γάρ, ἔφη, τίς εἶ, γύναι;
> οὐκ αἰσχροποιός;" ἡ δὲ γελάσασ' ἀπεκρίθη·
> "Τί δ' αἰσχρόν, εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκεῖ;" (Machon 405–10 = 582d)
>
> "Tell me, my poet,
> why did write in your tragedy
> 'Away shameful doer?'" Whereupon Euripides, amazed
> at her audacity, said, "What are you, woman?
> Not a shameful doer?" And she, laughing, retorted,
> "What is shameful, if it does not seem so to the doer?"

The hetaera here asks the poet why he used αἰσχροποιός of Medea in Jason's elaborate denunciation of her (E. *Med.* 1346), although implying an obscene usage. With ἀπόκριναι, Lais invites the poet to deliver his own witticism in this conventional game of ripostes; he responds by turning the tables on the hetaera, but she (literally) has the last laugh.

Lais brilliantly responds with a famous line from his play, *Aeolus* (fr. 19 TGF[2]), that probably referred to the incest of Macareus with his sister Canace and in any case expressed his penchant for moral relativism.[45] We see again the same comic procedure at work: the hetaera uses laughter and witticisms to put a powerful and derisive male interlocutor in his place by using his own inclinations and doctrines against him. And as we saw in the earlier parody of Euripides' *Medea*, the verse comes from the final scene of the tragedy when Jason's and Medea's positions are reversed.[46] The ability to quote Euripides in the post-classical era served as the consummate mark of *paideia*. Plutarch in his account of the Sicilian expedition states that the Sicilians consigned to the quarries all Athenians captured in war except those who could recite Euripides (Plu. *Nic.* 19.2).[47] The close association between classical Greek *paideia* and the poetry of Euripides during the second century C.E. reinforces the idea of the educated Athenian hetaera as the purveyor of classical Attic culture.

RIDICULE OF THE LOWER CLASSES

Beyond tragic poets, the targets of the hetaeras' abuse tended to be stock, lower-class characters such as soldiers, rogues (μαστιγίας, 585f), parasites, actors, athletes, and craftsmen. In one such story, a deserter, the Αὐτόμολος,[48] holds a drinking party for his friends—one assumes that these are the free-loaders, the *asymboloi* that so frequently populate the dinner parties of the rich and famous:

> εἶναι δοκῶν αὐτόμολος ἄνθρωπος ξένος
> καὶ παρεπιδημήσας Ἀθήνησίν ποτε
> τὴν Μανίαν μετεπέμψαθ', ὅσον ᾔτησε δούς.
> εἰς τὸν πότον δ' ἦν συμπαρειληφώς τινας
> ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἐπιγελᾶν εἰθισμένων
> ἅπαντα τοῖς τρέφουσιν αἰεὶ πρὸς χάριν·

[45] On this passage, see Gow 1965, 128; on the line from Euripides' *Aeolus*, cf. Ar. *Ra.* 1475, τί δ' αἰσχρόν, ἢν μὴ τοῖς θεωμένοις δοκῇ, and Plut. *Mor.* 33c.

[46] Following a scholion, Gow 1965, 128, believes this episode may have actually taken place. But the fact that such dialogues appear to have been popular during the Second Sophistic period—Musonius, for instance, similarly engages in a conversation with Euripides about slavery—militates against the idea that they ever actually took place; see Whitmarsh 2001, 278.

[47] I am grateful to C. A. Faraone for drawing my attention to this passage.

[48] Gow 1965, 104, takes the phrase αὐτόμολος ἄνθρωπος ξένος to refer to "the typical boorish soldier of New Comedy." In any case, the term ἄνθρωπος denotes contempt.

βουλόμενος εἶναι γλαφυρὸς ἀστεῖός θ' ἅμα,
τῆς Μανίας ἄριστα παιζούσης σφόδρα
ἀνισταμένης τε πολλάκις, εἰς δασύποδα
αὐτὴν ἐπικροῦσαι βουλόμενος "πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
μειράκια, τί δοκεῖ τῶν ἀγρίων ὑμῖν ποτε
ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τάχιστα θηρίον τρέχειν;"
ἡ Μανία δ' "αὐτόμολος, ὦ βέλτιστε," ἔφη.
μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὡς εἰσῆλθε πάλιν ἡ Μανία,
τὸν αὐτόμολον ἔσκωπτε ῥίψασπίν τ' ἔφη
αὐτὸν γεγονέναι προσβολῆς οὔσης ποτέ. (Machon 231–46 = 579a–b).

A foreign man, who seemed to be a deserter,
was staying in Athens once, and sent for Mania,
paying her whatever she asked.
To his drinking party, he had invited some others,
those from the city always accustomed to laugh
with their hosts at everything out of gratitude.
He wished to show himself both subtle and witty,
while Mania bandied about her wittiest remarks,
even though she often left the room. Wishing to jeer at her
as a scurrying hare, the deserter said, "By the gods,
boys, which of the wild beasts in the mountains
seems to you to run the fastest?"
And Mania answered, "Why the deserter, my good man."
When Mania had entered the room once more after this,
she mocked the deserter and said that once
he had been a shield-caster during an attack.

The adjective ἀστεῖος links the table banter of the parasitic deserter to that of the hetaera and thus sets up a game of competitive ripostes between the two. With her verbal play at its best—and note its affinities with the table banter of Athenaeus' sophists (ἄριστα παιζούσης, Machon 238 = 579b)—the hetaera Mania wins the contest with her witty solution to the riddle; in Gow's words, she "catches the man's jest, turns it against him, and embroiders her suggestion" (Gow 1965, 245). Her joke unmans the deserter by unmasking his martial cowardice and deflates his own attempts at witticisms.

Another *chreia* depicts the hetaera Mania as the lover of two rival pancratiasts. Taking up with one pancratiast while serving as the common-law wife (γαμετῆς τρόπον γυναικός) of the other, she incurs the abuse of her cuckolded "husband" (μοιχευομένην). To his complaints, Mania quips:

"μηθέν, φησί, σοί,
ψυχή, μελέτω· μαθεῖν γὰρ αἰσθέσθαι θ' ἅμα
'Ολυμπιονικῶν νυκτὸς ἀθλητῶν δυεῖν
πληγὴν παρὰ πληγὴν τί δύναταί ποτ' ἤθελον." (Machon 222–25 = 578f)

Darling, don't be concerned. For I just wanted to learn and ascertain what two athletes, victors at Olympia, could do, stroke for stroke, in a single night. (Trans. adapted from Gulick.)

Here the double entendre resides in the play on πληγή, a word that can refer both to athletic and sexual activity in Attic Old Comedy. At the same time, the sports metaphor effectively turns the hetaera into the athletic victor able to take on two opponents at once. Gnathaenion also deploys a similar equation between sexual and athletic conquest in her response to a passing wrestler (παλαιστής) in another anecdote. When he attempted to pass her retinue as she processed to the Peiraeus and threatened to throw her down if her party did not get out of his way, she replied, "You poor fool, not you sir! For that is something you have not yet done!" (ὦ τάλαν, μὴ δῆτ' ἄνερ· / οὐδέποτε γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστί σοι πεπραγμένον, Machon 400–401 = 582c). By mocking his failure in the public arena, the hetaera's repartee denigrates and even emasculates her interlocutor.

In an act of betrayal that involves multiple status inversions, the aging Gnathaena, who has now taken up residence with the tragic actor Andronicus, comes out of retirement to offer her services to a bronzesmith for a large amount of gold. The low status of this character is indicated by the phrase ἀνάγωγος ὢν δὲ καὶ βάναυσος παντελῶς ("Being ill-bred and one who works with his hands," Machon 358 = 581d) and by the fact that he sits around gossiping in a cobbler's shop. When the rumor gets back to Andronicus that the hetaera had engaged in the "horse" position with the bronzesmith, a *schēma* she had refused to perform with him (καθιππάσθαι, Machon 362 = 581d; cf. κελητίσαι Machon 171 = 577d), he reviles her (λοιδορούμενος, 581e). In the eyes of the actor, the hetaera's willingness to perform this position with just anyone constitutes an act of subversion since it elevates socially marginal figures, such as smiths and rogues, to the level of aristocracy (ἐντρυφᾶν, 581e).[49] The hetaera in effect aids and abets this process of disrupting status boundaries by renting out her body and allowing equal access to all. Nonetheless, her quip to the

[49] Kurke 2002 finds an allusion to political disenfranchisement: in parting the bronzesmith from his gold, the hetaera symbolically "casts him out of the citizen body" and thus restores normative social hierarchies.

cuckolded Andronicus restores those boundaries by insulting the smith and reasserting her physical and discursive control over this degrading act: "I cleverly contrived to touch the part of his person which projects farthest and is smallest" (ἐφιλοσόφησά θ', ἵν' ἄκρον ὡς μάλιστα καί / ἐλάχιστον αὐτοῦ περιλάβω τοῦ σώματος, Machon 374–75 = 581f). The verb φιλοσοφέω injects an element of bathos: the lofty thoughts of the hetaera contrast with her degrading sexual activities. The use of repartee to deflect a client's demeaning sexual demand while also exposing his baseness is also found in another of Mania's rejoinders: when a scoundrel (πονηρῶν τις), upon taking her in his turn, asks, "Do you wish to come together from on top or behind?" (πότερ' ἄνω θέλεις / ἐλθοῦσ' ἅμα βαλεῖν ἢ κάτω . . .), she laughingly responds, "On top . . . that you not steal my hair ornament while I am prone" (γελάσασ' "ἄνω / . . . . δέδοικά σε / μή μου προπεσούσης τοὐμπλοκιον ὑπεκτράγῃς, Machon 255–57 = 579d).

Another anecdote, condemned as "grossly corrupt and the point hardly intelligible" by Gow (1965, 112), seems to contain an obscene pun that functions as a put-down of another marginal character. Upon learning that her partner, a μαστιγίας, allegedly received the scars on his back after falling into a funeral pyre, Gnathaena quips, "Yes, by the dear Demeter, and rightly did you flail yourself, since you are over-sexed" ("ναὶ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, δικαίως τοι δέρος / ἄνθρωπε, φησίν, ἐξεδάρης ἀκόλαστος ὤν, Machon 293–94 = 580b).[50] Although Gow rightly points out that the term ἀκόλαστος normally refers to sexual incontinence, he misses the sense of ἐκδέρω; not only does it mean to flay or skin, but it possibly refers to masturbation or even homosexual rape, as it does in Attic Old Comedy.[51] Through her jest, the hetaera exposes not only the rogue's lack of masculine self-control, but also his lower-class status as a criminal worthy of whipping.

The puns and rejoinders of older hetaeras like Gnathaena may convey their predatory sexuality in a gesture that renders men as the objects of erotic appraisal. Old women are typically depicted as lecherous and prone to obscenity in Greek literature, from Iambe in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* to the three crones at the end of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (976ff.) who embed obscene double entendres in legal language as they quarrel over sexual access to the Youth. The elderly

[50] I have followed Gulick in keeping the emendation of Capps, τοι δέρος, instead of the τοιγαρ of manuscript A.

[51] In Aristophanes' *Wasps*, the verb refers to anal rape (προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν ἐλάαν ἐξέδειρ' εὖ κἀνδρικῶς, Ar. *V.* 450), while elsewhere it denotes male arousal; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 158, 739 and 953; *Av.* 365; *Nu.* 442; on the verb generally, see Henderson 1991, 167.

Gnathaena delivers some of the coarsest humor in the book in her exchange with another lower class character, a young butcher's boy:

εἶτ' ἰδοῦσα κατὰ τύχην
ἱστῶντα κρεοπώλην τιν' ἀστεῖον πάνυ
τῇ θ' ἡλικίᾳ σφόδρα νέον "ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
μειράκιον, ὁ καλός, φησί, πῶς ἵστης; φράσον."
ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας, "κύβδ', ἔφη, τριωβόλου."
"τίς δ' οὐπιτρέψων ἐστί σοι, φησίν, τάλαν,
ὄντα γ' ἐν' Αθήναις Καρικοῖς χρῆσθαι σταθμοῖς;"
(Machon 304–10 = 580c–d)

Upon seeing by chance
a butcher boy standing at the scales, very pretty
and young in age, Gnathaena said, "By the gods,
boy, the good looking one, tell me, how do you do your weighing?"
The boy smiled and said, "From behind, for three obols."
"But who will allow you, poor fool,
to use Carian measures in Athens?"

In this exchange, the crone's attempt to turn the boy into an object of erotic appraisal is met by a counter proposition that states a price of three obols. As in all of Machon's *Chreiae*, however, the hetaera has the last word as she "measures" the butcher boy against Athenian social and sexual standards in a complex pun that alludes to the sexual licentiousness of the Carians. In a similar act of objectification, Gnathaena elsewhere ridicules a homely boy, described as skinny and dark (ἰσχνὸν πάνυ / καὶ μέλανα λεπτόν θ', Machon 319–20 = 580e), by comparing him to Adonis (ἔσκωπτεν εἰς Ἄδωνιν), a witticism that may allude to the types of jokes uttered by the hetaeras celebrating the Adonia (McClure 1999b, 216, 223, 254 and n. 165, 264).

HETAERAS AT ATHENAEUS' TABLE

The masculinized hetaeras of Machon and Lynceus bear little resemblance to the companions who flatter their clients with sweet nothings depicted by Ephippus; their laughter is raucous, their jokes, while at times sophisticated, are basically crude. They belong instead to a subversive and parodic comic discourse that exposes the objects of their ridicule as depraved and unmanly, lacking in the self-control necessary for participation in the classical Athenian polis. And although these hetaeras inhabit a shadowy demi-monde of cobbler shops, marketplaces, private

symposia, and gardens, they nonetheless threaten to breach the status boundaries of gender and class. In this regard they resemble other lower class comic characters such as parasites and jesters, figures with whom kings and poets rubbed elbows, and exchanged jokes, at court and table. But in the hands of the comic poets, to say nothing of historians with a flair for the theatrical, association with such marginal figures, female or male, called into question the status and manhood of the men who were their subjects. A similar dynamic obtains at Athenaeus' table: as ventriloquized by Myrtilus, the hetaera's witticisms form the heart of a parodic discourse intended to put Cynulcus, and philosophers generally, in their place. This tactic is encapsulated in a fictionalized exchange between the hetaera Glycera and the Hellenistic philosopher, Stilpo, that follows Myrtilus' discussion of courtesans and *paideia*:

> κατηγοροῦντος γοῦν ποτε Στίλπωνος Γλυκέρας παρὰ πότον ὡς διαφθειρούσης τοὺς νέους, ὥς φησι Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις, ὑποτυχοῦσα ἡ Γλυκέρα "τὴν αὐτήν, ἔφη, ἔχομεν αἰτίαν, ὦ Στίλπων. σέ τε γὰρ λέγουσιν διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς σοι ἀνωφελῆ καὶ ἐριστικὰ σοφίσματα διδάσκοντα, ἐμέ τε ὡσαύτως ἐρωτικά. μηθὲν οὖν διαφέρειν ἐπιτριβομένοις καὶ κακῶς πάσχουσιν ἢ μετὰ φιλοσόφου ζῆν ἢ ἑταίρας." (Satyrus *FGrH* 3.164 = 584a)
>
> To Stilpo's accusation at a drinking party that she corrupted young men, as Satyrus says in his *Lives*, Glycera responded, "We incur the same blame, Stilpo. For they say that you corrupt all that meet you by teaching them worthless, eristic sophistries, while I likewise teach them erotic ones. It makes no difference, therefore, to people who are utterly destroyed and down on their luck, whether they live in the company of a philosopher or a courtesan." (Trans. adapted from Gulick.)

Glycera, in a manner similar to the jokes discussed above, deflates the criticism of the philosopher by equating her art with his; indeed, the verb διαφθείρω is thematic in descriptions of the harmful effects of encounters with prostitutes (cf. 567c). So, too, Myrtilus informs us that the Romans expelled their sophists, a term used interchangeably with philosopher in Book 13, on the grounds that they corrupted the youth (διαφθείροντας τοὺς νέους, 610f). Given Stilpo's associations with Socratic and Cynic philosophy, Myrtilus here deploys the discourse of the prostitute as a direct invective against Cynulcus.

Moreover, Myrtilus uses the element of *paideia* exhibited by the witticisms of hetaeras, especially those examples that deploy tragic verse, to parody Cynulcus' affected scorn for the literary tradition. Thus in an early exchange, the *grammatikos* chides the philosopher for his lack of

erudition: "How gauche you are, and boorish, and given to foul language . . . whom the Muses have taught left-handed letters" (ὡς σκαιὸς εἶ κἄγροικος αἰσχροεπῶν. . . . ἐδίδαξαν ἀριστερὰ γράμματα Μοῦσαι, 571a–b). Myrtilus even goes so far as to accuse the Cynic of hating literature in his final diatribe: "Then am I not right in hating all of you philosophers, you who hate literature?" (εἶτ' οὐκ ἐγὼ δικαίως πάντας ὑμᾶς τοὺς φιλοσόφους μισῶ μισοφιλολόγους ὄντας, 610d). His account of Epicurus similarly uses the courtesan Leontion to expose the philosopher's lack of education.[52] Epicurus, himself "uninitiated in *paideia*" (παιδείας ἀμύητος, 588a) and given to praise philosophers "cleansed of all *paideia*" (καθαρὸς πάσης παιδείας, 588a), consorts with the notorious hetaera and "philosopher" Leontion:

> οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος οὐ Λεόντιον εἶχεν ἐρωμένην τὴν ἐπὶ ἑταιρείᾳ διαβόητον γενομένην; ἡ δὲ οὐδ' ὅτε φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο ἐπαύσατο ἑταιροῦσα, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις συνῆν ἐν τοῖς κήποις, Ἐπικούρῳ δὲ καὶ ἀναφανδόν. (588b)
>
> Didn't this same Epicurus keep Leontion as his mistress, the woman who had become famous for being a hetaera? Not even when she began to study philosophy, did she cease being a hetaera, but consorted with all the Epicureans in the Gardens, and even in full view of Epicurus.

As the ultimate symbol of pleasure, the hetaera pokes fun at the principles behind Epicurean doctrine and uncovers the foolishness of the philosopher himself (588a–b). At the same time, Leontion's presence in the garden parodies their practice of including women in their circle. Thus she turns the precepts of the Epicureans against them, in much the same way as Lais' fictive encounter with Euripides. Myrtilus' encomium of hetaeras, it appears, actually functions as a diatribe against philosophers.

In his final words, Cynulcus attempts to confute this discourse of erotic *paideia* by denouncing the erudition of the *grammatikos*:

> "πολυμαθημοσύνης, τῆς οὐ κενεώτερον οὐδέν," Ἵππων ἔφη ὁ ἄθεος. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ θεῖός φησι· "πολυμαθίη νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει." καὶ ὁ Τίμων δὲ ἔφη·
>
> ἐν δὲ πλατυσμὸς
> πολυμαθημοσύνης, τῆς οὐ κενεώτερον ἄλλο.

[52] Apparently a famous anecdote in antiquity, for which see Brendel 1970, 33 and n. 36; cf. D.L. 10.4; Alciphr. 4.17 and Pliny 35.9.

> τί γὰρ ὄφελος τῶν τοσούτων ὀνομάτων, ὦ γραμματικέ, πάντων ἐπιτρῖψαι μᾶλλον ἢ σωφρονίσαι δυναμένων τοὺς ἀκούοντας; (610b–c)
>
> "Erudition—there is nothing more empty than this," said Hippon the atheist. But even the godlike Heracleitus says, "Erudition does not teach common sense." And Timon also said, "There is nothing more empty than boasting of erudition." For what is the use of all these names, you grammarian, more to wear down than to make moderate your listeners?

Since the diners have already endured the ridiculous *polymathia* of Cynulcus on the subject of lentils earlier in the evening (156b–58d), one assumes that the philosopher finds fault not so much with Myrtilus' pedantry as with his subject matter. An account of names, he suggests, should more properly consist of those of the Greek heroes shut up in the Trojan horse or the companions of Odysseus devoured by the Cyclops or the Laistrygonians, rather than those of hetaeras. Instead, he argues, Myrtilus continually quotes the historian Phylarchus: "that in the towns of Ceos one will find neither hetaeras nor flute girls" (ὅτι ἐν ταῖς Κείων πόλεσιν οὔτε ἑταίρας οὔτε αὐλητρίδας ἰδεῖν ἔστι, 610d).

At the conclusion of his speech, Myrtilus returns in ring form to the aberrant passions of philosophers just as he had earlier indicted the Stoics for their homoerotic proclivities in his opening salvo (565a):

> Ὁρᾶτε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, οἱ παρὰ φύσιν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ χρώμενοι καὶ ἀσεβοῦντες εἰς τὴν θεόν, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν διαφθαρῆτε τρόπον. τότε γὰρ καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν καλοί, ὡς Γλυκέρα ἔφασκεν ἡ ἑταίρα, ὅσον ἐοίκασι γυναικὶ χρόνον, καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ Κλέαρχος. (605d)
>
> You philosophers, you who enjoy a love contrary to nature and sin against the goddess of love, see that you are not ruined in the same manner. For even boys are beautiful, as long as they still resemble women, as the hetaera Glycera, in the account given by Clearchus, used to say.

The technique at work in this passage is by now familiar: Myrtilus marshals the voice of the hetaera, here figured as a masculine appraiser of beauty, to deride the habits of philosophers. But the hetaera does double duty here: in addition to corroborating the depravity of philosophers, she is made to convert the homoerotic proclivities of philosophers into the compulsory heterosexuality of the grammarian.

For Myrtilus, then, the discourse of the hetaera unmasks the hypocrisy of philosophers, whether Socratic, Cynic, Stoic, or Epicurean, and exposes their inability to regulate properly the pleasures of the body. The story of a symposium held by Antigonus Gonatas, the father of Demetrius

Poliorcetes, that concludes Myrtilus' speech not only uses courtesans to critique the depravities of the Macedonian court, a technique familiar from Machon's *Chreiae*, it also exposes the sexual hypocrisy of philosophers at table. When a chorus of semi-nude Thessalian dancing girls disturbs the otherwise orderly and moderate round of drinking (εὐσχημόνως, 607c) at Antigonus' party, causing a riotous clamor among the men, the lone philosopher sits apart, refusing even the company of an *aulētris*. But he eventually comes to blows over her during a bidding war for her services (607d–e); still another is said to enjoy wearing a flute-girl's clothing (607f). Courtesans, and discourse about them, have a way of lowering even the most elevated of men, as a vignette about Antiphanes and Alexander suggests at the outset of Book 13. So, too, Myrtilus' account of the obscene sayings of courtesans introduces into Athenaeus' symposium a scurrilous discourse that reduces the Cynic philosopher to a status lower than that of the eponymous dog (611c).

In a book preoccupied with names and naming, Myrtilus lives up to his comic name: his risqué and scurrilous discourse challenges that of the philosophers and gives the *grammatikos*, like the hetaera, the last word:

> ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον τὸν τραγικὸν ποιητήν
> τάδ' οὐχ ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος,
> καταπαύσω τὸν πρὸς σὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κύνας ἐνταῦθα λόγον. (612f)
>
> And now I will end my speech against you and the other Cynic dogs with a line from the tragic poet Aristarchus:
> "Not as an instigator in these matters, but as the avenger."

With this quotation, Myrtilus affiliates himself with tragic authority and leaves off his erotic discourse; the hetaeras disappear from the table, and Cynulcus retreats into silence.

CONCLUSION

This essay has attempted to show that the parodic and obscene discourse of hetaeras must be placed in the larger context of Athenaeus' banquet and the sophists and philosophers it features. The speakers of the *Deipnosophistae* do not tell their own jokes or improvise their own speeches; rather they quote the words of others in a continual struggle for discursive dominance. As we have seen, the witticisms of hetaeras play a central role in the game of verbal and rhetorical gamesmanship played by Athenaeus' sophists and philosophers. Their erudite displays

reflect, in part, the rhetorical environment of the late second/early third century C.E. in which individuals competed for status through verbal performance.[53] This sophistic self-fashioning appropriates the sayings of Athenian hetaeras and converts them into "the fine sayings of educated men" in order to articulate the complex relationship of Second Sophistic writers to the classical Greek past. Yet in both literary contexts, hetaeras serve a similar function: through them, male identity is constructed and continually negotiated.[54]

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[53] On performative displays and the competitive culture of the period, see Gleason 1991.

[54] I would like to thank Madeleine Henry and an anonymous referee for their help in sharpening the argument. Thanks are also owed to the audiences at the University of Chicago, at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, and at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (2002), for their comments on previous versions of this essay. For consistency, all Greek references are to Gulick's text; Gow's readings of Machon appear where noted. Unless otherwise specified, translations throughout are my own.

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APHRODITE'S ΚΕΣΤΟΣ AND APPLES FOR ATALANTA: APHRODISIACS IN EARLY GREEK MYTH AND RITUAL

C. A. FARAONE

In memory of John J. Winkler,
a mentor and a friend

EROTIC MAGIC PLAYS A PROMINENT ROLE in many early Greek myths concerned with the dynamics of courtship and marriage. In *Iliad* 14, Hera uses the κεστὸς ἱμάς to facilitate her famous deception of Zeus. Deianeira, in a last-ditch effort to save her marriage, mistakenly and tragically destroys her philandering husband, Heracles, when she employs an aphrodisiac to win him back (Hesiod fr. 25.17–25 MW). In yet another early myth, Pindar tells us how Jason uses a magic ἴυνξ-wheel to woo Medea—an act of seduction, which leads to elopement and marriage (*Pyth.* 4.213–219). Elsewhere we hear how apples, quinces, pomegranates and other fruit designated by the Greek word μῆλον were apparently used to strengthen marital affections; they were regularly offered to brides-to-be, both in myth (e.g., Atalanta, Persephone) and in actual ceremony (e.g., Plut. *Solon* 20.4). In all these Greek legends involving aphrodisiacs, a magic spell is employed to bring about a desired, new marriage, or save a faltering one. Drawing attention to close parallels in Akkadian erotic spells of the Neo-Assyrian period and in the much later Greek magical papyri, I shall argue that in some cases such myths reflect the actual use of aphrodisiacs in early Greek culture, and that awareness of these practices can give us a much deeper insight into the narrative structure of the poetic texts in which they appear.

Different portions of this paper were delivered in January 1989 at the 120th Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association in Baltimore, and at an NEH-sponsored "Workshop for Ancient Societies" at the University of Chicago. It has profited from the comments and questions of both audiences. I should like to thank my hosts at Chicago Professors J. Redfield, M. Roth, and R. Saller for their hospitality and encouragement. Various drafts of the written version have benefited from the comments of W. Brashear, E. Courtney, M. Edwards, R. Janko, C. Patterson, J. Scurlock, J. Winkler, and two anonymous referees, but any remaining imperfections are my own. I use the following abbreviations throughout: *ArOF* = *Archiv für Orientforschung*; *KAR* = E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Assur religiöse Inhalts*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1915–1923); *PGM*^{2} = Karl Preisendanz and Albert Henrichs (eds.), *Papyri Graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*^{2} 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–74, Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Commentare). All translations of *PGM*^{2} are from H.-D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago 1986), hereafter Betz, *Translation*; the abbreviation "NN" in these translations stands for ὁ δεῖνα or ἡ δεῖνα in the original.

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I offer here a discussion of only two of the above-mentioned aphrodisiacs, the κεστὸς ἱμάς (which I shall refer to throughout simply as κεστός, in accord with later Greek practice) and the apple. In part this choice is dictated by the desire for variety (the former is employed against males, the latter against females) and by the availability of clear Near Eastern parallels.

APHRODITE'S ΚΕΣΤΟΣ: ANGER, POWER, AND THE ART OF SEDUCTION

In the fourteenth book of the *Iliad*, Hera calls Aphrodite aside and mendaciously makes an urgent request:

δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον, ᾧ τε σὺ πάντας
δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἠδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης,
'Ωκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,
οἵ με σφοῖσι δόμοισιν ἐὺ τρέφον ἠδ' ἀτίταλλον,
δεξάμενοι 'Ρείας, ὅτε τε Κρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
γαίης νέρθε καθεῖσε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης·
τοὺς εἶμ' ὀψομένη, καί σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω·
ἤδη γὰρ δηρὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχονται
εὐνῆς καὶ φιλότητος, ἐπεὶ χόλος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ.
εἰ κείνω γ' ἐπέεσσι παραιπεπιθοῦσα φίλον κῆρ
εἰς εὐνὴν ἀνέσαιμι ὁμωθῆναι φιλότητι,
αἰεί κέ σφι φίλη τε καὶ αἰδοίη καλεοίμην. *Il.* 14.198–210

Thus Hera, pretending to be worried over the cool marital relations between her parents, asks Aphrodite for help in bringing them back together in their bridal bed. Aphrodite agrees to give Hera her κεστὸς ἱμάς:

Ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν ἱμάντα
ποικίλον, ἔνθα τέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο·
ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς
πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.
Il. 14.214–217

Despite the four generous lines of detailed description there has been little agreement as to the nature of the κεστός, what it looked like, where it was worn or carried, or what was its intended effect. Leaf and most of the older commentators thought that it was an amulet of sorts "set down in" the fold (κόλπος) of Hera's garment (219 and 223).[1] The term κόλπος, however, can also mean "bosom," and in recent years others have argued that the κεστός was an article of clothing, either a "saltire" worn about the breasts (cf. 214

[1] W. Leaf (London 1902) *ad loc.*; cf. K. F. Ameis and C. Hentze (Leipzig 1885) and O. Henke (Leipzig 1902). For the opposing minority view that the κεστός was a girdle, see F. A. Paley (London 1884).

quoted above: "and from her breasts unbound the ... κεστὸς ἱμάς"), or an embroidered girdle placed on the waist.[2]

The outward appearance of the κεστός is equally unclear. It is agreed that κεστός, an adjective formed from κεντέω, "to prick or pierce," refers to a pattern of perforations used to decorate the ἱμάς, a noun which in Homer regularly designates a rather narrow strap of leather, for example the chin-strap of a helmet.[3] The nature of this decoration is, however, rather vague; drawing parallels from Greek art and Homeric *ecphrasis* some envision anthropomorphic representations of the triad: Philotes, Himeros, and Oaristus. Indeed, elsewhere in the *Iliad* in the description of defensive armor, there are close formulaic parallels for three abstract figures appearing together in the same hexametric line, for example Strife (Ἔρις), Battle Din (Κυδοιμός) and Doom (Κήρ) depicted on Achilles' shield (18.535) and Strife (Ἔρις), Strength (Ἀλκή) and Onslaught (Ἰωκή) on Athena's aegis (5.740).[4] One should, however, exercise caution here in assuming that Homer is simply describing superficial decorations on the strap. Hesiod's narrative of the construction and adornment of Pandora painfully reveals the ambiguities in the early Greek concept of abstract qualities such as φιλότης or ἵμερος. Zeus orders Hephaestus to fashion a life-size clay statue and give it voice, strength, and beauty and he bids Athena to teach it various handicrafts. As one would expect, he turns to Aphrodite for the provision of sexual attractiveness:

> καὶ χάριν ἀμφιχέαι κεφαλῇ χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην,
> καὶ πόθον ἀργαλέον καὶ γυιοβόρους μελεδώνας· *Op.* 65–66

Here Aphrodite's abstract gifts, πόθος (objective "desire," like ἵμερος in the κεστός; it is the longing to be felt by others for Pandora) and χάρις are

[2]LSJ s.v. κεστός defines it as a "girdle" in this passage. C. Bonner, "ΚΕΣΤΟΣ ΙΜΑΣ and the Saltire of Aphrodite," *AJP* 70 (1949) 1–6, suggests that it was a "saltire" (a kind of cross-your-heart brassiere) of the type worn by eastern goddesses. F. E. Brenk, "Aphrodite's Girdle: No Way to Treat a Lady," *Classical Bulletin* 54 (1977) 17–20, alters Bonner's theory slightly; the κεστός is an embroidered square or loose collar which joins the saltire together at the breast. R. B. Onians, *The Origins of Western Thought* (Cambridge 1951) 368–369, compares it to the magical veil worn by Leukothea and given to Odysseus (*Od.* 5.333–335).

[3]Chantraine, s.v. "κεντέω." To my knowledge only Brenk (above, n. 2) has embraced Bonner's unlikely etymology (above, n. 2) from κεάζω "to split."

[4]H. A. Shapiro, *Personification of Abstract Concepts in Greek Art and Literature to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (diss., Princeton 1977) 34–36. These parallels to defensive armor are understandable, when we realize that the overall structure of Hera's preparations reflect the standard arming type-scenes; ↦ L. Golden, "Διὸς ἀπάτη and the Unity of *Iliad* 14," *Mnemosyne* 42 (1989) 1–11, at 5–6. Leaf (above, n. 1) *ad loc.*, suspected that line 217, beginning as it does with πάρφασις without any copula, was a disconnected gloss on ὀαριστύς. R. Janko, however, in his forthcoming volume of the new Cambridge commentary on the *Iliad*, suggests that this could just as easily be the result of oral improvisation.

either poured or draped about the head. The former interpretation depends on the use of the same verb to describe similar actions of Athena in the *Odyssey* (e.g., 6.235 and 23.156) where she is said to "pour" either χάρις or κάλλος over Odysseus' head. The verb ἀμφιχεῖν, however, can be used to mean "drape over" (cf. the δέσματα with which Hephaestus entraps Ares and his wife *Od.* 8.278), an image which seems to be corroborated in the narration of the actual creation of Pandora a few lines later; there the commands given to Aphrodite are carried out by her surrogates Peitho and the Charites (i.e., the personifications themselves), who are said to place golden necklaces about the statue's neck (73–74). As in Homer's treatment of the κεστός, here the presentation of abstract seductive powers is depicted in very concrete terms. Although it is unclear in both the Pandora story and the κεστός episode whether qualities such as χάρις or ἵμερος are physically "built into" the strap or necklace, it is an obvious point of both stories that such "gifts" were meant to infuse magically the person who donned them.[5]

Finally, there is some confusion about the expected effects of the κεστός; from Hera's story quoted above, it seems that it could be used to resolve marital discord. If Hera the would-be marriage counselor had kept her word, perhaps the κεστός would have been given to Tethys to wear, in order to seduce her husband in similar fashion, but this is never made explicit. In any event, the ultimate goal would have been the restoration of sexual relations between her parents. As it turns out, Hera's real object is to stimulate desire in Zeus and then (with the help of the god Sleep) to immobilize him. We can thus infer the following constellation of interrelated effects associated with the use of the Homeric κεστός and the necklaces given to Pandora: 1) they were carried or worn by a woman; 2) they enhanced her attractiveness; 3) the κεστός alone could be used to diminish anger between a woman and her husband; and 4) they could both be used to seduce and captivate a male. The necklace is to be employed in anticipation of a new marriage (e.g., the preparation of the "bride" Pandora), while the κεστός is used to renew sexual life in an existing one (Zeus and Hera; Oceanus and Tethys).

To what extent does the story in *Iliad* 14 reflect actual magical practices in the ancient world? A cuneiform tablet from Ashur dating to around 1000 B.C. contains a Neo-Assyrian magical spell of great interest:[6]

[5]It has long been known that Hesiod's descriptions of the adornment of Pandora (in both the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony*) contain numerous echoes of the Homeric Διὸς ἀπάτη, leading many scholars to conclude that Hesiod has used the episode as a model of sorts. For the large bibliography and renewed debate, see H. Neitzel, *Homer-Rezeption bei Hesiod: Interpretation ausgewählter Passagen* (Bonn 1975) 20–34. Like the κεστός, these necklaces may have also been part of Aphrodite's regular wardrobe; cf. the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* 61 ff. and 86 ff. for her own preparations to seduce Anchises. A. Henrichs, *Die* Phoinikika *des Lollianos* (Bonn 1972) 22, points to the east as the source for these rich ornaments—especially in the descriptions of Astarte and Inanna.

[6]V. Scheil, "Catalogue de la Collection Eugène Tisserant," *RAssyr* 18 (1921) 21–27 no. 17; O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets* (London 1957)

Incantation à réciter lorsque le mari d'une femme est courroucé contre elle. Le rite à accomplir: tu tresses des tendons d'une gazelle, du [chanvre] et de la laine rouge dans un seul fil, tu y noues quatorze noeuds, et chaque fois que tu noues un noeud, tu récite l'incantation (qui précède). La femme mettra (cette corde) autour de sa taille, et elle sera aimée. (tr. E. Reiner)

The incantation to be used with this recipe is hopelessly fragmentary; we can, however, make out that it invokes Ishtar, a goddess who so very often is equated with Aphrodite, the owner of the Homeric κεστός. This Assyrian procedure, moreover, seems to be designed for a situation quite similar to that of Oceanus and Tethys described above; a specially made strap worn by a woman heals a marital rift by assuaging anger.

The underlying magical activity in the Near Eastern spell is the tying of knots. Thus it seems to be related to another, much larger class of Neo-Assyrian magical spells, the so-called *egalkura* spells, which often involve the use of knotted or beaded cords to enhance one's attractiveness in the eyes of a superior:[7]

Incantation of the type *egalkura*.
Ritual: You repeat this spell seven times over a three-stranded cord of lapis-colored wool, you knot it (and) you bind it in your hem. Then you will enter into the presence of the prince and he will welcome you (var. "whoever looks upon you will be glad to see you"). (tr. J. Scurlock)

Another spell of this type involves a more elaborate cord strung with semi-precious stones (*KAR* 71.1–11 = Spell D.5–8 Scurlock):

Incantation of the type *egalkura*.
You thread *ianibu*-stone and carnelian on a cord, (and) you repeat the spell three times. You place it on the teaseled side of your garment. (And then) you will enter into the presence of the prince and he will welcome you. (tr. J. Scurlock)

Neither recipe even hints at the prospect of increasing the erotic desire of the prince; the cord is simply designed to make a superior better disposed toward one of his subjects or underlings. Nevertheless, the erotic spell used by a wife against her husband would seem to have much in common

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no. 257, publish a duplicate text. I give the French translation of E. Reiner, "La Magie babylonienne," in *Le Monde du sorcier* (Paris 1966, Sources Orientales 7) 93, as there are no English versions available.

[7] All the translations of *egalkura* incantations are from "E.GAL.KU.RA Rituals," an as yet unpublished study by Prof. J. Scurlock, who has kindly allowed me to quote short portions of it here. The spell quoted is *KAR* 71.21–25 = Spell B.11–15 Scurlock. For a discussion of the ambiguous nature of these spells, which are often found in collections of spells which range from explicitly erotic purposes to purely political or economic ones, see J. Scurlock, "Was There a 'Love-Hungry' *Entu*-Priestess Named Etirtum?," *ArOF* 36 (forthcoming). Spells labelled *egalkura* are not limited to the use of knotted cords; rings, "hands" fashioned from lead and special ointments are also used to similar effect (see below, nn. 9 and 10).

with these *egalkura* recipes designed for political situations. In each case social or political inferiors armed with a magically enchanted cord face their "princes" with hopes of being made more welcome or attractive. In similar forms of later Greek "political" magic the anger or potential anger of the ruler is frequently the focus of the spell, as, for example, in this short recipe, which is alleged to be from "a sacred book called unique" or the "Eighth Book of Moses":[8]

θυμοκάτοχον· πρὸς βασιλέα | ἢ μεγιστᾶνα εἴσαγε, τὰς χεῖρας ἐντὸς ἔχων λέγε | τὸ ὄνομα <τ>ὸ δίσκου, βαλὼν ἄμμα τοῦ παλλίου σου ἢ τοῦ ἐπικαρσίου, καὶ θαυμάσεις. || (*PGM*^{2} XIII.251–253)

To restrain anger: Enter the presence of a king or magnate, and while you have your hands inside your garment say the name of the sun disk, while tying a knot in your pallium or shawl. You will marvel at the results. (tr. M. Smith)

Here the procedure, performed quickly and surreptitiously in the presence of the superior, is understandably reduced to a single knot and a simple invocation of a god. Other types of *egalkura* spells (e.g., special rings[9] or facial ointments[10]) can also be paralleled in later Greek magic.

[8]Such hoary eastern antecedents are usually fabricated by later magicians in order to make the spell more mysterious, and therefore more valuable to the customer, see H.-D. Betz and A. A. Barb (below, n. 33). There are, however, indications of real Jewish influence here; see M. Smith, "The Eighth Book of Moses and How it Grew (*P.Leid.* J 395)," in *Atti del XVIII congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Naples 1984) 683–693, and his comments *ad loc.* in Betz, *Translation* 172–188, esp. 179, n. 62, where he suggests that the rare Greek word ἐπικάρσιον ("shawl") may have been a translation of Hebrew *talith*. Knots and knotted cords were a regular part of the Greco-Roman arsenal of amulets; see P. Wolters, "Faden und Knoten als Amulett," *ArchRW* 8 (1911) 1–22, who collects many passages from Pliny, Marcellus Empiricus, and other later writers, and convincingly argues that vase paintings from the classical period attest to similar customs in much earlier Greek society.

[9]Prof. Scurlock compares, for instance, *KAR* 71 rev. 9–11 = Spell C Scurlock ("Over a copper ring repeat the spell three times. You place it on your finger, [and then] you will enter into the presence of the prince and he will welcome you") with *PGM*^{2} XII.270–273 and 277–280: "A Ring: A little ring for success and for favor and victory. It makes men famous and great and admired and rich as can be, or it makes possible friendships with suchlike men .... The world has nothing better than this. For when you have it with you, you will always get whatever you ask from anybody. Besides it calms the angers of masters and kings. Wearing it, whatever you may say to anyone, you will be believed, and you will be pleasing to everybody" (tr. M. Smith). There follows a long incantation which is to be repeated thrice daily. Beliefs about the efficacy of such rings may lie behind the myth of the ring of Gyges (Plato *Resp.* 2.359d–360a), which allows him to get close to and then seduce the queen.

[10]For the use of facial ointments in both traditions, compare *KAR* 237.13–17 = Spell J.1–5 Scurlock ("You repeat this spell three times over good oil. You smear your eyes and your hands, and then you will enter into the presence of the prince and he will welcome you") or *KAR* 237.18–23 = Spell L Scurlock, which is almost identical, except the last line which reads: "... and then he who looks upon you will be glad to see you," with

In a recent study of later Greek aphrodisiacs, John Winkler reveals a fluidity in the later Greek categories of amulet and aphrodisiac that is remarkably similar to that found in the Neo-Assyrian magical recipes discussed above.[11] Although we are accustomed to think of an amulet as self-induced "protective" magic and an aphrodisiac as invasive "black" magic aimed at another, there is a series of recipes for amulets in the Greek magical papyri which are clearly designed to affect the way other people perceive and interact with the wearer. Instead of simply asking that some evil be turned away, the invocations inscribed on these amulets often request that some abstract benefit be granted. Spells called νικητικά, for instance, are designed to help gain victory over a rival. A simple prayer inscribed on the hooves of a racehorse reads: "Give me success, χάρις, reputation, glory in the stadium" (*PGM*^{2} VII.390–393). Another charm is written on a gold tablet and then hung on a ship or a horse: "Thoth give victory, strength and influence to the wearer" (*PGM*^{2} VIII.923–925). Other spells, sometimes designated as χαριτήσια, are designed to help public speakers gain the sympathy of their audience (e.g., *PGM*^{2} XXXVI.275), or are blatantly commercial and ask that the profits of a shopowner be increased; in either case they demand benefits such as a beauty, sexiness and χάρις, which here and in all Greek amulet recipes refers to outward attractiveness toward others.[12]

PGM^2 XXXVI.211–230: "Prayer to Helios: A charm to restrain anger and for victory and for securing χάρις (none is greater): Say to the sun (Helios) [the prayer] seven times, and anoint your hand with oil and wipe it on your head and face" (tr. R. F. Hock). The actual prayer (which follows) asks for a variety of abstract benefits, including "χάρις with all men and women" (see below, n. 13 for a full translation and discussion). This recalls the specially consecrated oil which Medea prepared for Jason, to ensure his success and protection in the deadly trials arranged for him by her father (Pindar *Pyth.* 4.221–223).

[11] J. Winkler, "The Constraints of Desire: Erotic Magical Spells," in C. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford 1990) 216–245 = *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender* (New York 1990) 77–79. Much of the following two paragraphs is indebted to this groundbreaking study. Although there are many detailed recipes for such "charm" or "victory" amulets in the magical papyri, it is surprising that there are so few extant examples; for a survey, see D. R. Jordan, "The Inscribed Gold Tablet from the Vigna Codini," *AJA* 89 (1985) 162–166, at 164–165.

[12] There are three prayers connected with talismanic statues (which are amulets of sorts, albeit on a larger scale) to be set up in shops: the first is to be recited over a small wax statue of "the little beggar": "Therefore give me χάρις and work for my business. Bring me silver, gold, clothing, and much wealth for the good of it" (*PGM*^{2} IV.2440–2441); the second prayer is inscribed on papyrus and inserted into a homemade statuette of Hermes: "Give income and business to this place" (2365–2366). The request for χάρις, "outward grace, beauty," in the first of the spells quoted above signals the desire for more than the practical acquisition of profits for a business; personal attractiveness was also thought to be necessary for success. This is spelled out quite clearly in a third recipe for a talismanic statue of a seated baboon wearing the winged helmet of Hermes.

For our purposes, it is significant that these two interrelated categories of amulets are often combined and blurred with still another genre, the θυμοκάτοχον:[13]

θυμοκάτοχον καὶ χαριτήσιον καὶ νικητικὸν | δικαστηρίων βέλτιστον, μέχρεις καὶ πρὸς || βασιλέας ποιεῖ, οὗ μῖζον οὐδέν. λαβὼν λάμ|ναν ἀργυρᾶν γράφε χαλκῷ γραφίῳ τὴν ὑποκιμέ|νην σφραγῖδα τοῦ ζῳδίου καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα || καὶ φόρ(ε)ι ἐν τῷ ὑποκαλύμματί σου, καὶ νικήσις. | ἔστι δὲ τὰ γραφόμενα ὀνόματα ταῦτα· | 'Ιαώ, Σαβαώθ, 'Αδωναί, 'Ελωαί, 'Αβρασάξ, | 'Αβλαναθαναλβα, 'Ακραμμαχαμαρι, πεφθα|φωζα, φνεβεννουνι,' κύριοι ἄγγελοι, δότε μοι, || τῷ δεῖνα, ᾧ ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, νίκην, χάριν, δόξαν, | ἐπιτυχίαν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς | πάσας γυνᾶκας, μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτοκεν | ἡ δεῖνα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἀεὶ καὶ ἅπαντα χρόνον. τέλ(ε)ι. (*PGM*^{2} XXXVI.35–68)

Charm to restrain anger and a charm to secure χάρις and an excellent charm for gaining victory in the law courts (it works even against kings; no charm is greater!): Take a silver lamella and inscribe with a bronze stylus the following seal of the figure and the names, and wear it under your garment and you will have a victory.

The names to be written are these: [MAGICAL NAMES], supreme angels, give to me, NN whom NN bore, victory, χάρις, reputation, advantage over all men and women, especially NN him whom NN bore, forever and all time. Consecrate it (tr. R. F. Hock).

Here in the Greek magical tradition we find once again the same combination of effects which are expected from the Neo-Assyrian recipes discussed above: a hidden amulet is designed to enhance the attractiveness of the wearer, to restrain the anger of a king or husband, and gain victory and success as well. One might argue that such combinations are random, and merely reflect the tendency in magical handbooks toward the

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The spell begins with a prayer to the god Hermes "Come to me, NN, lord Hermes and give me χάρις, sustenance, victory, prosperity, sexiness (ἐπαφροδισία), beauty of face (προσώπου εἶδος), power over all men and women" (*PGM*^{2} VIII.4–5); a similar prayer is given a few lines later (line 26): "give me χάρις, shapeliness (μορφή), and physical beauty (κάλλος)." The statue has a hollow box on its back which holds a papyrus inscribed as follows: "... give to the workshop business, χάρις, prosperity, sexiness (ἐπαφροδισία), both to NN himself and to his workshop" (*PGM*^{2} VIII.61–64). Winkler (above, n. 11) stresses that this spell, tellingly labeled a φιλτροκατάδεσμος, "binding love spell," confounds our own preconceived categories of erotic and amuletic magic when it asks for personal beauty, attractiveness, a "pretty face," as well as for monetary success and victory.

[13]We find a similar collection of requests at the end of a rather simple prayer to Helios used with a facial ointment (see above, n. 10 for the *praxis*) in *PGM*^{2} XXXVI.211–230: "I ask to obtain and receive from you life, health, reputation, wealth, influence, strength, success, sexiness, χάρις with all men and all women, victory over all men and all women. Yes lord [MAGICAL NAMES], accomplish the matter which I want by means of your power" (tr. R. F. Hock, with minor changes). The rubric of this spell identifies it as "a charm to restrain anger and for victory and for securing χάρις." For similar combinations of these three types of spells, see *PGM*^{2} XX.270–273 (all three; above, n. 9); XXXVI 161–177 (θυμοκάτοχον and νικητικόν) and 211–230 (all three).

development of the "all-purpose" spell. The assimilation of erotic, economic, and political aspirations occurs, however, (as the Near Eastern parallels suggest) in other ancient cultures and is especially convenient in highly competitive societies, such as the ancient Greek, in which politics is the art of maximizing one's own success, limiting that of a rival, and (in heavily bureaucratized imperial systems) controlling the anger of a superior.[14]

I suggest that the actual magical recipes discussed above may reveal how the Homeric poet uses a traditional prayer (often associated with these amulets) to structure the narrative of Hera's encounter with Aphrodite. The Greek invocations quoted above from the magical papyri all include requests for a variety of abstract benefits, such as favor, reputation, sexiness, a beautiful face, χάρις ("outward attractiveness"), advantage in the presence of a superior, and victory over a rival. In their directness and simplicity, these prayers are reminiscent of Hera's request to Aphrodite discussed above (*Il.* 14.198–199): "Give me φιλότης and ἵμερος, with which you overwhelm mortal men and all the immortals ...." Indeed, the dramatic structure of Hera's approach to Aphrodite, and the vocabulary and arrangement of her request clearly reflect the strategy of a standard Greek prayer.[15] She begins by "calling" Aphrodite away from the other gods—a commonplace beginning to prayers which is frequently formalized in a special type of hymn described as kletic.[16] Aphrodite's movement away from her divine

[14]See Winkler (above, n. 11) for a penetrating discussion of the use of these aphrodisiac amulets in the context of interpersonal rivalries. He does not, however, address in any detail the question of restraining the anger of a superior, a facet of "political magic" that only develops later on with the advent of the imperial political bureaucracy of the later periods of Greek history. For the more complicated pattern of competition which results in such a socially stratified context, see P. Brown, "Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity," in M. Douglas (ed.), *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London 1970) 25–27, and R. Kaster, "The Grammarian Palladas and the Friend of God: Magic and Patronage in Late Roman Alexandria," *ANRW* 3 (forthcoming). Compare the use of binding magic in the democratic law courts of classical Athens, where all attention is focussed on the legal opponent and there is no mention whatsoever of any effect on the jury hearing the case; → C. A. Faraone, "An Accusation of Magic in Classical Athens (Ar. *Wasps* 946–48)," *TAPA* 119 (1989) 149–161.

[15]K. Ausfeld, "De Graecorum precationibus quaestiones," *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* 28 (1903) 502–547, originally divided the Greek prayer into three parts: *invocatio*, *pars epica*, and *precatio*. More recent studies have downplayed the narrative aspect of the middle section, stressing instead its rhetorical aim. See J. M. Bremer, "Greek Hymns," in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (Leiden 1981) 196, and F. Graf, "Prayer in Magic and Religious Ritual," in *Magika Hiera* (above, n. 11) 188–215, for the analysis used here: invocation, argument, and request. For prayer formulas in Homer, see L. C. Muellner, *The Meaning of Homeric* EYXOMAI *Through Its Formulas* (Innsbruck 1976, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 13) 27–28.

[16]The epithets and powers of the deity are usually mentioned in the invocation, often placed (as here) in a relative clause. See, e.g., the prose prayer to Hermes (*PGM*^{2}

companions may, in fact, be a traditional prerequisite to a proper hearing of a prayer.[17] Hera's invocation is followed by a simple request (δὸς νῦν μοι) regularly used in the language of prayer in the *Iliad*,[18] and a good argument follows explaining why Aphrodite should grant such a favor.[19] As the use of recognizable forms of prayer by gods and goddesses is very rare in Greek epic poetry,[20] it is certainly significant that some twenty lines later in this very same episode Hera's request for additional aid from the god Sleep begins with yet another traditional form of argument found in Greek prayer:[21]

VIII.1–63; discussed by Graf, see preceding note), which begins: "Come to me Lord Hermes, who collects the sustenance of gods and men; [come] to me, NN, lord Hermes and give me favor, sustenance, victory, prosperity, sexiness (ἐπαφροδισία) and facial beauty (προσώπου εἶδος)" (tr. E. N. O'Neil, with minor changes). Cf. Hera's mention of the universality of Aphrodite's powers, "with which you subdue all the gods and mortal men" and her invocation of Sleep a few lines later as "Lord of all gods and men" (14.233).

[17]τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνευθε θεῶν(*Il.* 14.188–119). Compare Demeter sitting in her newly constructed Eleusinian temple (μακάρων ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἁπάντων, *Hym. Hom. Dem.* 303, also 355). Zeus listens to Thetis' request apart from the gods (*Il.* 1.497) and then in his argument with Hera, he makes an oblique reference to her visit which uses the same phrase (*Il.* 1.549). When Zeus forbids the gods to get involved in human affairs at Troy (*Il.* 8.10), his command is couched in similar language: "And whomever I see *apart from the gods* attempting to go among the Trojans and help them or among the Greeks." The poet of the *Hymn to Demeter* seems to be playing with the convention, when he tells us that Zeus did *not* hear his divine daughter Persephone calling him, precisely because he was sitting in his temple "apart from the gods" receiving offerings from mortals (25–27).

[18]Of the thirteen other occasions where the imperative δός appears in the *Iliad*, nine are employed in prayers. The most frequent usage is δός + accusative + infinitive (3.322; 3.351; 5.118; 6.307; 10.281; 17.646; and 24.309; cf. the same construction with δότε + accusative + infinitive at 6.476, its only appearance in the poem), but we do find it two other times (as here) with a dative and an abstract noun: one prayer to Zeus (7.202–205) asks for victory, power (βία) and honor (κῦδος), while in another passage (16.514–526) the wounded Glaukos calls Apollo and asks for strength or power (κράτος). Althaea's similarly constructed prayer to Hades and Persephone is reported in indirect speech (*Il.* 9.571): παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον.

[19]In the prayer of Glaukos mentioned in the preceding note, the argument portion of the prayer is also introduced with a narrative beginning with γάρ, which explains the reason for the prayer: ἔλκος μὲν γὰρ ἔχω τόδε καρτερόν.

[20]Hera pounds the earth with her hand and prays to Ouranos, Ge and the Titans to give her a child more powerful than Zeus (*Hymn to Apollo* 334–339); the hand-pounding may be a special way of attracting the attention of chthonic deities, cf. Althaea's prayer to Hades and Persephone for Meleager's destruction (above, n. 18). Thetis' supplication of Zeus contains several of the traditional elements of prayer (*Il.* 1.500–516; see G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* 1: *Books 1–4* [Cambridge 1985] *ad loc.*)

[21]Such an argument is, of course, familiar to the readers of Sappho (fr. 1.5–8): αἴ ποτα κάτέρωτα / τὰς ἔμας αὔδας ἀίοισα πήλοι / ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα / χρύσιον ἦλθες. See Graf (above, n. 15) for discussion. Muellner, (above, n. 15) 19–20, suggests that a standard formula (cf. *Il.* 1.453) has been altered at the end of *Il.* 14.234 in order to avoid using a participle of the verb εὔχομαι in describing Hera's petition to Sleep. He argues that this was done, because it is inappropriate for a goddess to *pray* to another deity.

Ὕπνε, ἄναξ πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων,
ἠμὲν δή ποτ' ἐμὸν ἔπος ἔκλυες, ἠδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
πείθευ· ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι εἰδέω χάριν ἤματα πάντα.
κοίμησόν μοι Ζηνὸς ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν ὄσσε φαεινώ,
αὐτίκ' ἐπεί κεν ἐγὼ παραλέξομαι ἐν φιλότητι. *Il.* 14.233–237

Here, too, the power of Sleep over all mortals and immortals is emphasized, and Hera once again appears as a somewhat powerless individual (nearly as helpless as a mortal) who must appeal to (other) gods for help in her seduction and manipulation of Zeus.

Her prayers to Aphrodite and Sleep are perhaps connected with the other religious overtones of the scene on Mt. Ida, which seem to reflect aspects of the ἱερὸς γάμος of Zeus and Hera. Perhaps a prayer similar to Hera's prayer to Aphrodite, used in conjunction with a κεστός, comprised a traditional ritual performed by newly-wed brides to ward off any future discord in their marriage. Such a ritual may itself have been borrowed from the east, for scholars have long suspected Near Eastern influence in Greek celebrations of this sacred wedding.[22] It has also been argued that Hera's tale about the anger of Tethys and Oceanus is itself modelled on the Near Eastern myth of Tiamat and Apsu preserved in the Babylonian epic *Enuma Elish*, where they appear as the parents of the gods; although originally united in love, they were separated at the very beginning of time. The suggestion of influence is grounded in the important fact that it is uniquely here (in all of early Greek literature) that Oceanus and Tethys appear as the progenitors of the gods.[23] In any event, it need not surprise us to find a Near Eastern form of erotic magic in a section of the poem which betrays other important hallmarks of such influence.

[22]See W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Eng. tr. J. Raffan (Harvard 1985) 108 and 132, for discussion and pertinent bibliography. It is generally agreed that the whole portrait of the gods in the *Iliad* has far more in common with the picture presented in Near Eastern poetry of the second millennium than with that of archaic or classical Greece. See M. L. West, "The Rise of the Greek Epic," *JHS* 108 (1988) 151–172, at 169, for the most up to date bibliography. The parallels between Hera's preparations in *Iliad* 14 and Pandora's adornment in Hesiod (above, n. 5) are perhaps more understandable if viewed as typical "bridal preparations," in which the donning of an amulet like the κεστός or a necklace (in either case infused with χάρις and other powerful abstractions) plays an important role.

[23]In early Greek literature this idea is only found in the Διὸς ἀπάτη episode (*Il.* 14.201, 246, and 302). Plato (*Theaetetus* 152e and *Cratylus* 402b) and Aristotle (*Met.* 1.3.983b27) corroborate its uniqueness and Plato assimilates it to an early Orphic doctrine, according to which Oceanus and Tethys were the first married couple. See G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield *The Presocratic Philosophers: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts* (Cambridge 1983) 10–17, who argue that the concept is either Egyptian or Babylonian. M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford 1966) 201, and *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford 1971) 207–208, discusses the Near Eastern parallels for the separation of the originally married Tethys and Oceanus.

APPLES FOR ATALANTA AND POMEGRANATES FOR PERSEPHONE

A fragmentary papyrus of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* preserves part of the story of Atalanta, who vowed that she would only marry the man who could defeat her in a footrace. Hippomenes, on the advice of Aphrodite, carried three apples onto the racetrack, and threw them at various intervals during the contest. Only one small fragment actually mentions the apples:

ἀυτὰρ ὃ̣ [.....πό]δ̣εσσι μ̣[
ἣ δ' αἶψ' ὥσθ' Ἅρπυια μετ[αχρονίοισι πόδεσσιν
ἔμμαρψ'· αὐτὰ̣[ρ ὅ] χειρὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἦ[κε χαμᾶζε·
. . . . . .
καὶ δὴ ἔχεν δύο μῆλα ποδώκης δῖ' Ἀτ[αλάντη·
ἐγγὺς δ' ἦν τέλεος· ὃ δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἦκε χ[αμᾶζε·
σὺν τῶι δ' ἐξέφυγεν θάνατον καὶ κῆ̣[ρα μέλαιναν,
ἔστη δ' ἀμπνείων καὶ [..]..[..]..σομ̣.[fr. 76.17–23 MW

In their interpretation of this strange scene, scholars rightly point out the frequent appearance of μῆλα as love tokens in elegy, amatory epigrams and romances, and suggest that apples and other fruits designated by that term originally played a role as engagement or wedding gifts.[24] This practice is, in turn, usually compared with ancient fertility rites such as the throwing of nuts or the dedication of πανσπερμία at agrarian festivals; it is argued that since apples, quinces, pomegranates and other fruits designated by the term μῆλον contain many small pips, they, too, are suitable many-seeded "symbols" for fecundity.[25] In fact a closer look at the use of apples in marriage rites and seduction scenes reveals repeatedly that they were designed to produce sexual desire in the female, not fertility.

I shall begin with the earliest evidence for their use in Greek wedding rituals. According to Pherecydes, Ge caused apple trees to spring up at the wedding of Zeus and Hera as her gift to the new couple (*FGrHist* 3 F17). Stesichorus describes the quinces and flowers thrown at the wedding

[24]This is a much discussed topic: B. O. Foster, "Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity," *HSCP* 10 (1899) 39–55; J. Trumpf, "Kydonische Äpfel," *Hermes* 88 (1960) 14–22; A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple in Greek and Roman Literature," *HSCP* 72 (1967) 48–81; M. Lugauer, *Untersuchungen zur Symbolik des Apfels in der Antike* (diss., Erlangen 1967); and M. K. Brazda, *Zur Bedeutung des Apfels in der antiken Kultur* (diss., Bonn 1977). Trumpf gives a particularly good discussion of apples, pomegranates and quinces in early Greek love poetry. An anonymous referee points out that the discussion of apples and pomegranates by M. Detienne, *Dionysos Slain*, tr. M. Muellner and L. Muellner (Baltimore 1979) 41–44, anticipates some of my arguments here about the predominately erotic nature of the apple in Atalanta's story and the pomegranate in Persephone's.

[25]E. S. McCartney, "How the Apple Became a Token of Love," *TAPA* 56 (1925) 70–81, and Brazda (above, n. 24) 42–45. Littlewood (above, n. 24) 179 n. 76, attributes the idea originally to H. F. Tozer, who is quoted by R. Ellis, *Catullus: Text and Commentary* (Oxford 1867–1889), in his comments on Catullus 65.19.

chariot of Menelaos and Helen (187 *PMG*). Neither of these early fragments provides an explanation for the custom, and vase paintings which depict mythical brides holding apples are similarly mute.[26] Later accounts of actual wedding ceremonies suggest that the appearance of such fruit in myth reflects its use in actual ritual. Strabo, a native of Pontus, tells us that among the Persians a girl on her wedding day was allowed to eat only apples and camel marrow (15.3.17). We might hasten to dismiss his testimony on this point, were it not for evidence of a similar custom among the Athenians. Plutarch describes a special set of Athenian laws allegedly handed down by Solon, which concerned the marriage of ἐπίκληροι, "heiresses":[27]

> It is a wise provision, too, that the heiress may not choose her consort at large, but only from the kinsmen of her husband, that the children may be of his family and lineage. Conformable to this, also, is the requirement that the bride eat a "Kydonian μῆλον" [i.e., a quince] and then be shut up in the bridal chamber with the bridegroom; and that the husband of an heiress shall approach her thrice a month without fail. For even if they have no children, still, this is a mark of esteem and affection which a man should pay to a chaste wife; it removes many of the annoyances which develop in all such cases, and prevents their being altogether estranged by their differences. (Plut. *Solon* 20.3, tr. F. C. Babbitt)

Although this law is ultimately concerned with the production of legitimate heirs, Plutarch clearly saw another benefit; combined with the thrice-monthly visit, the eating of the apple was somehow supposed to encourage sexual intimacy between the couple.[28]

[26]Brazda, (above, n. 24), mentions a depiction of Theseus offering an apple to Ariadne (36, n. 1) and describes a vase-painting of the wedding of Jason and Creusa, who holds an apple (43, n. 1).

[27]Cf. *Mor.* 138d and 279f, where Plutarch cites the law (in both texts saying simply "bride" and not restricting the provision to the marriage of ἐπίκληροι) in two completely different contexts. In the first citation, he gives the quince a rather fatuous, symbolic meaning, implying that the bride is required to eat it "in order that her speech (i.e., to her husband) might be harmonious and sweet from the very start." In the same passage he mentions a Boeotian custom of placing a garland of asparagus on the head of the bride after she is veiled, to which he gives a similarly symbolic interpretation; Pliny (*HN* 20.42) informs us, however, that asparagus was also commonly used as an aphrodisiac. At *Mor.* 279f Plutarch says the reason for the law was to ensure that the couple's first meeting not be disagreeable. Most scholars have accepted Plutarch's repeated assertion that this law was attributed to Solon; cf. W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca 1968) 89–90. For a recent negative view, see E. Ruschenbusch, ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ NOMOI: *Die Fragmente des Solonischen Gesetzwerkes* (Wiesbaden 1966, *Historia* Einzelschriften 9) 56, who believes that most of the traditional Athenian laws and customs about marriage were humorously and falsely attributed to Solon by the writers of Attic comedy, and that these references were later wrongly taken at face value by the Hellenistic biographers upon whom Plutarch depends.

[28]Some may question the use of this testimony as support for the erotic intent of the law, as Plutarch is generally thought to reflect a new epoch of Greek sexuality, in

The presentation or consumption of μῆλα, then, seems (in certain parts of Greece at least) to have been a customary prerequisite for the wedding night. There is further evidence that the fruit was often "delivered" by throwing it at the bride, as we find both in the myth of Atalanta and in Stesichorus' description of the wedding procession of Helen, mentioned above. Noteworthy is the Athenian custom of throwing μῆλα for explicitly erotic purposes, as attested by the peculiar expression "to be hit with an apple," first mentioned by the comic writer Aristophanes. The scholiast on the passage and all the lexicographers agree that it means "to become sexually excited" (we might compare our own outworn expression: "to be hit by Cupid's arrow").[29]

I suggest that the ballistic use of apples as aphrodisiacs lies behind the scene discussed above from the Atalanta myth: in a myth concerned with the tensions that pervade courtship and marriage, the apples are thrown as part of a ritual which specifically aims at filling her with sexual desire for Hippomenes. The papyrus fragment of the Hesiodic catalogue (quoted above) does not describe the effect of the apples on the maiden, and although much later versions of the story suggest that the apples distracted her by their beauty or monetary worth (e.g., Ovid *Met.* 10.666 *nitidique cupidine pomi declinat*), Hellenistic writers (the earliest testimony after Hesiod) leave no doubt that the apples, recommended by Aphrodite, stimulated

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which heterosexual erotics within matrimony are fully recognized and given precedence over the traditionally privileged male homosexual relationship. See most recently e.g., M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* 3: *The Care of Self*, tr. R. Hurley (New York 1986) 176–192, or P. Veyne, *History of Private Life* 1: *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, tr. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass. 1987) 33–49. Although it is true that sex in marriage is clearly more emphasized in Plutarch and other writers of his time, it is certainly an exaggeration to suggest that it did not exist, or was unimportant in the earlier periods—it was simply not expressed publicly in the texts which have survived. For a more balanced view, see J. Redfield, "Homo Domesticus," in J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *Visaggi dell'uomo greco* (Bari forthcoming), who reminds us of Achilles' plaintive question at lines 340–341 of the ninth book of the *Iliad* ("Are the sons of Atreus the only ones who love their wives?") and points to the great number of early Greek myths which focus on elopement and marriage with a strong emphasis on the erotic elements.

[29] Ar. *Nubes* 997 with scholia. For the various lexicographers, see Littlewood (above, n. 24) 154–155. The context in the Aristophanes passage is a speech by Dikaios Logos urging Pheidippides to avoid the "womanish" behavior of the current crop of youths at Athens and to stay away from dancing girls and prostitutes, lest one of them hit him with an apple. The passage is curious because aside from two passages in Theocritus (5.88 and 6.7) this is the only early Greek example of a reversal in the normal sex roles in this type of ritual. The passage, however, need not be taken literally to mean that prostitutes regularly pelted their clients with apples. As the scholiast suggests, here the phrase simply means "to excite sexually." That this excitement is expressed in an image drawn from an erotic ritual normally aimed at women may, however, be a subtle device used by Dikaios Logos to bolster his argument that behavior of the younger Athenian generation is "effeminate."

Atalanta's erotic desire for Hippomenes (Lugauer ([above, note 24]) 93–96). Theocritus mentions the myth once in passing:

> Ἱππομένης, ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γᾶμαι,
> μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐλὼν δρόμον ἄνυεν· ἁ δ' Ἀταλάντα
> ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἅλατ' ἔρωτα. Theoc. 3.40–42

A scholiast to Theocritus (2.120) reports that Philetas (fr. 18 Powell) treated the story in a similar fashion: "according to Philetas, the apples moved Atalanta to physical love (εἰς ἔρωτα ἐκίνησαν)." The myth of Acontius and Kydippe similarly turns on a tossed apple.[30] Acontius inscribes an apple with an oath ("I swear by Artemis I shall get married to Acontius") and tosses it to Kydippe over the τέμενος wall, as she stands within the sanctuary of the goddess. The unsuspecting girl takes the fruit and reading aloud (as was customary in the ancient world) she utters the oath, which the goddess hears and demands be fulfilled.[31]

A recently-edited Berlin magical papyrus provides fresh insight into all of these myths and the use of apples as aphrodisiacs:[32]

> ἐξαγωγὴ ἐπῳδῶν ἐκ τῆς εὑρεθείσης
> ἐν Ἡλίου{ς} πόλει ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ βύβλωι τῆι καλου-
> μένῃ Ἑρμοῦ ἐν τῶι ἀδύτωι Αἰγυπτίοις
> 4 γράμμασιν καὶ διερμηνευθέντων Ἑλληνι-
> κοῖς ἐπὶ μήλο[ις] ἐπῳδή· τρίς·
> ~ βα[λ]ῶ μή[λ]οις [± 4]δώσω τόδε φάρμα-
> κ[ον] καίριον αἴ εἰ βρωτὸν θνητὸν ἀν-
> 8 θρώποις καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν ἦ ἂν

[30]Callim. fr. 67–75 Pfeiffer; Ovid *Her.* 20–21 and Aristainetos 1.10. The similar tale of Hermochares and Ktesylla, told by Nicander (fr. 50; cf. Ant. Lib. 1.1–2) seems to have been derived directly from the Acontius myth, see Littlewood (above, n. 24) 153.

[31]W. Deonna, "Quelques croyances superstitieuses de la Grèce ancienne," *REG* 42 (1929) 169–180, at 176–178 ("La pomme d'Akontios et de Kydippé"), and Lugauer (above, n. 24) 100, argue that the role of the goddess is a late addition to the story, which originally turned solely on the magical effect of the apple and the girl's speech. I suggest that the inscribed apple is merely a more concrete version of the spells discussed below, where an incantation is *spoken over an apple*, instead of being inscribed into it. See R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," in *Magika Hiera* (above, n. 11) 107–137, for a similar evolution of inscribed amulets from enchanted ones.

[32]*PBerol.* 21243, col. 1.1–14 = *PGM*^{2} CXXII.1–15. For detailed discussion of the text, see W. Brashear, "Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 261–269; Betz, *Translation* 316; and F. Maltomini, "*P. Berol.* 21243 (formulario magico): due nuove letture," *ZPE* 74 (1988) 247–248. The text presented here is Brashear's, with Maltomini's new reading of lines 8 and 9. The translation is that of Betz, with two alterations: 1) using a Near Eastern erotic spell as a model, I shall argue (below, n. 36) that τρίς in line 5 is better construed with ἐπῳδή as part of the rubric of the spell with some verb of speaking understood (i.e., "Enchantment [*sc.* spoken] three times over apples"); and 2) I follow Maltomini's interpretation of lines 8–9 (unavailable to Betz in 1986).

δῶ μήλῳ τε βάλω μήλῳ τε πατάξω
πάντα ὑπερθεμένη μαίνοιτο ἐπ' ἐμῆι
φιλότητι ἥτε ἐν χειρὶ λάβο[ι.]...φαγοι
12 .....ἢ ἐν κόλπωι κάθηται μὴ
παύσ̣α̣ι̣το φιλεῖν με· Κυπρογένεια τέλει
~ τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν· *PBerol.* 21243, col. 1.1–14

An excerpt of enchantments from the holy book of Hermes, found in Heliopolis in the innermost shrine of the temple, written in Egyptian letters and translated into Greek.

Incantation over apples three times: I shall smite with apples, ... and thereby I shall provide this timely love spell for both mortal people and immortal gods. To whomsoever I give the apple, or at whomsoever I throw the apple, or hit with it, / setting everything aside, may she fall madly in love with me; whether she takes it in her hand and eats ... or holds it in her bosom, may she not stop loving me. O goddess born on Cyprus, / carry out this perfect charm.

The papyrus, dating to the Augustan period, is considerably earlier than most extant magical papyri. The claim in the preface for a specific Egyptian hieratic source is probably tendentious, and part of a long tradition of assigning mysterious eastern origins for magical spells in order to increase their value.[33] The incantation, although now somewhat garbled, appears to have been originally hexametrical, and may have come from a lost Greek poem, perhaps even a lost section of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* itself.[34] Regardless of its original date and purpose, the incantation provides evidence for the traditional variations discussed above in the use of apples in Greek wedding ceremonies and in myths concerned with courtship; here the fruit

[33]H.-D. Betz, "The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri," in B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (eds.), *Self-Definition in the Greco-Roman World* (Philadelphia 1982) 61–70, discusses the repeated attribution of spells collected in the Greek magical handbooks to Egyptian and Jewish sages. We should not, however, broadly reject the idea that Egyptian and Near Eastern magic greatly and continually influenced Greek magic from the earliest epochs. See A. A. Barb, "Birds and Medical Magic," *JWarb* 13 (1950) 316–332, at 316–318, who points out that although the specific reports in late antiquity of direct Greek translations of Near Eastern inscriptions are usually false fabrications, often genuine Near Eastern magical lore can be found scattered in these works. He reveals that the ἀετίτης, lit. "eagle-stone," (a hollow stone containing loose pebbles or sand) recommended by the author of *Kyranides*, Pliny, and other ancient writers for the treatment of women with difficult pregnancies, can be traced back to a similar Assyrian amulet called *aban eru*, "pregnant stone," which seems to have entered the Greek magical tradition as the "eagle-stone" by the mistranslation of *eru* as its homophone which means "eagle."

[34]For possible reconstructions of the hexameters, see Brashear, Merkelbach (both *apud* Brashear, above n. 32) and R. Janko, "Berlin Magical Papyrus 21243: A Conjecture," *ZPE* 72 (1988) 293. D. Obbink, "Poetic Quotation in the Greek Magical Papyri," *ZPE* (forthcoming), argues that the verses are a hitherto lost fragment of the Atalanta story as it was told in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.

can be either presented to the woman or thrown at her. A similar variation is permitted in the girl's reaction; she can either take and eat it or merely hold it in her bosom.

The Berlin papyrus is one of the earliest extant fragments of a Greek magical handbook, and the individual spells contained within it (e.g., the apple-aphrodisiac spell) are undoubtedly of earlier, probably Hellenistic, date. Nevertheless, it is still somewhat late to be used in any conclusive way as independent evidence for the type of ritual reflected in the Greek myths discussed above. The fact that the incantation itself may be a literary fragment deepens our suspicion that (like the many quotations of Homer and other poets used in later Greek magical recipes) the use of the apple here may have simply been adapted from a non-magical, literary source. There is, however, more direct and conclusive evidence that this type of magic spell existed at a much earlier period, albeit beyond the borders of the Greek world. As in the case of Aphrodite's κεστός, a cuneiform collection of Near Eastern ritual texts dating to the ninth century B.C. provides an interesting parallel:[35]

7 Incantation. If a woman looks upon the penis of a man.

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8 Its ritual: either <to> an apple or to a pomegranate
9 you recite the incantation three times. You give (the fruit) to the woman (and) have her suck the juices.
10 That woman will come to you; you can make love to her. (tr. R. Biggs)

This recipe is part of a collection of magical rituals used by men to attract and seduce women. The parallels to the Greek customs discussed above are interesting; an incantation is spoken over the fruit,[36] which is then given to the victim to eat. In the incantation which precedes this apple spell, Inanna (Sumerian for Ishtar, often equated with Aphrodite) is invoked as

[35] *KAR* 61.1–10; for translation and commentary, see R. D. Biggs, *ŠÁ.ZI.GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations* (Locust Valley, New York 1967) 70–74, who also reports the existence of another fragmentary spell (*KAR* 69.4–5: "Its ritual: over either a pomegranate or an apple you recite the incantation seven times, then give it to the woman ....") Cf. *idem*, *Reallexikon für Assyriologie* s.v. "Liebeszauber." E. Ebeling, *Liebeszauber im Alten Orient* (Leipzig 1925, Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft 1.1) 9 n. 3, long ago pointed to the parallels between this incantation and the tossed apples in Theocritus 5.88 and 3.40–42. An anonymous referee cites a rather similar recipe for a love potion from an Egyptian demotic papyrus, in which an apple, wine, and blood are pounded together and given to the desired woman to drink, after an incantation is recited seven times over the cup (*P. Griffith-Thompson* col. 15.21–23; for the most recent translation, see J. Johnson in Betz, *Translation* 221).

[36] In fact, these Assyrian apple-incantations provide evidence for my slightly altered interpretation of the Berlin spell given above (above, n. 32); the rubric of the spell (5) with a slight change in punctuation could read: "Enchantment [*sc.* spoken] three times over apples." This interpretation was, in fact, first proposed by Brashear, (above, n. 32) *ad loc.*, simply because the layout of the spell on the papyrus suggested it.

the goddess "who loves apples and pomegranates." In Greek myth it is always Aphrodite who suggests that Hippomenes and others use apples to obtain their brides-to-be; the Berlin papyrus likewise ends with an appeal to Kyprogeneia (= Aphrodite).

The mention of pomegranates as an alternative fruit in the Assyrian spell may also help elucidate a heretofore obscure detail of the Persephone myth: in the oldest version, the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, Hades gives her a pomegranate seed to eat and thereafter she must remain with him as his wife. The event is described twice in the hymn. In the omniscient narrative of the action, the poet reports the following after Hades consents to Persephone's return to her mother:[37]

> Ὣς φάτο· γήθησεν δὲ περίφρων Περσεφόνεια,
> καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος· αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' αὐτὸς
> ῥοιῆς κόκκον ἔδωκε φαγεῖν μελιηδέα λάθρῃ
> ἀμφὶ ἒ νωμήσας, ἵνα μὴ μένοι ἤματα πάντα
> αὖθι παρ' αἰδοίῃ Δημήτερι κυανοπέπλῳ.
>
> *Hym. Hom. Dem.* 371–374

Thus he spoke, and wise Persephone rejoiced and quickly leaped up in happiness. But he (*sc.* Hades) on his part gave her a honey-sweet pomegranate seed to eat, having secretly consecrated it in order that she might not remain continually at the side of grave Demeter of the dark peplos.

Later in the same poem, when Persephone is closely questioned by her mother, she gives a somewhat different version of the incident:

> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος, αὐτὰρ ὁ λάθρῃ
> ἔμβαλέ μοι ῥοιῆς κόκκον, μελιηδέ' ἐδωδήν,
> ἄκουσαν δὲ βίῃ με προσηνάγκασσε πάσασθαι.
>
> *Hym. Hom. Dem.* 411–413

Immediately I leaped up with joy, but he secretly gave me[38] a pomegranate seed, sweet food, and forced me to taste it against my will.

[37]The translation follows that of Evelyn-White with one important exception, the rendition of the verb νωμάω, which he, LSJ (s.v. ἀμφινωμάω), and N. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) *ad loc.*, all translate as "peer about." I follow the suggestion of J. L. Myres, "Persephone and the Pomegranate (*H. Dem.* 372–374)," *CR* 52 (1938) 51–52, and C. Bonner, "Hades and the Pomegranate Seed (*Hymn to Demeter* 372–374)," *CR* 53 (1939) 3–4, who both argue that Hades performs some kind of circular motion or similar consecration ritual connected with "binding magic" that binds Persephone to Hades. The Myres-Bonner approach makes much better sense of the placement of the purpose clause which follows ἀμφὶ ἒ νωμήσας and certainly ought to be connected with it, i.e., (paraphrase) "... having secretly consecrated or manipulated it (i.e., the seed) in order that she not remain continually at the side of grave Demeter of the dark peplos."

[38]Evelyn-White's translation ("he secretly put in my mouth ... a pomegranate seed") follows the traditional interpretation, which Richardson, (above, n. 37) *ad loc.*, adopts with discomfort, admitting that "the use of ἔμβαλέ μοι without further specification (e.g., στόματι) is unusual for early epic." S. Eitrem, "Eleusinia—Les Mystères et l'agriculture,"

This incident is usually interpreted as an example of a widespread folk belief that if one eats the food of the dead, one must remain with them; Demeter herself is thought to express this very concern in 393–400, but this is far from certain, as the unique manuscript of the poem is torn away at precisely this point.[39] The resulting relationship between Hades and Persephone is, moreover, much closer than simply that of a host and his guest, and most commentators agree that there is some special erotic character of the pomegranate which leads to its appearance here.[40] It is interesting how easily the scene recalls the quince eaten by the Athenian ἐπίκληρος and the apples given to Persian brides.

The question arises whether the pomegranate seed can operate *pars pro toto* for the whole fruit. A plaintive speech addressed by one of Lucian's courtesans to her faithless boyfriend provides a nice parallel, and gives us some further insight into the symbolic nature of such aphrodisiacs when they are presented and accepted in a public setting:

τέλος δὲ τοῦ μήλου ἀποδακών, ὁπότε τὸν Δίφιλον εἶδες ἀσχολούμενον—ἐλάλει γὰρ Θράσωνι—προκύψας πως εὐστόχως προσηκόντισας ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ λαθεῖν γε πειρώμενος ἐμέ· ἡ δὲ φιλήσασα μεταξὺ τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἀποδέσμῳ παρεβύσατο. (*Dial. Meret.* 12.1)

As in the story of Persephone, or the magical spell preserved in the Berlin papyrus, the etiquette of the activity is indeed strange; it is perhaps somewhat difficult to imagine an amorous young man pitching a bite of apple into the blouse of his beloved. But we see here that, as in the case of the pomegranate seed, the entire fruit need not be used. This anecdote also supplies us with some clues as to how the presentation of a traditional aphrodisiac could easily evolve into a symbolic or ceremonial act. By hitting the girl with a piece of fruit, a man indicates his intent to seduce her;

Symbolae Osloenses 20 (1940) 133–151, at 146, calls the action "le jet ritual" without further argument.

[39]Only the beginnings of the lines remain. The standard interpretation tenuously depends on the word βρώμης, which could easily refer (as does ἐδωδή in 412) specifically to the pomegranate and not to food in general. Allen's supplements in his very influential Oxford text were apparently the work of Goodwin, and were included in Allen's text *cum magna diffidentia*. Richardson (above, n. 39) wisely ventures no restorations and obelizes line 398.

[40]Richardson (above, n. 37) *ad loc.* T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes (eds.), *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1936) *ad loc.*, suggest the pomegranate either served as a fertility charm or as an aphrodisiac. For the latter view (and the one argued here) they cite the evidence that the pomegranate and the apple were the only fruits banned (along with domestic fowl, certain types of seafood, and beans) from the Eleusinian mysteries and the Haloa festival, i.e., places where one might expect restraint of sexual activity, but not of fertility. Detienne (above, n. 24) discusses the evidence for pomegranates used as gifts for newlyweds, and rightly suggests that they and other forms of μῆλα "act directly, like a drug or an incantation" (42), although he is completely unaware of the evidence compiled above for their actual use in magical rituals.

by willingly putting the apple to her lips or hiding it away in her bosom, the woman knowingly subjects herself to the aphrodisiac, and by doing so returns a message of her willingness to be seduced. A similar set of messages is understood in an epigram attributed to Plato:

> Τῷ μήλῳ βάλλω σε· σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐκοῦσα φιλεῖς με,
> δεξαμένη, τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος· *Anth. Pal.* 5.79.1–2

This two-step process—presentation and acceptance—is, in fact, a shared characteristic of several of the texts under discussion, which can be conveniently summarized as follows:

	Male Action	Female Reaction
Berlin papyrus	recite charm throw apple	take it in hand and eat it or place it in bosom
KAR 61	recite charm give apple	suck its juices
Hym. Hom. Dem.	1) give seed 2) give seed	1) eat it 2) unwillingly taste it
Lucian	throw piece of apple	kiss it and place in bosom
Anth. Pal. 5.79	throw apple	accept it willingly

The second step, the willing acceptance of the aphrodisiac by the female, may help explain the use of the μῆλον-aphrodisiac in wedding ceremonies. The quince legislated for the Athenian ἐπίκληρος provided the bride with a public forum to accept it willingly and thus, like the courtesan described by Lucian, display her consent to the seduction which is always implicit in marriage. Atalanta, too, publicly accepts the apples, and in so doing signals her consent to seduction and marriage; in this way the plot of the story is wonderfully streamlined, for by the very same act she loses the race and publicly agrees to become the wife of Hippomenes. Finally, it is interesting to note that the two versions of the pomegranate seed in the *Hymn to Demeter* diverge on this very question, i.e., to what degree did Persephone offer her consent? The first report of the poet suggests that Hades simply gave the fruit to Persephone and she ate it; the girl, however, when she is interrogated by her mother, reports that she was forced against her will to taste it. Persephone's version is understandably designed to save face; as a victim of an abduction marriage of sorts, it is expected that she resist her kidnapper, and only acquiesce against her will in the face of violence or irresistible magic.[41]

[41] A wide variety of evidence suggests that in the Greek world for all periods of antiquity abduction marriage (also known as "bride theft") was an alternative to the

EARLY GREEK MYTH AND NEO-ASSYRIAN RITUAL

In using much later Greco-Roman magical rituals to help interpret earlier Greek myth, I implicitly suggest the survival of these rituals in the Greek world for more than a millennium. As the survival of many other forms of ritual is well documented in Greek society for even longer periods of time, and is frequently invoked by historians of Greek religion, I shall make no defense of this presupposition here.[42] By using Neo-Assyrian incantation texts from the tenth and ninth century B.C. to help elucidate roughly contemporaneous Greek myth, I *am* treading on more controversial ground, an area of study recently surveyed by Burkert[43] and Bernal.[44] Burkert in particular has argued that the eighth century was a period of extraordinary

more formal betrothal marriage. J. Evans Grubbs, "Abduction Marriage in Antiquity: A Law of Constantine (*CTh* IX.24.1) and Its Social Context," *JRS* 79 (1989) 59–83, discusses late Roman laws which were previously and wrongly thought to be legislation against rape. Marshalling evidence from early Greek art and mythology, Roman declamations (which frequently turn on points of Greek law or custom), Roman secular and early Christian ecclesiastical law, and modern Balkan and Aegean ethnography, she shows that only a very old Greek tradition of bride theft (especially in the rural areas of the eastern empire) can explain the evidence as it has come down to us. For abduction marriage in modern-day rural societies, she cites (among others): W. C. Lockwood, "Bride-Theft and Social Maneuverability in Western Bosnia," *Anthropological Quarterly* 47 (1974) 253–269; D. G. Bates, "Normative and Alternate Systems of Marriage among the Yoruk of South-Eastern Turkey," *ibid.* 270–287; and M. Herzfeld, "Gender Pragmatics: Agency, Speech and Bride-Theft in a Cretan Mountain Village," *Anthropology* 9 (1985) 25–44. In the modern anthropological accounts, the stolen bride is expected to preserve family honor by asserting afterward that she was unwilling and forcibly abducted, although in many cases this is manifestly untrue.

[42]For general discussions of this phenomenon from the earliest to the latest periods of Greek religion, see, for example, M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund 1950), J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge 1910), and E. R. Dodds, "The Religion of the Ordinary Man in Classical Greece," in *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Oxford 1973) 140–155, at 140–144.

[43]W. Burkert, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur*, *SBHeid* 1984.1, provides an eye-opening account of the debt owed by the early Greeks to their eastern neighbors in the field of religious ritual and myth. Especially helpful is his concept of a "religious technology" which, like the expertise of other wandering craftsmen from the Near East, was disseminated throughout the Mediterranean. West (above, n. 22) suggests that Euboea, a rich and powerful trading center, especially attracted these Near Eastern specialists in the eighth century B.C.

[44]M. Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* 1: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785–1985* (Rutgers 1987), is a provocative study of the foundation in the nineteenth century of the modern study of history, and the negative impact on that study of racist theories and (more particularly) antisemitism. He argues that the repeated denial of Near Eastern influence by scholars intent (consciously or subconsciously) on maintaining the Aryan purity of ancient Greek culture, led to marginalization of other scholars who argued to the contrary. The book is not without

cultural borrowing from the Near East, particularly in the area of religious and magical ritual. His argument is most persuasive when he can show clearly that Greek practices do in fact change at or about this time. For example, he reminds us that some rituals, such as divination by the liver of sacrificial animals or the burning of certain incenses, are first attested in Ionia and Crete in this period and were undoubtedly borrowed from the Near East. Such direct influence is, however, more difficult to document when we shift from the rich archaeological record to the paltry remains of early Greek literature and myth. A recurring pattern suggests that the *praxis* of Assyrian or Babylonian rituals reappears as part of the plot of Greek myths and legends. Apollo purifies the insane Orestes by pouring the blood of a pig over his head (mentioned at *Eum.* 283 and depicted on vase paintings, which show the god stabbing a small pig over the youth's head); a similar procedure is prescribed in an Assyrian cuneiform tablet, which instructs that a piglet be dissected over the head of a physically or mentally ill patient in such a way that the blood is spread everywhere.[45] The legend of the Seven against Thebes is remarkably close to the scenario imagined in another Assyrian purification ritual, in which seven protective demons are conjured up to protect the patient from seven attacking demons.[46] Legends about theriomorphic statues fashioned by Hephaestus and used to protect Greek buildings, cities, and islands similarly correspond to actual tenth-century B.C. Assyrian rituals, which are attested by both

difficulties. Bernal repeatedly turns a blind eye to the mounting archaeological evidence which supports his view of pervasive and continuous contacts between the Near East and Greece from the very earliest periods of Greek history. Instead, he is inordinately fond (in the tradition of C. Gordon and M. Astour) of Egyptian and Near Eastern etymologies for pre-Greek words in the Greek language, a difficult enterprise whose results are even more difficult (and in some cases impossible) to prove. The book is, however, indispensable to classicists and historians alike as it attempts to explain why (despite so much evidence to the contrary) the question of eastern influence has been repeatedly and roundly denied for nearly a century. See S. Morris, "Daidalos and Cadmos: Classicism and Orientalism," in *The Challenge of "Black Athena"* (1989, *Arethusa* Special Issue) 39–45.

[45]For the vase paintings see A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen* (Mainz 1978, Schriften zur antiken Mythologie 4) 102–117. R. R. Dyer, "The Evidence for Apolline Purification Rituals at Delphi and Athens," *JHS* 89 (1969) 38–56, provides a careful discussion of the use of these paintings as evidence for actual rituals. For a full discussion of Near Eastern influence, see W. Burkert, "Itinerant Diviners and Magicians: A Neglected Area of Cultural Contact," in *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation*, *SkrAthen* 30 (1983) 111–119, at 115, and *idem*, *Die Epoche* (above, n. 43) 58–61.

[46]W. Burkert, "Seven Against Thebes: An Oral Tradition between Babylonian Magic and Greek Literature," in C. Brillante, M. Cantilena, *et al.* (eds.), *Poemi epici rapsodici non omerici e la tradizione orale* (Padua 1981) 38–46, and *idem*, *Die Epoche* (above, n. 43) 99–106.

magical recipes and material remains.[47] In each case, however, although we can see clear parallels between the activities narrated in Greek myth and those prescribed by Neo-Assyrian incantation texts, we have no way of proving *conclusively* that the Near Eastern material was borrowed by the Greeks during the eighth century, or for that matter at any particular point in time.[48] A similar problem presents itself with regard to the aphrodisiacs discussed above, as both the κεστός and the tossing of apples are found in the earliest strata of Greek myth. Although my guess would be that these rituals were in fact borrowed at some point from the older and more sophisticated societies of the Near East, there is simply no way to prove it or to disprove a competing claim that such magical rituals evolved independently in many traditional societies in the circum-Mediterranean basin.

In a more recent essay on the apparent use of a Near Eastern succession myth in Hesiod, Burkert takes a somewhat subtler approach to the problem of Greek cultural borrowing from the east.[49] He points out the great paradox in Hesiodic studies in recent decades. As we have collected more and more evidence for the widespread existence of succession myths in the Near East, two contrary effects exert themselves: we are more and more certain that the succession myth in the *Theogony* was borrowed at some time and some place from the Near East; but ironically, it has become less and less clear where and when such borrowing occurred. I suggest that if in the next decade we were to discover even more Near Eastern evidence for the erotic spells discussed above, it would only complicate the picture—we would perhaps be even more convinced that the Greek and Near Eastern rituals were related, but we would also be more confused about how exactly these close relations came to be.

Such a process can, in fact, be illustrated by comparing the two traditional aphrodisiacs discussed above. The custom of throwing or eating μῆλα

[47]E.g., *Od.* 7.91–94; *POxy* 3711 col. 1.14–32. See C. A. Faraone, "Hephaestus the Magician and Near Eastern Parallels for Alcinous' Watchdogs," *GRBS* 28 (1987) 257–280, for full discussion.

[48]Burkert (above, n. 45) bolsters his argument for dating the arrival of the Assyrian purificatory rituals to the eighth century by appealing to the traditional argument that the concepts of pollution and purification do not appear in Homer, but are major concerns in the *Cypria* (the purification of Achilles for Thersites' murder) and thereafter in early Attic tragedy. See, however, R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford 1983) 66–70 and 130–143, who (in a book published the same year as Burkert's) argues that both concepts were in fact known to Homer but due to the generic differences between epic and tragedy were expressed in a different and more subtle manner. This insight does not, however, in any way invalidate Burkert's undoubtedly correct claim for Assyrian influence, but it calls into question the precise dating of this influence to the eighth century.

[49]W. Burkert, "Oriental and Greek Mythology: The Meeting of Parallels," in J. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London 1986) 10–40.

at mythical and actual weddings or in love play can be documented in all periods of Greek history, and allows us to assume its continuous existence in Greek society from its earliest epochs. That these practices aimed at stimulating desire in females is explicitly attested in many sources, including Neo-Assyrian and late Greek magical recipes. Such an abundance of evidence, however, ironically prevents us from making any specific arguments about the origin or diffusion of the practice; all that can be said with confidence is that it appears in Greek, Persian, and Assyrian cultures from quite early on. The Homeric κεστός, on the other hand, is embedded in an episode of the *Iliad* which betrays several hallmarks of direct Near Eastern influence. Given the paucity of evidence it is tempting simply to call the κεστός a purely literary borrowing, which does not in itself provide evidence for the actual use of such a device in early Greek society. Indeed, unlike the numerous references to the native Greek use of μῆλα, the κεστός does not seem to appear outside of literary texts, and they invariably depend from Homer's treatment. There is, however, no extant Assyrian *literary* antecedent for the Homeric κεστός, only the ritual text ("When a husband is angry . . .") and the related *egalkura* incantations quoted above. The fact that similar spells used in political situations appear in the Greek magical handbooks of a much later date suggests that this larger category of magical activity was not unknown to the Greeks of the earlier periods, but this cannot be demonstrated. Here the problem lies not in the overabundance, but in the discontinuities of the evidence: Neo-Assyrian ritual is to be compared directly with early Greek myth, with only slight corroboration from much later Greek ritual.

My purpose here is not, however, to trace the origins of Greek myth and ritual or the diffusion of Near Eastern magical practices to the west; as I suggest above, any attempt at reconstructing a specific historical epoch of diffusion or a definite geographical route is probably doomed to failure. The problem lies in the fragmentary evidence for very early Greek myth, which prevents us from saying that at one point the Greeks did not know of a certain ritual and then suddenly a generation or two later they did. We can, however, acknowledge the striking similarities in Near Eastern rituals and in later Greek magical spells, assume some shared Mediterranean tradition, and use these rituals cautiously to gain a better understanding of the early Greek poetic texts discussed above. Thus in the light of Near Eastern parallels I have tentatively suggested above that the κεστός episode may have been designed around a traditional prayer to Aphrodite (Ishtar) used in conjunction with a specially made amulet. Such a prayer may have been embedded in a ἱερὸς λόγος describing the nuptials of Zeus and Hera from which it was adapted by Homer in the Διὸς ἀπάτη episode. In a similar way, the apples thrown by Hippomenes and the pomegranate seed used by Hades can be further elucidated by parallels in erotic magical recipes. The

differing reports of Hades' action in the *Hymn to Demeter* highlight the familial tensions which come into play during the transfer of the bride to her new home. Persephone implies that only violence and magic prevented her from resisting her abduction and marriage to Hades; otherwise she would have preferred to remain in the family of her birth. This is corroborated by the poet's statement (373–374) that Hades employed the enchanted seed "in order that she (*sc.* Persephone) might not remain continually at the side of grave Demeter of the dark peplos" (see above, note 37). According to Pindar, Aphrodite instructs Jason in the use of the ἴυνξ to similar effect:

> λιτάς τ' ἐπαοιδὰς ἐκδιδάσκησεν σοφὸν Αἰσονίδαν·
> ὄφρα Μηδείας τοκέων ἀφέλοιτ' αἰδῶ, ποθεινὰ δ' Ἑλλὰς αὐτάν
> ἐν φρασὶ καιομέναν δονέοι μάστιγι Πειθοῦς. *Pyth.* 4.217–219

The use of erotic magic in myths about courtship is, in fact, well suited to a common pattern found in Greek myths about marriage (e.g., the Proetides) and in actual prenuptial rituals performed at the temples of Artemis at Brauron and at Lousoi. In each case the women move from: 1) a secure childlike happiness in their parents' home; to 2) a transitory state of madness and unbridled independence; to 3) a new state of security under the dominion of her husband.[50] In Greek myth the liminal stage of madness is often induced by an outsider, usually a deity, such as Hera in the story of the Proetides, or (as the myths discussed in this essay suggest) by a mortal armed with magic from the goddess Aphrodite.[51]

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[50]See S. G. Cole, "The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation: The Koureion and the Arkteia," *ZPE* 55 (1984) 233–244, at 239–244, for the ceremonies at Brauron; J. N. Bremmer, "Greek Maenadism Reconsidered," *ibid.* 267–286, at 282–286, for the Proetides, the Minyads and other maddened groups of young women whose stories end in marriage; and R. Seaford, "The Eleventh Ode of Bacchylides: Hera, Artemis and the Absence of Dionysus," *JHS* 108 (1988) 118–124, for the connection between the Proetides and the cult of Artemis at Lousoi.

[51]Seaford (above, n. 50) 120–122. For the temporary madness induced in women by aphrodisiacs, see Theocritus 3.42 (Atalanta is "maddened" by the apples) and Pindar *Pyth.* 4.216 (the ἴυνξ to which Medea is assimilated by sympathetic magic is called a "mad bird").

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THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES OF DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE:

Fertility, Sexuality, and Rebirth

Mara Lynn Keller

The story of Demeter and Persephone, mother and daugher nature goddesses, provides us with insights into the core beliefs by which early agrarian peoples of the Mediterranean related to "the creative forces of the universe"—which some people call God, or Goddess.[1] The rites of Demeter and Persephone speak to the experiences of life that remain through all times the most mysterious—birth, sexuality, death—and also to the greatest mystery of all, enduring love. In these ceremonies, women and men expressed joy in the beauty and abundance of nature, especially the bountiful harvest; in personal love, sexuality and procreation; and in the rebirth of the human spirit, even through suffering and death. Cicero wrote of these rites: "We have been given a reason not only to live in joy, but also to die with better hope."[2]

The Mother Earth religion celebrated her children's birth, enjoyment of life and loving return to her in death. The Earth both nourished the living and welcomed back into her body the dead. As Aeschylus wrote in *The Libation Bearers:*

> Yea, summon Earth, who brings all things to life
> and rears, and takes again into her womb.[3]

I wish to express my gratitude for the love and wisdom of my mother, Mary V. Keller, and of Dr. Muriel Chapman. They have been invaluable sources of insight and understanding for me in these studies. So also have been the scholarship, vision and/or friendship of Carol P. Christ, Charlene Spretnak, Deena Metzger, Carol Lee Sanchez, Ruby Rohrlich, Starhawk, Jane Ellen Harrison, Riane Eisler, Alexis Masters, Richard Trapp, John Glanville, Judith Plaskow, Jim Syfers, Jim Moses, Bonnie MacGregor and Lil Moed. Carol Christ and Ruby Rohrlich gave this article close editorial readings and made helpful suggestions.

[1] This simple way of naming the essence of life was shared with me by Dr. Muriel Chapman.

[2] Cicero, *The Laws* 2.14.36, in C. Kerényi, *Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter,* tr. Ralph Manheim (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), p. 15.

[3] Aeschylus *Libation Bearers* 127, in Jane Ellen Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1903; reprint ed., London: Merlin Press, 1980), p. 267.

This Earth/Mother-centered religion stands in marked contrast to the male-centered Mystery religions of Osiris, Dionysus, and Orpheus; or to the Hebrew and Christian stories of Isaac and Jesus; all of which involve a ritual sacrifice or agonizing death of a young male son and/or god. The Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone embodied the values of the relatively peaceful farming and trading mother-clan societies of the Goddess-preeminent Neolithic, before the sacrifice of sons in war became common practice as patriarchal warrior clans forced their way to power.

Several scholars speculate that the "secret" core ritual of the Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone was the actual murder, or actual rape, of a maiden/daughter. There is no evidence for this at Eleusis, Crete or other sites devoted to these goddesses.[4] It may be that in the later patriarchal period, when the myth and ritual had become contaminated by patriarchal class culture, there was some dramatization of Persephone's abduction and rape; and that this symbolized death. If so, it may be seen as a change in what had earlier been celebrated as the sacred procreative union of earth and heaven, woman and man. My reading of the testimonia and archeological data finds that the Mysteries of the mother and daughter goddesses were essentially mysteries of love. Their main purpose was to bring an experience of love to the most important life passages: birth, sexuality and death/rebirth.

The origin of the rituals honoring Demeter, Earth Mother and Grain Mother, can be traced back to the agricultural revolution of the third millenium B.C.E. or even earlier in the Neolithic, with links to religious practices in Crete, Egypt, Anatolia and Mesopotamia. The proximate origins of the Eleusinian rites are disputed: some say Egypt, some Crete, some Thrace. It is possible that Demeter's rites could have arrived in Greece from all three directions and become intermingled at Eleusis: from the daughters of Danaus from Egypt to the early Pelasgians (Herodotus); from Crete, with the interchange of culture between Crete and the Mycenaeans (Homer, Hesiod, "Homeric Hymn to Demeter"); and from Thrace (where Mysteries of the Earth Goddess Cybele, and of Orpheus, were practiced), with the arrival of Eumolpus (Askesidorus). A complex of interwoven traditions seems to me to explain more adequately the rites of Eleusis than trying to trace a single site of origin. After all, these regions and cultures were interconnected by trade, travel, migration or military expansionism for several thousand years.[5]

[4] Louis Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 5 vols. (New Rochelle, New York: Caratzas Brothers, Publishers, 1977), 3: 142; Harrison, p. 125.

[5] Because archaeological dating methods have been revised several times in recent years, and will likely continue to be refined, dates used in this paper are to be considered approximations.

Religious antecedents of the Eleusinian Mysteries are discussed by: Farnell, chap. 1; Marija Gimbutas, *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe, 6500–3500 B.C.: Myths and Cult Images* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 214–215; Pamela Berger, *The Goddess Obscured: Transformation of the Grain Protectress from*

Demeter's rites flourished for almost two thousand years at Eleusis, a small town fourteen miles northwest of Athens. The people of Eleusis built the first shrine to Demeter over a small underground chamber, or *megaron*, ca. 1450 B.C.E. Such underground chambers, in the earliest ages of settlement, were typically used for storing seeds, the grain harvest, or for burials of the dead.[6]

The first shrine at Eleusis, from the middle Mycenaean era, is considered by some scholars to be the earliest evidence for the practice of this religion. However, as classicist Carolyi Kerenyi believes, perhaps the earliest archeological evidence of the Demeter-Persephone story comes from a cup found at Phaistos, Crete, dated to just before 2000 B.C.E., with the image of a young girl and "dancing" girlfriends around a cavelike or vulva-shaped opening, which Kerenyi interprets as depicting the myth of Persephone's descent into the underworld.[7]

The earliest written record of the Demeter and Persephone myth in the Greek language comes from the eighth century B.C.E., in three lines of Hesiod's *Theogony* (912–914). A more extensive account, from the seventh century B.C.E. is the "Homeric Hymn to Demeter."

The Eleusinian Mysteries were the greatest of all ancient Greek religious festivals. During the Archaic period (ca. 800–480 B.C.E.) celebrants journeyed to Eleusis from all around Greece. Following Athens's military and political domination of Eleusis (dated variously from the fifteenth or thirteenth to the seventh century B.C.E.), Solon (650–600 B.C.E.) enlarged

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Goddess to Saint (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), chap. 1; Harrison, pp. 564–567; Charlene Spretnak, *Lost Goddesses of Early Greece: A Collection of Pre-Hellenic Mythology* (Berkeley, Calif.: Moon Books, 1978), pp. 98–100; Carol P. Christ, "Lady of the Animals" in *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1986); Riane Eisler, *The Chalice and the Blade: Our History, Our Future* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987), chaps. 1–4; Merlin Stone, *When God Was A Woman* (New York: Dial Press, 1976), pp. 14–18; Paul Foucart, *Les Mysteres d'Eleusis* (Paris: Auguste Picard, Editeur, 1914), chap. 1; Will Durant, *The Life of Greece* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1939), pp. 68–69: see Herodotus *History* 2.53, 81, 123; Strabo *Geography* 18.3; Diodorus 1.69; James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: The Roots of Religion and Folklore* (1896; reprint ed., New York: Avenel Books, 1981), p. 330; Gunter Zuntz, *Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 7–23; Anne L. Barstow, "The Prehistoric Goddess," in *The Book of the Goddess*, ed. Carl Olson (New York: Crossroad, 1987); Mircea Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas*, vol. 1, *From the Stone Age to the Eleusinian Mysteries*, trans. Willard R. Trask, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), chaps. 1–4; and James Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967).

[6] Harrison, pp. 125–126, 266–267; George Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 41; Martin P. Nilsson, *Greek Folk Religion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), pp. 46–48; Eliade, 1: 293.

[7] C. Kerenyi, *Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), p. xix. Thanks to Eleanor Cleveland Anderson for discussion and references regarding the origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

Demeter's sanctuary and surrounded it with a high enclosure; Peisistratus (550–510 B.C.E.) extended the walls to accommodate more visitors and built the *Telesterion* (hall of initiation) to hold several thousand; then, after the destructive fires of the Persian Wars, and the return to peace in 445 B.C.E., Pericles personally directed the rebuilding of the sanctuary. During Hellenistic (323–146 B.C.E.) and Roman times (146 B.C.E.–ca 400 C.E.), celebrants gathered from around the known world, and the Romans enlarged Demeter's temple again (138–161 C.E.). Other sanctuaries for Demeter and Persephone were widespread around the Mediterranean world.[8]

The rites were open to all, women and men, young and old, slave and free. There were only two requirements: that initiates be able to understand the Greek language used for the ceremonies; and, more importantly, that they have no unatoned blood guilt on their hands.[9]

In 389 C.E., the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius I issued an edict forbidding women and men from worshipping any deities but the Christian Father and Son. A few years later (in 395 C.E.) Demeter's sanctuary was destroyed by Goths under the leadership of Alaric. Still, during the subsequent Christian era, people throughout Greece continued to pray to Demeter as Saint Demetra, patron saint of agriculture, or (since the Middle Ages) to the canonized male saint, Demetrius. At Eleusis a statue of Demeter was found, as late as the nineteenth century, still being ritually decorated to ensure the fertility of the field. In recent years, groups of women have returned to Eleusis, reenacting the sacred story of Demeter and Persephone amidst the temple ruins.[10]

My interpretation of the Eleusinian Mysteries brings a woman's experience and feminist point of view to the subject which highlights the distinctions between the pre-patriarchal and patriarchal epochs in the ritual and artwork. Such an approach has become possible because of recent archeological, anthropological and feminist research that illuminate striking cultural and religious differences between the relatively peaceful agrarian, female-prominent and Goddess-preeminent Neolithic communities, and the subsequent patriarchal class societies with their warrior ruling classes and dominant male gods.

I see the primary significance of the Mysteries of Demeter and Per-

[8] Mylonas, pp. 40–42; Farnell, p. 153; Katherine Kanta, *Eleusis: Myth, Mysteries, History, Museum*, trans. W. W. Phelps (Athens: N.p., 1979), pp. 19–20.

[9] Farnell, p. 166; Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. John Rattan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 286 and n. 13.

[10] Edward Gibbon, *The Portable Gibbon: The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York: Viking Press, 1952), pp. 547, 555; Paul Friedrich, *The Meaning of Aphrodite* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 153–154, p. 219 and n. 1; Mircea Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas*, vol. 2, *From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 415; Barbara Walker, *The Women's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983), pp. 220–221; Carol P. Christ, *The Laughter of Aphrodite* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987), pp. 199–205.

sephone as focused on three interrelated dimensions of life: (1) fertility and birth, (2) sexuality and marriage, and (3) death and rebirth.

Fertility and Birth

The rituals of Demeter were essential to the survival of farming people and were fundamentally agricultural fertility festivals honoring Demeter the Earth and Grain Mother, giver of crops, and her daughter Kore, or Persephone, the Grain Maiden who embodies and in turn will bear the new crop. During the ritual, the farming community fervently invoked the creative forces of nature by calling to the sky, *HYE!*, "rain," "pour down," and to the earth, *KYE!*, "conceive," "bring forth." It was said that whoever used the seeds which had been placed by the women on their altars to Demeter would have a good crop.[11]

Eleusis itself was on the Rarian (Thrasian) plain, the most fertile agricultural soil of the Attic region. The knowledge and use of domesticated cereals and other plants spread through the Near East and Greece, ca. 9000–7000 B.C.E., following the end of the last Ice Age. According to the *Cambridge Ancient History,* it is "likely . . . the inhabitants of Greece received from Anatolia or farther east the benefits of a . . . knowledge of agriculture and the raising of domesticated animals, permitting permanent settlement." Remains of domesticated grains have been found in central Greece beginning approximately 7000 B.C.E., and at sites in the Eleusinian region dating from around 6000 B.C.E.[12]

Some archeologists and anthropologists conclude that plant domestication and thus the gift of agriculture came through women. This theory is corroborated by the mythic core of the Eleusinian Mysteries, where Demeter is said to give the gift of grain to the people and instruct them in the rites to be continued in her name. Other sacred stories of the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern world ascribe the gift of agriculture to the goddesses Isis in Egypt, and Ninlil in Mesopotamia.[13]

Demeter is the Earth, and of the Earth. As she was invoked by farming and then urban peoples in different times and places, her attributes varied. Other names given Demeter were *Carpophorus*, "fruit-bearer"; *Thermasia*, "warmth"; *Chloe*, "green"; *Anesidora*, "sender-up of gifts"; and in her aspect of healer, *Phosphoros*, "lightbearer."[14]

[11] Eliade, 1:297; Harrison, p. 122.

[12] I. E. S. Edwards et al., eds., *Cambridge Ancient History, Part I: Prolegomena and Prehistory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 570–571, 572.

[13] Ruby Rohrlich, "Women in Transition: Crete and Sumer," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History,* ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1977), p. 38; Eliade, 1:40–41; Isocrates *Panegyricus* 4.28, trans. George Norlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928), pp. 134–135; Stone, pp. 36, 3.

[14] Catherine Avery, ed., *The New Century Classical Handbook* (New York: Appleton-

The ritual objects found in the Eleusinian temple grounds include images of sheaves of wheat or barley; the many-seeded pomegranate, symbol of fertility; poppies, symbol of sleep and death; and the snake. Because it shed its skin, the snake was seen to represent powers of healing and reincarnation. Snakes were associated with waters and the power to nourish life. They also protected grain harvests from rodents, and were welcome around granaries, shrines or temples, homes, and at graves. Snakes were frequently involved in ritual ceremonies of the Goddess religion.[15]

Another spiritual symbol found in the artwork of Eleusis is the sphinx, in whom the artist combines spiritual, psychic and physical elemental powers, which for preurban peoples were not seen as separate or distinct. The sphinx was a great winged creature with a powerful lion's body and, most usually, a woman's head, sometimes crowned by a diadem. Perhaps the sphinx represents the shamanic ability to participate in the bird's power of flying close to the heavens and seeing great distances, and in the feline's power to roam the mountains and plains unafraid. In riddles of patriarchy (as alluded to, for example, in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*), the sphinx—like women who give birth, raise children and attend the dying—knew the beginning, middle and end of life. Oedipus could not unseat the great sphinx until he too had begun to understand these mysteries. The great winged creature is probably a direct descendant of the Neolithic Bird Goddess; her image eventually was transposed into that of the Christian angel. I see the sphinx, like the snake, as a major symbol of the early mother-clan or mother-rite culture.[16]

Another animal sacred to Demeter was the pig, whose "prolific character" manifested the abundant fertility and nurturance of nature. In Arcadia, Demeter was also associated with the horse, the peaceful dove and the playful dolphin.[17]

Century-Crofts, 1962), p. 384; C. A. Meier, *Ancient Incubation and Modern Psychotherapy*, trans. Monica Curtis (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1967), p. 116.

There is some dispute regarding Demeter's name, whether she is Earth Mother and/or Grain Mother. *Meter* is Greek for "mother"; *de* for "grain"; and *ge* for "earth". *Da* is the proto-Indo-European term for earth. And *dēai* is the Cretan word for "barley." The term *da-ma-te* appears in the Mycenaean Linear B, and means either "Demeter" or "an amount of land under grain" (see Friedrich, pp. 152, 155; Farnell, pp. 29–32, Frazier, p. 331; and Harrison, pp. 271–272). As the origins of Demeter and her rites have not been definitively established, it is not now possible to resolve this question. We know, however, (as Farnell, Gimbutas and Harrison point out) that the ancients often did not differentiate between the Goddess and her material manifestations, but saw her and them as One-in-Many, Many-in-One. I see Demeter as both Earth Mother and Grain Mother.

[15] Gimbutas, p. 112; Meier, p. 27.

[16] Gimbutas, chap. 7; Harrison, pp. 208–212.

[17] Scholiast on Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 2.1, in Harrison, p. 123.

According to University of California archeologist, Marija Gimbutas: "through her association with the pig, the beautifully draped Demeter . . . queen of corn . . . and . . .

The priestesses of Demeter at Eleusis were called *melissae*, "bees," "producers of sweetness." Perhaps they saw their role as helping bring forth the fruitfulness of the Earth Mother, drawing from her the sweet sustenance of their living. The bee was also sacred to Artemis of Ephesus; her chief priest was called *Essen*, "bee." Priestesses of Cybele were named Bees. The oracular priestess of Delphi was called Bee. And *deborah*, the Hebrew word for bee, was also the name of the most well-known woman prophet of Israel. Plato likened the souls of lyric poets to bees, as "light and winged and holy," "bring[ing] songs from honeyed fountains." Bee goddesses, priestesses or queens, honeycombs and beehives are found in the artwork of Tiryns, Mycenae, Delphi and Crete. The "tholos" tombs of Anatolia, Crete and Greece are shaped in the form of the beehive. It appears that the lives of nectar-gathering bees, "fed on honey fresh, food of the gods divine,"[18] and housed in well-structured communal societies centered about a queen, were seen by peoples of the ancient Goddess cultures as exemplary of a good life.

Demeter's power was both spiritual and earthly, religious and political. She was called *Thesmophoros*, "lawgiver," according to one writer, "inasmuch as she, by providing the grain called by her name, civilized the human race." Demeter's influence was for peace among clan members, neighbors, and foreigners. There is some evidence that Demeter encouraged partnership marriage; and even stronger evidence for her role as protector of childbearing.[19]

In personifying cooperative social ethics, Demeter raised a moral standard against an individual's gaining wealth through theft or slavery: "It was incumbent on men to obtain and provide by labor their nurture."[20] This

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of the dead . . . can be connected with her predecessor, the prehistoric Vegetation Goddess [of Old Europe]," p. 214.

Pausanias writes of a statue of Demeter in a cave at Phigalia in Arcadia, which has a horse's head framed by snakes (a possible connection to Medusa [Farnell, p. 57]) and other creatures, and a dove in one hand and a dolphin in the other (viii. 43.3; Avery, p. 383–384). Graves says this indicates Demeter presided over a horse-cult, oak-cult and dolphin-cult (*The Greek Myths*, 2 vols. [London: Penguin Books, 1955], 2:30). Walker writes that the dolphin and dove symbolize womb and vulva (p. 214). The dove is sacred also to Aphrodite.

[18] Plato *Ion*, in *Art and Its Significance: An Anthology of Aesthetic Theory*, ed. Stephen David Ross (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1984), p. 51. Harrison, p. 442–443; Esme Wynne-Tyson, *Mithras: The Fellow in the Cap* (1958; reprint ed., Surrey, England: Centaur Press, Ltd., 1972), pp. 5–8. (Thanks to Jim Moses for references on the Essen/Bee Priest of Artemis, a possible connection to the Essenes; and on the Hebrew Deborah).

The "Homeric Hymn to Hermes" speaks of the Thriae, three prophetic women who, after eating honeycomb, prophesied truly, but if they received no honey, spoke lies (Meier, p. 109).

[19] Scholiast on Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 2.1, in Harrison, pp. 123, 285; Farnell, pp. 75–85; Foucart, pp. 62–63.

[20] See n. 19 above, Scholiast on Lucian.

stood in direct opposition to the increasingly routine patriarchal clan practices of plundering, raping, murdering or enslaving neighboring peoples. In Aeschylus' tragedy *Eumenides*, the female defenders of the early mother-rite culture speak against the aggressive militarism of the new warrior clans:

> . . .[we] speak in defence
> of reason: for the very child
> of vanity is violence;
> but out of health
> in the heart issues the beloved
> and the longed-for prosperity.
>
> All for all I say to you . . .
> You shall not
> eye advantage, and heel
> it over with foot of force . . .
> [as] transgressor
> who brings in confusion of goods
> unrightly won . . .
>
> Gods of the younger generation,
> you have ridden down
> the laws of the elder time,
> torn them out of my hands . . .
>
> Great the sorrows and the dishonor
> upon
> the sad daughters of night.[21]

Given this conflict of cultures, the injunction that initiates into the Mysteries of the Goddess must have "pure hands" gains heightened significance.

The most ancient of the Greek goddesses, according to Hesiod, was Gaia, Mother Earth. When the early Greeks prayed to Gaia, or Ge, grandmother of Demeter, they were probably directly addressing the magnificence of the Earth herself. The poet of the "Homeric Hymn to Gaia" praises the primal Goddess with this song:

> Mother of us all, oldest of all, of the earth,
> the sacred ground,
> nourishing all out of her treasures—
> children, fields, cattle, beauty . . .
>
> Mistress, from you come our fine children and
> bountiful harvests;
> Yours is the power to give mortals life and to
> take it away
> Hail to you, mother of gods.[22]

[21] Aeschylus *Eumenides* 532–542, 553–554, in *Orestia*, trans. Richard Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

[22] Thelma Sargent, trans., *The Homeric Hymns* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1973), p. 79.

The primary deities of many of the earliest known cultures of the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern world were female, frequently but not exclusively depicted as the birth-giving mother: as in the many Goddess images in the shrines of the Neolithic town of Çatal Hüyük (ca. 6500–5600 B.C.E.) in Anatolia (now Turkey). This community, for which there is no evidence of ritual animal or human sacrifice, lived at peace for approximately a thousand years. For these farming and herding peoples, the image of the bull was also of great religious significance, probably symbolizing male sexual potency and powers of regeneration. The bull also figured prominently in the religion of Crete, in the bull-leaping ceremonies, and in the "horns of consecration" and other ritual artwork.[23]

In her *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,* British classicist Jane Ellen Harrison refers to the early agrarian cultures as "matriarchal." Marija Gimbutas refers to them as "matristic" instead of "matriarchal," to avoid the connotations of dominant political power attached to the concept "patriarchy." Marilyn French writes of "matricentry." Riane Eisler refers to these early agrarian cultures as "partnership societies," emphasizing that while mothers were central, women and men were equally valued. I refer to the numerous early farming societies where Goddess religion appeared as the primary spiritual focus as female-prominent and Goddess-preeminent; or more simpy, as the mother-rite cultures. There is increasing archeological, anthropological, religious, artistic, literary and historical evidence that a mother-centered epoch of human cultural evolution prevailed from at least ca. 6500–3500 B.C.E. and later, until in region after region this way of life was overtaken by patriarchal warrior clans (as documented by the archeology of Gimbutas, James Mellaart, Sir Arthur Evans, Nicolas Platon and others). The evidence for this transition is brilliantly synthesized in Riane Eisler's book, *The Chalice and the Blade.*[24]

[23] Mellaart, chaps. 6–9, passim; Gimbutas, pp. 224–230; Axel W. Persson, *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times* (Berkeley and Los Angeles; University of California Press, 1942), pp. 94–95.

[24] Harrison, pp. 261–262, 273, 619, passim; see Gimbutas, pp. 9–19; Marilyn French, *Beyond Power: On Women, Men and Morals* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1985); Eisler, p. xix, chs. 2 and 3; and Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük* and *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1965). J. J. Bachofen used the term "mother-right."

Gimbutas writes: The "pre-Indo-European culture of Europe [was] . . . matrifocal and probably matrilinear, agricultural and sedentary, egalitarian and peaceful. It contrasted sharply with the ensuing proto-Indo-European culture which was patriarchal, stratified, pastoral, mobile, and war-oriented, superimposed on all Europe, except the southern and western fringes, in the course of three waves of infiltration from the Russian steppe, between 4500 and 2500 B.C. During and after this period the female deities, or more accurately the Goddess Creatrix in her many aspects, were largely replaced by the predominantly male divinities of the Indo-Europeans. What developed after c. 2500 B.C. was a melange of the two mythic systems, Old European and Indo-European" (p. 9).

Harrison notes that "the Great Mother [was] worshipped under diverse names all over Greece," and, she could have said, all over the Old European and ancient Middle Eastern world. "Wherever she was worshipped," Harrison adds, "she had Mysteries."[25]

It is easy to see parallels between the Earth Goddesses Gaia and Demeter and other primal goddesses of the ancient world: Ishtar of Babylonia, "Compassionate Goddess [who] brought us Harmony, who led us out of Chaos and brought us Life by the Law of Love"; or Isis of Egypt, "Oldest of the Old . . . Goddess from whom all Becoming arose." The connections between Demeter and Isis and Ishtar, as well as between Tiamat and Innana of Sumer, Astarte of Phoenicia and Ashtoreth of the early Semites, and other Greek goddesses including Rhea, Themis, Hera, Aphrodite, Athena, Artemis, Selene and Hecate, are important for several reasons. They help show that the Goddess religions of early farming peoples of the Neolithic, and continuing into the Bronze Age and historical periods, were not only widespread but in many ways similar, sharing a profound human understanding of natural, personal, and social relationships, and typically emphasizing abundance and love as well as death and rebirth.[26]

The African Isis was closely related to Demeter, as giver of grain and the laws of civilization, as healer, Queen of the Dead, and the One who provides the mystery of resurrected life. As one the earliest Egyptian deities dating from before the rise of the Egyptian dynasties (ca. 3100 B.C.E.), Isis was seen as mother or sister or wife to Osiris. In one version of the myth, this young male god-king was killed by his brother Seth so Seth could rule in his stead; Osiris's body was torn to pieces and scattered to the far corners of the earth; Isis searched and gathered the lost pieces together and brought Osiris back to life.

The religion of Isis, like Demeter's, adjusted to the tragedies of the increasingly violent patriarchal class system. While daily enjoyment of life diminished and at times was obliterated for increasing numbers of people pushed into hard labor and warfare, in the Mystery celebrations of the Goddess, women and men continued to renew their belief in the essentially loving generosity of the universe, through life and through death. The emphasis of the Goddess on regeneration of life was eventually eclipsed, however, by the patriarchal religions' jealous and wrathful gods, whose priests increasingly demanded economic support, sacrifices and suffering, as well as warfare against those who refused to believe in the omnipotence of a particular deity. Patriarchal religions reduced the early Earth/Mother re-

[25] Harrison, p. 158.

[26] Stone, p. x, chap. 2, p. 36. Harrison cites Plutarch as one who identifies Isis and Demeter; Harrison, pp. 157, 120–121, 128; Foucart, pp. 47–89; John M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Myth* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1984), pp. 156–158.

ligions to male-dominated, debased "fertility cults." But the Old Religion was never suppressed entirely.

According to the Greek "Father of History," Herodotus (484?–424? B.C.E.), the knowledge of agriculture was first brought from Egypt to the earliest inhabitants of Greece, called Pelasgians, whose primordial deity was the Goddess Eurynome, believed to live on Mount Olympus. According to legend, Pelasgus, first father of the Pelasgians, is said to have dedicated a temple to Demeter at Argos. The Pelasgians' way of life was in some ways similar to that of the acorn-gathering Indians of California. And the farming communities of the Demeter-Persephone religion in many ways closely parallel the spiritual/agricultural way of life of the Hopi and other Pueblo peoples of the American Southwest. The fate of these tribal peoples in the New World shows a cultural shift similar to that which took place four or five thousand years earlier in the Old World, from relatively egalitarian and peaceful clan communities to urbanized, warfaring, male-dominant, and slave-based class societies.[27]

While many of the planting and harvesting festivals celebrated in Greece in Demeter's name involved the whole community, some of them were for women only—the *Thesmophoria*, *Arrephoria*, and *Skirophoria*. These were "performed with the same intent concerning the growth of crops and of human offspring."[28] As Demeter was protector of childbearing and the "one who cherishes children," so one of the names given Persephone was "midwife."[28]

The autumn planting festival, *Thesmophoria*, for women only, lasted three days, having a major impact on the larger community: "prisoners were released, law courts were closed, and the Boule [Council] could not meet." The *Thesmophoria* included three days: *Kathados* and *Anados*, the Downgoing and Uprising; *Nestia*, a day of Fasting; and *Kalligeneia*, day of the Fairborn or Fairbirth. While the significance of the three days has not been clearly established, late reports connect the second day to Demeter mourning the loss of her daughter. These three days may be seen to parallel the cycle of the crops: from sowing, through the season of waiting, until the harvest; and also as symbolizing the cycle of human reproduction, from sexual union, through

[27] Harrison, pp. 120–121 and 120, n. 2; Graves, *Greek Myths*, 1: 27–28; Avery, p. 384; Pat Ferrero, ed., *Hopi, Songs of the Fourth World: A Resource Handbook* (San Francisco: Film Arts Foundation/Ferrero Films, 1986); Diane Lebow, "Rethinking Matriliny Among the Hopi," in *Women in Search of Utopia: Mavericks and Mythmakers*, ed. Ruby Rohrlich and Elaine Hoffman Baruch (New York: Schocken Books, 1984).

E. Karpodini-Dimitriadi writes that the Pelasgians "were followed around 2000 B.C. by Indo-European peoples, the ancient Achaeo-Aeolians and Ionians, who came to the area in great numbers and established themselves in the southeastern, western and northern parts of the peninsula. The Pelasgians, i.e., the pre-Hellenic tribes, retained the central Peloponnese, the Arcadian mountains" (*The Peloponnese* [Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1981], p. 7). See n. 61, below.

[28] Scholiast on Lucian, in Harrison, p. 122; Farnell, p. 81; Hesychius, in Meier, p. 96.

pregnancy, to the fair birth of the fairborn child. According to Jane Ellen Harrison, the Eleusinian Mysteries grew out of the *Thesmophoria* rituals.[29]

The women's festivals were sometimes for maidens only *(Arrephoria)*, or for adult (married) women only (probably the *Skira* and *Stenia*), and sometimes for women of different ages. They were to a large part filled with merriment and laughter. Probably through these celebrations, elder women shared with girls and young women what they would need to know about menstruation, sexuality, marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, and childrearing. Most likely these "women's rites" increased the sense of friendship and bonding among women of various generations.[30]

Women's friendship and bonding is depicted in the "Homeric Hymn to Demeter." The hymn, which expresses an exuberant joy in the beauty of nature, begins with a scene of Demeter's daughter playing happily in the fields with her girlfriends.

> Apart from Demeter, lady of the golden [blade] and glorious fruits, the maiden was playing with the deep-bosomed daughters of Oceanus and gathering flowers over a soft meadow, roses and crocuses and beautiful violets, irises also and hyacinths and the narcissus . . . a marvellous radiant flower. It was a thing of awe whether for deathless gods or mortal men to see: from its root grew a hundred blooms and it smelled most sweetly, so that all wide heaven above and the whole earth and the sea's salt swell laughed for joy.[31]

Following a long period of separation of the daughter from the mother, which the mother grieves, daughter and mother are reunited; and then are joined by the "tenderhearted" elder Goddess, Hecate. As described by the poet:

> Then all day long, with their hearts in
> agreement, they basked
> In each other's presence, embracing with
> love and forgetful of sorrow
> And each received joy from the other and
> gave joy in return.

[29] Harrison, pp. 127, 120.

[30] Harrison, pp. 120–136. The Scholiast on Lucian reports that "sacred things that may not be named . . . are made of cereal paste, [and] are carried about, i.e. images of snakes and of the forms of men . . . also fir-cones on account of the fertility of the tree." Harrison notes that at the Haloa festival there were "cakes shaped like the symbols of sex" (p. 149). Some commentators have accused the women at such fertility festivals of making "obscene" or "scurrilous jests," but Harrison compares the women's joking to that which formed a regular part of the Eleusinian Mysteries (p. 136). See also Betty De Shong Meador, "The Thesmophoria: A Women's Ritual," *Psychological Perspectives: A Semi-Annual Review of Jungian Thought*, 17, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 35–45.

[31] Hugh G. Evelyn-White, trans., *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1914/1950), p. 289. While translators usually speak of Demeter's "sword" or "weapon," Sargent chooses the word "blade," to indicate what she thinks most likely was a reference to Demeter's golden stalks of wheat (p. xii).

Then smooth-coifed Hecate came and
lovingly kissed
The holy child of Demeter, and . . .
from that time on [was]
Persephone's . . . faithful companion.[32]

The story of Persephone, Demeter and Hecate lets us see the loving bonds of daughter, mother, and grandmother. During the epoch of the Goddess religions, women were honored at all stages of life. This respect found expression in many shrines and images of the triple-aspected Goddess, and also in devotions to the feminine moon, Artemis/Selene/Hectate, seen to pass through the three phases of newness waxing, bright fullness, and waning toward darkness, before beginning another cycle. Women's fertility cycles were closely tied to lunar cycles and the timely planting and harvesting of crops. The triune Goddess was also named the Three Fates, the Three Graces, and as the customs of patriarchy grew, the Three Furies. Pausanias (mid-second century C.E.) wrote that the Three Fates were sisters named Birth, Death and Love; and the eldest sister was Love. So it seems, of the major mysteries of human experience, love was considered the greatest.[33]

Drawing from the classical scholarship of Harrison, Evans, Louis Farnell and others, and by tracing similarities between the myth of Demeter-Persephone and the myths of Isis as Queen of the Upper World and Underworld, and of Inanna's voluntary descent to the underworld, feminist author Charlene Spretnak has created a prepatriarchal version of the Demeter-Persephone myth that does not include the abduction and rape of Persephone.

> Demeter and Persephone share the bountiful fields, enjoying the beautiful earth, and watching over the crops together. One day, Persephone asks her mother about the restless spirits of the dead she has seen hovering about their earthly homes. "Is there no one in the underworld to receive the newly dead?" she asks. Demeter explains that she rules over the underworld as well as the upper world, but her more important work is above ground, feeding the living. Reflecting on the bewilderment and pain she has seen in the ghostly spirits, Persephone replies, "The dead need us, Mother. I will go to them." After trying to persuade Persephone to stay with her, Demeter relents: "Very well. . . . We cannot give only to ourselves. I understand why you must go. Still, you are my daughter, and for every day you remain in the underworld, I will mourn your absence."

[32] "Homeric Hymn to Demeter," 2.25, in Evelyn-White; "Homeric Hymn to Demeter," 2.434–440, in Sargent.

[33] Harrison, pp. 286–291; Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype*, trans. Ralph Manheim, Bollingen Series 47 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 230–231; Caroly Kerenyi, *The Gods of the Greeks*, trans. Norman Cameron (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1951), pp. 45–46; 67, in Anne Ogonowski, "The Moirai and Fate in the Iliad," unpublished manuscript (San Francisco State University, Department of Classics, 1985), p. 10.

> Persephone gathers three sheaves of wheat and three poppies, takes the torch Demeter has prepared for her, and begins her descent down into a deep chasm into the underworld. After a long journey, she comes to a place where many spirits are milling about, moaning. She moves among them, and after preparing an altar, she beckons them to her, saying, "If you come to me, I will initiate you into your new world." As each spirit approaches, she embraces the form and looks deeply into the eyes, saying: "You have waxed into the fullness of life, and waned into darkness; may you be renewed in peace and wisdom."
>
> After several months, Persephone decides she will return again to the upper world. Her mother Demeter has grown sorrowful, her bountiful energies departing from the earth, leaving it barren, with no crops growing to feed the humans. But as Persephone approaches, the flowers of the earth rise up in joyful song, and as Demeter and Persephone run to embrace each other, the birds and animals begin to sing, "Persephone returns, Persephone returns." And as the mother and daughter dance and dance, new growth springs up in the fields, and the humans join in the rejoicing. And each time Persephone goes back down into the underworld, the mortals share with Demeter the bleak season of her daughter's absence; and as she rejoins her mother in the spring, they are renewed by the signs of Persephone's return.[34]

This version explains the cycles of earthly abundance, barrenness, and renewal; the life experience of mother and daughter; as well as the seasons of human experience, from birth to maturation to death and beyond. The joyful reunion of the daughter with the mother/Goddess may have symbolized the human soul's return, after the death of the body, to its universal origin or loving source.

Sexuality and Marriage

The ancients also saw sexuality, or marriage, as an initiation into life's mysteries.[35] Sexuality has often been described as an embrace which brings death to the ego and renewal of the body and spirit through love. Sometimes sexuality is experienced as a descent into the underworld. Sometimes these rites of passage are voluntarily undertaken. Sometimes they befall us against our will. It appears that women and men of the prepatriarchal epoch had a very different experience of sexuality than during the epoch of patriarchy.

According to the Homeric poet, Demeter was first a goddess in Crete before arriving in Greece. Homer and Hesiod also speak of Demeter as a goddess in Crete.[36] The early agricultural rites of Demeter in Crete, according to Harrison, were mimetic, that is to say, the people magically evoked by

[34] After Spretnak, pp. 103–110.

[35] Meier, pp. 82–83.

[36] "Homeric Hymn to Demeter," 2.123–125, in Evelyn-White, pp. 296–297; Hesiod *Theogony* 969, in Evelyn–White, p. 151; Harrison, p. 566.

their own actions the fertility of the Earth. This magic probably included invocations, singing, dancing and lovemaking, the people celebrating their own sexuality in harmony with the creative powers of nature, as natural, human and divine. A story related by Homer in the *Odyssey* tells of the Earth/Grain Mother making love with Iason of Crete:

> So too fair-haired Demeter once in the spring
> did yield
> To love, and with Iason lay in a new-ploughed
> field.

In Homer's poetry, Demeter yielded not to Iason, but to her own feelings of love, an experience conveyed by the word *thoumos,* one word translated as "spirit, passion, feeling." "Demeter yielded to her spirit/passion/feeling . . . and mingled with him in lovemaking and sleep."[37]

Iason, we are told, later takes the Mysteries north to Samothrace (which borders Thrace); his sister, Harmonia, takes the rite of the *hieros gamos* or "sacred marriage" to the Greek city of Thebes, travelling north along the path taken by Demeter across the Aegean islands.[38] These stories of the cultural transmission of the Mysteries indicate that the belief in sexuality as an experience both human and divine was fairly widespread around the Mediterranean.

Aphrodite, Goddess of Love, is given special devotion in the rites of Demeter at Eleusis, and she is associated with shrines to Demeter or Persephone in various other regions of the Mediterranean. We learn from the sixth century B.C.E. poetry of Sappho that the Goddess of Love was at home on the island of Crete, from where Sappho calls her favorite goddess to visit her, with these lyrics:

> Leave Crete and come to this holy temple
> where the pleasant grove of apple trees
> circles an altar smoking with frankincense . . .
>
> And here, Queen Aphrodite, pour
> heavenly nectar into gold cups
> and fill them gracefully
> with sudden joy.[39]

The offspring of Demeter and Iason, according to Hesiod, was a son named Plutus. It seems fitting that Demeter's child be named "plenty," or "abundance"; and that he be held, as he was often depicted in artworks, in the arms of Irene, Goddess of Peace. Abundance is also said to have been one of the names for Demeter. It is ironic then, that "Pluto," the "rich one" or

[37] Homer *Odyssey* 5.125, in Harrison, p. 564; Homer 5.126, in Friedrich, p. 161.
[38] Harrison, p. 565, n. 3: Diodorus 5.45.
[39] Willis Barnstone, trans., *Sappho: Lyrics in the Original Greek* (New York: Anchor Books, 1965), p. 29.

"wealth-giver", becomes one of the names given to Hades, abductor of Persephone and brother of the war-god Zeus.[40]

The archeological record of Crete, during both the Neolithic (ca. 6000–3000 B.C.E.) and the Bronze Age (ca. 3000–1200), indicates that the matrilineal people of Crete lived peacefully for thousands of years. On this water-protected island there were no walled fortifications, weapons of war, or images of war. Nor was there evidence of military violence from Crete's earliest settlement—probably by peoples of Anatolia in the late seventh millenium B.C.E.—until toward the end of the Bronze Age, with the Mycenaean domination, ca. 1450/1400 B.C.E. (The single possible exception is an invasion around 3000 B.C.E.) While knives or daggers, spears, swords and shields increased during the Bronze Age, all these were used in hunting. There continued to be no fortifications, signs of violent destruction (other than by natural calamity), or military colonization overseas until the Mycenaean period.[41]

The farmers of Crete cultivated crops of wheat and barley, as well as grapes, olives, figs, apples, plums, dates and other fruit. The main tool used for cultivation, the labrys, or double axe, was also a major religious symbol, and was often stylized as a butterfly. They raised cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. These Goddess-centered peoples developed a rich and diverse cultural, commercial, spiritual and social life. Some of the world's finest art comes from the high civilization of Crete, expressing a great love of nature and human form.[42]

Bronze Age (or Minoan) Crete was the cultural and commercial trade center of the Mediterranean, with trade goods exchanged between Greece, Egypt, Phoenicia, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia. Rohrlich writes:

> In Minoan Crete, trade was not superseded by military conquest as the primary means of gaining access to important resources, and the kin-based clan structures were not radically transformed to serve the state. Thus, the island remained at peace both at home and abroad, and Minoans in the several social strata continued to live relatively independent lives within the class system in which women played

[40] Harrison, pp. 565–566; Avery, p. 905; Walker, p. 218.

[41] Rohrlich, "Women in Transition: Crete and Sumer," pp. 38–39, 42–43, 46; Eisler, chap. 3; Marymay Downing, "Women and Religion in Prehistoric Crete," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 1, no. 1, (1984); R. W. Willetts, *The Civilization of Ancient Crete* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 48, 82–84, chaps. 5, 7–9. These are excellent sources regarding the peaceful, prosperous and artistic culture of Goddess-revering Crete.

Farnell identifies the Cretan Mountain Mother/Goddess as a "war goddess," but this is not plausible. See Farnell, p. 296 and Pl. XXXIII; and Downing, p. 18 and n. 51.

[42] Rohrlich, pp. 42–46; Eisler, chap. 3; Agnes Carr Vaughn, *The House of the Double Axe* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1959), p. 42.

The labrys is also found at Neolithic sites in Anatolia, including Çatal Hüyük, and also in artwork at Eleusis and at Mycenae, where it was held exclusively by women (Mellaart, p. 42; Friedrich, p. 152).

> crucial roles. . . . Peace endured for 1,500 years . . . in an age of incessant warfare.[43]

The archeological record indicates that the communities of Crete gave to women the primary positions of spiritual and social leadership, late into the Bronze Age, as clan mothers, priestesses and goddesses. The male god was represented by the bull, and the horns of consecration were another of the major symbols of Cretan culture. Women and men shared together the economic and spiritual life; for example, we find in the artwork that both women and men were ship captains, and both joined in the acrobatic bull-leaping games.[44]

Burials in Crete typically were in communal "tholos" tombs, were neither costly nor ostentatious (until late in the Palace period), and did not involve animal or human sacrifice.[45] The ritual sacrifice of animals, however, especially the bull, did eventually enter the collective life of the people of Crete. The animal sacrifice depicted in the well-known sarcophagus from Hagia Triada is dated to ca. 1400 B.C.E., during the period of Mycenaean domination. And the legendary human sacrifices to the Minotaur, during the reign of King Minos, called by Homer a "familiar of Zeus," also occurred during the period of Mycenaean domination.[46] Theseus of Athens, who with Adriane's assistance was said to have killed the Minotaur, is dated to ca. 1250/1200 B.C.E.[47]

[43] Rohrlich, p. 50.

[44] Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), p. 14; Jacquetta Hawkes, *Dawn of the Gods: Minoan and Mycenaean Origins* (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 109, chaps. 2, 3; and Burkert, pp. 39–43.

[45] Colin Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilization: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B. C.* (London: Methuen & Co., 1972), pp. 432, 321; Hawkes, pp. 72–73.

[46] Homer *Odyssey* 19. 178–179.

[47] Durant, p. 2.

The first documented incident of human sacrifice in Crete is dated to ca. 1700 B.C.E. by Greek archeologists Yannis Sakellarakis and Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki. They interpret their recent discovery as indicating a bloodletting sacrifice of a young man about eighteen years old by a wealthy male priest in his late thirties. The archeologists think the sacrifice may have been an extreme attempt to appease a deity and stop the earthquakes. But an earthquake collapsed the temple, and the scene of sacrifice was preserved. The temple was found at the base of Mount Juktas, considered the legendary tomb of the Cretan Zeus. It is possible then, that the priest who performed the sacrifice was a worshipper of Zeus, and not a follower of the Cretan Goddess. Sanctuaries honoring the Cretan Goddess were typically on mountaintops or in caves, in groves or homes or palaces, and not at the base of a mountain; and religious ceremonies of the Goddess on Crete were typically celebrated by a priestess. Perhaps some followers of Zeus had begun to settle in Crete by 1700 B.C.E., prior to the final Mycenaean takeover ca. 1450–1400 B.C.E. (See Y. Sakellarakis and E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, "Drama of Death in a Minoan Temple," pp. 205–222, and Joseph Alsop, "A Historical Perspective," p. 223, both in *National Geographic* 159 [1981] [thanks to Riane Eisler for this reference]; and see also Burkert, pp. 20–22, 150 and n. 16.)

Crete's cultural preeminence in the Mediterranean world endured until subsumed by the Mycenaeans, after an earthquake and tidal wave from the volcanic eruption at nearby Thera devastated Crete ca. 1450 B.C.E. Crete was struck another devastating blow by the Dorian invasions from the Greek Peloponnese around 1100 B.C.E.

In the "Homeric Hymn," Demeter says to those she first meets at Eleusis, "I am come from Crete over the sea's wide back—not willingly; but pirates brought me thence by force of strength."[48] This reference may well point to the takeover of the female-preeminent culture of Crete by the Mycenaeans, occuring approximately the same time as the first shrine to Demeter was built at Eleusis.

In later versions of the story of Demeter and Iason, the retelling includes Demeter's "forceful violation" by Iason.[49] Other stories say Demeter was raped by Zeus, or by Poseidon. The seventh century B.C.E. "Homeric Hymn to Demeter," written relatively late in the establishment of male dominance in Greek social, political and religious life, emphasizes the abduction and rape of Persephone by Hades. According to Hesiod, "Zeus . . . granted it."[50] This patriarchal version of the myth can be interpreted as mirroring the transition from the mother-rite clan cultures of Neolithic Crete and Greece to the city-state societies of the Greek Bronze Age, based on military might and father-right—a process of domination enforced in sexual and marital as well as economic and martial practices.

Persephone's abduction into the underworld still explains the cycle of seasons and crops. It also shows that the male gods of the Hellenic kings and warrior-aristocracy had not only taken over Mount Olympus, but had begun to force rape and patriarchal marriages on the goddesses—and women—of the preexisting culture.

As related in the "Homeric Hymn," Zeus makes Earth create the beautiful narcissus,

> to be a snare for the bloomlike girl. . . . And the girl was amazed and reached out with both hands to take the lovely toy; but . . . the lord, Host of Many, with his immortal horses sprang out upon her. . . . He caught her up reluctant on his golden chariot and bare her away lamenting.[51]

"The verb used here, as in all Greek sources, to describe Hades' action," a classicist explains, "is *harpazein*, meaning 'to seize, snatch, carry off,' a term usually reserved for acts of war or thievery, but always acts of violence." "In

[48] "Homeric Hymn to Demeter," 2.122–125, in Evelyn-White, pp. 296–297.
[49] Friedrich, p. 161.
[50] Hesiod *Theogony* 912–914, in Evelyn-White, pp. 144–145.
[51] "Homeric Hymn to Demeter," 2. 10, 15–21, in Evelyn-White, pp. 288–291.

Latin texts, another word connoting violence is found: *raptu*, meaning abduction, seizure, rape."[52]

Demeter searches for her daughter for nine days without rest or food, until Hecate directs her to the Sungod Helios who tells of the abduction.

> Anguish more piercing and savage now entered
> the heart of Demeter,
> Enraged by perfidious, black-clouded Zeus son
> of Cronos,
> She forsook the assembly of gods and lofty
> Olympus
> and dwelt in the cities of man and among
> their rich fields
> disguised in form for a very long time.[53]

Dressed as an old woman, Demeter is found one day at the well of Eleusis by three sisters, who take her to their parents to care for the new son, Demophoon. Demeter tenderly nurses the infant boy by day and places him in the hearthfire by night to make him immortal.[54] But she is discovered in this effort and thwarted by the fears of the boy's earthly mother. Having lost first her daughter and now a son, Demeter becomes inconsolable and withdraws from the company of humans as well as the gods. The fertile fields wither into drought and famine. Finally Zeus orders Persephone's return to Demeter; otherwise the barrenness of the fields would have deprived him of the votive offerings from the people. But before Persephone can depart, Hades, "taking thought for himself, secretly [gives(?)] her a sweet seed of red pomegranate to eat."[55] Having experienced this food, symbolic of sexuality and fertility, Persephone must return to the underworld for one third of every year. Always after this, the daughter and mother are reunited.

Demeter then gives two blessings to the people of Eleusis, her plants and her rites. According to Isocrates, of the fourth century B.C.E.,

> Demeter bestowed on us two gifts, the greatest gifts of all: first, the fruits of the earth, thanks to which we have ceased to live the life of

[52] Bruce Lincoln, *Emerging from the Chrysalis: Studies in Rituals of Women's Initiation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 75, n. 15: see Hesiod *Theogony* 914; Apollodoros *Bibliotheka* 1.5.1; Diodoros Sikelos 5.68.2; Isokrates *Panegyrikos* 28; Orphic Fragment 49, 1.37, in Otto Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1965), p. 120. Clement of Alexandria *Protreptikos* 2.14; Nonnos *Dionysiaka* 6.92; and p. 75, n. 16; Claudian *De Raptu Proserpina* 1.27, title et passim; Ovid *Fasti* 4.417; *Metamorphoses* 5.395.

[53] "Homeric Hymn to Demeter," 2.90–94, in Sargent, p. 4.

[54] According to Friedrich, "Fire is . . . the main purifying element, so that we have here a metaphor of the promise of immortality, with Demophoon as a mytonyn of humanity" (p. 173).

[55] "Homeric Hymn to Demeter," 2. 371–372, 412–14, in Sargent, pp. 11–13.

> beasts; and second, the mysteries; and they who are initiated therein have brighter hopes both for the end of their life and for all eternity.[56]

Despite the changes of the new social order, Demeter's rites are never uprooted by the state religion of Olympian Zeus.

While the "Homeric Hymn to Demeter" gives us a mythic account of patriarchal marriage among the gods and goddesses, the institution of patriarchal marriage on the human plane was attributed to Cecrops, first king of Athens, said to have founded the city ca. 1580 B.C.E. Pausanias notes that Cecrops was the first to call Zeus the Highest. Clearchos, a pupil of Aristotle, wrote that "at Athens Cecrops was the first to join one woman to one man; before, connections had taken place at random and marriages were in common . . . before this day people did not know who their fathers were."[57] We may infer, then, that before this day, the people inhabiting the region were matrilineal and more flexible unions prevailed. Such partner-bonds would have differed significantly from the male-dominant relationships instituted under patriarchal class rule.[58]

Athens and the Athenians, as we know, were named for Athena, Goddess of Wisdom, Patronness of the Arts, Defender of Cities. To her were attributed the household arts of spinning, weaving, and cooking; the art of music; the craft of pottery; gold- and copper-smithing; construction of all kinds; numbers; healing; the gift of the olive tree; the protection of cities; of childbearing; and of agriculture. The owl, who sees through the dark, and the snake, were sacred to her. Homer called her *Tritogeneia* or "triple-woman." She was associated with the goddess Metis of Africa, and with Medusa—whose names derive from the Sanskrit word for "female wisdom." Athena, daughter of Metis, was revered long before the Zeus-worshipping warrior clans turned her into a daughter without a mother, birthed in full armor from Zeus's head, virgin patroness of imperial war and patriarchal supremacy.[59]

According to a legend preserved by Augustine about the incorporation of Athens, when Cecrops called together the women and men to vote for the deity for whom they would name their city, the men voted for Poseidon, who offered warships, the women for Athena, who offered the olive tree; and because there was one more woman than man, Athena won. The men punished the women for their loss in three ways: they took the vote away

[56] Isocrates *Panegyric* 28, in Richard Trapp, "The Eleusinian and Dionysian Mysteries," unpublished lecture. (San Francisco State University, Department of Classics and Philosophy Colloquium, 1982), p. 5.

[57] Durant, p. 2; Harrison, p. 262.

[58] Harrison, p. 262; Foucart, pp. 62–64, 69; Stone, who cites Herodotus about gynocentric marriage in Egypt (pp. 35–38).

[59] Avery, pp. 186–189; Walker, pp. 74, 628–629; Homer *Iliad* (trans. Richard Lattimore) 20.183; *New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology*, trans. Richard Aldington and Delano Ames (London: Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1959), pp. 30–34.

from women; they no longer allowed children to be named after the mother; and women could not be called Athenians.[60]

If we are to believe this legend, the founding of Athens brought with it the end of genuine democracy; the end of matrilineage; and the political subjugation of the women to men, as men only were to be considered citizens of the new city-state with its new king.

There is a great deal of evidence in the religious practices, myths, legends, art and literature of the Hellenic culture—as in the temple of Hera at Argos—indicating that women and men of the prepatriarchal cultures did not readily submit to violent domination and patriarchal customs. From Arcadia comes the story of the Black Demeter, herself raped by Poseidon while searching for her abducted daughter Persephone. According to Robert Graves, the people of Arcadia worship Demeter to this day as Demeter *Erynes*, Demeter Fury.[61]

Women's resistance was expressed in the teachings of Aspasia, teacher of Socrates and beloved of Pericles; and in the great tragedies of Classical Athens, Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Sophocles' *Antigone;* also in the image of the snake-headed Medusa whose look was said to turn men to stone. Medusa, according to legend, was finally beheaded by Perseus, with the help of the patriarchalized Athena, who took the image of Medusa's head as an aegis on her breastplate to defeat enemies in battle. According to a different legend, the blood of Medusa was used by Asklepios, God of Healing, to bring persons back to life. Images of Medusa's head are found in the ritual art at Eleusis, and frequently at Athens and elsewhere. Sometimes Medusa's face, surrounded by snakes, is rendered by the artist not as horrific, but still beautiful, and sad.[62]

Then too, there are the legends of the Amazons from the Goddess-revering lands of Anatolia. They are reported by Homer, Herodotus and Plutarch (ca. 46–120 C.E.) to have fought various battles against men's

[60] Harrison, pp. 261–262; Durant, p. 40.

[61] Graves, 1:61 and n. 6: see Pindar *Pythian Odes* 6.50; Pausanius 8.25. 3–5, 42; Apollodorus 3.6.8; Nilsson, p. 65; Avery, p. 234. In addition to the statues of the horse-headed Black Demeter at Phigalia, and Demeter Erynes at Thelpusa, Pausanias reports on a fish-legged statue of the primal Goddess of the Pelasgians, Eurynome: all in Arcadia (8.42 and 8.25.4, in Farnell, pp. 50–62; see also Harrison, pp. 94, 266). Apparently the remote mountain region of Arcadia preserved its Goddess-revering culture longer than most other regions of the Peloponnese. Herodotus wrote, "Concerning the feast of Demeter, which the Greeks call Thesmophoria. . . . It was the daughters of Danaus who introduced this rite from Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women; but after the upset of the whole of Peloponesos by the Dorians, the rite died down completely, and it was only those of the Peloponnesians who were left, and the Arcadians who did not leave their seat who kept it up." (Herodotus 2. 171, in Harrison, pp. 120–121).

[62] Avery, p. 688; Meier, p. 34. See the sardonyx cameo of Medusa from Naples, third–second century B.C.E. in Gisela Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (London: The Phaidon Press, 1963), p. 240.

violence, as in defense of Troy against the invading Mycenaeans. The most famous battle against Greek warriors was the *Amazonomachy*, where Amazons fought Athenians to regain their queen, Antiope, who had been abducted by Theseus. The Amazons' struggles were frequently depicted in Hellenic art, and the image of their defeat appears in marble friezes atop many temples of gods around Greece, at Corinth, Delphi, Halicarnassus, Epidaurus and elsewhere, and also atop the Parthenon at Athens.[63]

When Athens finally defeated its neighbor Eleusis and established political control, adding the Eleusinian Mysteries to its array of state religious ceremonies, it made the rites more elaborate and commercial. Athenian leaders (beginning around 420 B.C.E.) exhorted citizens of other Greek cities to pay tithes, or grain quotas, to the goddesses. During the fourth century B.C.E., initiates were required to pay fifteen drachmas to participate in the rituals, an amount of money representing ten days labor. While the poor or enslaved may have been theoretically welcome, it is unlikely that many were able to pay such an initiation fee.[64]

The injunction against initiating anyone who could not understand Greek was ended by the Athenians in the sixth century B.C.E. Perhaps they also relaxed the injunction against the initiation of anyone guilty of unatoned murder, as militarism engulfed most of Western civilization in continual warfare, and the victorious Alexander and Roman Caesars and soldiers were invited to join in the rituals at Eleusis. A shrine to Mithra—a Persian war god who became extremely popular among Roman soldiers—was built close to Demeter's sanctuary. Eunapius reported that the last *hierophant* ("chief priest") at Eleusis before its destruction was a highly placed initiate into the Mysteries of Mithra.[65]

During the patriarchal epoch, then, the ritual practices and temple precincts as well as the mythic story of mother/daughter goddesses were significantly altered. Demeter was no longer the goddess of divine sexuality and procreation as in Crete: her dual role of lover and mother became dichotomized, and it was the abducted virgin daughter who became the focus of male sexual desire. The "holy marriage" alleged by Christian commentators to have been enacted by the hierophant and high priestess—if in

[63] Avery, pp. 86–87.

[64] Burkert, pp. 67–68; Kanta, p. 19; Mylonas, pp. 237–8.

The initiation fee was used to pay costs of the festivities and the fees of officials. From the records it can be calculated that as many as a thousand were initiated together at this time (Trapp).

Records of expensive and closely controlled rites, the Andanian Mysteries of Messenia of the southwestern Peloponnese, held in honor of Kore, Demeter, Apollo Karneios and Hermes, are detailed by Pausanias (4.33.3–6) and in the "Rule of the Andanian Mysteries," in *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook*, ed. Marvin W. Meyer (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987), pp. 49–59.

[65] Eliade, 2:415.

fact this took place metaphorically or materially—would have differed signifcantly during the patriarchal class periods from the more spontaneous and earthy sacred union of Demeter and Iason of Crete. To the emphasis on the marriage ceremony was also added an emphasis on the arrival of a "holy son." This son was called by the Thracian name Brimo, "mighty son of the mighty goddess"; or by the jubilant sound of "Iacchus"; or Dionysus.[66]

Dionysus, young male god of the grapevine, wine, intoxication, revelry, frenzy and destruction, as well as of resurrection, was added rather late to the rites of Demeter, probably not before the fourth century B.C.E. To facilitate his inclusion, Dionysus is named the son of Demeter, or sometimes of Persephone. He is also called the son of Zeus.[67]

One of the many myths about Dionysus' origins holds that his mother was Semele, a Thracian Earth goddess, later called the daughter of Cadmus, first ruler of Thebes and great great grandfather of Oedipus. Dionysus' father, again, is Zeus—portrayed so often as forcing himself upon regional goddesses where his warrior cult established its rules. Zeus strikes Semele dead with a thunderbolt. Harrison comments: "She that was the Great Mother sinks to be Semele the thunder-stricken."[68]

But in the Eleusinian Mysteries, Demeter prevails. And the holy child—whether Persephone or Plutus, Iacchus, Brimo or Dionysus—is joyfully welcomed and lovingly praised as offspring of the Mother who graciously gives both new crops and new life to the human community. Although Hades of the Olympian religion has become Lord of the Underworld, his domain was for the Greeks one of pale and restless shades, and they built no temples to honor him.[69] It was to Persephone, Queen of the Underworld, that the people prayed for guidance and courage in their journey into death; as it was to the Great Mother, Demeter, that they prayed for abundance of life on this earth.

Death and Rebirth

One of the central precepts of the ancient Mysteries was "know thyself." According to Socrates, "self-knowledge is the beginning of wisdom." While the descent of Persephone into the underworld symbolized the time of the

[66] Harrison, pp. 273–276, 548–553, 562–566.

[67] Zuntz, p. 167; Ugo Branchi, *The Greek Mysteries* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), Iconography of Religions, XVII, 3: Greece and Rome, ed. Th. P. Van Baaren et al (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 8–9: "Judging from iconographical testimonies, the association of Dionysus with the two goddesses might date from the fourth century B.C." In comparison, a fragment of a calyx-krater, from the third quarter of the fifth century B.C.E., explicitly refers to Iason [of Crete], father of Plutus. In the seventh century B.C.E. "Homeric Hymn to Demeter," Demeter strictly refuses a drink of wine, preferring mint-flavored barley-water—possibly another indication that Dionysus was at that time not yet integrated into the Eleusinian rites (2. 206–207, in Evelyn-White, pp. 302–303).

[68] Harrison, p. 561.

[69] Avery, p. 509.

year when the plant seeds remained buried from the light, it may also have symbolized the nightly descent into sleep, into the realm of dreams. Persephone's underworld journey to the restless spirits which had not found peace may also have symbolized the individual's healing journey into the shadowself of the psyche. The sometimes willing, sometimes involuntary passages into underworlds of unacknowledged experience provide opportunities for attaining deeper self-knowledge to be used in self-healing. Many of the ancients believed illness, or death, could bring one closer to the deities or Universal Soul. In Athens, those who had died were called *Demetrioi*, the "people of Demeter."[70]

In the course of some two thousand years and more, Demeter's simple farming community festivals, as we have seen, were significantly changed. At least since Classical Athenian times it was forbidden to speak of the experience of the initiation. We are told that Aeschylus was attacked by a crowd for nearly revealing the rites of the Eleusinian Mysteries; and that the ambitious Alcibiades was exiled for (among other offenses) mockery against the Eleusinian hierophant.[71] It seems to me quite possible that the celebration of Demeter's rites (which for several thousand years were probably celebrated in open fields) first moved into temples and developed an official ritual form, priesthood, restricted access, and secrecy, only when patriarchal class rule became the dominant social norm in Greece. The Greek historian Diodoros (first century B.C.E.) wrote that "the dedication rites which were performed by the Athenians in Eleusis . . . these were all secret, but in Knossos [Crete] it was an old custom to perform these rites openly, and . . . [these were] not hidden by them from anyone who desired to know about it."[72]

Pythagoras and Plato were said to be among the many initiates, and the playwrights Aeschylus and Sophocles, and Aristotle; and perhaps Socrates. When Socrates was put to death for "corrupting the youth" and "impiety before the gods," perhaps what was condemned as irreverence before the official state gods was at a deeper level an expression of loyalty to the more ancient social and spiritual order of the goddesses.

The most detailed report of the Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone comes from the Classical Athenian era, and specifies nine days—the length of time Demeter was said to search for her lost daughter—in the fall at the time of the equinox and the full moon.[73] Heralds were sent from Athens and Eleusis throughout Greece proclaiming the festival. All warfare was to cease

[70] Meier, p. 93 and n. 7; Harrison, pp. 266–267.

[71] Aristotle *Nichomachean Ethics* 3.1.17, in Eliade, 1:294; Durant, p. 447.

[72] Diodorus 5. 77, in Harrison, p. 566 and n. 2; Axel W. Persson, *Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1942), pp. 148–150.

[73] For somewhat differing accounts of the nine days of rituals, see Mylonas, chap. 9; Foucart, part 3; Farnell, pp. 164–191; Harrison, pp. 151–161; Burkert, pp. 285–290; Eliade, 1:293–299; Kanta, pp. 10–17.

for two months, safe travel was to be assured, and no legal proceedings were to be conducted during the festival's nine days.

To begin, the priestesses of Demeter carried sacred objects from her temple at Eleusis along a fruit and flower-strewn road, to her temple in Athens near the Acropolis. The Eleusinian hierophant opened the festival at Athens by inviting those who were prepared to join the initiation into the Greater Mysteries of Demeter—that is, all those who had been initiated the previous February at Agrae (a suburb of Athens) into the Lesser Mysteries honoring Persephone, Queen of the Underworld, who rose again each spring from the dead.[74]

The second day the initiates, or *mystai*, were sent to the sea to bathe and purify themselves in the refreshing salt waters of the Aegean. During the fourth century B.C.E. at Athens, each initiate was given a piglet to sacrifice as part of the purification ritual. This may have been a late addition to the rites, for there are several sources indicating a time when the rites of Demeter, like the Mystery religion of Pythagoras, did not include the sacrifice of meat but instead shared the "gentler foods" of fruits and grains.[75]

The third day was given over to official state sacrifices honoring Athenian leaders, citizens of Attica and other participating regions, and the goddesses; and also to prayers for women and children.

On the fourth day, devoted to Asklepios, God of Healing, initiates were to remain at home. At Asklepios' sanctuary at Epidaurus, sick people, to receive healing, awaited a special dream, a visitation by a god or goddess conveying perhaps some heroic deed or artistic creation to be accomplished, some transformation of life purpose. Sometimes the results were enacted for the benefit of the whole community: a composition of music, a paean to the god or goddess, perhaps a dramatization of one's healing vision performed at the adjacent theatre.[76] At Athens, the fourth day was also devoted to ritual identification with Demeter in her grief, with her sense of inexplicable loss—an experience keenly felt, we might imagine, by Goddess peoples who may have looked upon the period of the patriarchal ruling class takeover, at least in part, as a descent into hell.

On the fifth day, the initiates and the community joined together in an exuberant procession to Eleusis, carrying at the front the boychild Iacchus, beside whom walked great grandmother Hecate. They stopped along the way at a temple of Apollo, then at a sanctuary of Aphrodite, then bathed and refreshed themselves in special waters at the outskirts of Eleusis, before finally gathering by torchlight for all-night dancing and rituals. They be-

[74] In the words of classicist Richard Trapp: the initiates "see that the kingdom of death had been overcome in the person of Persephone [who] descended into Hades and then rose again."

[75] Harrison, pp. 85–89, 94, 127, 145, 147–150.

[76] Devotions to Asklepios were added to the rites of the Eleusinian Mysteries ca. 421 B.C.E.: Harrison, pp. 342–343; Meier, pp. 66, 86–89.

lieved that if these rituals were suppressed, if the collective purpose of the community would no longer find expression, the world would fall apart.

On the sixth day, the *mystai* entered the sacred grounds one by one across the Bridge of Jests, while masked townspeople teased or ridiculed and told secrets about the initiate. These jests combining scrutiny and satire were sometimes hilarious and sometimes excruciating, and were intended to strip away whatever overbearing pride or arrogance might prevent the initiate from opening fully to the insights of the Mysteries. In the "Homeric Hymn," it was the power of jest and laughter in the old woman Iambe, mixing the sacred and profane, which first was healing to Demeter lost in her grief.

The next day was a final day of preparation, of resting, purification, fasting and sacrifice. To sacrifice, literally "to make holy," meant giving up, offering over to the Goddess whatever was hindering the soul's journey along its path.

The seventh and eighth nights were the "nights of the Mysteries." The *mystai* entered the *Telesterion*, temple of Demeter. Perhaps in more ancient days they went down into the *megaron*, underground chamber of the Earth Goddess; or perhaps into the cave at the edge of the site, called the *Plutonion*, doorway to Hades. Now the initiates received the central experience of the Mysteries through "what is said," "what is enacted" and "what is shown" or "revealed."

What was said may have included the simple invitation to eat and drink the first fruits of the harvest. The Christian Clement of the fourth century C.E. wrote that initiates stated: "I fasted, I drank the *kykeon*, I took from the chest, I put back into the basket and from the basket into the chest." Harrison notes there was no creed one had to repeat to be accepted. What was shown may have included certain objects sacred to Demeter, exemplifying the regenerative forces of nature. What was enacted may have included a simple retelling of the Demeter-Persephone story, a singing of the poet's "Hymn to Demeter"; or a more elaborate dramatization. The first priest at Eleusis, Eumolpus, was said to have had a beautiful voice, like the Thracian Orpheus.[77]

Sometime during the final two days of initiation, before the beginning of the night's ceremonies and the lighting of the great fire, the *mystai* drank *kykeon*, barley-water flavored with mint or pennyroyal. Perhaps the barley was fermented and the drink intoxicating; the barley may have contained ergot, a fungus with hallucinogenic properties; we do not know.[78] Probably

[77] Harrison, pp. 155 and n. 3, 156; Eliade, 1:296–297; Burkert, pp. 286. For late accounts of dramatic scenes, see Harrison, pp. 565–571.

[78] R. Gordon Wasson, *The Road to Eleusis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1978).

the fasting, prayers and anticipation of the initiates helped clarify their inner vision.

We are told the initiates experienced a special seeing, the "opening of the eyes." Was this vision the epiphany of the Goddess as Earth Mother? or Persephone returning from Hades? or the reunion of mother and child? or the fair birth of the fairborn child? Was it a vision of the vast sea of love all around, described by Diotima of Mantinea when she instructed Socrates into the Lesser and Greater Mysteries of Love, as related in Plato's *Symposium*?[79] Or the experience of dying and being reborn, encircled by a flow of love far beyond human ability to translate into words? In all the years of their celebration, the central experience of the initiation was never revealed—perhaps because the mystical insight itself was beyond naming, ineffable.

Perhaps the initiates participated mystically with Demeter and Persephone in their double journey, as training for the journey of the soul through life and through death: from the happiness of early bonding, through the period of separation and suffering, to their joyful reunion. They may have felt abducted into the underworld, experiencing what had been lost to disease, pain or death, and stored in the recesses of the subconscious, or in the collective unconscious of race history: the overwhelming grief, the embrace of the sacred union, and the return, the rising up into the light of a new day, with a sense of renewal and rebirth. Perhaps they simply came out of the darkness at the moment of sunrise into a new day, into the upperworld with its fertile land and a waiting community of family and friends.

The eighth day was spent in revelry and song, further dedications to the goddesses, and in pouring libations to the dead, a special honoring of those who had gone before into the underworld, who perhaps had just been met once again, in reverie, when the initiate ventured into Hades.

The ninth and final day was for reintegration into the community and return to one's home. The poet/singers closed their "Hymn to Demeter" by telling their audience:

> the essential gift of the ceremonies
> no [one] may describe or utter . . .
> blessed is he among men on earth
> who has beheld this.[80]

Pindar (518–438 B.C.E.) wrote: "Happy is he who has gone through the Mysteries, he knows the source and the end of life." Cicero, Roman initiate of the first century B.C.E., wrote that if Greece had existed for no other

[79] Plato *Symposium* 210a–212a, trans. Benjamin Jowett (1948; reprint ed., Indianapolis: Library of Liberal Arts, Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1977), pp. 51–53. According to Pausanias, Demeter was worshipped in Mantinea, home of Diotima. (Thanks to Carol Christ for this reference.)

[80] Edouard Schuré, *The Mysteries of Ancient Greece: Orpheus, Plato* (Blauvelt, N.Y.: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1971), p. 75.

reason than to have brought into existence the Mysteries of Eleusis, that would have been sufficient reason for her existence.[81]

I wish to emphasize here the fullness of the experience of the Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone. The whole process involved the initiates as well as the larger community, and included periods of cleansing and purification, healing, commitment, vision, coming forth and reunion with the community. The experience was in the body and in the soul. The mundane and sacred dimensions merged. There was the isolation of the individual in her or his suffering as well as the empathic identification with the suffering of another. And there was the communal sharing by all attending the ceremonies, those already initiated and those who one day hoped to be so. An individual was initiated only once into the Lesser Mysteries, and then into the Greater Mysteries; but these celebrations were repeated in the community life generation after generation, century after century, millenium after millenium.

Finally, we may interpret the Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone as a myth for our own time. The teaching of the journey of the soul transcends any particular time and place, age or sex. The Mysteries evoke memories of the early epoch of mother-centered life; and the separating away, the abduction, the death of this primal way of life. That time has been followed by a period of patriarchal class rule, a long dark age reaching until this point where we now stand poised between starwars and starpeace, between the nuclear omnicide of the planet or the emergence of our planetary community into a new world. The renewal I long for is the return of a reverence for Mother Earth and her abundant forces of creation; an affirmation of the natural-human-sacredness of sexuality and enduring love; and the belief in the inevitability of death and the immortality of the soul. It is a longing for the rebirth of the abundant love and nourishment of the ancient Earth Mother Gaia, Demeter, Persephone, Hecate, and for all the great grandmothers so they might be with us now, as comforters and guides, into the next stage of our journey in this life, with one another, on this beautiful planet Earth.

[81] Ibid., p. 111; Cicero *Laws* 2. 36, in Trapp, pp. 5–6.



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THE INITIATION OF CULT FOR ROYAL MACEDONIAN WOMEN

ELIZABETH CARNEY

DESPITE THE FACT THAT PRIVATE, civic, and dynastic cults began by the late fourth century to be directed at women associated with royal men, cults of royal women earlier than those of Arsinoe Philadelphus in the 270s have been either ignored or mentioned only in passing. Comparatively little analysis of the reasons for the existence of female cult has been attempted.[1] In order to remedy this omission, I shall focus in this paper on the origin, motivation, and function of cult for women in the fourth and very early third centuries B.C.E. This, then, is a paper about the recognition of the power of various individual women.

Although my discussion has obvious relevance to the understanding of cults devoted to royal women later in the Hellenistic period, my task in this paper is limited to tracing the early development of cult of women at the end of the Argead dynasty and in the period of the Diadochi, linking it to what is known about early Ptolemaic cult of royal women, and considering the reasons for the initiation of female cult.[2] In pursuing this task, I have, on the whole, made certain assumptions about the general nature of ruler cult in the Hellenic world, assumptions based on the work of earlier scholars.

This manuscript is a revised version (reflecting very recent scholarship) of a section of my monograph *Women and Monarchy in Macedonia,* published in 2000 by the University of Oklahoma Press. Copyright 2000 by the University of Oklahoma Press. Reprinted by permission of the University of Oklahoma Press. My thanks to Bob Milns, Suzanne Dixon, Marleen Flory, and Kathryn Gutzwiller for their comments on earlier oral versions of this article, and to Peter Green and the anonymous reader for *Classical Philology.*

1. There are superficial discussions by Cerfaux and Tondriau 1957, 194–201; Tondriau 1948a, 12–33, 1948b, 1–15, 1948c, 1–15; 1956, 15–22. Pomeroy 1984, 28–40 is much more useful, but her focus is on the Ptolemies and so earlier precedents are not generally discussed. Now, however, see Mirón Pérez 1998a and 1998b. After this article was accepted for publication, Dr. D. M. Mirón Pérez kindly sent me copies of her articles, and I have tried to incorporate her arguments into this discussion. Our findings are quite similar in some respects, but, whereas I see connections between assimilations of royal wives and courtesans and the development of city and dynastic cult, she tends to disassociate them and to emphasize the role of earlier myth in the ideology of cult.

2. There are no current studies of the role of women in the monarchies of any of the three major Hellenistic dynasties, with the exception of Carney 2000. Macurdy 1932, which covers women in all three dynasties, is excellent, but biographical in its focus and now dated. See also Vatin 1970, 57–114 and the brief, general, but recent discussion of Savalli-Lestrade 1994, 415–32. Certainly there are no general studies of the cults of royal women in these dynasties, but for Egypt, see Pomeroy 1984. One could take Robert 1966, 192–210 as a kind of paradigm, based on the Lagid example of Arsinoe Philadelphus, of one kind of cult for royal women.

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Let me briefly sketch my views on this subject. The Greeks did not always draw a firm line between the human and the divine, although they usually understood them as distinct categories.[3] After all, ruler cult was unlikely to develop in a culture that did see the human and divine as entirely separate. It was a Homeric commonplace to term a warrior ἰσόθεος (equal to the gods, godlike). Similarly, women like Briseis or Cassandra might be said to be ἰκέλη (like, resembling) golden Aphrodite (*Il.* 19.282, 24.699).[4] The myth of Heracles, a mortal made immortal, demonstrated that a mortal might raise him or herself to divinity by means of unusual achievement. Whereas Heracles was the exceptional human hero who became a god, female mortals, heroines, much more frequently achieved divine status.[5] Literature nagged Greeks to remember the distinction between human and divine (e.g., Pind. *Isthm.* 5.14). They needed reminding: the gods were like people, except that they had more power, much more power.

Central to Greek cult was the recognition of the reality of this power. As Price has argued, ruler cults were about the recognition of the power, often the beneficial or protective power, of a human being over an individual or a city.[6] They provided a way to integrate this power into existing institutions, a way to express the relationship between rulers and cities or individuals, and to control or modulate it.[7] The first cult for a human being established during that person's lifetime came during the career of Lysander.[8] Philip II flirted with divine cult and suggested his parity to the

3. Contra Price 1984a, 79–95, 1984b, xi, 7–38, whose views are currently more dominant. See also Burkert 1985, 205 ("The wall which separates them is impermeable. . . ."). Among scholars of Macedonian history, Badian has most adamantly insisted that a strong line was drawn between people and gods (see, most recently, Badian 1996, 14–15). Many scholars continue, however, to understand Greek religious views, even early on, as distinguishing between human and divine but not insisting on an impenetrable boundary between the two categories. Lane Fox 1974, 439 describes it as an "open frontier"; Vermeule 1979, 126–27, following Nock 1944, 141–73, points out that the supposedly impassable barrier was, during the Archaic period, frequently crossed by those achieving or losing divine status. See also Lyons 1997, 5–6. Among Macedonian historians, Fredricksmeyer 1979 (see n. 9 below) takes a similar view. It seems clear that many Greeks, over centuries, saw distinctions in status and recognized these distinctions in cult practice, but it is much less clear that these status distinctions were immutable.

4. Loraux 1992, 20 insists that to compare young women to goddesses is "to characterize them as quintessentially beautiful." She observes, citing *Il.* 14.153–87, when Hera prepares to seduce Zeus, that "beauty is essentially a manifestation of power." Her remarks would, therefore, imply that such comparisons are a recognition of power.

5. See discussion and reference in Lyons 1997, 5–6.

6. Mirón Pérez 1998b, 229–30 discusses a fascinating example of this phenomenon at work. Eurydice, daughter of Antipater and wife of Ptolemy I, long gone from her Macedonian homeland, returned when her son Ptolemy Ceraunus briefly ruled Macedonia (c. 281–79) and was given control of Cassandrea. The people of Cassandrea, a city founded by Eurydice's brother Cassander, initiated (under the influence of a certain Apollodorus) the Eurydicea, a festival in honor of Eurydice because she had somehow restored the freedom of the city (Polyaenus *Strat.* 6.7.2). The festival, if historical, does not demonstrate the existence of a cult for Eurydice, but, as Mirón Pérez acutely observes, later city cults were often motivated by appreciation for similar benefactions. In the death throes of the Argead dynasty, when royal women were in greater supply than royal men, women often symbolized legitimacy and dynastic continuity; after the demise of the Argead dynasty, and particularly in the chaotic virtual interregnum between the sudden end of the Antipatrid dynasty and the reestablishment of the Antigonids in Macedonia, Eurydice, the daughter of the long-dead Antipater and sister of Cassander, must have seemed to the citizens of Cassandrea a symbol of the authority of old order, and yet a representative of the new, her son.

7. Price 1984b, 27–30.

8. Contra Badian 1981, 27–71; see Flower 1988, 124–34.

Olympians, but it is not certain that he received cult in his lifetime.[9] His son Alexander went further: first he asserted divine sonship instead of mere divine ancestry, and finally, in the last years of his life, cults began to be dedicated to him. After Alexander, cults instituted by Greek cities to the Successors developed. Later, dynastic cults administered by the kings themselves became commonplace, although not in Macedonia proper.

Of course, the development of ruler cult is usually described in stages, as I have just done. The difficulty with such descriptions is that they imply the existence of clear distinctions between various points along a linear path. Such distinctions are convenient, but artificial. They are particularly unsuited to visual images, yet images are, I shall argue, critical to the development of cult. Assumptions about the motivation of image makers have little evidentiary basis. We have not come to terms with the essential ambiguity of physical images and recognized that their power derives from their ambiguity. Linear categorization should be used cautiously when considering the ways in which Greek peoples connected human and divine nature.

In contrast to the comparative dearth of work that has been done on female cult, a great abundance of work has been done on male ruler cult. The quantity of scholarship on the deification of male rulers in the Graeco-Roman world[10] derives from the recognition that ruler cult was a critical Graeco-Roman institution, but it also testifies to our near inability to comprehend this institution. Our understanding of ruler cult will always be limited. The single god of the desert and the religions that worship him stand between us and those who put up altars and gave sacrifices and festivals in the name of Antigonus or dedicated votives to Arsinoe Aphrodite. It matters little whether an individual still believes in these religions. They continue to define even unbelief. Not one of us would think that a self-proclaimed atheist or agnostic was expressing contempt for the gifts of golden Aphrodite or the truth of Apollo's oracles.

Our understanding of the nature of religious experience itself is so shaped by the nature of Judaeo-Christian experience that we have had great difficulty recognizing as at all religious any belief or practice that departs very far from our Judaeo-Christian norm. Defining a religion in terms of personal belief is an idea that we have imposed on a culture to which it is alien. Because of this imposition, ruler cult has not been understood as religion at all, but politics, even though this distinction is ours and not that of antiquity.[11] Recent disdain for ritual tends to make us ignore its power.

The difficulties I have noted are compounded when one looks at cult for women. Female cult developed in the same period in which male ruler

9. See Borza 1990, 249–50 for a succinct discussion of the problem. In recent years, Fredricksmeyer 1979 has been the main proponent of the idea that Philip planned for divine honors and even dynastic cult, and Badian 1981 has argued that no good evidence demonstrates lifetime cult for Philip and that even cults for Alexander were established only late in his reign (see Borza 1990, 249–50 and Badian 1996 for discussion and references). As Borza 1990, 250 observes, whatever the date of various cults, Philip and Alexander were clearly changing the nature of Macedonian monarchy in a manner that involved association with divinity.

10. The major general works: Habicht 1970; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1957; Taeger 1957.

11. Price 1984a, 79–95, 1984b, xi, 7–38.

cult did and in similar, although not identical, fashion.[12] Indeed, the same monument, the Philippeum, is critical to understanding both.[13] Pausanias (5.20.9–10) recounts that at Olympia, within the sacred area of the Altis (which was apparently extended to include it[14]), was a round building called the Philippeum, constructed by Philip[15] after his defeat of the Greeks at Chaeronea in 338. Inside, in Pausanias' day, in the second century C.E., were three statues of ivory and gold (chryselephantine) of Philip II, Alexander the Great, and Philip's father, Amyntas. Pausanias notes (Paus. 5.17.4) that two other chryselephantine statues, of Olympias and of Philip's mother, Eurydice,[16] once also stood there, but had been transferred to the nearby Heraeum by the time Pausanias visited the site. It would be interesting to know when and why the two female statues were moved. The action seems to suggest that their presence, unlike that of the male statues, was deemed somehow inappropriate by someone, at some subsequent period.[17]

The statues stood on an elaborately carved, semicircular base that faced the door and was centered on it. Since the women's statues were no longer on the base, Pausanias is unlikely to have known what their placement had been. He described them last because they were no longer in the building. Philip's image may have been in the middle, opposite the door, the images of his father and son on either side of him, and the female statues may have stood at each end.[18] All previous chryselephantine statues were cult images.

12. Contra Hammond 1994, 184, who suggested that Eurydice, mother of Philip II, received posthumous cult. His evidence is not convincing—a splendid tomb that may not be hers (see Borza 1990, 308–9), and his own theory that the female statue found near two of the statue bases at Vergina that Eurydice dedicated to Eucleia was actually one of Eurydice herself.

13. The following section significantly expands on points I made more briefly in Carney 1995, 380–81. See also Mirón Pérez 1998b, 223–24, who does not refer to my earlier discussion of the Philippeum, but reaches somewhat similar conclusions. For recent general discussion of and reference to the Philippeum, see Miller 1973, 189–218; Fredricksmeyer 1979, 52–56; Badian 1981, 71. See also Gardner 1925, 128–36; Wiesner 1939, 105–7; Zschietzschmann 1944, 24–52; Drees 1968, 121–23; Mallwitz 1972, 128–33.

14. Gardner 1925, 136.

15. Pausanias 5.20.10 has usually been understood to mean that the building was constructed *by* Philip, but Badian 1981, 71 is not certain. If the building had been built for rather than by Philip, one would expect Pausanias to name the donor. Wikander 1996, 186, who briefly refers to the significance of the inclusion of women in the Philippeum, dates the building rather late in Alexander's reign (c. 326) and, wrongly I believe, seems to attribute its dynastic ideology to Alexander rather than to Philip.

16. Pausanias 5.17. 4 refers to her as the daughter or wife of Arrhidaeus, whereas Philip's mother was the daughter of Sirras and the wife of Amyntas. (Paus. 5.20.10 simply calls her Eurydice.) It is usually assumed that this was simply a textual error.

17. See Drees 1968, 113. Gardner 1925, 213 suggests a late date. Mirón Pérez 1998b, 223 speculates that the move could have been intended as an honor, meant to associate the female statues with Hera and with the statues of gods and heroes that had been placed in her temple, but considers the possibility that the move was intended both to destroy the dynastic image Philip had created and to disconnect the women of the royal family from political power. I find the latter suggestion more plausible; if it is correct, then the statues may have been moved in the late fourth or early third century, when Olympias had many surviving enemies and when many Greeks and Macedonians may have wanted to de-emphasize Argead dynastic claims.

18. Mirón Pérez 1998b, 218–19 imagines a similar placement. Zschietzschmann 1944, 52 suggests that Alexander may have stood in the middle. He notes (p. 51, n.1) that the remaining stones of the statue base suggest that the central figure held either a scepter or a lance and, convinced that the women would have been placed next to their respective husbands, he concludes that Alexander rather than Philip must have been in the middle. I consider his argument unpersuasive: it would be odd to call the building the Philippeum and place an image of Alexander at the focal point.

The purpose of the Philippeum, the nature of the building, and the intent of its presumed builder have been much disputed. This uncertainty about its meaning is not accidental. The Philippeum is not only an ambiguous monument, but a monument to ambiguity, a subtle piece of imagery from Philip, a master of the creation and manipulation of public image. Philip decided to have the Philippeum built after Chaeronea. Any role Alexander had in its construction was nominal since the building is likely to have been completed no later than Alexander's departure for Asia in 334.[19] The monument's emphasis on dynastic rather than individual power suits Philip's priorities better than it does those of his son. The presence of the statue of Olympias is unremarkable and cannot be used to date the building.[20]

The Philippeum looked like a temple and was placed where one would expect a temple to be. It contained statues that looked like cult statues, yet there is no evidence for divine cult. It was not a temple. It was not a treasury (the other treasuries contained no cult images and were not placed within the Altis). Its shape resembled that of ἡρῷα (temples or chapels of a hero) but there is no evidence for heroic honors. It was not a ἡῷον. We know what it was not but cannot be sure what it was, and that is the point. What was it then? Philip offered those who visited the Panhellenic shrine a way to think about the power he had come to exercise. The Philippeum did not assert that this power was divine, but it implied that it might be and suggested that this power was, anyway, *like* the power of the gods. It paralleled his decision to have his own statue appear with that of the twelve Olympians (Diod. 16.92.5), but the Philippeum differed from that famous public gesture in an important way because it was a dynastic monument. Five godlike statues once stood there, not one. By implication, not only Philip, but each of the other four members of the dynasty, was ἰσόθεος. The picture that Philip presented of himself at his daughter Cleopatra's wedding as a thirteenth god, or a man on a par with the twelve Olympians, was a picture for the immediate future. At Olympia, Philip chose to express his power in familial rather than individual terms because he intended Greek understanding of Macedonian power to be long-term and dynastic. The Philippeum stated or pictured things the way they were, in the terms Philip wanted them understood.[21]

19. Miller 1973, 191.

20. Fredricksmeyer 1979, 53 rightly rejects the view of Badian 1981, 71 that the presence of the image of Olympias signifies that the structure cannot have been completed in the last years of Philip's reign. Such a view depends on false assumptions about the nature of Macedonian royal marriage in general and that of Philip and Olympias in particular. See further Carney 1992.

21. See Borza 1990, 250 for a similar analysis of the function of the Philippeum, but one that emphasizes its implications about the nature of Macedonian monarchy in general, rather than the importance of the inclusion of women or its dynastic implications. Wikander 1996, 186, unaware of Carney 1995, makes a similar point about the distinction between Philip's inclusion of himself with the statues of the gods and his inclusion of royal women in the Philippeum. Wikander, however, believes that understanding women as part of the dynasty was a new development, apparently assuming that the rigid public/private distinctions of the polis world applied to Macedonian monarchy as well. The career of Eurydice, mother of Philip, makes it obvious that women had a dynastic role much earlier than Wikander believes. See further Mortensen 1992, 156–71 and Carney 2000.

It is important that the two women's statues were there. Philip included them in his public presentation of dynastic power. They were part of, not apart from, βασιλεία (rule, kingship).[22] Both Olympias and Eurydice played prominent and controversial roles in Greek affairs. Their inclusion was part of Philip's statement of the facts of power. They were part of the power the Greeks needed to understand, and that is why Philip placed their statues there. It is critical that these too are chryselephantine statues. Philip's coy hints at divine status extended to the women of the clan.

These lavish images of two royal women were among the first public images of individual women in Greece. That statues were long primarily associated with men is suggested by the word ἀνδριάς (meaning statue), derived from the word for a male human being, even though it was sometimes applied to the image of a woman (e.g., Phryne in Ath. 591b). While no study of the development of female portraiture in Greek art exists, general discussions of Greek portraiture suggest that portraiture of women paralleled the development of portraiture for men, but on a much reduced scale because of the much smaller public role of women.[23] Portraits of women, however, tended to be much more generalized than those of men and harder to distinguish from images of deities.[24] The development of portraiture parallels the development of cult for mortals.

The statues of Olympias and Eurydice were probably the very first in mainland Greece to commemorate women for what was, in effect, a political role.[25] Images of women had, of course, appeared on grave stelai and, earlier yet, there were the korai, but none of these were genuine portraits.[26] An Athenian priestess named Lysimache had a portrait statue, dating to the very late fifth or early fourth century (Plin. *H.N.* 34.76), roughly the period when dedications of honorific statues to priestesses seem to have become common,[27] and statuettes and statues of κανηφόροι (bearers of sacred baskets in ritual processions) once existed, although whether they were genuine portraits may be doubted.[28] A golden statue of the famous ἑταίρα (courte-

22. See Carney 1995, 367–91 for a lengthy discussion of this point.

23. Richter 1965, 1:3–5; Breckenridge 1968, 81–142; Havelock 1971, 19–20; Pollitt 1986, 59–65. See also Ridgway's study (1987, 399–409) of women in Greek art.

24. Smith 1988, 48. Lyons 1997, 5–6, noting that some deny that Greeks distinguished between heroines and goddesses (a denial she rejects), does point out that, as we have already seen, more heroines than heroes were deified. I wonder if the difficulty in distinguishing female human and female divine in terms of image does not mirror this situation, perhaps reflecting a sense that this was a more permeable barrier. Similarly, as we shall see, more women than men seem to have been assimilated to divinities, primarily to Aphrodite.

25. A possible exception could be a statue of Artemisia, part of a monument at Sparta commemorating the Persian war dead; see discussion and references in Rice 1993, 248–49.

26. Pollitt 1986, 59 defines a portrait as the "intentional representation of a person containing a sufficient number of specific features to make the representation recognizable to others." For the possibility that korai were dedicated as priestly images of, for example, Ἀρρηφόροι, see discussion and references in Kron 1996, p. 144, n. 36. Even if this possibility were true, such statues would hardly meet Pollitt's definition.

27. Kron 1996, p. 142, n. 25. On Lysimache's statue, Breckenridge 1968, 100; Ridgway 1987, 405; Kron 1996, 143–44. Kron 1996, 140–41 points out that Greek priestesses generally possessed legal and social privileges that the ordinary citizen woman did not and that many priesthoods were hereditary in aristocratic clans. To some degree, then, priestesses honored with statues were, like subsequent royal women, exceptional women who moved between public and private roles.

28. See discussion and references in Roccos 1995, p. 645, esp. n. 37.

san) Phryne was dedicated at Delphi; it stood between the images of Philip II and Archidamus, king of Sparta (Ath. 591 b–c; Paus. 10.14.4; Plut. *Mor.* 753f).[29] That the statue was gold, or at least looked golden, may suggest that Phryne, who tradition says was Praxiteles' model for Cnidian Aphrodite (Ath. 591a; Plin. *H.N.* 36.5.4), was alluding to a godlike status, perhaps even to the proverbially golden Aphrodite.[30] Also in the mid-fourth century, among the statues of initiates to the Eleusinian mysteries in the Athenian agora, appeared those of a husband and wife.[31] In Caria, on the coast of Asia Minor, a satrapy ruled by a dynasty that practiced brother-sister marriage, public images of the women of the dynasty began to appear about the middle of the fourth century.[32]

In Macedonia proper, there is no good evidence for statues of royal women prior to those in the Philippeum at Olympia.[33] The statues that Eurydice, mother of Philip II, dedicated to Eucleia at Vergina were probably statues of the goddess, not of Eurydice herself, but another statue base found near Palatitsia may once have supported a portrait statue of Eurydice. If so, it would have been no earlier than the Philippeum.[34] Neither the female heads found on top of an archaic grave at Vergina[35] nor the small ivory heads from Tomb II at Vergina appear to be portraits.[36] Indeed, with the exception of the statue base for an image of Thessalonice, half-sister of Alexander and wife of Cassander, from the Roman period,[37] there is as yet no certain evidence for the existence of statues of royal women in Macedonia in the centuries after the death of Philip.[38]

29. On Phryne, see Raubitschek 1941, 893–907 and Havelock 1995, 42–47; on her statue, see Ridgway 1987, p. 91, esp. n. 43.

30. On Aphrodite's goldenness and its association with beauty, see Friedrich 1978, 77–78. See Scott 1931, 101–23 and Gordon 1979, 13 on the connection between use of gold and silver in statuary and the Greek conception of divinity, which was so often associated with brightness, "gleamingness." Gordon suggests that the use of costly material for divine statues was a way around the somewhat limiting nature of the anthropomorphic images of the gods. See below on the association of the cult of ἑταῖραι with Aphrodite. See Havelock 1995, 3, 42, 133 on the difficulty ancients had in distinguishing between Phryne, her statue, and Aphrodite. Elsewhere Phryne is considered a ministrant of Aphrodite (Ath. 590 e–f).

31. Ridgway 1987, p. 405, n. 35. Earlier statues of women had appeared in tombs and sanctuaries, but, as Pollitt 1986, 59 remarks, the agora was a quasi-sacred area. Nonetheless, statues of women continued to be more common in sanctuaries than in agoras.

32. Ridgway 1987, pp. 91–92, nn. 45 and 46. See Van Bremen 1996, 180–86 on the gradual development, after the rise of the Hellenistic kings, of civic statues for female benefactors, and for a discussion (12–13) of whether this development was modeled on the benefactions of royal women.

33. Le Bohec's conclusion (1993, 238) that the female statues in the Philippeum represented "tradition . . . chez les Macédoniens," remains unsubstantiated, although possible.

34. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993, 1339–71 suggests that a third statue base, giving only Eurydice's name and patronymic, was the base of a portrait statue. She also believes that the statue formed part of a dynastic group, identical to that of the Philippeum, and that this group was once placed in what some have considered the ἡρῷον associated with the Great Tumulus.

35. Ginouvès 1994, 38 thinks both male and female heads were chthonic deities. While the two male heads show some individual traits, the two female heads are very general and nearly identical.

36. Although Andronicos (1984, 129–31) considered at least some of the small heads portraits, including, perhaps, Olympias, even he stepped back from a certain identification of Alexander's mother, and Smith's doubts that any of the heads are female, let alone portraits (1988, 62–63) are persuasive.

37. The statue base, inscribed with the name of Thessalonice, a patronymic, and the title βασίλισσα (*IG* 10.2.1, no. 277) is dated to the second or third century C.E. Vickers 1972, p. 166, n. 1, mentions a female statue found in her eponymous city that he believed might have represented either her or merely Tyche.

38. Le Bohec 1993, 239 suggested that Antigonus Gonatas would have included statues of his ancestresses among those of his ancestors in his dynastic monument at Delos. The narrow public presentation of monarchy in Antigonid times, a topic I shall pursue at length elsewhere, would not necessitate their inclusion.

The inclusion of the women in the statue group was probably shocking at the time the Philippeum was built, both because public images of women were so rare and because their presence demonstrated how different from the world of the polis was the δυναστεία (power, lordship, sovereignty) of a family. The triumph of the royal clan over the city state was made concrete or, rather, chryselephantine. Greeks often objected to monarchy because of the role royal women played, or were supposed to play, in it. Philip's household had been the source of much scandal (Plut. *Mor.* 179c). The Philippeum, however, made no apologies; it flaunted the importance of royal women.

The relationship between image and cult is complex and critical.[39] Greek writers often referred to the statue as the person (e.g., Pausanias at both 5.17.4 and 5.20.10 speaks not of statues of Olympias, etc., but of Olympias or Amyntas, and uses the term εἰκών [image] only when he must refer to the material of which the image is made), and Greek practice often failed to make a firm distinction between the image and that of which it was an image, a phenomenon particularly observable about cult statues.[40] Ancient writers often associated both the size of a statue and the material of its fabrication with divinity. Yet I do not believe, as some do,[41] that when we try to understand the power that statues like those in the Philippeum exercised over those who saw them, the multiplicity of images in our own culture blinds us to their impact.

Such views exaggerate the differences between our perceptions and those of the people of the ancient world by arbitrarily attributing to us a degree of sophistication about physical images that many of us demonstrably do not possess. Although the erection of portrait statues is now comparatively rare, people today continue to transform monuments, even those without images of human figures, from mere representations to the thing itself.[42] The behavior of those who visit the Viet Nam War memorial in Washington, D.C. demonstrates a process not unlike that which made one refer not to a statue of Aphrodite but to Aphrodite. The base of the monument is strewn with personal mementos, offerings, and notes. One writes letters of remembrance to people, not to inscribed walls.

Similarly, today we are not immune to the impact of statues. The force of a life-size or somewhat larger image of a human figure is considerable. Indeed, much of the current power of the Viet Nam memorial derives from the personal engagement of those viewing it with the events and people it commemorates. The memorial groups of human figures, more recently added to the original wall of names commemorating those who died in the war and now generally considered less compelling, may become more com-

39. The discussion in this section has been influenced by the fundamental work of Gordon 1979, 5–34.

40. Clerc 1915; Gordon 1979, 7–10; Kassel 1983, 1–12; Freedberg 1989, 28–48.

41. Pollitt 1986, 19; Smith 1988, 15.

42. I can offer a personal example of the continuation of this phenomenon. My own university recently erected a piece of statuary intended to commemorate those of our graduates who had died during the second World War. For months after the monument was unveiled, small non-commercial bouquets of wild flowers were regularly placed at its base.

pelling as the viewer's distance from these events increases. In fact, these figures were added because of popular pressure for the inclusion of human figures. Anyone who has ever excused herself or himself to a store mannequin, come to feel uneasy in some indefinable way in an exhibit of modern sculpture that includes groups of human figures riding a bus or eating in a restaurant, or realized after sitting on a park bench near a statue that somehow one feels part of a group including the statue can at least begin to understand the role of statues in ancient culture.

Nor are we as indifferent to the size or material of statues as some seem to assume. The statue of Abraham Lincoln at his memorial in Washington, D.C. commands attention, yet it is hard to imagine a smaller version having the same effect. A walk through a museum displaying sizable gold images of human beings—I think, for instance, of the size and reaction of the crowds viewing the golden mask in the Tutankhamun exhibit displayed at the Metropolitan Museum in New York in the late 1970s—will tell you that most people are still overawed by life-size or larger golden images of the human form.

The links between visible wealth (of which gold remains the most universal example) and power, the sense of the viewer's loss of power, the awe generated by a larger-than-life-size human figure, and, above all, the oddly primitive power of any human-sized replication of the human figure on human beings, these are all things we may experience as well as the Greeks, if less intensely. More difficult to replicate is the setting in which statues once appeared. For the Philippeum, one must imagine those five large statues, raised enough above ordinary eye level to force the viewer to look upward,[43] seen in a half-light from the two windows on either side of the door, gleaming with gold, pale with ivory, images (at least several of them) of living individuals, and yet displayed like those of the gods.

Any life-size statue of a human figure, both because of its size and the distinction that had caused it to be set up, may have alluded to the capacity of human beings to equal the gods through their achievements.[44] Pausanias (1.40.2) distinguished an ἄγαλμα, an image that received cult, from an εἰκών, one that did not. The distinction, sometimes verbally blurred, was drawn on the basis of the treatment of the image, not the way it looked, and that treatment could change over time.[45] When images of individual

43. Cult statues were often, although not always, larger than life-size. As Gordon 1979, 14 observes, size is not a trivial issue; larger-than-life-size statues indicated the "otherness," the non-humanness of the gods. It is impossible to tell exactly how large the images in the Philippeum were. Zschietzschmann 1944, p. 51, n. 1 supposes that the statues in the Philippeum were not larger than life-size, apparently because of the comparatively modest size of the statue base, substantial parts of which survive. (Each of the separate supporting bases measures roughly .8 meters across.) Whereas Gardner 1925, 133 lists the height of the base as 1.92 meters, a height that would certainly have forced the viewer to look upwards at quite an angle and hardly implies that the statues it supported were small, Schleif 1944, 21, esp. pl. 17, seems to suggest a height of about .914 meters. Even this lower height, granted the comparatively small size of the building, would have forced the viewer to look sharply upward and could surely have supported life-size or nearly life-size figures.

44. Gordon 1979, 14.

45. Nock 1930, 53–54. Nock cites an example from Egypt of an εἰκών receiving cult. Smith 1988, 15–16 notes that our understanding of this distinction depends on inscriptions. Ἄγαλμα continued to apply only to cult statues, but εἰκών could be used of either cult or honorific statues.

women, royal and otherwise, began to be found among statues in public places around the Greek world, Greeks must have had to make a considerable adjustment.[46]

Having attempted to recognize the critical role of statues in the early stages of cult, I shall now return to my task of establishing the early development of cult for women. The next evidence we have about women and cult relates to one of the women depicted in the Philippeum, Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great. Plutarch (*Alex.* 3.2) cites Eratosthenes for the idea that Olympias herself first told Alexander of his divine sonship and other sources for the view that she rejected the notion. Despite this dubious anecdotal material, Alexander's belief in his divine sonship was clearly his own. Olympias was not with him at Siwah. Moreover, she risked more by implying that anyone other than Philip was Alexander's father than did Alexander, at least after his victories.

Alexander may have intended to deify Olympias after her death. Curtius has Alexander state this intention as part of a speech made after his wound among the Malli (9.6.26). Curtius also refers to this intention when summing up Alexander's character after his death (10.5.30). No other source mentions this possibility. Curtius' statements could easily have been anachronistic, derived from Roman practice about some Roman empresses but there is nothing innately implausible about the two passages. Alexander had already claimed that Zeus Ammon was his father and was soon to receive divine honors himself. A deified mother would seem an appropriate match for a divine father.[47]

Better, more contemporary evidence survives for cult worship for a woman during the last years of Alexander's reign. The evidence has to do with Alexander's controversial treasurer Harpalus and involves his idiosyncratic and perhaps bizarre relationships with ἑταῖραι, not royal women. If elements similar to those in the stories about Harpalus and cult for women did not recur in other places, about other women, one would tend to attribute these stories to his erratic character (or perhaps to hostile tradition about him).[48]

Most of this information about Harpalus, cult, ἑταῖραι, and royal women comes from a long passage in Athenaeus that preserves fragments of several roughly contemporary writers and seems to refer to circa 324 (Ath. 595a–596b).[49] Athenaeus cites Theopompus' *Letter to Alexander* for complaints

46. Because of the absence of evidence for Macedonia proper and because of the scarcity of identified images of royal women from anywhere in the Hellenistic world (Smith 1988, 43–48), I shall not attempt to trace the development of this custom further. Images of royal males on Macedonian coins were a rarity and none survive of royal women, but in Ptolemaic Egypt, royal women did appear on coins as early as 309 (Kahrstedt 1910, 261–314 and Koch 1923, 67–106).

47. Macurdy 1932, 34; Hammond 1980, 473–76 accepted the truth of Curtius' statements, but not on plausible grounds. Curtius' assertion could, nonetheless, be correct.

48. Jaschinski 1981, 23, argues that Harpalus' treatment of the courtesans, including cult, would have been read as treason, particularly because he had these women treated like queens. The implication seems to be that he was using these notorious ἑταῖραι as part of his public image as counter-king at Babylon.

49. The dating depends on Athenaeus' reference to a satyr play called the *Agen,* performed at Alexander's court sometime between 326 and summer of 324. On the dating, see discussion and references in Flower 1997, p. 260, n. 19.

about Harpalus' splendid funerary monuments at Athens and Babylon to an ἑταίρα named Pythionice. She had died in Babylon, and Theopompus says Harpalus had constructed for her a ἱερόν (temple), a τέμενος (sacred precinct), and a βωμός (altar) under the name of Pythionice Aphrodite (Ath. 595 a–c).[50] Thus, Harpalus' private cult to Pythionice apparently was, like that Alexander supposedly contemplated for Olympias, posthumous. Athenaeus then quotes a passage from Philemon's *Babylonians,* which, in reference to Pythionice and Harpalus, seems to term the courtesan βασίλισσα (royal woman) of Babylon (Ath. 595 c–d).

Athenaeus turns again to Theopompus for the information that Harpalus put up a bronze image of Glycera (an ἑταίρα Harpalus brought out after the death of Pythionice), had her live in the royal residence with him at Tarsus, permitted her to receive προσκύνησις (obeisance) from the people, to be hailed as βασίλισσα, and to receive other gifts which, in Theopompus' view, would have been suitable for Alexander's mother or wife.[51] Athenaeus then remarks that similar tales were preserved in another play produced after Harpalus had fled from Alexander (595d–596b).

While the cult Harpalus established was clearly only his own doing,[52] he was the first of many to associate a mortal woman with Aphrodite in cult. Some of these women, as we shall see, were, like Glycera, ἑταῖραι, but some were royal women. The juxtaposition of the role of the ἑταίρα with that of royal women that is demonstrated in the Athenaeus passages seems shocking to us, and yet it too will reappear.

Both royal men and royal women began to receive cult in their lifetimes before either men or women used a royal title. Phila, wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes received cult at Athens around 307, about the time her husband and father-in-law did.[53] Once more the evidence is preserved in Athenaeus. Athenaeus reports that in a play of Alexis, a character drinks a toast with a libation to the θεοὶ σωτῆρες (the savior gods), Antigonus and Demetrius,

50. Paus. 1.37.5 also speaks of an especially large and beautiful tomb of Pythionice in Attica. Flower 1997, 269 suggests that the tomb was also the temple. Lane Fox 1974, 439, 545 and 1986, 118, followed by Flower 1997, 258–62 believes that this passage offers proof that Alexander received lifetime divine honors since he understands Ath. 595c, τὰς σὰς τιμὰς προπηλακίζειν ἐπιχειρῶν to refer to the insulting of honors Alexander has received (see Flower 1997, p. 259, n. 16). Since Pythionice had cult honors, Lane Fox and Flower conclude that the passage refers to these cult honors.

51. Flower 1997, 261 argues that this passage means that Olympias and Roxane could appropriately receive both προσκύνησις and the title βασίλισσα, Roxane as wife of the king of Asia and Olympias as the mother of a god. I am not persuaded by this argument, particularly because of Alexander's past failed attempt to impose the performance of προσκύνησις on his Greek and Macedonian courtiers and because of evidence that Olympias did not use a title (see Carney 1991, 158). I have no doubt that the anecdote dates to the period of Harpalus but that does not mean that it is true; he was an extremely controversial figure (see Carney 1991, p. 167, n. 27).

52. The suggestion of Flower 1997, 260 that the Athenians may have had a civic cult for her and that this cult may have been a model for those Athenian cults to Demetrius Poliorcetes' courtesans as Lamia or Leaenea Aphrodite (see below) is implausible. The change in mind-set and cult practice in Greek cities after the death of Alexander was dramatic. Moreover, Harpalus' role in Athens was hardly parallel to that of Demetrius.

53. Cerfaux and Tondriau 1957, 173–84; Habicht 1970, 260–62; Scott 1928, 137–66 and 217–39; Ferguson 1911, 107–43. The first cult directed to any of Alexander's Successors, the city cult for Antigonus and Demetrius at Scepsis, dates to 311 (*OGI* 6).

and to Phila Aphrodite (Ath. 254a).[54] Athenaeus says his source was Dionysius, son of Tryphon, for the information that Adimantus of Lampsacus set up a building with an ἄγαλμα of Phila Aphrodite at Thria in Attica and that the place was called the Philaeum after Phila, wife of Demetrius (Ath. 255c). Adimantus' cult may have been private, but the context of Athenaeus' description of the cult to Phila Aphrodite referred to in the toast, a long passage lamenting the decline of the Athenian populace into toadying subservience to powerful men, strongly suggests that he is referring to a city cult to Phila.

The Athenians also put up temples to two ἑταῖραι of Demetrius, shrines to Leaenea Aphrodite and Lamia Aphrodite, according to Demochares (Ath. 253 a), and the Thebans also built a ναός (temple) to Aphrodite Lamia, hoping, according to Polemon, to flatter Demetrius (Ath. 253b). Since Athenaeus says that the Thebans and Athenians instituted these cults, one must conclude that all these cults to Demetrius' ἑταῖραι were civic. Dating the cults of these ἑταῖραι is more difficult than dating that of Phila because of the lack of apparent chronological context in the passage. They could have been established in the same period as Phila's or they could have begun somewhat later, circa 304–303, when Demetrius' activities in the Parthenon with some of these same ἑταῖραι were particularly notorious (Plut. *Demetr.* 23–24).

The Athenians instituted cults to Demetrius and sometimes to his father in gratefulness for Demetrius' salvation of Athens. Cult for Demetrius and his father took various forms in various periods, sometimes associating the men with major gods, as with Phila and the ἑταῖραι, and sometimes not. The cult of Antigonus and Demetrius was (if we make use of Price's interpretation) a way for the Athenians to recognize and integrate the power of the Antigonids into the existing polis structure, a way of conceptualizing their power. This interpretation would also explain the apparent civic cult for Phila. Before the advent of the Macedonian kings, women had not had public power in Greek cities, but now they did, and this power too had to be integrated.[55]

A certain Stratonice received a τέμενος from the Delians around 300 (*IG* 11.4.415). She was probably the daughter of Poliorcetes,[56] married about this time to Seleucus Nicator, and long a patron at Delos and the recipient of cult elsewhere (e.g., a civic cult at Smyrna, as Aphrodite Stratonice, *OGI* 228, 229; *SIG* 575, 990). Her daughter Phila, wife of Antigonus Gonatas,

54. The date of Phila's cult is somewhat less certain than that of her husband and father-in-law, but the information cited in Athenaeus implies a period between 307 and 305: the toast associates her identification with the cult of the θεοὶ σωτῆρες and thus with the period between Demetrius' salvation of Athens and his departure for his victorious campaign against Ptolemy. The Alexis quotation also suggests a date no later than 305. It is usually assumed that the temple and ἄγαλμα date to the same period. Scott 1928, 152–53; Ferguson 1911, p. 114, n. 7; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1957, 176; Green 1990, 49.

55. Fraser 1972, 1:246 says that it is likely that the Ptolemaic assimilations of royal women to divinities created a more genuine feeling of the effective divinity of queens and ruling houses than direct worship of individuals did. See below on why ἑταῖραι as well as royal wives were included in cult and why both kinds of women were associated with Aphrodite.

56. See Habicht 1970, 61. Billows 1990, p. 235, n.118, however, suggests that the inscription may, instead, refer to Antigonus' mother.

also received a civic cult, at Samos.[57] In traditional Macedonia proper, there was no dynastic cult for male or female Antigonids, although city cults for kings did exist (e.g., Cassander's at Cassandrea: *SIG* 332).[58] Currently no evidence demonstrates the existence of civic cult in Macedonia for a royal woman.[59]

In Egypt, the Ptolemies, rather than simply receiving cult from Greek cities, began to generate their own, ultimately a dynastic cult involving Alexander and all the Ptolemaic rulers. Berenice, wife of Ptolemy I, received cult with her husband as one of the θεοὶ σωτῆρες;[60] she may have received cult in association with Aphrodite in her lifetime, and was associated with the goddess after her death.[61] Her daughter Arsinoe received cult in her own lifetime as one of the θεοὶ ἀδελφοί (sibling gods) and may have had an individual cult in her lifetime as well.[62] Arsinoe was associated with Aphrodite,[63] as were many later Ptolemaic queens. In Egypt, of course, connections between royal women and Aphrodite in cult often, although not always, involved connection to Isis as well.[64] In Ptolemaic Egypt we once more find cult for a royal wife and for an ἑταίρα (courtesan), and that both cults associated the women with Aphrodite. The Alexandrians established a ναός and ἱερά for Bilistiche, an ἑταίρα of Ptolemy Philadelphus, as Aphrodite Bilistiche, apparently in her lifetime (Plut. *Mor.* 753e–f).[65]

Thus my survey of the initial development of cultic honors for women in the Greek world suggests that it began at the end of the fourth century

57. See Le Bohec 1993, p. 237, n. 64 for discussion and references.

58. There were cults for Lysimachus at Priene, Samothrace, and Cassandrea, all set up in the 280s: see Walbank 1984, p. 92, n. 105.

59. Obviously, it is possible that evidence for such cults may one day appear. Thessalonice, for instance, may have received cult in the city named after her.

60. See Fraser 1972, 1:367–68, 373.

61. See Gutzwiller 1992, pp. 363–65, esp. n. 20, on the evidence for Berenice I's lifetime identification with Aphrodite. The evidence includes an epigram stressing the resemblance between Berenice (it is not clear, although likely, that the Berenice referred to is Berenice I: see Cameron 1990, 294–95) and Aphrodite (*Anth.Pal.* 12.77) as well as Theoc. *Id.* 17.51–52, which says that Aphrodite saved Berenice from the afterworld and placed her in the same temple with the goddess. Gutzwiller 1992, p. 365, n. 20, concedes that Arsinoe II may have "projected" her own connection to Aphrodite back to her mother. See discussions in Tondriau 1948b, 2–3 and 1948a, 14; Fraser 1972, 1:197; and below.

62. Gryzbek 1990, 103–12 now dates the death of Arsinoe Philadelphus to 268 instead of the date previously generally accepted, 270. If his date is accepted (Gutzwiller 1992, 365), then her individual cult as Arsinoe Philadelphus would also have been established in her lifetime. Arsinoe's cult in association with Aphrodite at Zephyrium (see n. 63 below) may also have begun in her lifetime; so Neumer-Pfau 1982, 57; Gutzwiller 1992, 365.

63. Callicrates erected a shrine to her as Arsinoe-Aphrodite Zephyritis. Arsinoe patronized the Adonia (Theoc. *Id.* 15.22–24; Fraser 1972, 1:197, 239–40; Pomeroy 1984, 30). Fraser suggests that Arsinoe herself was responsible for the popularity of Aphrodite. Later Ptolemaic royal women were associated with Aphrodite (Fraser 1972, 1:239).

64. While Aphrodite and Isis were closely identified in the Hellenistic world (Fraser 1972, 1:198), in Ptolemaic times Aphrodite was sometimes identified with Hathor (Fraser 1972, 1:197), and Isis was, as early as Herodotus, sometimes associated with Demeter (Fraser 1972, 1:259). Moreover, in later periods, Isis and Hathor were often merged (Heyob 1975, 43). Granted that from early in the pharaonic period, Egyptian queens were often shown with the attributes of various female deities (Robins 1993, 23–25) and that the goddesses Hathor and Isis were closely associated in the pharaonic period (see further Quirke 1992; Shafer 1991), the Ptolemaic association of Isis and Aphrodite with cult for various royal women may have developed not so much from the identification of the two goddesses as from the Ptolemaic need to serve two monarchic traditions, the pharaonic, which associated royal women with Isis (as well as with many other Egyptian deities), and the much more recent Macedonian tradition, which connected royal women and Aphrodite.

65. Fraser 1972, 1:240 and n. 401.

with the association of royal wives and royal ἑταῖραι with Aphrodite in both civic and private cult, and then, as rulers themselves began to generate cults in the third century, became part of those as well. While the Philippeum was not the site of a dynastic cult, its nature suggests the kind of understanding of royal power as dynastic that would ultimately lead to dynastic cult. Although the first cult of a woman we know of was posthumous, living women began to receive civic cult before the end of the fourth century. The kings' ἑταῖραι in this early period were, as we have seen, nearly as likely to receive cult as were their wives. Being the wife of a man titled βασιλεύς (king) cannot have been the only reason women received cult: Demetrius' wife, Phila, received cult before her husband took the title βασιλεύς, and kings' ἑταῖραι received cult recognition although not married to a king.

Let us consider the implications and motivation of the early and persistent association of women with Aphrodite in civic and private cult. In the fragments preserved in Athenaeus and in inscriptions recording these cults, the name of the mortal woman and the name of the goddess are simply juxtaposed (indeed, Fraser terms this form of relationship between goddess and royal woman "identity by juxtaposition"[66]), more often, but not always, with the goddess' name coming first. It is a practice much more common for royal women than royal men[67] and is commonly referred to as "assimilation" or "identification"—"symbiosis" is a better choice[68]—but what it means has not been much discussed and is not very clear.[69] Is there any significance in whether the goddess or the mortal comes first?[70] Are we talking about Phila as Aphrodite or Aphrodite as Phila? The parallel would seem to be to the various sub-cults of major deities, e.g., Hera *Basilea*. The usage presupposes a manifestation of divine in mortal form, but the nature of the manifestation is vague. The power of royal women was equally undefined, however real.[71]

There has been no lengthy analysis of the reasons for associating royal women and Aphrodite in cult that has directly addressed not only Ptolemaic

66. Fraser 1972, 1:245. He can find no instance of this form after the third century.

67. Fraser 1972, 1:236 makes this point about the Ptolemies but it would appear to apply more generally.

68. Préaux 1978, 252.

69. Havelock 1995, 128 suggests that those who identified themselves with divinities claimed kinship with them and with it their power, but notes that such people did not claim to be reincarnations of the deity as some rulers did in late Hellenistic times. She points out that Arsinoe, for instance, was not represented as Aphrodite, at least so far as we know. Fraser 1972, 1:245 remarks that it is difficult to speak about the issue with certainty since we know about assimilation only from documents that refer to it without explaining it. He adds that such identifications must have carried with them absorption of attributes, and concludes that assimilation is a form of syncretism.

70. The passages cited all refer to the goddess' name and the individual's in the same case, whereas the inscription from Eresus (Tod 191, 5–6) uses a phrase that one might translate either "altars of Zeus to Philip" or "altars to Philip of Zeus." Badian 1996, 13 insists that this is a cult of "Philip's Zeus"—Zeus as Philip's protector—not Philip as Zeus, and castigates Bosworth 1988, 281 for his differing understanding of the meaning of the passage about the Eresus cult. In fact, Bosworth 1988, 281 seems closer to the messy ambiguity of the phrasing of the inscription when he says, "The precise meaning of this act cannot be recovered, but it seems certain that Philip was deeply associated in the cult of Zeus, and the sacrifices made to Zeus were also in a sense offered to Philip."

71. Nock 1928, 21–42, recognizes the ambiguity of this aspect of ruler cult. Smith 1988, 44, warns against limiting the meaning and therefore the ambiguity of constructs like "Phila Aphrodite."

examples but the earlier, non-Egyptian examples from the fourth century.[72] Some earlier explanations of the phenomenon of cultic association with Aphrodite have dealt only with Ptolemaic Egypt[73] and found specifically Ptolemaic explanations: Ptolemaic control of Cyprus; Ptolemaic interest in sea power (in association with Aphrodite's role, as at Zephyrium, as a protector of seafarers); assimilation of Ptolemaic kings to Dionysus; emphasis on the personal, sexual relationship of the early Ptolemaic wives with their husbands.[74] One must also recall the long pharaonic tradition associating king's wives with Hathor and, to some degree, with Isis.

More general explanations of assimilation to Aphrodite have also been offered. Some have seen assimilation of royal women to Aphrodite as flattery directed at the woman and her husband and primarily related to the woman's beauty; such an explanation would, at best, apply only to cults initiated by cities or individuals, not by rulers themselves.[75] Moreover, this interpretation effectively trivializes beauty and fails to recognize to what degree "beauty is essentially a manifestation of power."[76] Athenaeus, for instance, associates female and male beauty with power, divinity, and monarchy. Athenaeus actually says (566c): τὸ κάλλος βασιλείας οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν ("beauty is related to rule or dominion").

Neumer-Pfau theorized that Aphrodite was a model for all women in the Hellenistic period and thus the most appropriate choice for assimilation by royal women.[77] Fraser suggested that the assimilation and identification of Ptolemaic queens with various deities (not just Aphrodite) was part of the

72. Tondriau 1948c, 40, 44 mentions both non-Ptolemaic and Ptolemaic examples, but his analysis is not rigorous since he simply assumes that the natural choice of goddess for queens to be assimilated to was Aphrodite. Robert 1966, 192–210 and Fraser 1972, 1:236–59 refer only to Arsinoe II Philadelphus (Robert) or to the Ptolemies, although some of their suggestions have implications for non-Ptolemaic cults. Pomeroy 1984, 30 states that "no binding precedents" existed for royal women as did the cult of Alexander for royal men. While I would agree that the cults to Phila and Demetrius' ἑταῖραι in association with Aphrodite can hardly be considered as precedent-setting as Alexander's was for male Ptolemies, Pomeroy's subsequent discussion of the development of various kinds of female cult under Arsinoe II leaves the impression, possibly unintentionally, that there were no earlier precedents at all. See now Mirón Pérez 1998b, 230–35.

73. Pomeroy 1984, 30–38, provides a useful general discussion of the choice of Aphrodite. She refers to the Cypriote connection (as does Fraser 1972, 1:197), to Aphrodite as patroness of the sea (see also Robert 1966, 200–208), and to her past role in cult as a marriage goddess. The last explanation will prove the one most relevant to non-Ptolemaic assimilations to Aphrodite.

74. Gutzwiller 1992, 363–68, while following Pomeroy 1984, 30–38, emphasizes the sexual aspect of the equation, the "power of erotic persuasion over the king" also shown by deification of the king's ἑταῖραι. (Mirón Pérez 1998b, 230–35 reaches a similar conclusion, apparently unaware of Gutzwiller's work.) See also Roy 1998, 119. Gutzwiller suggests that the emphasis on shared affection in marriage and its promotion through assimilation to Aphrodite may have been politically helpful for Berenice I and her daughter because the marriage of each was in some degree controversial. Griffiths 1981, 247–73 argues that Arsinoe II used her sponsorship of Aphrodite to create acceptance of her own power as well as to maintain the social status quo. See also Havelock 1995, 127.

75. Tondriau 1948a, 12–13 speaks of flattery, particularly of a woman's real or supposed beauty, taken as a token of her divinization. But as Tondriau himself concedes (1956, 20–21), beauty is more prominent in literary references to deification than in cult. Mirón Pérez 1998b, 230–35 considers beauty a more important motivation of female deification than I do, but she puts beauty in the general context of cult as recognition of the erotic power of women over men, a much more plausible view than that of Tondriau.

76. Loraux 1992, 20; see n. 75 above.

77. Neumer-Pfau 1982, 55–60. The thesis lacks a strong evidentiary basis, partly because it is so broad as to be by nature unprovable. The idea that the model for queens derived from a general societal model (the reverse, in a sense, of Pomeroy's view [1984, 40] that queens provided the societal model) is made problematic by the difficulty of relating the role of royal women to that of ordinary women.

general Hellenistic phenomenon of syncretism and that identification "created a more genuine feeling of the effective divinity of the queens, and of the ruling house as a whole, than the direct worship of individuals."[78] Let us see how well these suggestions may apply to earlier, non-Ptolemaic assimilations of women to Aphrodite, particularly women associated with kings.

The choice of Aphrodite as the deity to be assimilated has been treated as an inevitability.[79] Why are both royal wives and courtesans connected to Aphrodite? Why are not the wives, at least, associated with Hera instead? Both goddesses had responsibilities for marriage, yet Hera was queen of the gods and consort of the king, Zeus, and, in some places, received cult with him in that role.[80] Assimilation of royal wives to Hera is not, however, common.[81] The answer to the question I have posed relates to the traditional personality of Hera, particularly in Homer. Although I would not dispute the general view that Greek gods should be understood primarily as powers, not persons,[82] in terms of the assimilation of human beings with already existing divinities, the "personality" of the god or goddess probably matters more than the various cults of the deity since the association of the human and divine individuals functions as a way to understand and explain the power of the human being. Hera's personality was probably perceived as either too threatening or too unpleasant to make her a likely choice for association of a mortal with a divinity.

A passage about Pericles' famous mistress Aspasia hints at one reason why assimilation to Hera was rare. Plutarch, clearly incensed at Aspasia's political influence over Pericles despite what he considers her sexual disreputableness, notes that she was called the new Omphale, the new Deianira, and (the new) Hera and quotes a line from Cratinus in which she is assimilated to Hera, clearly with negative intent (*Per.* 24.6). The references to Omphale and Deianira are negative and threatening to male power. Omphale purchased Heracles as a slave and is said to have made him wear female dress and perform female tasks like spinning (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.3; Diod. 4.31.5–8), and Deianira, albeit unwittingly, caused the painful death of her husband Heracles.

The reference associates her with two women who interfered in male activities. It suggests that the primary frame of reference for Hera was similar, most likely epitomized by Hera's treacherous seduction of Zeus in order to

78. Fraser 1972, 1:245–46.

79. Tondriau 1948c, 40, observes that Aphrodite was "naturally" chosen as a model for assimilation and that (44) this "goddess of womanly beauty and power" was obviously the best choice. See also Taeger 1957, 1:260.

80. There is no general study of either the cult of Aphrodite or that of Hera. For Hera, see Farnell 1971, 1:179–223; Pomeroy 1975, 7–8; Burkert 1985, 131–35; O'Brien 1993. For Aphrodite, see Farnell 1971, 2:618–77; Pomeroy 1975, 6–7; Friedrich 1978; Burkert 1985, 152–56; Pirenne-Delforgé 1994. Friedrich and O'Brien concentrate on the Archaic period and on myth, not cult. Pirenne-Delforgé deals only with the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

81. Their number is modest in comparison to the many assimilations to Aphrodite. Theocritus (*Id.* 17.126–34) compares the marriage of Zeus and Hera to the marriage of Ptolemy Philadelphus and his sister, thereby justifying it. Arsinoe took Hera's cult names of "Basileia" and "Teleia" (Fraser 1972, 237–38). Apollonis, wife of Attalus I, was σύνναος (shared a temple) with Hera Basileia at Pergamum (Préaux 1978, 254). Cults to Hera were generally less widespread than those to Aphrodite (Farnell 1971, 179, 618; Fraser 1972, 1:194–95; Parke 1977; and Simon 1983).

82. See discussion and references in Loraux 1992, 25.

get her own political way, as shown in *Iliad* 14.153–353. In myth and cult Hera is portrayed as having royal authority. She sits on a golden throne and wields a scepter. She offers to Paris as bribe her particular gift, royal power. Aspasia is linked to Hera because of her political influence and the perception of that influence as sinister interference, doubtless the consequence of her sexual power over Pericles.

The male Successors tended to prefer assimilation to Dionysus, an eastern conqueror, to assimilation to Zeus, a hereditary ruler as they, after all, were not. Demetrius Poliorcetes was closely connected to him, as many of the Ptolemaic rulers would be. While not linked in myth, Dionysus and Aphrodite may have seemed a more appropriate pairing.[83] Possibly it seemed inappropriate to assimilate a royal woman to Hera if the ruler was not associated with Zeus. It may be that, as the fourth century went on, Hera was losing out to Aphrodite as the goddess most typically associated with marriage.[84] Even in Homer (*Il.* 5.429) Aphrodite is associated with marriage. By the Classical period in Athens, brides sacrificed to Aphrodite and may have dressed in her color.[85] Diodorus (5.73.2), writing in the first century B.C.E., as he describes the special powers of each god, allots brides and marriage and its ceremonies to Aphrodite. Aside from the fact that cults of Aphrodite were more widespread than those of Hera, other factors aided in the dominance of Aphrodite as the fourth century ended and the Hellenistic period began. The patronage of the Ptolemies, especially that of Arsinoe II, increased the popularity of the cult of Aphrodite. Social changes, beginning in the fourth century, made private life more important than previously. The development of romantic comedy and romantic love is suggestive, as is the sense that Hera's "personality" made her an inappropriate goddess of marriage.[86]

None of this is sufficient explanation for the association of royal women with Aphrodite in city and dynastic cult. If Hera was not acceptable, why was the choice for assimilation Aphrodite instead of, say, Demeter? We should look for explanations having to do not with typicality but with royal power. With Aphrodite too, we should pay attention to the "personality" of the goddess in Homer and later literature (although both her cults and literary persona do vary),[87] as well as to powers attributed to her.

Aphrodite is, from the point of view of political power, much less threatening than Hera. When she dares to interfere in battle, she is humiliated by

83. On the tendency to associate Demetrius with Dionysus, see Cerfaux and Tondriau 1957, 180, who suggest that the same tendency may be true of his father. Scott 1928, 222–35 suggests that the Dionysus/Aphrodite equation relating to Demetrius and various of the women associated with him may have been the prototype for the Ptolemies. On associating male rulers with Dionysus and royal women with Aphrodite, see Tondriau 1948c, 35; Smith 1988, 37–38.

84. Savalli-Lestrade 1994, 426 seems to imply this by claiming that assimilations of royal women to Aphrodite unified the private role of the woman as wife with the public role of patroness of citizens.

85. See discussion and references in Oakley and Sinos 1993, 11–16, 31 who point out that Aphrodite and Eros are common figures on Athenian wedding vases. For references to wedding sacrifices to Aphrodite, see Paus. 2.34.12, 3.13.9, *Anth. Pal.* 6.318.

86. See Neumer-Pfau 1982, p. 56, n. 289.

87. Even in literature, as Loraux 1992, 17 rightly observes, Aphrodite had powers and character other than the erotic.

a mortal and very clearly told that it is not her sphere of action (*Il.* 5.311–430). In Homer she can be comic, or at least amusing (*Od.* 8.266–366). The sea-born goddess was long associated with the sea and the preservation of seafarers; clearly Arsinoe's cult as Aphrodite at Zephyrium fits this tradition and conforms to Ptolemaic naval ambitions,[88] but the marine connections of Aphrodite certainly do not make sense for many of the examples of assimilation I have noted.[89] On the other hand, Aphrodite's best known power, sexual desire, can be frightening indeed; one thinks of the old men of Troy looking at Aphrodite's pawn, Helen (*Il.* 3.156–60), or the scene in which Aphrodite compels an unwilling Helen to go to bed with Paris (*Il.* 3.373–420).[90] When she is associated with marriage, it is most often with the sexual aspect of marriage. Through marriage Aphrodite tamed the sexual voracity of women and became a stabilizing force.[91] Her association with ἑταῖραι is obvious. In Corinth and Cyprus her cult was somehow associated with prostitution (Ath. 573c–d). She was often seen as the special protector of courtesans and received cult as Aphrodite Hetairia (Ath. 571c–e, 573c–d). Her very name was the way Greeks referred to the sexual act. Aphrodite *was* sex.

Whatever explanation we offer must account for the repeated pattern of the assimilation of both royal wives and prostitutes to Aphrodite. Whereas one can relate Aphrodite's power as a goddess of the sea to only a few of the cults in which royal women are assimilated to her (only one involves an explicit connection)[92] and no obvious connection exists that would tie Aphrodite's marine powers to royal ἑταῖραι, there is one obvious thing that both kinds of women have in common: both Lamia and Phila, for instance, had a sexual relationship with the same man, a man who was receiving cult in Athens and other places. Although Aphrodite's role as a sea goddess may be

88. On Aphrodite as a marine goddess, see Farnell 1971, 636–41; Pirenne-Delforgé 1994, 433–39, who contrasts Aphrodite's power to sooth or quiet the sea with Poseidon's powers over the sea, powers he often used to upset the oceans. Aphrodite had numerous cults on the sea shore and in harbors. On the Arsinoe cult at Zephyrium and Arsinoe's association with the marine aspects of Aphrodite, see Robert 1966, 200–208 and Fraser 1972, 1:245.

89. Granted Demetrius' role as a naval leader, it is possible that Phila's identification with Aphrodite related to the maritime aspects of the goddess' cults; Athenaeus 253c does say that the Athenians hymned that Demetrius was born of Poseidon and Aphrodite. It is more difficult to connect ἑταῖραι to naval power. Harpalus' courtesans had nothing to do with the sea, and the two Stratonices and the second Phila do not obviously relate to naval power. Certainly, only Arsinoe's cult at Zephyrium is explicitly so connected. Granted that the various assimilations of royal women and courtesans to Aphrodite seem to have a great deal to do with accessibility (see pp. 39–40 below), perhaps Aphrodite's role as a protector at sea, as the accessible deity who can intervene to preserve the individual, is a part of this more general role the cults to royal women played.

90. A story told about Phryne's trial at Athens (Ath. 590e–f) suggests that this sense of the powers of Aphrodite continued to be understood as frightening in some ways. (The story is probably a fiction [see Cooper 1995, 303–18], but it is the fact that it was told that signifies.) When it looked as though Phryne might lose, her defender Hyperides laid bare her bosom as he finished his emotional speech. According to the story, this made the jurors experience fear of the gods because of this servant and interpreter of Aphrodite, and so they spared her.

91. Vatin 1970, 42–43, 54.

92. Robert 1966, 198 suggests that *P Oxy.* 27 1962 offers good evidence that sacred law self-consciously distinguished (according to which sacrificial animals were accepted and which prohibited) the cult of Arsinoe associated with the marine aspects of Aphrodite from those cults associated with her more sexual aspects.

relevant to some of the assimilation cults where this aspect of the goddess' power is not explicitly attested, it cannot be coincidence that both courtesans and wives, sometimes of the same king, are assimilated to Aphrodite. They must have been understood to share the same powers. In literature, assimilation to Aphrodite may indeed be linked in part to beauty, but in cult, sexuality is the more frequent term of reference. In Greek myth people (particularly women) who have sexual relationships with gods are somehow transformed by the experience; in a number of cases they were deified.[93] Both royal wives and royal courtesans had power, recognized by cult, because of their sexual influence over godlike royal men. For mortal men, having sexual relations with Aphrodite, although prestigious, was risky.[94] That kings had sexual partners linked to Aphrodite obviously spoke to their own deified status. Associating their sexual partners with deities may have made men feel or think they looked more powerful; Greek cities clearly thought they would be pleased. If, as has been surmised, Arsinoe II herself helped to shape her association with Aphrodite in cult,[95] then this identification was one that appealed to royal women as well as royal men.[96]

Both royal courtesans and royal wives were public figures in a way that ordinary Greek women could never be, even in the somewhat more relaxed fourth-century and Hellenistic periods.[97] The images of both royal wives and ἑταῖραι appeared in the public places of Greek cities and the great panhellenic shrines. Both kinds of women commanded considerable wealth and might themselves fund statues, buildings, or charities. Both kinds of women were able to act, if only at times, independently. Royal wives and royal courtesans had, therefore, public power, and that power derived, ultimately, from their relationship—fundamentally sexual for both—to the kings, to the new powers that Greek cities had to cope with, develop working relationships with. To understand the women associated with the kings as Aphrodites was a way of recognizing their power (not their typicality) that was less unsettling and probably more meaningful than to understand them as Heras.

93. For instance, the sisters Ino and Semele (see Lyons 1997, 6).

94. So Loraux 1992, 21.

95. Pomeroy 1984, 30, pointing to Arsinoe's known sponsorship of the festival of Aphrodite and Adonis (Theoc. *Id.* 15.22–24), says that "She herself influenced the direction of her own dynastic cult"; see also Tondriau 1948c, p. 28, n. 31. Fraser 1972, 1:197 suggests that her mother may have preceded her as a patron of Aphrodite; Gutzwiller 1992, 363–65, agrees and believes that if Berenice herself did not initiate the identification with Aphrodite, her daughter did it for her.

96. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 47 argue that the scenes of bridal adornment (part of what they see as the growing romanticization of wedding scenes) depicted on Athenian wedding vases and intended for use by women "suggest that women of this time were not seen and did not see themselves simply as passive objects of men's manipulations, but rather as possessed of their own powerful and divinely sanctioned means of seduction." They also point (46) to similarities in scenes of brides receiving gifts to the gifts received by Aphrodite. One could suppose that royal women appreciated and even desired recognition of their grander erotic power.

97. Hawley 1993, 76 points to the great difference between the conventionally silent respectable women of Athens whose names were not even mentioned in public (see Schaps 1977, 323–30) and ἑταῖραι so notorious as to be the subject of many anecdotes in which their names are clearly assumed to be well known. The irony is that royal women also were named in public (often, like courtesans, without reference to the names of husbands or fathers [e.g., Hyp. *Pro Euxenippo* 19, 20, 24, 25]) and might even be the subject of anecdotes quite similar to those told about courtesans (see for instance Ath. 609c for an anecdote about Olympias).

The sources often criticize cults of ἑταῖραι.[98] Athenaeus and his source Theopompus (Ath. 595a–e) condemn Harpalus' cults of ἑταῖραι as showing contempt for the vengeance of the gods and for Alexander's powers. Plutarch (*Mor.* 753f) contrasts with seeming disapproval the cult to Bilistiche with her origins as a barbarian and slave. Similarly, Athenaeus puts the Athenian cults to Demetrius' courtesans in the context of extreme flattery (Ath. 252f) and treats the Theban cult of Lamia in the same fashion (Ath. 253b); he also puts the toast to Antigonus, the θεοὶ σωτῆρες, and Phila Aphrodite in the same context, flattery (Ath. 254a–b). This disapproval does not mean that these cults were generally disapproved of or even that those initiated by the kings themselves indicated their trivialization of either the ἑταίρα or the royal woman who received similar honors.[99] The statements reflect an intellectual tradition officially critical of apotheosis but also the curiously ambivalent attitude toward ἑταῖραι demonstrated by the many stories about them preserved in Athenaeus and often originating in comedy.[100] The tone of these references is difficult to capture. It combines self-satisfied moral disapproval, interest in explicit sexuality, and tacit approval of the public notoriety of these women. Ἑταῖραι were celebrities, not entirely subject to ordinary rules of conduct.

Cults to royal wives and royal ἑταῖραι, especially those instituted by people other than their husbands or lovers, had to do with power and accessibility to power. In the new Hellenistic world of rulers powerful as gods, cults for royal men helped to make them and their power accessible to the general populace, but were not enough. The cult of the women connected to these divinely powerful men made them and their power somehow yet more accessible, perhaps by highlighting their sexuality and domesticity, as the Aphrodite equation implies. The existence of these cults suggests a need to imagine power as both male and female, as is implied not only by female cult, but also by the creation of a female royal title and by other changes in the role of royal women in the Hellenistic period. Indeed, these cults for women associated with rulers form part of a collection of practices developed in the late fourth century that used royal women to help legitimize the newly emergent dynasties.[101]

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98. Pomeroy 1984, 54.

99. A possibility suggested by Pomeroy 1984, 54, although not necessarily endorsed by her.

100. See Henry 1992, 250–68; Hawley 1993, 73–91, who warns (75) that the image of the ἑταίρα is a "constructed fiction." Davidson 1997, 134 notes that scholars have had a hard time determining where ἑταῖραι fit in Greek society, partly because of the kind of ambiguous treatment they received in many sources.

101. For instance, the development of a royal title for women (Carney 1991, 154–72) and of the custom of naming cities after royal women (Carney 1988, 134–42).

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ARCHAIC GREECE AND THE VEDA

By

NICHOLAS KAZANAS

I) Introduction

Many studies by classicists (= scholars of Greek) have since the 190s (and some before) drawn attention to affinities between the archaic Greek culture and Near Eastern (NE hereafter[1]) ones in religion, mythology, poetry and arts and crafts: eg P Walcot (1966), M L West (1966, 1978, 1988, 1997a, 1997b etc.), W Burkert (1977, 1987, 1992 etc.), C Penglase (1994), orientalist S Dalley (1998) and many others. Except West, who invariably refers to early Indic sources as well, most of the others seem to be unaware of any affinities between the Greek and Indic culture and play down the fact that the Greeks who came in waves onto the shores of the Aegean (from about the middle of the third millennium down to about 1200 BC) were undoubtedly people who spoke an Indo European (IE hereafter[1]) language and therefore most probably

1 Abbreviations for languages used are : Av = Avestan; E = English; Gk = Greek; Gmc = Germanic; L = Latin; Lth = Lithuanian; Ltv = Latvian; Mcn = Mycenaean; S = Sanskrti; Sl = slavonic; V = Vedic

For economy of space are used abbreviations for some texts and books given in the Bibliography in full. Thus B with number stands for Burkert 1992 and page-number throughout; MM for Dalley 1991; GM for Graves 1960. AV is Atharvaveda and RV *Ṛgveda*; AB and ŚB are *Aitareya* and *Śatapatha* Brāhmaṇas; B Up and Ch Up are *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya* Upaniṣads; TS is *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*; MB is *Mahābhārata* and Ra *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Apart from the usual signs < 'derived from' and > 'producing' for convenience I use the sign z in the sense 'is cognate, connected with.'

IE = Indo-European; NE = Near Eastern; PIE = Proto-Indo-European.

brought with them a large amount of inherited forms pertaining to all aspects of life. A fair proportion of these forms (only few names of deities in the Mycenaean extant documents) appear in the archaic texts (Homer and Hesiod and survive as established elements in the Greek civilization of later periods. The above-mentioned classicists are certainly right in establishing Geek parallels with, and borrowings from, the NE traditions, but they are just as certainly wrong to ignore the Greek affinities with the Vedic culture and with that of other IE peoples, and ascribe – as they do – such elements also to NE influences. No doubt many elements in the Greek culture[2] derive from, or at any rate were common with, those of the Near East. Contacts between Minoan Crete and Syria and Egypt or other NE countries are in clear evidence from about the late 3rd millennium (Hood 2000) and exchanges of goods, patterns and techniques early in the second (Warren 2000 : 2-6); there may have been religious influences from Egypt c 1990 (Carinci 2000 : 32-4) and certainly soon after the Egyptian hippopotamusgoddess Taweret was adopted in Crete with minor transformations in the extant iconography (Weingarten 2000 : 114-5, 118); undoubtedly there are similarites in cult much ealier between Minoans and Anatolians (Çatal Hüyük) due to contacts, exchanges, perhaps even migrations from Anatolia (Dietrich 1974 ; chapters 1,2). Such contacts, exchanges and transmissions continued in the Mycenaean and subsequent periods so that S Dalley can say "There was not simply one 'orientalizing' period, there were several" (1998 : 86)[3] . However, Dalley is quite probably wrong in suggesting that the art of birdangury (as attested in a Greek inscription of the 6th century) derives from Mesopotamia (1998 : 100) – the two texts quoted from Greece and Mesopotamia being quite different, anyway.[4] This kind of divination is amply attested in the very earliest Vedic culture and west of Greece, among the Celts (MacCulloch 1948 : 55-6). Now, while it is possible that this art of divination spread from Mesopotamia westward to Greece and

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2 This will hereafter indicate the archaic period, that is 8th and 7th centuries, otherwise the era will be specified as post-archaic, classical or Hellenistic. The dates given are of course BC.

3 The term 'orientalizing' is something of a misnomer. It does not really mean that Greek culture acquired 'oriental' features (except in Hellenistic times, ie after 300). Greeks borrowed much material from the Near East but in almost all instances transformed this into distinctly Greek forms. As Plato(?) wrote in *Epinomis* 989 D-E, "The Greeks render more beautiful whatever they obtain from foreigners."

4 The Greek text : "If (a particular bird) flying from right to left disappears from view, (the omen is) favourable ... If, flying from left to right, it disappears in a straight course, unfavourable." The Mesopotamian text : "If many eagles keep flying over a city, the city will be besieged."

Gaul, it is equally possible that the Celts, Greeks and Indo Aryans inherited this practice from the ProtoIndoEuropean (PIE hereafter) phase.

In this paper I trace parallels between the Greek culture and the Vedic tradition, referring to other IE peoples and using philological considerations wherever possible. Wherever we find Greek-Vedic parallels, these are very probably inherited forms, since it is unlikely that Greeks and IndoAryans had, after the dispersal of the IE Peoples in the 3rd or 4th millennium or before, contacts of any great significance. The area of Mythology has been extensively explored since the 19th century of our Era by Max Müller, Cox, Fisko, Oldenberg, Hillebrandt, et al (for a useful brief summary see Arora 1981 : 177 and n 1) and of course by many more scholars in the 20th century Dumézil, Polomé, Puhvel, et al). I do not think that the exploration of Comparative Mythology has been exhausted, nor that a full and correct evaluation of the realtionship between the different IE traditions has been established despite the various tripartite, structuralist and other approaches to this subject – and I hope to show the reason for this in the course of this discussion. I shall not examine mythological themes and motifs like the Deluge or the Four Ages (in India) or Five (in Greece), nor congnations like *Zeus/Dyaus, Ouranos/Varuṇa* etc, that have been repeatedly discussed. However, in addition to circumstantial mythological motifis, I shall examine parallels in social practices, rituals and magic, in the broadest sense of the term.[5] For instance, Cheiorn's school on

5 Indic sources used here will be mainly the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* and to a lesser extent the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and the *Nirukta*; on few occasions I have recourse to the Sūtras and the epics, *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* (*MB* and *Ra* hereafter).
The mainstream academic opinion on the dates of ancient Indian texts is that after the Aryans entered North Western India c 1500, they composed the RV c 1200-1000 (or even later), the AV c 1000, the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads c 800-600, the Sūtras 600 BC and after and the epics (in their present form) right down to c 300 CE. In the last decade of the 20th century some Sankritists in the West have raised questions and objections to the mainstream view. Prof Aklujkar (British Columbia, Canada) does not consider the dates incontestable and states "only *relative* chronology has been well argued for" (1996 : 66 and n 14); see also Feuerstein et al 1995, passim; Frawley (Director of the Vedic Institute, Santa Fe) 1992 : 25-7. Having accepted and taught the mainstream theory for some 20 years, I too abandoned it in view of the mounting evidence against it. I presented the full evidence in 'The Ṛgveda and Indo-Europeans' (1999), positing 3100 BC as the completion of the RV. Only a brief summary can be given here.
The Indo Aryans are indigenous to the Seven-river region in what is today North Pakistan and N-West India, since there is no evidence whatever for any intrusion into the area prior to c 500 BC. (Allchins 1997 : 191 , 222; Shaffer and Lichtenstein 1995 : 135). The RV

(Continued on the next page)

mount Pelion where many heroes like Achilles received their education sounds very much like an old Druidic or Vedic school (today known as 'ashram' < l *āśrama*) where the tradition was oral; very different were the NE traditions of education and learning where writing was predominant and the teaching, apart from the master-apprentice relationship in Egypt (Aldred 1984 : 192-5) and elsewhere, was conducted in schools that were royal establishments or connected to temples (Saggs 1989 : 100, 105).

II) Oral tradition (and literacy)

In my view the most important feature shared by the Indoaryans and the Greeks, ie the Mycenaeans and subsequent IE-speaking entrants, is the oral tradition. The Minoan civilization (non-IE) was literate but its few written

(Continued from p. 3)

was complete but for minor passages by 3100 when the Harappan culture begins to arise. The Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras know of town-life, large buildings, fixed altars, bricks, cotton, rice and silver-elements present in the Harappan culture but unknown in the RV. Moreover, many hymns in the RV (especially II, 41; VI, 61; VII, 95) praise the Sarasvatī river which flows mightily from the mountains to the Indian ocean, but c 2000 had become a minor stream lost in the desert, hundreds of miles before reaching the ocean. In addition, linguistic and literary evidence shows that Vedic is far older than any other IE branch, including Hittite or Avestan.

Consequently I take it that RV was composed in the 4th millennium at least, the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads early in the 3rd and some of the Sūtra texts c 2500 BC. The Rāma legend is older than the great war of the *Mahābhārata*. The core of both must have been in circulation in epic narrative in the 3rd millennium (Rāma tales much earlier) but was expanded by the bards with much additional material reaching the subsequent enormous length early in the Christian Era.

Of great significance are two articles by American historian of science A Seidenberg wherein he argues that Egyptian, Babylonian and Greek Mathematics derive from the Indic *Śulbasūtras* of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, or a work like that, dated at c 2000 BC as lower limit, thus furnishing totally independent evidence : in these he took account of the work of Neugebauer, Cantor et al (see Bibliography). Seidenberg wrote of this original work : "its mathematics was very much like what we see in the *Sulvasutras* [*śulbasūtras*]. In the first place, it was associated with ritual. Second, there was no dichotomy between number and magnitude. ... In geometry it knew the Theorem of Pythagoras and how to convert a rectangle into a square. It knew the isosceles trapeziod and how to compute its area... [and] some number theory centered on the existence of Pythagorean triplets... [and how] to compute a square root. ... The arithmetical tendencies here encountered [ie in the *Śulbasūtras*] were expanded and in connection with observations on the rectangle led to Babylonian mathematics. A contrary tendency, namely, a concern for exactness of thought ... together with a recognition that arithmetic methods are not exact, led to Pythagorean mathematics. (1978 : 329)

documents have not been deciphered as yet. Literacy was present also in the Mycenaean period, though limited to palaces and temples, and the language was IE, as revealed by the decipherement of Linear B (Ventris & Chadwick 1973). There followed 300 years of non-literacy after the destruction of the Mycenaean centres of culture from the 12th to the early 8th century (Taylour 1983 : 41), usually termed 'Dark Age' and then literacy re-emerged with the adoption by the Greeks of the Phoenician alphabet and its transformation with the introduction of written symbols for vowels and separate symbols for consonants. But it is doubtful whether the proto Greeks who first established themselves on the shores of the Aegean c 1900 were literate. The later writing is syllabic, resembling other NE types. It is safe to assume that they brought no writing with them and eventually, in the 16th or 15th century, adopted the Cypriot-Minoan mode of writing.

It is very difficult to know exactly that the proto Greeks brought with them from the PIE stock. The clay tablets discovered at Knossos and other spots on Crete and at Pylos, Mycenae and other places on the mainland (= Mycenaean Documents) are mainly inventories, containing no literature and very little information about religion. However, among sporadic references to votive offerings, some names of deities stand out, easily recognizable as IE. Thus we find **Zeus** (V *dyaus*, Ht ^{D}*Siu-s*, RM *ju*[*s*]*-piter*, Gmc *Tiwaz*); **Areimene** (V *Aryaman*, Clt *Ariomanus* in Gaul and *Eremon* in Ireland); **Iqej-a/-o,** names for a Horse-god/-goddess (Dietrich 1974 : 176, n 246 : Chadwick 1976 ; 93) connected obviously with V *Aśvin* and Clt *Epona*, a horse-deity in Gaul; **Erinus** is obviously connected with Demeter Erinys of Arcadia, rather than the dreadful Furies (Burkert 1977 : 85), and with V *Saraṇyū*;[6] a goddes **Diwija** z S *divija* 'skyborn' or S *divya* 'celestial'; Burkert gives also *Alle Götter* 'All gods' (1977 : 83) which is Mcn *pa-si te-oi* (Ventris & Chadwick, p 310) and clearly V *viśve-devāḥ* 'all gods'. Thus we have some evidence that the Mycenaeans preserved elements of their IE heritage and this through oral tradition. This tradition continued during the subsequent centuries of non-literacy; for, apart from Zeus and Erinys, the names of Hera and Athena, and several other deities re-emerged in the poetry of Homer and Hesiod in the late 8th century. (For continuity and innovation in archaic Greek religion see Dietrich 1974 : 246ff and Burkert 1977 : 99ff.)

6 The *saraṇyu/erīnus* cognation is rejected by KEWA III, 442 (as also in Frisk 1954 ff). However, since KEWA accepts the S/Gk cognations ä *sama/amo-then, sarva/holo-/**houlo**, sarpami/**herpō**, si-sarmi/**hallomai*** and ***iallō*** and sarpise/*elpos-elphos* (all in **vol** III), there can be no reason, phonetic or semantic, for the rejection of *saraṇyu/erinus* : non-initial S -a- often appears as *-i-* in Gk as in *dadāmi/didōmi*.

In the 12th century, it is thought, the Dorian tribes, another IE-speaking people, swept through northern Greece, spread and eventually some of them reached and settled in the Peloponese (Taylour 1983 : 16, 162). No writing is attested anywhere in Greece until c 800 and, when written records appeared in the 8th century, only few of the older Mycenaean cultural elements survived in the beginnings of what is regarded as the Greek civilization, culminating in the brilliance of the classical period.

It may be thought that with the advent of writing the oral tradition ceased, but this is not so. Many examples are attested down to classical times pertaining to 'esoteric' knowledge, through the teacher-disciple and father-son relationship, in religion and priestly functions, healing, divination, and the like (B 43ff). At the time of Euripides, when literacy was widespread (Murray 1993 : 100), one of the characters in *Melanippe the Wise* says "How sky and earth separated is not my tale but one from my mother" (frag 487[7]) thus showing that cosmogonic or theogonic accounts still passed from one generation to the next by word of mouth. P. Kingsley again stresses how oral transmission in esoteric cults like the Pythagoreans and others persisted into Hellenistic and even Roman times (1995 : 322 ff).

Now while classicists like Burkert link this oral transmission with diviners, healers and the like in NE cultures (B,[1] 44-5), this is a preeminent feature of early IE as well. It is attested among the Celts, as Caesar writes in *De Bello Gallico* VI, 13 : "[The Druids] are concerned with divine worship... sacrifices... ritual... Numerous young men gather round them for the sake of instruction holding them in great honour"; in ch VI, 14 he adds, "In the schools of the Druids they learn by heart a great number of verses, and therefore some persons remain twenty years under training. And they do not think it proper to commit these utterances to writing, although in almost all other matters... they make use of Greek letters." The Germanic and Baltic peoples also must have had an oral tradition, even though it is not so clearly attested, or so retentive, otherwise they would not have preserved respectively the deities *Fjorgyn* and *Perkunas*, which z Sl *Perun* (and variants) and V *Parjanya*; much of the IE common lexical stock; and IE legends, like Thor's confrontation with the serpent Midgard in the ocean (Gmc) and the songs about *Dieva Deli* (Ltv;

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7 For fragmentary works of Euripides see T B L Webster's *The Tragedies of Euripides*, London 1967.

or *Dievo Sūnelai* Lth) 'the [Sky-] god's sons' and the Sun's daughter (*Saules meita* Ltv or *Saules dukterȳs* Lth) this Baltic legend corresponding in part to the Greek *Dioskouroi* 'sons of Zeus' and Vedic *Aśvinau* who accompany *Sūryā* 'Sungod's daughter' (or *Uṣas*). It should be noted here that there is no direct parallel between the Greek and Baltic legends beyond 'skygod's lads.' The Greek legend has two pairs of twins, Castor (one Dioskouros) and Klytaemnēstra (Agamemnon's wife), and Polydeukes (second Dioskouros) and beautiful Helen (of Troy, ie Menelaus's wife) while the two Dioskouroi are expert horsemen and rescue people from shipwrecks ("Hymn to Dioskouroi' in *Loeb*, 460-2; *GM* I, 245-50); the Baltic legend has sometimes one, sometimes two or many, Skygod's sons who woo the Sun's daughter and save her from drowning (Ward 414-5; Puhvel 228-9). The link between Greek and Baltic is furnished by the Vedic lore about the Aśvin horsemen (one set of twins of Saraṇyū and Vivasvat in *RV* X, 17, 1-2 & *Nirukta* XII, 10) who are healers and rescuers (often from shipwreck) and thus are connected with Dioskouroi, and who accompany the Sungod's daughter Sūryā (and in RV VI, 60, 2, rescue abducted Uṣas, who is sometimes identified with Sūryā), and thus are connected with the Baltic heroes. Although, the Slavs and the Romans had no myth of the Divine Twins, they must have had a similar mode of oral transmission.

In the Vedic culture the oral tradition is very marked. The Vedic texts preserved much more of the PIE stock of legendry than any other IE branch. In fact no major mythological feature appears in two or more IE branches to the exclusion of the Vedic one, while, on the contrary, feature after feature appears in the Vedic lore in common with one or two other branches to the exclusion of the rest (disregarding the affinities of Vedic and Avestan since these two traditions formed a distinct branch). Thus the motif of the sacrificial dismemberement of primordial Man *Puruṣa* and the resultant cosmogony (*RV* X, 10) has a parallel in the dismemberment of giant Ymir (z V *yama*) in the Norse tradition but nowhere else; the name of Vedic Firegod *Agni* appears only as the Slavic *Ogon* (and variants) and nowhere else; the name of V artificers *Ṛbhu* is most probably cognate with Gk *Orpheus* and Gms *Elf* but has no mythological connection in the other branches; the same holds for V *Vāstoṣ-pati* and Gk *Hestia* and Rm *Vesta*; and so on. Thus the Vedic corpus seems to be a much more reliable source for PIE mythology than any other IE branch. This is all the more remarkable when one considers that the Vedic texts were transmitted for many centuries through a well organised oral tradition.

The systematic oral transmission of its voluminous sacred lore (and sacrificial ritual) is a most impressive characteristic of the Vedic tradition. The priestly caste of the brahmins guarded well the knowledge of their *śruti* (apocalyptic scriptures like the *Ṛgveda*). It was the sacred duty of certain families to transmit this knowledge from one generation to the next (Winternitz 1981 : vol I, 29-32, 51-2). When the disciples reached maturity and the teacher felt they could now proceed on their own he instructed them "learn and teach" (*Ch Up* [1] IV, 9, 3, & VI, 14, 2; *T Up* I, 9, 1ff). The teacher-disciple and inter-family father-son relationship is exemplified in the Upaniṣads : "A father may declare this [teaching about] Brahman to the eldest son or to a worthy pupil" (*Ch Up* III, 11, 5); later on (VI, 8ff) Uddālaka is presented instructing his son Śvetaketu. Already, in the *RV* itself we read of the families of Bhṛgus, Aṅgirases, Vasiṣṭhas et al, who preserved and transmitted the sacred knowledge.

III) Epic Poetry

1. "Greek literature is a Near Eastern literature" wrote West in the introduction of his edition of Hesiod's *Theogony* (1997 : 31). The statement is probably exaggerated for effect, but other scholars express a similar view in more moderate terms (B 88 ff; Dalley 1998 ; 101-3). Undoubtedly, many incidents and features from NE poetry are embedded in the Homeric epics (and other poems of the archaic period). Here, I present only a few of them to indicate this particular debt : in *Iliad* 15, 187ff Poseidon describes how the world was divided among the three sons of Rhea, the three high gods, Zeus, Hades and Podeidon himself, *by lots*, a procedure otherwise unknown in the Greek texts but present early on in the Babylonian epic *Atrahasis* (*MM* p 9); Penelope's prayer after her son Telemachus's departure in *Odyssey* 4, 759 ff, could well derive from a similar incident in the Mesopotamian epic *Gilgamesh* (Tablet III : *MM* p 65), where the hero's mother Ninsun offers a prayer after her son's departure; also in *Gilgamesh* we find that sometimes the action of a new day begins with the first light of dawn (Tablet VII, *MM* pp 91, 95) and this is employed by Homer in the *Odyssey* (opening of rhapsodies 2, 5 etc); there are several more cases. However, apart from very few incidents, like Penelope's prayer which seems to have something non-Greek about it (B 1992 : 99-100), it should be and has been noted that most such borrowings (like also the Phoenician alphabet mentioned above) are usually transformed by the Greeks into terms of their own culture (see n 3, above).

Despite all such borrowings, Greek epic poetry has its roots in the PIE tradition as is evidenced by some basic features it has in common with the poetry of the *Ṛgveda*, even though the latter is not an epic. It is difficult to understand what scholars mean when they write of "Indo-European heroic tradition," since apart from Homer's works there are no other IE epics until very much later. The Hittites or Anatolians (also IE) left us much material in verse and prose, the earliest of which was written down 8 or 9 centuries before Homer's poems; but most of this derives and is almost indistinguishable from other NE literature. The Romans produced poetry several centuries after the Greeks and mostly imitated them. For the other IE branches, Germanic, Celtic, Slavonic and Baltic, we find no written material until after many centuries of the Christian Era. Consequently the only comparisons that can be made in this context are with the *RV* hymns. We therefore ignore studies on (hypothetical) IE epics or "IE poetics." Besides, features common to, say, Greek and Germanic heroic poetry are found also in the medieval Turkic *Alpamysh* or the ancient NE *Gilgamesh*.

2. In the Homeric epic we find, broadly speaking, *three types of stock epithet* (the examples are mostly from *Iliad* 1) : a) Vague adjectives like *dios* 'divine, bright', used of anyone, or *diogenēs* 'nobly born' of many heroes; these are employed mainly for filling the metrical line. Others are *amumōn* 'faultless,' *megathumos* 'big-hearted' and *hippodamos* 'horse-taming' – all used indiscriminately of Trojans and Achaeans; *potnia* 'reverend' used of Hera and elder women and *kallisphuros* 'with beautiful ankles' of any beautiful lady; and so on. b) The second type of epithet is used specifically of a central figure and denotes a distinct feature but could apply to many others : eg Hera 'of white hands' *leukōlenos*; Athena 'of grey /blue eyes' *glaukōpis*; Dawn 'of rosy-fingers' *rhododaktulos*; Acheans 'of fine greeves' *euknēmis*; etc. c) The third type is used exclusively of a particular deity or warrior and denotes a feature that designates a specific attribute or function not found in another figure : eg *hekēbolos* 'aim-attainer/farshooting' is exclusive to Apollo; *asteropētēs* 'who throws the bolt' and *nephelēgereta* 'cloud-gatherer' are exclusive to Zeus; *polumētis* 'of many counsels' and *polumēchanos* 'of many devices' are used Odysseus; the epither *pódas ōkus* 'fleet of foot' is used mainly of Achilles; though *ōku*-and *tachu*-are used of others too.

All three categories are found in the Ṛgveda – even though it is a collection of hymns to gods and not an epic : a) *daivya* 'bright, divine' of Savitṛ (I, 35, 5) and Rudra (II, 33, 7); *ugra* 'mighty, fierce' of Rudra (II, 33, 9) and

of a man of power (X, 34, 8); *ṛtavan* 'holy, observing order' of Divine Waters (II, 35, 8) and of Mitra and Varuṇa (VII, 61, 2); *citraśravas* 'of brilliant fame' of the Firegod Agni (I, 1, 5) and of Mitra (III, 59, 4). b) *somapā* 'soma-drinker' is exclusive to Indra (eg II, 12, 13), but it could be used of any other god; Rudra is called *jalāṣa* 'cooling', but so could be the Moongod Soma, the Raingod Parjanya and others; Agni alone is described as *jātavedas* 'who knows all things manifest' but so could be Varuṇa or the Sungod who see all things. c) Agni is *gṛhapati* 'lord of the house' (I, 45, 1) since a fire is always lit, and *daivya hotṛ* 'heavenly priest' (III, 7, 8 and 9); *vajrin* 'he of the bolt' (VII, 49, 1) is an epithet exclusive to Indra; Viṣṇu is famous as *urugāya* 'far-going' and *urukrama* 'wide-striding' (I, 154, 3, 5, 6); and so on. That Greek epic had a rich inheritance of epithets is made even clearer by its common lexical stock with Vedic : S *śravas / śruta* z Gk *kleos/kluto* - 'fame(-d)'; S *uru* - z GK *euru*- 'wide-' : S *āśu* z Gk *ōku* - 'swift'; S *divya/daivya* z Gk *dios* 'divine, celestial, bright'; S *patnī* Gk *potnia* 'reverend lady'. (For additional "verbal as well as conceptual parallels," West, 1988 : 154-6).

3. The *similes* in the N/E epics are not numerous but varied as in "His face was like that of a long distance traveller" (*Gilgamesh, MM* 53) or "To go on to the battlefield is as good as a festival for young men" (*Erra and Ishum, MM* 287) and "splendour like the stars of heaven" (ibid, 290). The *RV* contains a large variety of similes: simple ones as in "[Rudra] kills like a terrifying beast" (II, 33, 11); a humorous comparison in "[Frogs] like brahmins at the overnight Soma-sacrifice, speaking around as it were a full lake" (VII, 103, 7); lyrical and elegiac in "As a mother covers her son with a robe, so shroud thou, o Earth, this [dead] man" (X, 18, 11); elliptic and pregnant in "As a cunning gambler carries off the stakes, so the goddess [Dawn] wears away a mortal's lifespan" (I, 92, 10); and one almost Homeric – "Like the rays of the sun that make men hasten, exhilerate, then send to sleep, so flow forth together [Soma's] swift effusions..." (IX. 69, 6). The Greeks may have retained similes (and idioms) from the PIE phase but even if parallels could be established between Greek and Vedic (or Avestan) these could equally well be due to independent development, since the movements during the centuries after the dispersal and the settlement in new environments would naturally produce new usages. So in this area, what is of importance is the continued use of similes, not so much verbal and conceptual parallels which may be fortuitous.

4. An additional aspect of style is that the *RV* Hymns are composed in various fairly *strict metres* (Anuṣṭubh, Jagatī, Triṣṭubh, etc), as the Greek epic line has its own strict metre (the hexameter with its iambic, trochaic, dactylic and other variants), whereas the Mesopotamian epic has only one metrical feature, that of the accent usually resting on the penultimate syllable of the line (Heidel 1965 : 15-6). Moreover, we find in the Hymns alliteration and assonance : ... *prasasré apsú*; *sá pīyū́ṣaṃ dhayati pūrvasūnām* 'he has stretched forth in the water; he sucks the new milk of them that first have given birth' (II, 35, 5); *tvám agne vājasā́tamaṁ víprā vardhanti súṣṭutam* 'Wise singers exalt you, Agni, well-praised, best giver of gain!' (V, 13, 5); *sá dundudhe sajū́r índreṇa devaír dūrā́d dávīyo ápa sedha śatrūn* 'O drum, along with Indra and the gods, do drive our foes to farthest distance' (VI, 47, 29). Thus it is as though the metrical line foreshadows Greek poetry and the alliteration foreshadows the alliterative poetry of the Celtic (Irish) and of the Germanic peoples. In Greece alliteration appears fully developed in Pindar's poetry (early 5th century) but traces of it are found in the epics, early lyrics and some epigraphic material; the development of all poetic devices in Greece was very rapid. The riddle is another feature common to the Hymns and Celtic and Germanic poetry : eg *tigmám éko bibharti hásta āyudham, śúcir ugró jálāṣabheṣajaḥ// ... trīṇy-éka urugāyó vi cakrame yátra devā́so madanti//* (RV VIII, 29, 5 and 7) : 'One, bright, fierce, with cooling remedies, carries in his hand a sharp weapon' (5) where the "cooling remedies" signal Rudra; 'One far-going, has made three strides to where the gods rejoice' (7) where "far-going" and "three strides" signal Viṣṇu.

Many more details of form, style and specific poetic devices will be found in C Watkins 2001 (1995) *passim*.. Watkins's study is invaluable for any student of IE comparative literature, but unfortunately it contains many parallels that are not parallels and many that are universal (or independent developments) and not specifically IE inherited forms (21-2, 25, 31, 38, 53, 99, etc, etc). It also takes for granted the notion common among comparativists that all traditions, Vedic, Hittite, Greek, Celtic, Slavic, etc, stand on the same footing, even though the Hittite one is heavily influenced by the NE cultures (this is admitted on (p 52), while Celtic and, moreso, Slavic literary traditions, which are of late attestation, may well carry elements diffused from Greece and Rome – a point outside the framework of our present discussion. Nonetheless, Watkins does state : "The language of India from its earliest documentation in the Rig-veda has raised the art of the phonetic figure to what many would consider its highest form" (p 109).

Note. Earlier, in section II, we saw that the legend of the Aśvins in the *RV* provides information that connects the Greek *Dioskouroi* and Lithuanian *Dievo Sūnelai*. Here we see that the *RV* can be said to anticipate both Greek poetic metre and Germanic alliterative poetry : it alone preserves what most probably were common original elements in the PIE but got separated in the other branches.

5. There are in addition several *incidents* in Homer which have parallels in the Veda and can thus be regarded as PIE inherited forms, despite similarities in NE texts. We examine only three of them here.

In *Iliad* 15, 34-42, Hera swears the oath to the river Styx, which is regarded as the most severe and weighty oath by the gods (as it is also in Hesiod's *Theogony* 401 ff). In this instance it has cosmic dimensions being accompanied by Heaven and Earth, and Burkert links it with a parallel in Aramaic (1992 : 93-4). However, this is also a distant relative of the oath to Varuṇa and cosmic waters as found in *Atharvaveda* XIX, 14, 8-9. As Keith observes, "Mitra is primarily the Lord of the contract ... [and] Varuṇa of the oath ... as in the case of the Styx in Greek religion (1989 : I, 103-4).

Rhapsody 21 of the *Iliad* is concerned with Achilles's fithting with various Trojans by the river Scamander, in it and with the river-deity itself. This too has been linked with river battles in NE texts (B 119) but the incident may well derive from the battle scene in *RV* VII, 19 (and 33, 3-6) where king Sudās was hemmed in at the river Paruṣṇī by the confederation of the 10 kings and won with the help of his hierophant, the great sage Vaisiṣṭha, and the intervention of Indra (cf the intervention of Hera and Hephaestus in ll 328-77 in the Greek text). As usual the Hymns give no details but the slaughter and the gory corpses are suggested in brief touches. (Detailed descriptions of battles, chariots, corpses and flowing blood will be found in the Indian epics, especially the second day of the war in the Bhīṣma Parvan, book VI of *MB*.)

The third incident is the flight of Artemis and Apollo from the battlefield, one compelled by Poseidon, the other by Hera, while their mother Leto is driven off by Hermes (*Iliad* 15, 435-503). This is reminiscent of *RV* IV, 28, 2 and 30, 4, where Indra attacks the Dawn and the Sun crushes their chariot and causes them to flee. The echoes are faint, admittedly, but Apollo is also *Phoibos* which *z* (Avestan *baγa* and) V *bhaga* who is clearly an aspect of the

Sungod, while Artemis may be linked with *Uṣas* as I suggest further down, sect V, 1.[8]

An additional feature in the *Iliad* is the mode whereby some heroes reflect on things, ie "they speak to their own 'great-hearted *thumos*' or to their 'heart' ". This too Burkert (B 116) connects with NE prototypes; but, of course, we find a similar formulation in the *RV* – speaking with one's self/spirit (*tanu* : VII, 86, 2).

There are several other incidents in Homer (and Hesiod) that can be linked with the Vedic texts but enough has been said on this. I am not suggesting that Greek archaic texts, or even the points discussed above, have not been infuenced by NE traditions, but I am claiming that, whatever non-IE influences have affected these Greek narratives, they have many affinities with the Veda and that therefore their IE heritage cannot be denied.

IV) Divination

Divination was practised extensively in ancient India as is obvious in the Brāhmaṇas. Not only the flight of birds but also the direction of cows' movements in the Soma sacrifice served as omens for the sacrificer's fortune (*ŚB* IV, 5, 8, 11); an omen was also taken to be the clarity or otherwise of the fire. The *RV* hymns II, 42 and 43 already mention birds of omen. In II, 42 the *kapiñjala* (a kind of heath-cock) is begged to be auspicious (*sumaṅgala*) : it is so, if it calls from the right or south (*dakṣiṇataḥ*) of the house, from the region of the Ancestors – then no thief or evil-wisher will do harm. Here we have the bird's call from the south or right, as in the Greek text mentioned in n4 it is the bird's flight from right to left. VIII, 47, 15 regards as a bad omen

8 Dr Bhattacharji links Artemis with Durgā, yet on the same page she links Athena with Durgā (1988 : 164). From the viewpoint that all deities are manifestations of the Absolute, this constant identification of different deities with different deities obviously does not matter. But when we compare and contrast so as to discover precise correspondences, such a method is not satisfactory. Many of Dr B's references to other mythologies (especially Greek) are wrong : eg : "Demeter the mother-goddess of teh Minoans [sic!] was called Demeter Erinyes [sic!]" (p 86); for the Arcadian Demeter Erinys, see section II, above. Throughout the book there is the underlying notion of the conflict between invading Aryans and Dravidian natives (pp 10, 45, 90, 160, 163, 178, etc). It is a pity corrections were not made for the 1988 edition (by which time Archaeology had made it clear that there had been no invading hordes). Otherwise it is an immensely useful study of he historical development of Vedic mythology.

a dream of making a garland or neckband. Many other phenomena serve as omens – one's shadow appearing upside down in water or in a mirror; meteors and lightning; the scream of a jackal or the neighing of a horse; and so on. However, it must be emphasized that *the inspection of entrails, including hepatoscopy* (B, 46-53) *is not evidenced even in late literature.*

Burkert mentions also divination and prophesying by ecstatic (or raging) women (B, 80ff). This phenomenon is not at all attested in the *Ṛgveda*. The *Vedic Index* gives two references for female magicians *yātudhānī*, I, 191, 8 and X, 118, 8, but in both the word means 'female fiend, demonness' : in the first passage the sun is to destroy these fiends of night; in the second, Agni will burn them up. The same applies to its references to the *Atharvaveda*. (Of course, there *may* have been some women who practised some kind of witchcraft : see **V, 2,** below.) Women were present in rites and in philosophical gatherings, as shown by the intrepid Gārgī who challenges the sage Yājñavalkya in *BUp* III, 8, 1 ff, but, according to the texts, there were no seeresses nor priestesses.

Both priestesses and haruspication are attested in the early Celtic culture. Citing Pomponius Mela, MacCulloch refers to 9 'priestesses' *antistitēs* on an island off Brittany "who lived in perpetual virginity", wielded power over sea and wind through spells, healed incurable illnesses, predicted the future to sailors and could assume animal forms (1948 : 76). This account is clearly exaggerated fantasy but there is evidence of 'druidesses' *bandrui* or *ban-filid* (Kendrick 1994 : 96-97). Tacitus writes that the Celts in Gaul consulted their deities throught human entrails (*Annals* XIV, 30). Among the Nordic people also, goddess Freyja had a divination rite performed by a seeress *vǫlva* who fell into a trance or ecstasy (Davidson 1981 : 117). The Balts too had priestesses (Puhvel 1989 : 224-5).

So the Greeks might have brought such practices with them to the shores of the Aegean. On the other hand, it is possible that this custom spread from the Near East westward and to the north.

V) Magic and Purification

The Greek, like other peoples, believed in demons, ghouls and ghosts and that these could enter and possess the human organism causing mental and physical illness, even death; also that these could be manipulated by means

of magical rites, to guard against them or direct them against enemies. A large aspect of the Greek religion consisted in securing protection against these demonic forces or in purification.

1. *Demons and spirits of the dead.* In his well-documented study (1992), Burkert discusses extensively demons attacking and causing disease (pp 59, 65), guilt-spirits torturing murderers (56-7) and ghosts of the unappeased dead possessing men (pp 65-6). All these he links with Mesopotamian parallels, but they are all found also in great abundance in the Veda.

Attacks of demons causing disease are well attested throughout the Vedic tradition. The *Atharvaveda* especially is full of such cases. *Takman* for instance, "god of yellow hue ... son of Varuṇa" (*AV* I, 25 2-3) causes much trouble being the demon of fever : he attacks in autumn and the rainy season (V, 22, 3) like burning fire (VI, 20, 1) and is invoked in a brief spell – one of many – to enter into a frog (VII, 116, 2). There are *rakṣasas*, demons that assume various forms, like dog or ape (VI, 37, 11) or deformed human shapes (VII, 6, 13), and *piśācas*, that assume insect forms and the like : they attack a man (or an animal), enter and cause bodily or mental disorder (IV, 37, 11; V, 29, 5-9) and may finally bring death; they also infest human dwellings and whole villages (IV, 36, 8; etc). Such fiends are found in action in the *RV* too – I, 133, 5; VII, 104, 10; etc.

The Mesopotamian or Vedic "carnivorous demons" do not, of course, cover exactly the case of the Erinyes who pursue Orestes "as beasts of prey, 'dogs' who want to suck his blood" (B, 59). The Veda, however, provides such canine figures. First there are Rudra's dogs that howl and swallow unchewed their prey (*AV* XI, 2, 30). Then there is *Saramā* which pursues and finds the thieves of cattle and then Indra recovers the animals (*RV* X, 108); *Saramā* is not expressly said to be a bitch in the *RV* but is so taken by subsequent texts (*Nirukta* XI, 25). However, the Veda has two more dogs, those of *Yama,* the guardian of the dead in heaven (*RV* X, 14, 10-12). Descendants of *Saramā* (with the epithet *Sārameya*) they are called *Śabala* (? z Gk *Kerberos*) 'brindled' and *Śyāma* 'black', and guard the path of the dead to Yama's abode. "It is possible that they were conceived as going among men, and taking to the abode of death [in heaven] the souls of the dead" (Keith 1989 : II, 406). Be it noted that some think *Saramā* z *Hermēs* (so SGD, but KEWA III, 442-3

thinks it improbable). *Saramā* is Indra's and the gods' (in *Nirukta* XI, 25) messenger, as Hermes is of Zeus; she finds the stolen cattles while Hermes does the stealing of cattle; her offspring *Sārameya* guide on the path of the dead, as later Hermes is *psuchopompos*, escort of the dead to Hades. (Here Burkert sees only the influence of NE gods' messengers in 1977 : 244).

The guilt of murder, which attaches to Achilles in *Aithiopis* and to Orestes (B, 56), is fully recognised in the Veda as well; even the slaying (by Indra) of a demon like Vṛtra brings the taint of bloodshed. The killer becomes an outcast to be avoided, as is Orestes (B, 60), and is haunted by his deed (*Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* XIX, 4, 10). The Sūtra texts, which come somewhat later, have the murderer carry the skll of his victim and wear the skin of an ass or dog, thus at once lessening his guilt by this declaration of his crime and warning others to stay away from the unclean person (*Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* I, 9, 24, 11-13).

Then there are the ghosts of unappeased dead causing "all manner of illnesses on the living" and here Burkert cites numerous cases from Greek texts (pp 65-5). Possession by ghosts is, of course, common in post-Vedic late texts but it is unknown as such in the early texts. However, some spirits of the dead, ghosts that are guilt-ridden souls perhaps undergoing some punishment, do wander among and pester the living (*RV* X, 15, 2; *AV* XII, 3, 9). In Vedic texts, possession itself is an action of demons and ghouls only, as we saw earlier in this section.

2. *Protection*. Many and various means for protection against these demonic forces (and for purification) were used by the Greeks : spells, votive offerings, amulets of all kinds, even effigies, today's "voodoodoll" (B, 60-1, 65-7, 82, 87, 100). It should not come as a surprise that all such means, with some variants here and there, are amply presented in the Veda. The *Atharvaveda* (and much of the Sūtra literature) abounds in various protective, expulsive, offensive and retaliatory means: spells (V, 31, 1; etc; in **3a**, below, the verses from *RV* are another such incantation); amulets of all kinds (I, 16, 3; etc, etc); use of plants (IV, 7; VIII, 7, 3; etc) and ointments of all kinds which are sometimes gunuine medicinal remedies (IV, 9, 8; etc); carrying round of fire (VIII, 64, 1); and of course water for all occasions. Another feature in these practices is the making of effigies (our of wax and other substances) which are melted, buried or pierced through. These are made by women also and one

description is in *AV* X, 1, 1-3, which also has incantations for protection, they are placed in wells or cemetaries (V, 31, 8). More details are found in the Sūtra texts (Keith, II, 389).

Burkert (pp 53-5) mentions two types of foundation deposits during the construction or consecration of a house, temple or other building, both in the Near East and Greece: one type consists of precious metals and / or stones, guardian figures and tablets with inscriptions; the other consists of animal sacrifice and libations. The first type, essentially an extension of the second, is unknown in the Vedic tradition. A beautiful Hymn (*AV* III, 12) describes the consecration of a house invoking gods Savitṛ 'Sun', Vāyu 'Wind', Indra, Bṛhaspati 'Lord of prayer, priest of gods', the Maruts 'gods of rain and medicine' (also warrior comrades of Indra), and Bhaga 'Bestower of fortune.' Offerings are made of milk, corn, jars of purified butter and curdled milk, honey and water. In later texts, the Sūtra-literature, a black cow or a white goat may be offered and in this Keith finds a similarity to "the black cock killed at the foundation of a new house in Greece" (II, 363).

3. *Purification.* Of all purificatory practices in archaic Greece, here we shall concentrate on the catharctic ritual which releases murderers from their blood guilt, although other catharctic practices are employed in circumstances of plague or other forms of pollution.

a) The purification ritual whereby a murderer like Orestes gets cleansed consists in having the blood of a slaughtered piglet running down and over the culprit and then the blood being washed off with running water (B 56-7). *This procedure is unknown in the Vedic tradition.* Such a blood-bath is never used and the animals sacrificed in rituals are horse, ox, sheep and more usually goat (Keith, I, 279 and n 5). Instead of blood, the Vedic people invariably used running water which removed all sin such as lying, cursing and any crime of violence : "O Waters (*āpaḥ*), carry off whatever sin is in me, whatever crime I have done, whatever curse or lie" (*RV* I, 23, 22, repeated in X, 9,7).

b) "Anything left over from the purification must be carefully disposed of", writes Burkert, as much in Greece as in Mesopotamia (B, 62). The same is true in the Vedic tradition : all remnants of the rite must be burnt thoroughly and whatever is left must be buried secretly

(*ŚB* III, 8, 5, 9ff); then all get washed and the last vestiges of uncleannes float away with the running water.

c) Another Mesopotamian / Greek parallel for purification is the "young [man] holding...a tamarisk, rod of purification" and "Branchos the Apollonian seer" frees the Milesians of the plague by sprinkling them "with laurel branches" while they "spoke the responses" (B, 61). In the Veda we find the use of the plant *Apāmārga* 'which drives away' (*AV* IV, 7; etc) as well as of other plants (*AV* VIII, 3, 7, 3ff; etc) against diseases, evil dreams and the like. Water and incantations are used simultaneously.

d) Of the other details mentioned by Burkert in relation to purification, of interest is Apollo nad Karmanor, the priest who purified the god on Crete after he had slain the Delphic dragon (B, 63).

Apollo's adventure and slaying of Typhaon's dragon-fostermother at Delohi (*Hymn to Apollo* 349-86) is really a repeat of Zeus's slaying of Earth's dragon-offspring Typhoeus (*Theog* 820-68). The name *Apollōn* is of uncertain derivation but his epithet *Phoibos* sounds cognate with (Avestan *baγa* and) S Bhaga 'Bestower of fortune', a Vedic deity that is clearly an aspet of the Sungod ' the S/GK correspondences *bh/ph* and *g/b* are quite normal. However it is Indra the Thunder-and-Storm-god, with a solar aspect also, who kills the demon-dragon Vṛtra; Indra is also the 'bolt-bearer' *vajrin* and so related to Zeus; mention is also made of Vṛtra's dragon-mother (*RV* I, 32, 9). The Vedic and the two Greek myths are obviously one and the same in origin. Connected with this is the Teutonic myth of Thor, who wields the hammer Mjolnir and slays the serpent Midgard that encircles the world (as Vṛtra encompasses – *āśayāna* – the Waters), but is himself killed in the process (*Edda*, 46-7 and 54).

The Apollo myth has the element of water with the presence of the stream Telphusa, as Midgard lives in the ocean and Vṛtra covers and wallows in the Waters; thus it is closer to the Vedic tale than the Zeus mythologem. Moreover, Indra, like Apollo, feels guilt after slaying Vṛtra and rushes off distraught (*RV* I, 32) – whereas Zeus has no blood-guilt. Indra's guilt and expiation is mentioned in later texts and is developed with epic exuberance in the *Mahābhārata* (V, 13 and XII, 272) where Indra gets purified with the performance of a horse-sacrifice. (For additional Apollo-Indra affinities see **VI, 2,** below.)

Burkert feels that the name Karmanor "does not seem to be Greek" (B, 63). We are not told who officiated in Indra's horse-sacrifice. Karmanor sounds like S *śramaṇa* 'a wandering ascetic' or, more probably, like *-śarman* 'refuge, delight', which often forms the last element of a brahmin's name (eg the common *Viṣṇu-śarman*)– the S/Gk correspondence *ś/k* being frequent, as in *śrad-/krad-* and *śruta/kluto-*.

VI) Three deities :

1. *Artemis* : Most of our information about Artemis comes from later sources. The archaic texts and iconography give little information.

Earlier (in **III, 5**) I suggested this goddess may be connected with the Dawngoddess Uṣas after citing the incident where she and her brother flee from the battlefield. In the two Homeric Hymns to Artemis (Loeb 434-5 and 452-3), Artemis has certain traits that cannot be directly related to Uṣas, eg hunting with hounds and "destroying the race of wild beasts." Other features can be related to Uṣas, even Artemis's chief aspect as Moongoddess can be envisaged to derive from Dawn, elder sister of Night; then she delights in arrow-shooting, she causes an outcry among beasts and trembling on land and sea, and loves music, singing and dancing.

In *RV* VI, 64, 3 Uṣas is likened to a heroic archer / thrower *ástā* and a swift warrior *vólhā* against foes and darkness. She is not a huntress at all, but sets birds and beasts astir early (I, 49, 3; IV, 51, 5), while in the Mycenaean documents "Artemis (*atimite* [Dat.], *atemito* [Gen.]) was not obviously associated with animals" (Dietrich 1974 : 172, n 218). She shares some features with the Artemis of the two Homeric Hymns : sister of Bhaga (z Gk *Phoibos*) in *RV* I, 123, 5, golden-hued, she has a glittering chariot (III, 61, 2), is likened to a dancer (I, 92, 4) and sings (I, 113, 4; 123, 5). In *RV* IV, 28, 2 and 30, 4 Indra attacks the Dawn and the Sun and crushes their chariot and they flee : this is faintly reminiscent of Apollo and Artemis fleeing from the battlefield, one compelled by Poseidon and the other by Hera, and with them Leto compelled by Hermes (*Il*, 15, 435-503). One might even link the name *Artemis* with the Mitanni theophoric names *Artatama* and *Artamanya* (Puhvel 1989 : 99) and many Iranian names and nouns with *arta-* as their first element. This initial component *arta-* is connected with Vedic *ṛta* 'cosmic order', which Uṣas is repeatedly said to follow. (Cf V *ṛj-* z Gk *are-*

ēs and V *ṛṣ* - z Gk *ars-ēn*; the *-r-* was lost in Mcn *Atimi-* ?) Admittedly, these are very tenuous threads.

2. *Apollo*. In section **IV, 3** above, we noted certain close parallels between Apollo and Indra. Since the two names are so very different it would be difficult to identify him with Indra. On the other hand, Zeus bears a name that is cognate with V *dyaus* but, unlike Dyaus, he is a very active king of heaven sharing common features with Varuṇa and Indra. It is therefore worth noting that Apollo has a few more affinities with Indra.[9]

Apollo's birth in the Homeric *Hymn To Apollo* (ll 115-9) resembles very much the account(s) of Indra's birth in the *Ṛgveda*. The presence of Eileithyia, goddess of child birth, in the Greek hymn may be of NE derivation, since this motif is not present in the *Ṛgveda*; but it could also come from Greek poetic inspiration since a midwife's presence at a difficult birth is not an unnatural phenomenon anywhere. Like Leto, Indra's mother had a difficult deliverance: she carried the child in her womb for 1000 months and he came out from her side (*RV* IV, 18, 1-4). Then, as soon as born, Indra illuminated the sky (III, 44, 4) as Apollo leapt into the light (119). Indra displayed his warrior's prowess at once (III, 51, 8), drank the divine Soma, put on his garment and filled with his presence the two world-halves (IV, 18, 3-5) – as Apollo got washed and clothed, was given nectar and ambrosia, then burst out of his golden bands, asked for a bow and lyre and strode forth, and the whole island of Delos blossomed with gold (120-35). The amazement of the goddesses at Apollo's swift emergence and development (ll 119, 135) and the gods' alarm as he enters into the palace of Zeus (ll 2-3) are paralleled by the Vedic description that Heaven and Earth trembled in awe at Indra's coming forth (I, 61, 14). The details are not absolutely exact equivalents, but then again they are not found in the description of any other deity in Greek, Near Eastern or Vedic texts.

3. *Aphrodite*. Not only modern scholars, but ancient writers like Herodotus (I, 105 & 131) see the origin of this Greek goddess in the Near East and (modern scholars) connect her with Sumerian *Inanna*, who became

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9 Dr Bhattacharji connects Apollo with Vivasvat (p 243) and Kṛṣṇa (p 303) and Gk *Python* with S *Pūtanā* (p 304) whereas she had linked Gk *Puthon* (= Python) with *Budhnya* (p 150)! She does at least mention briefly the parallel of Apollo and Indra slaying the dragon-serpent (p 259).

Akkadian *Ishtar*, Semitic Ashtorith and Astarte. However, there are enough indications to show that in part Aphrodite derives from a goddess of the Vedic tradition. First let us examine her parentage.

a) Most of us think of Aphrodite as born out of sea-foam while some may know that she rose from Ouranos's severed genitals that floated on the seafoam (Hesiod's *Theogony*, 188 ff). However, in *Iliad* 5, 369ff, Aphrodite's mother is *Diōnē* who lives on Olympus, and her father Zeus; in 20, 105, Apollo tells Aeneas, son of Trojan king Priam, that his mother Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus. This means that the goddess had a normal birth born of a female, divine or mortal, with whom Zeus had coupled – and not out of Ouranos's bloodied genitals in the seafoam long before Zeus came into existence. Dione does not appear anywhere else in Homer's epics, but she is attested in the cult of Zeus at Dodona. (Kerényi 1982 : 68; Burkert 1992 : 98 and n 8), while the Mycenaeans had goddess *Diwija*, who may be related. Furthermore, Dione is mentioned by name alone in a long list of deities (Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Athena, Leto, et al) in *Theogony* 17, and again in 353 as one of the *Ōkeaninai* 'Ocean's daughter's – but it is not clear if it is one and the same Dione. She is also mentioned as one of the "best" goddesses present at Apollo's birth together with Rhea and others except Hera (*Hymn to Apollo*, 92-5). Now, in the context of all these high deities, Dione could hardly be the humbler Oceanid, unless she bore Aphrodite to Zeus. So either there are two Diones, one on Olympus and the other in ocean, or the Oceanid, having born Aphrodite to Zeus, was, like Leto, taken up to Olympus by him – though Homer and Hesiod say nothing about this!

Be that as it may, Hesiod gives a totally different account for Aphrodite's birth. Clearly we have two different versions of the goddess's origin.

Here the *Ṛgveda* is of no help. Apart from Dawngoddess Uṣas and Rivergoddess Sarasvatī who are endowed with distinct features, no other female deity appears in the hymns having individual personality. Skygod Dyaus, who in the context of our discussion may be regarded as the equivalent of Zeus, has no consort and is invariably mentioned with Mothergoddess Earth, *Pṛthivī* or *Kṣamā* or *Bhūmi*; Indra has a consort *Indrāṇī* and Varuṇa *Varuṇānī* and

Rudra (in the Sūtras) *Rudrāṇī*. We find the (secondary, marginal) cognates *diva/divan* 'sky, day' and *divya* 'divine' but no **divānī*. Keith wrote, "the pale figure of Dione, beside Zeus, suggests that the process which produced Indrāṇī and her fellows was already working in the Indo-European period" (I, 61). So *Diōnē* looks like an inherited form but it is most probably a much later Greek production. Whether it was coined by the poet(s) of the *Iliad*, as Burkert seems to think (B 97-8), or is of a much earlier date, it is not easy to decide on the available evidence, as for the Mycenaean *Diwija*, this clearly z S *divija* 'skyborn' or *divya* 'divine, celestial'.

b) According to Burkert, the name Aphrodite may be a "Greek form of Western Semitic Ashtorith, who in turn is identical with Ishtar" (B, 98 and n 7). However, if we forget about the Aphrodite-Adonis affair which is parallel to Ishtar and Dumuzi / Tammuz and is of late report, there is very little left to connect the two goddessess' character and deeds. Here, I ignore the evidence of Paphos and architecture (Farnell, 1896 : II, 618), of Hermaphroditos, ornaments, votive offerings, figurines and the like, many of which are doubtful, as presented by Burkert (1977 : 238ff) : all these (particularly, repulsive figurines of a naked goddess with a bird face) have little bearing on the character we see in the *Iliad*, *Theogony* and the Homeric Hymns (*Odyssey* 8 being a different matter : see c below).

To being with, we face serious difficulties with the derivation of Aphrodite's name, whichever way we look at it. Be that as it may, the name does reflect the mythologem of her birth out of sea-foam in *Theogony* 178-97. Even if we accept a putative derivation from the Near East, and Aphrodite's birth from Zeus-Dione (be it another borrowing), we still have to account for her rise from sea-foam in Hesiod. Ishtar has to all appearances a normal birth from her parents Anu and Antu. In addition, unlike Aphrodite, Ishtar is passionate and explosive wherever she appears (*Gilgamesh* VI; The *Descent of Ishtar...; Erra and Ishun: MM* 77, 80-1; 155 ff; 305). Goddess of sexual love, storms and war, she had "countless lovers" and an "ability to engage in incessant sexual intercourse with numerous men without tiring ... Inanna [Sumerian goddess = Akkadian Ishtar]

was known for her ambition and cruelty" (Dunstan 1998 : 59; Penglase 1994 : 19). Aphrodite has no such traits. It is claimed that she may be armed and can bestow victory (Burkert, 1977 : 238 n 8) but we see nothing of this in Homer and Hesiod. Her coercion of Helen to go to Paris after his defeat by Menelaus (*Il* 3, 380-420) is of little significance when set beside Inanna : "You are known by your destruction of rebel-lands, / ... by your massacring (their people), / ... by your devouring (their) dead like a dog" wrote Enheduanna in her hymn to that goddess (Pritchard, 1975 : 131). No, Aphrodite is not a *furchtbare Göttin*, a terrible goddess, as Burkert writes (1977 : 240; and nothing more is added by Penglase in 1994 : 162ff).

c) The archaic texts present Aphrodite in two different versions. In the *Iliad* (5, 311ff) Aphrodite has had her son Aeneas with Anchises (under Zeus's influence, in the long *Hymn to Aphrodite*) and Hephaistos is married to Charis, who is well disposed towards Thetis, mother of Achilles (*Il* 18, 368-409), and therefore cannot be Aphrodite under another name, as Kerényi suggests (1982 : 72), since the latter is pro-Trojan. In *Theogony* 945 Hephaistos marries Aglaea, the youngest Charis (thus agreeing with *Iliad*), while Aphrodite bears to Ares two sons, *Phobos* 'fear' and *Deimos* 'terror' and a daughter, Harmony (*Theog* 933 ff). However, in *Odyssey* 8, 276-381, she is married to Hephaistos but gives herself to Ares and, in a scene that is both burlesque and soft pornography, is caught in the act. (Clearly, the Homer who wrote the *Odyssey* scene is either a different or a very forgetful one.) This incident is probably the beginning of her reputed promiscuity and the later affairs with Hermes, Dionysos and Adonis (GM I, 68ff), in contrast to the timid, conciliatory and rather chaste figure in the other texts. Although she is the goddess of beauty and her function is to stir love and passion in gods and in mortals bringing about union (*Theog* 203; in *Il* 5, 429 'marrigage' *érga gámoio*) by using her magic girdle, she does this not for herself but for others. She is docile and not very acute : Hera dupes her very easily in borrowing her magic girdle (*Il* 14, 170-214). The sexuality that Burkert ascribes to her is also not borne out by the very early texts (except *Odyssey* 8).

It may be that we have two different aspects of one goddess, but the details of her birth and her marriage suggest two (or more) distinct

figures. The two versions contain confused elements and overlap : they furnish the origin of the later *Ourania* 'Celestial' Aphrodite (Herodotos I, 105; Plato *Symposium 180D*) as distinct from the *Pandēmos* 'Vulgar' (Burkert 1977 : 242 and n 34).

d) In origin, Aphrodite has some affinities with an Indic goddess. This is not *Uṣas*, the Dawn, as many scholars have speculated. D. D. Boedeker argued for Aphrodite's origin in the PIE (really Vedic) Dawn-goddess; seeking support in philology, she examined earlier attempts at the derivation of the name and finally settled for S *abhra* 'rain, cloud, sky' and the PIE * *dei*-'shine' (1974 : 7-12). Following a different route, P Friedrich also arrived at the PIE Dawn-goddess (1978 : 22-53) and mentioned briefly Beodeker's work (p 44). Such an origin is not impossible, of course; the Greeks formed *Diōnē* (z S √*div* > *dyaus* 'sky' etc : see **a,** above) as the Romans formed *Venus* (z S √*van* 'love, gain' > *vanas* 'beauty, desire'). The Greeks could have formed the name *'Aphroditē* from a compound, though not *abhra* and **dei* but perhaps *abhra-* and *-udita* (**abhroditā* is not attested in Sanskrit) in the sense 'risen from sky-water' (or even *abhra-* and *- aditi* 'the boundless mothergoddess of skywaters' which * *abhrāditi* also is not attested). Nonetheless, it is very difficult to see what Aphrodite has in common with Uṣas. Nor is it necessary to speculate about innovation and development of the Uṣas figure, beause there is another Vedic goddess that has several affinities with Aphrodite. This is Śrī/Lakṣmī – and it could be argued, of course, that this goddess was in some earlier phase an aspect of Uṣas, who is daughter of Dyaus (*RV* I, 48, 1).

In the Vedic tradition we find goddess *Śrī* 'goddess of beauty and abundance'. (The name appears perhaps in *Gk Kēr/Kar* 'goddess of doom' and Roman C*er-ēs* 'goddess of agriculture'.) In the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* the noun means simply 'beauty, splendour, glory, prosperity' and the like, but it may have a tinge of divinity in *RV* I, 85, 2 and *AV* VI, 73, 1. As a fully recognized goddess she appears in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇā* XI, 4, 3 and in the later iconography she is often seated on a lotus, thus being connected with the (later) appellation *Padmā* 'She of the lotus'; of course the lotus floats on waters. We do not hear of her origin until the epics where she is identified with Lakṣmī as consort of Viṣṇu. Here Śrī is said to rise

from the (butter-) foam of the (milk-) ocean when gods and demons cooperated to obtain *amṛta* 'the elixir of immortality' (*MB* I, 16; with important variants *Ra* I, 45) : as the ocean was churned and churned, first rose out of it the Sun, then the Moon and then Śrī clothed in white. (Other wonders rose also and eventually Dhanvantarī, the gods' physician, holding a gourd with amṛta). Strangely, West is unaware of this myth (1997 : 4-5, where the *MB* is discussed, and pp 222-6, where a Maori myth is mentioned on the separation of earth and sky).[10]

Apart from her birth, Śrī has another affinity with the Greek goddess in that as Lakṣmī she is consort of Viṣṇu. As we saw, in *Theogony* Aphrodite is associated with Ares, the Wargod. Now, in action Ares is a rather pitiable god of war. Zeus, his father, is utterly contemptuous of him (*Il* 5, 765-6), Athena invariably defeats him (*Il* 21, 40), he gets wounded by Diomedes, with Athena's help (*Il* 5, 858), and in fact he never wins a fight (GM I, 73-4); nonetheless, he is the Wargod and Aphrodite bears his children. Not of major importance in the *RV*, Viṣṇu 'the active, expansive one' displays a martial streak in aiding Indra slay Vṛtra and himself slaying a mighty boar (I, 61, 7; VIII, 77, 10). He becomes a high god in the Brāhmaṇas (*ŚB* XIV, 1, 1, 1ff; *AB* V, 1, 1ff) and in the epics he is incarnated in the warrior caste of kṣatriyas, as the mighty and wise Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* and as prince Rāma, the incomparable warrior of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Viṣṇu's consort Lakṣmī is the goddess of Good Fortune and as Sītā, Rāma's wife, she bears two sons (but of opposite character to Ares's sons).

The noun *lakṣmī* initially means 'sign' (*RV*, X, 71, 2) as also given in *Nirukta* IV, 10. It acquires the meaning 'good sign' *puṇyā lakṣmī* in the *Atharvaveda* as also 'prosperity, good fortune', and in the later texts becomes the name of the goddess of Good

10 The critical ed of the *Mahābhārata* (Poona 1970, BORI, Bk, I, ch 16) and J A B van Buitenen in his translation (1980, Univ of chicago Press, vol 1, pp 74-442 n 30) accept Śrī's rise as belonging to teh mainstream story of the epic.
The emergence of *Iḍā* from the milk-offerings poured by Manu onto the waters (*ŚB* I, 8, 1-11) may be related to Śrī/Lakṣmī also, though this is not certain.

Fortune. (In fact both Śrī and Lakṣmī are juxtaposed as "wives" of Primordial Man, *Puruṣa,* in the (*White*) *Yajur-Veda* XXXI, 22.) In this there is an additional affinity with Aphrodite, who was at Athens regarded as the eldest of the three Fates (Pausanias, I, 19, 2; X, 24, 4; GM I, 72). Kerényi mentions also Aphrodite's related aspect as Genetullis 'caring over child-birth' which places her close to Hekate, another Fate-figure (1982 ; 67).

Aphrodite's girdle provides yet another link. In the Vedic tradition, women as compared with men are always the inferior part of the sacrificial rite and impure and must wear a girdle (*ŚB* I, 3, 1, 12). It is not impossible that this girdle became in course of time a means for inciting passion.

e) In conclusion, we have at least two figures of Aphrodite, one with a birth from Zeus-Dione and the other from the genitals of Ouranos in the sea-foam. The two have contradictory aspects and don't fuse satisfactorily. We find contradiction not only between the figure in the Homeric epics and that in Hesiod's *Theogony*, but also between the figure in the *Iliad* and that in the *Odyssey*. Penglase writes that "The birth myth [of Aphrodite] has some features which parallel those found with Ishtar in her myths" (p 165); but after giving an account of Aphrodite's birth in *Theogony*, he states "this myth has no parallels of narrative to those myths which survive about the Mesopotamian goddess" (p 166). The phrase "which survive" suggests that there have been a myth of Ishtar rising from the sea. The suggestion is legitimate, of course, but it ignores the fundamental and irreconcilable dichotomy in Aphrodite, if taken as a unitary figure.

The two figures or the two births of the Greek goddess suggest two different sources. The foam-born deity seems to be of IE descent while the other one, the figure in the *Odyssey* and later myths, comes from the Near East. This view alone would accommodate all the relevant elements in the myths and cult of Aphrodite and the testimonies of Herodotus (1, 105; I, 131) and of Pausanias (I, 14, 7) about her origin in the Near East.

VII) Miscellany

In this section I examine some other elements in the Greek culture.

1) Some Historical considerations

According to S. Kak (2000) art-experts A. D. Napier, H. Zimmer, think that the Gorgo representations in Greece owe much to Indic art. This is plausible, but such iconography would not be part of the IE heritage the Greeks brought with them. Any similarities would be due to contacts between Greeks and Indians after the 9th century and mainly due to the presence of Indians in the Persian armies that invaded Greek areas in the 6th (in Ionia in the eastern Aegean) and early 5th centuries (mainland Greece). From the time of the IE dispersal in the 4th or 3rd millennium, no contact of great significance could have taken place between Greeks and Indians before Alexander's penetration into Bactria. There are reports by writers of the Hellenistic and Roman periods that Greeks had visited India in much earlier times; Plutarch in his *Lives...* reports that legendary Lycurgus of Sparta visited India (*Lycurgus*, 6). In fact Plutarch, Diodoros Sikeliotes (known as Siculu) and Diogenes Laertius manage between them to send just about every Greek sage into the East (including Pythagoras and Democritus, but notably not Socrates and Aristotle). Even if such journeys did take place, these sages are more likely to have brought back with them philosophical or scientific ideas rather than iconographic. It is much more likely that iconographic material would have reached Greece through conscripted soldiers in the Persian armies or through merchants.[11]

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11 Possible contacts between Greece and India from most ancient to Roman times have been examined extensively by J W Sedlar (1980). For this particular period see p 79.
Prof S Kak writes : 'According to Lomperis (1984), "Plato, throught the Pythagoreans and also the Orphics, was subjected to the influence of Hindu thought but he may not have been aware of it as coming from India" ' (Kak, 2000) . I have not read Lomperis; his view sounds conjectural, given the insufficiency of early Greek sources, but, of course, it is possible. Later in the same article Kak cites Zimmer (1946) and Napier (1986, 1992) who argue that the Gorgon and the Cyclops have elements deriving from India; this too has some plausibility. He also cites Krishna (1980) who thinks the name of the mycenaean city Tiryns "is the same as that of the most powerful Indian sea-faring people called the Tirayans." This sounds utterly improbable. 'Tiryna' (*tirun-th-os*, genitive singular, with stem *tirun-th-*) cannot philologically be a cognate with, or derivative of, 'Tirayan' : Greek *upsilon* [*u*] cannot correspond to, or derive from, Sanskrti [*aya*] (cf Greek *kiō* 'move, go', *ōkeanos* 'ocean' and *treis* 'three' and Sanskrit cognates *cay-a*, *āśayāna* and *trayas* where the correspondence is strictly of palatal phonemes); then, we would have to account for the

(Continued on the next page)

Unfortunately there is very little evidence available for this subject; consequently all discussions must entail much conjecture. In any case, the period concerned here is post-Archaic.

2. Lamia and Gorgon.

Burkert is most probably correct in seeing borrowings of iconographic representations of the Lamia and Gorgo monsters from NE sources (1992 : 82-7). The reproductions he presents (1992; also 1987 : 30-33) are convincing and are matched by similar reproductions in Dalley (1998 : 89, 90, 99, 102). Even archaeologists who minimize the total effect of NE influences on archaic Greek arts and crafts accept that there was imitation of and inspiration from NE forms (eg Starr 1962 : 213 ff; Snodgrass 1971 : 417 & 1980 : 64-7).

However, we must remember that often artists and craftsmen in one culture imitate forms of another culture in order to improve their own and express better their own ideas. These demonesses / monsters that snatch up children (mainly Lamia) and eat up people may have belonged to the IE side of the Greek culture. Such monsters are found in most cultures. Thus in *RV* IV, 18, 8 occurs – this once only! – *kuṣavā*: according to Sāyana she is demonness 'Evil-birth' who swallows children; according to some modern scholars she is a river who swallowed Indra (O' Flaherty 1981 : 142 and n 14). Nothing more is known about *kuṣavā*. However the Dharmaśāstra Sūtras do refer to demons snatching children (eg Pāraskara's *Gṛhyasūtra* I, 12, 4).

Here a small parenthesis may not be out of place. In the Rigvedic mythology anthropomorphism is down to a minimum and so is theriomorphism (mainly but not exclusively in the case of demons) : human or animal features

(Continued from p. 27)

consonant *theta*. If we assumed that this most unlikely linguistic event took place, we would have to suppse then that a band of Indian seafarers before the 17th cent BCE somehow managed to sail into the Mediterranean, got into the gulf of Argolis in the Peloponnese, landed there, travelled inland and somehow established a city or managed to give their own name to an existing community, while at that time, or afterwards, the advancing Greeks were setting up their own cities at Mycenae, Pylos and elsewhere. This I find incredible.

Relevant titles from Kak's bibliography : Krishna N 1980, *The Art and Iconography of Vishnu-Narayana*, Bombay; Lomperis T 1984, *Hindu influence on Greek Philosophy*, Calcutta; Napier AD 1986, *Masks, Transformation and Paradox*, Berkeley, 1992, *Foreign Bodies : Performance, Art and Symbolic Anthropology*, Berkeley; Zimmer H 1946 *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Princeton.

are minimal and, of course, at that time (whether 4th millennium or c 1000) there were no iconographic representations. Thus scholars at different periods interpreted these deities and demons as forces of nature (Max Müller, Oldenberg, Hillebrandt, Macdonell), as psychosomatic or spiritual forces with man (Shrī Aurobindo, 1982; Frawley 1982 & 1992), as forces of fertility and sexuality (O'Flaherty in almost all her publications), as forces in Thermonuclear Physics (Rajaram 1999) and so on. How one interprets the *RV* hymns obviously depends on what circulates in one's mind at the time.

3. The Greek legend of the *Seven against Thebes* (in the drama of Aeschylus, c 467, which may carry echoes of events from the Mycenaean era) has certain similarities with (and many differences from) the NE myth of the terrible Seven (*Sebbiti*) who ride with Wargod Erra (*MM* 282ff). Burkert thinks the Assyrian legend may have influenced the Greek one even if the latter were originally an historical event (B 107-114). In support of the NE influence are adduced the Seven sages and the seven-headed Hydra (B, 114). Although it is not stated explicity, it may be that these evil Seven are an aspect of the Seven Sages or original Craftsmen (*MM* 291, 294) who, after civilizing mankind before the flood, were banished back to the Underworld of Apsu (*MM* 327-8).

In the Veda there is no (allusion to a) legend of Seven evil-ones attacking the world or a city – only the 10 against king Sudās (**III, 5,** above). The only approximate motif is Indra's destruction of Seven Forts of a tribe 'of insulting speech' *mṛdhravāc*, whom Keith calls (1989 : 234) Dāsas, a common name for demons, in *RV* I, 174, 2; but no more is said of this. There are many allusions to the Seven Sages *sapta-ṛṣi* (eg *RV* IV, 42, 8) and to monstrous Viśvarūpa who is called 'three-headed' and 'seven-raved' (II, 11, 19; X, 8,8). In later texts there appear seven-headed monsters also. However, the most likely candidates, if at all, are the Seven Maruts of *RV* VIII, 28, 5, who are sometimes presented as 7 bands of 7 (*RV* V, 52, 17), and are companions of Indra.

The Vedic threads are admittedly very slender but no more than the Akkadian ones. Many strange transmutations of motifs are observed in oral transmission. Thus Indra, the mighty divine hero of the IndoAryans is but a minor fiend in the Iranian *Avesta*; he appears as Inar(a) in Hittite myths and as goddess Andarta (or Andrasta) among the Celts of Gaul and Britain. Again, Parjanya, a Vedic minor god of rain, is Perenu (and variants) in Slavonic

mythology, a great Wargod (who, like Indra, killed a serpent to release cattle and waters) or the Lord of the universe; in the early Baltic texts he is a mere name *Perkunas* in a list of gods and later the oracular Thundergod; among the Norsemen he appears as male Fjorgyn and female Fjorgynn, mother of Thor. Similarly *azugallatu*, the title of the Babylonian goddess of healing , Gula, becomes in Greek masculine *asgelatas* and perhaps *Asklēpios* (B 75-9). So it would not be all that incredible if the seven godly Maruts appear in Greece as seven evil attackers and the seven forts as the seven-gated fort of Thebes – possibly with NE influences.

4. Plato devotes the whole of his *Republic* to show that a society would really prosper only if it were governed by wise men or philosopher kings; he reiterates this theme in his *Laws* 710B. This theme goes back to archaic texts where we read that the land and the people thrive under the good government of a faultless king (*Odyssey* 19, 106-13) or that peace and happiness prevail where just men rule (Hesiod's *Works and Days* 216-37). This view sounds so superbly reasonable that it comes as no surprise to find it expressed in other distant cultures, like the Chinese (eg Chuang Tzu in Giles 1980 : 30, 76-7, 109-12), which enquired with sagacity into the nature of things.

This theme may have been developed indigenously by the Greeks. On the other hand, it is adequately presented also in the Veda. The bare principles of kingship (its inviolability, the defence of Law and of the people) and the structured social classess are enunciated in the Brāhmaṇas (eg *ŚB* V, 1, 5, 14; V, 4, 4, 7ff; etc). In these texts there are several stories of righteous kings whose realm prospered. The best example is perhaps that of Aśvapati Kaikeya in whose kingdom "there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without the sacrificial fire, no ignorant person, no adulterer or courtesan" because he himself "had realized the Universal Self" (*Ch Up* V, 2, 4-6).

5. The substitution of sacrificial victims is another practice in archaic Greece that has parallels in the Veda. This substitution in Greece for various reasons in different circumstances, including pestilence, is examined extensively by D Hughes (1991 : 79ff). The practice is well attested in the Veda too. In the Vedic texts this takes many forms and is done in a variety of circumstances (Keith, I, 268 : "the victim is really offered as a ransom for oneself"). The best known case is that of young Śunaḥśepa whose release is mentioned in *RV* I, 24, 12-3 and whose entire predicament is narrated in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VIII, 13ff : an avaricious brahmin sells his

son. Śunaḥśepa to king Hariścandra, who is suffering from dropsy having avoided to sacrifice his own son to Varuṇa as he had promised to do; the lad takes the place of the king's son and is tied to the post but prays to the gods and they release him. The theory of substitution is stated in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 2, 3ff and in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* II, 8. Since this practice is found also "in the provision of the old Law of the Twelve Tables in Rome where a human being is substituted by a Ram" (B, 74), we can safely assume that the practice has its root in the IE tradition.

6. *The castration* of Ouranos by Kronos in Hesiod's *Theogony* (ll 178ff) is a most curious mythological motif. Since the discovery of the Hittite texts *Kingship in Heaven* and *The Myth of Ullikummi,* orientalists and classicists invariably cite the NE parallel of Kumarbi castrating Anu as the origin for Kronos castrating Ouranos in Hesiod.[12] No classicist ever mentions in this connection any affinities with the Vedic mythologem of Indra's slaying the dragon Vṛtra (*RV* I, 32); neither do comparativists, as far as I know, mention any relation, albeit hypothetical.

The *RV* hymn I, 32 is one of many about Indra and his heroic deeds and is devoted wholly to Indra's fighting and slaying Vṛtra. The most relevant stanza is 7 : *vṛṣṇó vádhriḥ pratimā́nam búbhūṣan purutrá vṛtró aśayad vyàstaḥ*. The more recent translations I have seen by W O' Flaherty (1975 : 75; 1981 : 150) and by J Puhvel (1989 : 52) are misleading in presenting the contrast between a "steer" (ie Vṛtra, a castrated young ox) and a "mighty bull" (i.e. Indra). I don't see why *vadhri* should be taken only as a metaphor; in *RV* X, 69, 10 the attestation of *vadhryaśváḥ* 'the gelded horse' or "one whose horse is gelded' indicates that *vadhri* does not on its own automatically mean a castrated anomal. A more correct translation would read, "Emasculated, Vrtra lay with limbs dissevered / scattered in many places – he who strove to be the equal of the mighty one." In other *RV* hymns we read that Vṛtra was struck in his 'vital part' (= *márma* : I, 16, 6; III, 32, 4; etc) and then hacked to pieces (I, 16, 12; VIII, 6, 13). Vṛtra had genitals since there was a brood of Vṛtras and he was the eldes or foremost. So he got castrated in the course of fighting: his genitals were among the other parts of his body strewn here and there. And the next stanza (8) says that these scattered parts got

12 See Penglase (1997 : 185-6) for full Bibliography.

submerged in billowing waters. When, moreover, we learn that Indra himself gets emasculated by a curse from sage Gautama after he, in the sage's form, went to bed with his wife Ahalyā (*Ra*, I, 47-8, developing the motif from *ŚB* III, 3, 4, 18 & XII, 7, 1, 10ff), then we can with good reason suspect that the castration of Ouranos may well be an inherited motif reshaped and retold by Hesiod, perhaps under NE influences.

There is another point of resemblance in this incident that should be taken into account. Stanza 4 of the *RV* hymn says that when Indra killed the dragon "at that moment [he, Indra] brought forth the Sun, Heaven and Dawn"; in *RV* I, 51, 4 again at the killing of Vṛtra Indra raises the Sun in the sky. Here then we see cosmogonic action beyond the release of the imprisoned waters. But the cosmogony here is quite different from the theogonic results of Ouranos's castration. Here the Sun, Heaven, Dawn and Waters already exist and are covered up or wholly encompassed by Vṛtra who is himself encompassed by darkness (*RV* X, 113, 6); Indra merely brings them forth again. The Hesiodic narrative has different proliferations : Ouranos disappears completely from the scene thereafter and Kronos (born wily, most terrible and hating his father) ascends the heavenly throne; from the blood of Ouranos on earth emerge the Erinyes (the terrible instruments of divine punishment), giants and nymphs, while in the sea rises the goddess of beauty and love, Aphrodite. These complications seem to relate to the Vedic sacrifice of Puruṣa (= primordial Man) by the gods and its cosmogonic result (*RV* X, 90); in the Scandinavian myth the gods Odin, Vili and Ve dismember the giant Ymir (z V *Yama*) again with cosmogonic results; castration is not involved in either – nor in the cosmogonic dismemberment of Tiamat by Marduk in the Mesopotamian *Epic of Creation* (*MM* 256-7). Even stranger seems the Hurrian / Hittite myth where Kumarbi, skygod Anu's son, bites off and swallows his father's genitals, becomes pregnant (!) and begets three gods, one of them being the Weathergod who overthrows in turn Kumarbi. I suspect the Greek and NE myths are both developments of the PIE motifs as preserved in the Vedic tradition. The Hittites afterall were IE and must have brought with them some inherited material, even though this underwent, much more than the Greek IE heritage, "heavy substratal exposure and adstratal influence... vertical diffusion from the local past and lateral diffusion from the contemporary vicinity", as Puhvel says of the Greeks (1989 : 22). The Kassites again were IE or had absorbed strong IE influences since many of their names and some of their gods

were of Indo Aryan descent[13] : under their rule in Babylonia, especially under Agum II (early 16th century), there was "a surge of literary invention, collection and recording" (*MM* 47, 229); Heidel 1965 : 13-4; Roux 1992 : 251).

7. Many other motifs and themes common to the mythologies of archaic Greece and Vedic India could be mentioned but most of them have been indicated and discussed by other scholars (eg Keith, Bhattacharji, Arora, Puhvel et al). In this study I have examined aspects that have not been indicated or adequately treated so far and especially aspects of literature, religion and magic (sections III, IV, V and VII). No doubt there are others.

VIII) Conclusions

One first conclusion concerns the archaic Greek culture itself. It has a distinct strand of IE tradition. This would not have been pure since the Greeks must have assimilated other elements from peoples they met on their way to the shores of the Aegean. A second strand is the indigenous culture the immigrants met when they arrived in Greece : this too would have been composite, consisting of the mainland culture, the Minoan on Crete and the Cycladic (and other islands of the Aegean). A fourth strand, also composite, came from the Near East. These four got interwoven and produced the miracle of classical Greece. Puhvel thought the Greek tradition was not a conservative repository of IE heritage 1989 : 22). This is true, of course, but only if one compares the Greek culture with the Vedic; otherwise the Greeks seem to have preserved much more than any other European tradition and the Anatolian one. The fact that the Greek language is *centum* while Vedic is *śatam* (or *satəm*) suffices to show that the Greeks and the IndoAryans were not close companions for any length of time to the exclusion of the other IE branches (ie Celts and Slavs, for example). Therefore the Greek correspondences or parallels with Vedic elements or practices cannot be coincidental (though some of them *may* be due to independent development) : they derive from a common soure, the PIE culture.

Another motif common to NE mythologies, Greek theogony and the Veda, is the incestuous relationship of many deities. In the peoples of the Near

13 Leaving out uncertain or disputed names, we find some names, or an element in compound names, that are indubitably Indo-Aryan : - indaš < S *Indra*; -bugaš < S *Bhaga*; - Maruttaš < S *Marutas* (plural); -Šuriaš < S *Sūrya*; etc. All are taken from J A Brinkman's chronology and lists of Kings in A L Oppenheim (1977 : 338).

East this relationship is also a fact of life, at least among royal families. This is not so in the archaic Greek and Vedic cultures : incest is condemned in both, as is evident in the Oedipus legend (mother-son relation) and the Yama-Yamī dialogue in *RV* X, 10 (sister wants to mate with brother but he resists). The explanation I would offer is that the Vedic culture knew that the gods were not real and did not exist as autogenous and autonomous entities. Karel Werner argued convincingly that the *Ṛgveda* contains two concurrent beliefs : one in polytheism with many individual gods, and one in monotheism (1989). Indeed the Creation Hymn *RV* X, 129 presents a most profound view of the primal Unity as the origin of all divine, cosmic and human phenomena. Scholars somewhat grudgingly conceded to the ancient Indian seers this view placing it as a late development of Vedic speculative thought (eg Keith, II, 446). Werner (acknowledging the work of R Otto and others) showed that this was not so, but that monotheism is in the *RV* as old as polytheism. He should have utilized at least four more hymns. Two, which may be late (I, 164, 6 and X, 114, 5), say that poets speak of It, being One, in many ways – naming. It Agni, Yama, Indra etc. The other two belong to the Family Books and are probably very early : hymn VIII, 58, 2 says "It being One has variously (*vi*) become this All (and Everything)"; then, the refrain of III, 55 states plainly "Single is the great god-power (*asuratva*) of the gods." Since the deities were representations of cosmic forces and manifestations of the One, then obviously it would not matter if they united and generated other deities just as cosmic forces mingle and generate new phenomena. In social life incest was not practised in ancient India, nor among the other IE branches.

The idea of a primordial Unity as the originative principle of all cosmic phenomena is absent in the Greek (and other IE) and NE mythologies, though in Greece some three centuries of philosophical enquiry into the nature of things led eventually to formulations of that Unity (by Parmenides, Melissos of Samos and Plato). The Greeks retained the incestuous relationships relationship among the gods but, probably because of their IE heritage, not in their ordinary life. So did the IndoAryans. The odd thing about the Greeks is that while their Philosophy found that primordial Unity, their religion continued with its polytheism. Of course, the same thing prevailed much earlier in ancient India. Obviously the One Primal Source of all, being Itself unmanifest, cannot so readily become an object of worship as other deities.

The second conclusion concerns the Vedic culture. Without it much in the ancient European cultures would have remained unconnected and

unexplained – both in language and in religion or mythology. The legend of Greek Dioskouroi and Lithouanian Dievo Sunelai would not have been connected if it had not been for the Vedic Aśvins. The practice of sacrificial substitute (above VI, 5), to mention an example from religion, would be considered (as Burkert takes it in 1992 : 73-5) a result of borrowing or diffusion from the Near East to Greece and thence to Rome. Phiologists in the West, and no doubt many in India who follow western trends, place almost all IE branches on the same level in linguistic and broader cultural consideration. Thus O'Flaherty refers to "Indo-European attitudes" and "Indo-European cultures" in her examination of the IE myth of twins and horse-deities and begins with a discussion of the Celtic material and then the Vedic – and first the ritual of the horse-human copulation and then the myths (1980 : 15ff); at least Puhvel starts his comparative study with the Vedic tradition (1989). It is understandable that all cultures should be studied with the same zeal but not that all should be accorded the same status or importance. Why? First of all, it is obvious that some preserve only a very small amount of inherited forms while others have a very rich inheritance and the Vedic tradition seems to be the wealthiest of them all. Then the Vedic heritage, even by the most niggardly dating at c 1000 BC, is older by at least 300 years than the earliest Greek records (barring the scanty Mycenaean ones). There is no disagreement among scholars that "Vedic is a language whic *in most respects* is more archaic and less altered from original Indo-European *than any other member* of the family" (Burrow 1973 : 34, emphasis added). Here we can add some phiological considerations. Greek has *huios* for 'son' (z S *sūnu*, Gmc *sun-*, Sl *synŭ*, Tocharian A/B *se/soy*, Av *hunu*) and *hus/sus* for 'sow (she-swine)' (z S *sū-kara*, Gmc *su-/gu-*, L *sūs*, Av *hū*). Curiously, in Greek (and in the other IE languages) the tow stems stand isolated without a root or other verb- and noun-cognates. Only Sanskrit provides a root (common for both 'son' and 'sow') with the dhātu √*sū* (> *sūte*) 'beget' and cognates both in nouns and verb-formations. Again Gk *thugatēr* 'daughter' stands rootless and isolated, as do its cognates in the other IE languages (Av *dugðdar*, Gmc *tochter*, Lth *duktē*, etc); there are secondary, later formations eg Gk *thugatrion*, but only S *duhitṛ*, shows a connection with *duh* 'milk, derive' and other cognates. We observe the same situation with Gk *mētēr* 'mother' (z L *mater*, Gmc *muoter*, etc) or *mus* 'mouse' (L *mūs* Gms *mūs/maus*, etc) : here too only Sanskrit has *muṣ* 'steal' and other primary nominals and verbal formations. Another, somewhat different consideration concerns the IE names for 'sun' : all branches have cognates like S *sūrya*, Gk *hēlios*, L *sol*, Lth *sáule* etc, all masculine, except the Gmc *sunn-* (Old English *sunne* OHG *sunna*) which is femininie; yet here again Sanskrit ha fem *sūryā* 'sunmaiden' and thus provides a probable

explanation for the difference. It is strange that, given all these simple facts, the Vedic culture is not given the higher status it deserves and it is a pity sanskritists acquiesce in this situation.[14]

An examination of archaic Greek cosmogonic material would reveal further parallels in the Vedic texts. Neither in the Mycenaean nor in the archaic Greek period do we find the concept of the Unity that is the originative principle of all creation. This is true, of course, of all other IE and NE mythologies – except the Judaic religion; even in Egypt, Atum (= the Complete One), who 'evolves' or 'becomes' (= *kheper*) out of the primeval Water *Nun*, is only a secondary power, having something prior to him. It is therefore correct to see in all these mythologies "matter created from the action of heat on water" and also "a multi-layered dualism that pervades Indo-European myth and religion" (Stone 1997 : 79). However, it is misleading to ascribe this view (as Stone does on the same page[15]) to the Vedic tradition as well, which, more clearly than any other ancient document, asserts the primordial Unity as the First Principle of all cosmogony. Such an examination would, however, require a separate study.

The evidence of parallels between archaic Greece and India leads to a third conclusion – that there are connections betwen the Vedic tradition and NE cultures. In the course of our discussion we saw many similarities both in mythological motifs and ritual practices.[16] Many of them could perhaps be

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14 Some notable exceptions have argued for the seniority and importance of Sanskrit and the Vedic culture : eg L Dhar *The Home of the Aryans* 1930, Imperial Book Depot, Delhi; S S Misra *The Aryan Problem* 1992, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi; et al. I disregard here shrill Indian publications that rely on nationalist feeling rather than scholarly method and evidence.

15 Puhvel states the situation with care, making the right distinction : "Fire and ice/water were both present in Norse cosmology and eschatology alike. 'Fire in water' is a theme that recurs in Indo-Iranian, Irish and Roman lore, in a complex mythologem of clear Indo-European significance" (1989 : 277)

16 Many a scholar (eg West 1978 : 175-6, with bibliography) thinks that Indic legends like the 4 Yugas (*Manusmṛti* I, 81-6) and many others have a NE origin. M Eliade believes that the conception of seven or nine heavens found in Buddhism and earlier Brāhmanism "probably represents the influence of Babylonian cosmology" (1972 : 406) but adduces no evidence fot this and I can't help wondering why the statement is made at all. Arora, again, thinks that NE legends influenced Vedic texts (1981 : 183-4) and that Greek legends

(Continued on the next page)

ascribed to independent coincidental growth, arising from observation of natural phenomena like sunrise, rain, storm and lightning, the night-sky, the repetition of seasons and so on. Such may be, to take Egyptian mythology, the separation of Earth and Sky by Shu, god of Ari and Light who corresponds to Indra in his aerial and solar aspects. That Hathor should be thought of in terms of a divine Cow of plenty, while the all-nourshing Cow of heaven is a very common motif in the Veda, would also fall in the same category; the same can be said of Earth appearing in the midst of Waters, a concept shared by both the Egyptian and Vedic people. This, however, cannot be said of the idea that the souls of heroes or noblemen after death go to heaven and join the sun or stars : this concept could not have arisen from observation, nor the concept of "the cosmic egg" in the Vedic lore (*mārta-aṇḍa* 'sprung from the dead egg' in *RV* X, 72, 8; *hiraṇyagarbha* 'golden germ' in X, 121, 1; division of egg in *Ch Up* III, 19, 1-4) and in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, spell 85 (also *Coffin Texts*, spell 223 : for both, see Faulkner). However this matter also would require a separate study.

(Continued from p. 36)

influenced the Indian epics and fables (177-82). The latter case is very probable if we take into account the settlement of Greeks into the northwestern regions of India after Alexander. The former case can be maintained only if we accept the "Aryan-immigration" theory and all it entails, a theory that has no basis whatever in fact (see n 5, above).

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Poulheria Kyriakou

Images of women in Pindar

This paper's goal is fairly limited. I will focus on Pindar's presentation of female mythological characters and compare it with our information on how gender and sexuality largely determined the social position of free-born, upper middle-class/aristocratic, early-mid fifth century BC Greek women. Pindar addresses female sexuality, at least in a relatively developed form that can lead to conclusions, always rather passingly or marginally[1]. This marginality has contributed, and almost condemned most of the passages in question, to nearly complete critical neglect[2].

Let me state clearly from the beginning two things. a) Although my discussion may occasionally sound judgmental, it will never be intentionally so. My purpose is to describe and illuminate rather than criticize the attitudes and values of a society long gone. b) As far as the ancient authors' relationship to myth, i.e. their freedom of choice relative to it, is concerned, it is, I think, safe to say that they do not seem confined by the constraints of a rigid or canonical mythological tradition. There is abundant evidence that they added, subtracted, altered and merged elements as they pleased. Pindar himself has more than once in his odes made a point of «correcting» mythic versions[3],

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1. For Pindar's lack of interest in women see S.B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves*, New York 1975, pp. 52-53.

2. I will not consider all the references to women in the Pindaric corpus because many of them are too brief and thus inconclusive. On Medea, the most notable absentee from my analysis, see P. Ahlert, *Mädchen und Frauen in Pindars Dichtung*, Leipzig 1942, («Philologus Suppl.» 34.1), ch.2 and Ch. Segal, *Pindar's Mythmaking: the Fourth Pythian Ode*, Princeton 1986, passim (esp. pp. 165-168, 171-179) and the bibliography cited there.

3. See M.C. van der Kolf, *Quaeritur quomodo Pindarus fabulas tractaverit quidque in eis mutarit*, Rotterdam 1923, pp. 1-5, J. Duchemin, *Pindare, Poète et Prophète*, Paris 1955, pp. 154-157, G. Pini, *Correzioni di miti in Pindaro*, «Vichiana» 4, 1967, pp. 339-382, G. Huxley, *Pindar's Vision of the Past*, Belfast 1975, pp. 14-22, P. Angeli Bernardini, *Mito e attualità nelle Odi di Pindaro*, Roma

most famously in *O.* 1, 25 ff.[4] As it will be shown below, he also often narrates alternative or even contradictory versions of the same myth in different odes. Thus, whatever version Pindar chooses was consciously selected and not dictated by any mythological canon.

I will begin with the myth of Coronis in *P.* 3 because it comments on almost all the issues that concern women and their relationships to men in Pindar. The myth of Coronis occupies a significant position in an important part of *P.* 3, almost one fourth of the ode (*P.* 3, 8-44). On the other hand, Pindar devotes very few lines to Asclepius' story (*P.* 3, 45-58), although his misdemeanor was just as grave as his mother's, and perhaps even more so. The myth of Coronis is first attested in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (frr. 59-61). Pindar made two alterations to the Hesiodic version. The first and most important concerns the raven, which in Hesiod was punished by Apollo because it betrayed Coronis' affair to him[5]. Pindar rejects the raven story

1983, pp. 75 ss. and T. Hubbard, *Two Notes on the Myth of Aeacus*, «Gr. Rom. Byz. Stud.» 28, 1987, 5-22.

4. See J. Th. Kakridis, *Die Pelops Sagen bei Pindar*, «Philologus» 85, 1930, pp. 463-477, J.G. Howie, *The Revision of Myth in Pindar Olympian 1. The Death and Revival of Pelops (25-27; 36-66)* in *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4, ed. F. Cairns, Liverpool 1983, pp. 277-313, A. Köhnken, *Time and Event in Pindar O. 1.25-53*, «Class. Ant.» 2, 1983, pp. 66-76 and E. Krummen, *Pyrsos Hymnon*, Berlin/New York 1990, pp. 168 ss. (cf. 270-273). *Paean* 7b, which deals with Asteria's story, is another case in point. In l. 45 someone, probably the poet, expresses disbelief at the version of the story narrated; see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros*, Berlin 1922, 328, P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse*, Göttingen 1988, («Hypomnemata» 90), pp. 105-107 and G. B. D' Alessio, *Pindaro, Peana VIIb (fr. 52 h Sn.-M.)*, «Proceedings of the XIX International Congress of Papyrology» (Cairo 2-9 September 1989), Cairo 1992, I, pp. 371-373.

5. On the Hesiodic version of the story see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Isyllos: Isyllos von Epidaurus*, Berlin 1886, pp. 57ff., L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar*, 1, London 1930, p. 97, L. Illig, *Zur Form der Pindarischen Erzählung*, Berlin 1932, pp. 51-52, K. Fehr, *Die Mythen bei Pindar*, Zürich 1936, pp. 95 and 97, E.J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, 2, Baltimore 1945, pp. 24 ss., G. Méautis, *Pindare le Dorien*, Neuchâtel 1962, p. 140, J. Duchemin, *Pindare Pythiques (III, IX, IV, V)*, Paris 1967, pp. 33-35. M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, Oxford 1985, pp. 69-72, expresses doubts whether Coronis' story was narrated in the *Catalogue*. It is true that F 60, the beginning of the raven episode, could originate from any Hesiodic poem, not necessarily from the *Catalogue*, but there is no compelling evidence that the fragment did not belong to a longer narrative about Coronis and Ischys, as West p. 71 suggests. West's reservations about F 59, which did belong to the *Catalogue*, are valid. On Coronis' story see also R. W.

and projects a much more rationalized image of the god emphasizing his supreme intellectual power that cannot be tricked or fooled by man or god. I will return to Apollo's νόος later. For now it is important to note that one of Pindar's main preoccupations in this and other odes is to enhance the image of Apollo and stress his absolute superiority even in comparison to other gods[6]. The image of an omniscient and austere god was much more likely to cast a longer shadow on Coronis' crime than the presentation of Apollo as the ignorant cuckold husband, away in business and notoriously the last to know, the image Ovid, for instance, favored throughout in his treatment of the myth (*Met.* 2, 542-632).

Pindar's other innovation, his making Coronis' lover an Arcadian and not a Thessalian, has been stressed in the literature as one of the poet's ways to emphasize the gravity of Coronis' mistake who, scorning the ἐπιχώρια (*P.* 3, 22), loved things, and consequently men, far away[7]. It is true that Pindar apparently intends his audience to make this connection but there can be no denying that such a connection is a non sequitur from a strictly logical point of view. Apollo does not become angry or angrier because his lover consorts with a foreigner

B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes: Essays in Interpretation*, Oxford 1962, pp. 82-84 and D. C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar: A Literary Study of Pythian 11, Pythian 3, Olympian 7*, Leiden 1968, («Mnemosyne Suppl.» 9) p. 38.

6. On Apollo's intellectual superiority see G. Bonelli, *Il mondo poetico di Pindaro*, Torino 1987, pp. 33-35 and 116-122; see also R. Rossi, *La religiosità di Pindaro*, «La Parola del Passato» 7, 1952, pp. 35-36, E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars*, Innsbruck 1957, pp. 14 and 36-37, Burton, op. cit. p. 84, A. Köhnken, *Pindar as Innovator: Poseidon Hippios and the Relevance of the Pelops Story in Olympian 1*, «Class. Quart.» 24, 1974, pp. 202-204 and H.F. North, *From Myth to Icon*, Ithaca/London 1979, pp. 61 ff. Cf. also L. Séchan and P. Lévèque, *Les grandes divinités de la Grèce*, Paris 1966, pp. 203 ff. On Apollo as Pindar's favorite god see J. Defradas, *Les thèmes de la propagande Delphique*, Paris 1954, p. 149 n.1, M. Delcourt, *L'Oracle de Delphes*, Paris 1955, pp. 255-261 and especially Duchemin, op. cit. (n. 3) pp. 106-112 and S. Anastase, *Apollon dans Pindare*, Athens 1975.

7. See Burton, op. cit. pp. 84-85, Young, op. cit. pp. 35-36, North, op. cit. p. 50 and Th.K. Hubbard, *The Pindaric Mind*, Leiden 1985, («Mnemosyne Suppl.» 85), p. 24; for comprehensive studies on the myths of *P.* 3 see E. Medda, *Ἤρατο τῶν ἀπεόντων. Prosperità e limitatezza umana in una gnome pindarica (P. 3.19 sgg.)* in *Scritti in ricordo di Giorgio Buratti*, Pisa 1981, pp. 295-309, G. Arrighetti, *I miti di Coronide e Asclepio nella Pitica 3 di Pindaro* in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, ed. S.F. Bondi, S.Pernigotti, F. Serra, A. Vivian, Pisa, 1985, pp. 29-38 and A. M. Buongiovanni, *Sulla composizione della III Pitica*, «Athenaeum» 63, 1985, pp. 327-336.

from Arcadia. His wrath would not have been assuaged had Coronis taken a Thessalian lover. This would be a truly paradoxical assumption to make. As far as Coronis was concerned, any human lover, even her next-door neighbor, would have been ἀπεών and πόρσω (*P.* 3, 22). Pindar's characterization of Coronis would not have been any different had she chosen a Thessalian and Apollo could not care less about his rival's origins. When Pindar first brings up Coronis' deed (*P.* 3, 13), he does not specify who her lover was or where he came from, because this information is indeed irrelevant to Coronis' transgression and its consequences. Only later, especially as the narrative moves closer to Apollo's dreadful revenge, does Pindar supply more details about Ischys' identity and act. His affair with Coronis is characterized as «ξεινίαν κοίταν ἄθεμίν τε δόλον» (*P.* 3, 32). It is conceivable that Pindar chose his terms carefully, so as to exploit another aspect of Ischys' foreign identity, his being Phlegyas' guest, although nothing to this effect is made explicit in the text. Since ξένος means both «stranger» and «guest-friend»[8] and θέμις is clearly associated with guest-friendship duties in Homer (*Il.* 11, 778; *Od.* 9, 268, 10, 73; 14, 56), Ischys' secret affair with his host's daughter had perhaps more serious implications than a fatal attraction between strangers would have. In the eyes of a Greek audience Ischys transgressed the limits of ξενία and thus he offended not only Apollo but also Zeus Xenios[9]. Given Pindar's silence this

8. On the ambivalence of the term ξένος see S. Reece, *The Stranger's Welcome*, Ann Arbor 1993, p. 108. On ξενία and the obligations it incurred see E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* 1, Paris 1969, p. 341, R. P. Martin, *Hesiod, Odysseus, and the Instruction of Princes*, «Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.» 114, 1984, p. 35, G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 124 ff., G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, Baltimore/London 1990, p. 147 and S. Goldhill, *The Poet's Voice*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 130-131. For a list of violations of ξενία in Pindar's odes see Hubbard, op. cit. p. 156. For Pindar as ξένος of his patrons see G. Gianotti, *Per una poetica pindarica*, Torino 1975, p. 14, D. Steiner, *The Crown of Song*, London 1986, p. 77 and L. Kurke, *The Traffic in Praise*, Ithaca/London 1991, pp. 137 ff.

9. For the association between θέμις and ξενία see H. Vos, *ΘΕΜΙΣ*, Assen 1956, 16-17 and 31-32. Reverence for Zeus Xenios is a recurrent Pindaric motif. Ixion's offense in *P.* 2, 21 ff. also entailed, among other things, a breach of the ξενία code. On Ixion's myth see M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis* transl. J. Lloyd, Sussex 1977, pp. 83-87, T.N. Gantz, *Pindar's Second Pythian: The Myth of Ixion*, «Hermes» 106, 1978, pp. 14-26, J.M. Bell, *God, Man and Animal in Pindar's*

reconstruction can be no more than speculative. Nevertheless, since ξενία was a well-established and revered social and religious institution, it is not impossible that Pindar counted on his audience's background in order to complete his theodicy while explicitly stressing the point that Coronis slept with an Arcadian in her bad yearning for things far away.

Turning to Pindar's treatment of Coronis' myth proper, one finds a fair number of things that are difficult to account for. After mentioning Coronis' ἀμπλακία (*P.* 3, 13) Pindar's first accusation, formulated even before he states explicitly how Coronis offended Apollo, is that Coronis started her affair without her father's knowledge. Thus Pindar implies that Coronis first insulted her father and was unsuccessful in her filial role. When Pindar first refers to her he uses a periphrasis: «the daughter of the good horseman Phlegyas» (*P.* 3, 8). The father dominates Coronis' horizon before Apollo enters the scene. When Pindar finally states the woman's name and recapitulates her offense, Apollo is called her σκοπός (*P.* 3, 26). His role and Phlegyas' role are thus closely connected and virtually parallel: one is the human, the other the divine σκοπός, one can be tricked, the other cannot; one is the father, the other is... what? The husband? Not even Pindar could claim that. Although he is suggesting that Coronis' union with Apollo was a marriage by calling her union with Ischys «ἄλλον...γάμον» (*P.* 3, 13), his terminology is inconclusive and deliberately vague. It would be impossible to translate Apollo and Coronis' relationship in marital terms, despite Pindar's attempt to portray Apollo as the wronged husband.

The Pindaric account of Coronis' story stresses two further elements that raise questions and eyebrows. When Pindar says that Coronis had an affair with Ischys without her father's knowledge, he implies that Phlegyas' knowledge could somehow have a bearing on his daughter's actions, on Apollo's reac-

Second Pythian in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of L. Woodbury*, ed. D.E. Gerber, Chico 1984, pp. 8-14, G.W. Most, *The Measures of Praise*, Göttingen 1985 («Hypomnemata» 83), pp. 76-86 and F. Zeitlin, *Configurations of Rape in Greek Myth* in *Rape*, ed. S. Tomaselli and R. Porter, Oxford 1986, pp. 132-133. The chaste Peleus rejects his hostess' advances because of his piety towards Zeus Xenios in *N.* 5.26-34; J. Stern, *The Structure of Pindar's N. 5*, «Class. Phil.» 66, 1971, pp. 169-173. On Peleus and his relationship with the gods see also below n. 71.

tion, and thus on Pindar's condemnation of her. However, if Pindar's attitude toward her is a reflection of Apollo's outrage at her choice of a mortal mate, then Phlegyas' knowledge of his daughter's affair would not alter Apollo's, and thus Pindar's, reaction at all. Nevertheless, Pindar exploits everything, even elements that do not logically belong to the causal sequence of events, as he narrates them, in his effort to impress upon the audience the image of an absolutely wicked and worthless Coronis, who shamelessly defied all codes of appropriate female behavior. From a factual point of view, it is indeed unimportant whether Phlegyas knew of Coronis' affair or not but in terms of moral considerations it is a crucial and well-chosen element. An unmarried girl who cheats on Apollo without her father's knowledge is absolutely worthless because she violates all laws, both divine and human[10]. Pindar's audience was bound to sympathize with the verdict against Coronis and Apollo thus emerged as the champion of morality and justice, the punisher of female lust.

Pindar also elaborates on the fact that Coronis did not wait for the marriage ceremony but rushed headlong to a sexual union having fallen victim to ἄτη and nourishing vain hopes (*P.* 3, 16-25). The reference to marriage ceremony is really astonishing. What marriage was Coronis supposed to expect? Virgins impregnated by gods either never married and raised their offspring in subsequent obscurity, like Io, Danae, Europa and Euadne or, more rarely, exposed the child and went on with a rather miserable life like Pitane, the mother of Euadne in *O.* 6, 29-34, and Creusa, the mother of Ion[11]. Only women who were seduced when already married, like Alcmene or Leda,

10. On premarital affairs of virgins and the harsh punishment they incurred when detected see Solon fr. 23 and A.R.W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, 1, Oxford 1968, p. 73, G. Sissa, *Maidenhood Without Maidenhead: The Female Body in Ancient Greece* in *Before Sexuality*, ed. D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin, Princeton 1990, pp. 346-348; cf. N. Loraux, *Creusa the Autochthon: A Study of Euripides' Ion* in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?*, ed. J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, Princeton 1990, p. 199 n.102.

11. On Creusa's presentation in Euripides' *Ion* see Loraux, op. cit. (n.10) pp. 168-206 (see 172-173 for similarities and differences between Creusa and Euadne; cf. also C. H. Whitman, *Euripides and the Full Cycle of Myth*, Cambridge Mass. 1974, p. 73 and C. A. P. Ruck, *On the Sacred Names of Iamos and Ion: Ethnobotanical Referents in the Hero's Parentage*, «Class. Journ.» 71, 1976, pp. 235-252).

continued a normal life. Coronis' union with Apollo was definitely not a regular marriage and Apollo would have never sanctioned a marriage for her. In fact, the Hesiodic version of the story mentioned a lawful marriage between Coronis and Ischys; Apollo's jealous reaction was just as violent. Nevertheless, Pindar stresses only Coronis' mental blindness, which he compares and contrasts very unfavorably with Apollo's all-seeing and infallible νόος[12].

The reversal of normal order in Coronis' case is apparent in Pindar's utterances on her love of things far away. Pindar makes Coronis part of a long litany of mythological sinners who foolishly and vainly sought to achieve the impossible: consort with gods, fight and trick gods, turn humans into gods[13]. Even within *P.* 3 the myth of Asclepius exemplifies this pattern and Pindar stresses to the point of hyperbole that a man should observe human limitations, beware of seeking immortality and be content with human aspirations. But Coronis is a truly unique member of this category of sinners. Her aspirations were all too human and had absolutely nothing to do with a quest for immortality or higher status[14], although the difference is often obscured in discussions of *P.* 3[15]. Coronis is severely punished

12. νόος is often used for gods and heroes in Pindar. Zeus' νόος governs human affairs (*P.* 5, 122). More importantly νόος is shared by mortals and gods (*N.* 6, 5). On the other hand, φρήν/φρένες are used for humans, their limitations and flaws, like φθόνος (*I.* 2, 43), greed (*P.* 4, 139) and ἀμπλακία (*P.* 3, 13, *O.* 7, 24; cf. *P.* 2, 26). In fr. 61, 4 it is said that a mortal φρήν cannot investigate the divine thoughts. φρένες is actually used only twice for gods, in *O.* 1, 41 (desire for Pelops strikes Poseidon's φρένες) and *P.* 1, 12 (music influences gods' φρένες). Both situations are experienced by gods and mortals alike. On νόος see S. D. Sullivan, ***An Analysis of the Psychic Term νόος in Pindar and Bacchylides***, «Glotta» 68, 1990, pp. 179-202. On Coronis and Apollo's intellectual power see D. Roloff, *Gottähnlichkeit, Vergöttlichung und Erhöhung zu Seligem Leben*, Berlin 1970, pp. 170-171. On φρένες in Pindar see S. D. Sullivan, *An Analysis of φρένες in Pindar and Bacchylides*, «Glotta» 67, 1989, pp. 148-189.

13. On mythological sinners see C. Pascal, *Le credenze d'oltretomba nelle opere letterarie dell'antichità classica*, Catania 1912, pp. 238 ss. and C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Crime and Punishment: Tityos, Tantalos and Sisyphos in Odyssey 11*, «Bull. Inst. Class. Stud.» 33, 1986, pp. 37-58 with extensive bibliography cited in the notes. For a typology of mythological sinners see North, op. cit. pp. 29-33.

14. See Arrighetti, op. cit., Buongiovanni, op. cit., and Medda, op. cit.; cf. also H.N. Pelliccia, *Pindarus Homericus: Pythian 3.1-80*, «Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.» 91, 1987, pp. 39-63.

15. See, for example, Young, op. cit. pp. 40 ff., M.R. Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode*,

for indulging her humanity, which in her case is described as «absent, far away». Not only did Apollo's rape shatter Coronis' chances for a happy and normal future, it also, deeper down, robbed her of her individuality and her humanity, reversed the most basic parameters of her human existence[16] and reduced her to the status of object-vessel-carrier of Apollo's sperm[17]. It is true of course that Pindar would and could adjust his gnomes to suit very different myths or interpret the myths in ways that served his purposes. But even granted that, Pindar's interpretation of Coronis' myth, especially back to back with her son's myth and in an ode whose principal theme is the avoidance of divine aspirations, becomes striking in its uniqueness that accomodates a specific act in a totally alien moral framework.

Pindar's obvious bias against Coronis' abused sexuality continues and culminates in his description of the revenge Apollo took with his sister's help (*P.* 3, 31 ss.). Having received word in his omniscient mind of Ischys' treacherous and lawless affair, Apollo punishes not only the guilty party, who, very significantly, is not Ischys but Coronis, but also the innocent inhabitants of southern Thessaly, Coronis' neighbors[18]. The reference

Park Ridge, NJ 1976, pp. 147 ss. and K. Crotty, *Song and Action*, Baltimore 1982, pp. 50-51.

16. Sexual encounters with gods very often harbored great dangers for mortals who could lose their human form (like Io, Callisto and Daphne) or even their life (like Semele); see C.R. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis*, Chicago 1978, pp. 179-180, L. Bodson, *IEPA ZΩIA: Contribution à l' étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Brussels 1978, pp. 136-139, P. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le Dieu Pan*, Rome/Genève 1979, pp. 48-55 and 123-125, A. Henrichs, *Three Approaches to Greek Mythography* in *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, ed. J. Bremmer, London/Sydney 1987, pp. 254-267 and C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *"Reading" Greek Culture*, Oxford 1991, pp. 48-50; cf. M. R. Lefkowitz, *Heroines and Hysterics*, London 1981, pp. 87-88. Coronis's case is peculiar. She both undergoes a radical, although not visible, change and dies at the end.

17. For the widespread Greek belief, first found in Hesiod, that the woman is a vessel and medium to male ends see J. P. Vernant, *Mythe et Société en Grèce Ancienne*, Paris 1974, pp. 187 ff., P. Pucci, *Hesiod and the Language of Poetry*, Baltimore 1977, pp. 82 ff., and N. Loraux, *Sur la race des femmes et quelques-unes de ses Tribus*, «Arethusa» 11, 1978, pp. 47 ff.; cf. M. B. Arthur, *The Dream of a World Without Women: Poetics and the Circles of Order in the Theogony Prooemium*, «Arethusa» 16, 1983, pp. 111-112 and G. E. R. Lloyd, *Science, Folklore and Ideology*, Cambridge 1983, Part II.

18. On Apollo's behavior see G. Norwood, *Pindar*, Berkeley 1945, p. 56, Duchemin, op. cit. (n. 3) p. 112 and Young, op. cit. p. 39.

to Ischys by name at this point, the only one in the entire poem, is probably meant to prove Apollo's mental power. He knows everything, he perceives the matter in its totality and all its details, the identity and ancestry of those involved and the implications of their act. But Apollo's supreme intellect does not prevent him from punishing innocent people in order to take out his frustration and anger at being rejected by a mortal[19]. Moreover, although he attacks mortals indiscriminately, he apparently disregards a crucial one, his rival Ischys.

Despite this accumulation of facts difficult to reconcile with the image of an omniscient and austere god, Pindar does not utter a word of censure against his favorite divinity. Instead, at the end of his description of Apollo's cruel and unjust revenge, he employs a metaphor designed to shift all the responsibility for the punishment of Coronis' neighbors from Apollo to Coronis. Young has claimed that the passage's imagery suggests a plague sent by Apollo and Artemis that apparently hit Coronis' homeland as a punishment for her misdemeanor[20]. But I think that in the context of Coronis and Ischys' illicit love-affair Pindar's imagery is primarily sexual and only secondarily, if indeed at all, medical. The terms he uses for the beginning and the spreading of the fire, πῦρ, σπέρμα, ἐνθορόν, are sexually loaded and it is truly astonishing that so far almost no one seems to have grasped their obvious connotations. σπέρμα is used in *P.* 3, 15 for Apollo's seed, in *O.* 9, 61 and *N.* 10, 16 for Zeus' and in *N.* 10, 81 for Tyndareus' seed. This word, coupled in *P.* 3, 15 with ἐνθορόν, which clearly recalls θορή, seed, as if in order to make the point more obvious, is apparently used as implicit slander directed against Ischys and Coronis, whose sexual union started «the fire»[21] that destroyed the neighbors.

19. On Apollo's inability to handle female rejection see Pomeroy, op. cit. pp. 11-12.

20. Young, op. cit. pp. 38-40; cf. also W.J. Slater, *Pindar's Pythian 3: Structure and Purpose*, «Quad. Urb.» 58, 1988, pp. 51-61. On Apollo in his capacity as seer and plague-bringer see E.J. Vodoklys, *Blame-Expression in the Epic Tradition*, New York/London 1992, pp. 18-19; cf. G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*, Baltimore 1979, p. 143 n.3.

21. Cf. Lefkowitz, op. cit. (n.15) p. 146. On sexual heat and incontinence, considered a mainly female characteristic, see Detienne, op. cit. p. 120 and A. Carson, *Putting Her in Her Place: Woman, Dirt, and Desire* in Halperin, Winkler and Zeitlin, op. cit. (n.10) pp. 140-142; cf. M.L. West, *Hesiod. Works and Days*, Oxford

Pindar's masterly use of terms and choice of details to highlight[22] is well exemplified in his references to Coronis: she is called «daughter of Phlegyas» at first (*P.* 3, 8) and this periphrasis denotes her ancestry, and by implication, her social role and expectations; in the middle of the narrative, when her hour comes, Pindar uses the dignified epic expression λῆμα Κορωνίδος in order to signify her manly courage coupled with references to her crooked judgment and her female coquetterie (*P.* 3, 24-25); finally, incongruously, after all the noise about her affairs with human and divine lovers, she is called a παρθένος (*P.* 3, 34) and a κούρα (*P.* 3, 39) in order to reflect the anomaly of her social position. Despite all her willing and unwilling experiments with sex and procreation, Coronis remained in the eyes of the community a girl[23]. She is denied an independent adult identity. Her revolution is unsuccessful and self-destructive and Pindar also saddles her with the destruction of other people. Her sexuality is violated and frowned upon[24], viewed by Pindar with hostility which incurs slander.

Most of the themes in *P.* 3 also occur in *P.* 9[25], an ode full of

1978, p. 329, P. Mason, *Third Person/Second Sex. Patterns of Sexual Assymetry in the Theogony of Hesiodos* in *Sexual Assymetry*, ed. J. Blok and P. Mason, Amsterdam 1987, pp. 153-154, J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, Oxford 1991², pp. 47-48 (cf. 142-144 and 177-178) and P. DuBois, *Sowing the Body*, Chicago 1988, pp. 110-129, esp. 120-123.

22. On Pindar's stylistic/rhetorical devices see W. Race, *Style and Rhetoric in Pindar's Odes*, Atlanta 1990, pp. 20-40.

23. Although παρθένος and κούρα were used to denote «unmarried female», virgin or not, the use of these terms in the particular context that deals with Coronis' status and actions had a special poignancy and irony that underlined the paradox of Coronis' situation; cf. G. Sissa, *Greek Virginity* (trans. A. Goldhammer), Cambridge Mass./London 1990, pp. 78 and 104. For a similar suggestive use of the adjective παρθένιος in *O.* 6, 36 see Goldhill, op. cit. p. 154. On κούρα/παρθένος in Greek see A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, Roma 1969, p. 305, C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaique* 1, Roma 1977, p. 65, P. Grimal, *Vierges et virginité* in *La première fois*, ed. P. Grimal et al., Paris 1981, p. 212, N. Loraux, *Les enfants d'Athéna. Idées Athéniennes sur la citoyenneté et la division des sexes*, Paris 1981, p. 241 n.183, H. King, *Bound to Bleed: Artemis and Greek Women* in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, London/Canberra 1983, pp. 111-113 and Sissa, op. cit. (n.10) pp. 347-348.

24. On women's independence and sexuality in ancient Greek myth see Zeitlin, op. cit. (n.9) p. 136.

25. On similarities between *P.* 3 and *P.* 9 see E. D. Floyd, *The Premiere of Pindar's Third and Ninth Pythian Odes*, «Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.» 99, 1968, 181-202

women and marriages[26] composed in 474 BC, the year that *P.* 3 was probably written[27]. In the central myth, Apollo's abduction of Cyrene, Pindar praises Cyrene for the very reasons he accused Coronis. Cyrene and Coronis are Apollo's (and Pindar's) good and bad girl. The good girl receives praise and a nice Libyan candy, the bad girl receives slander and a funeral pyre. But the bottomline is not really different for all the women in *P.* 3 and 9. Apollo the impetuous lover-rapist spots Cyrene in the glens of Pelion and suddenly, most astonishingly and unexpectedly, he forsakes his famous and widely acclaimed omniscience[28] (*P.* 9, 33 ss.). His fascination with Cyrene reduces him to the status of an ignorant young man[29] who falls for an athletic girl and needs to ask an experienced older friend, Cheiron, for information and directions[30]. Although the tenor of the passage is jocular or, at best, adulatory, recently Köhnken has taken it at face value and constructed an elaborate argument in order to explicate it[31]. He is aware of the fact that Cyrene's transfer to Libya was predetermined all along – Cheiron makes it the main point of his utterance that Apollo is the master of wisdom and knows everything since time im-

and A. Köhnken, *Meilichos Orga. Liebesthematik und Aktueller Sieg in der Neunten Pythischen Ode Pindars* in *Pindare*, ed. A. Hurst, Genève 1985, («Fondation Hardt., Entretiens» 31), p. 77.

26. On the prominence of the marriage theme in *P.* 9 see R.P. Winnington-Ingram, *Pindar's Ninth Pythian Ode*, «Bull. Inst. Class. Stud.» 16, 1969, pp. 9-15, E. Robbins, *Cyrene and Cheiron: the Myth of Pindar's Ninth Pythian*, «Phoenix» 32, 1978, pp. 91-104, N.F. Rubin, *Narrative Structure* in *Pindar's Ninth Pythian*, «Class. World» 71, 1978, pp. 353-367, A. Carson, *Wedding at Noon in Pindar's Ninth Pythian*, «Gr. Rom. Byz. Stud.» 23, 1982, pp. 121-128, L. Woodbury, *Cyrene and the τελευτά of Marriage in Pindar's Ninth Pythian Ode*, «Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.» 112, 1982, pp. 245-258, Köhnken, op. cit. (n.25) pp. 71-111 and C. Calame, *Narrating the Foundation of a City: The Symbolic Birth of Cyrene* in *Approaches to Greek Myth*, ed. L. Edmunds, Baltimore 1990, pp. 300-305.

27. On the date of *P.* 3 see E. Cingano *L'Epinicio 4 di Bacchilide e la data della Pitica 3 di Pindaro*, «Quad. Urb.» n.s. 39, 1991, pp. 97-104, esp. p. 100.

28. On Apollo's knowledge see Nagy, op. cit. (n.8) p. 165 and cf. above n.12.

29. For such a view of Apollo see L. Woodbury, *Apollo's First Love: Pindar, Pyth. 9.26ff.*, «Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.» 102, 1972, pp. 561-578; cf. H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des Frühen Griechentums*, N.York 1951, p. 508.

30. On Cheiron's role as educator of heroes see Steiner, op. cit. pp. 102-103. On Centaurs see P. von der Mühll, *Weitere Pindarische Notizen*, «Mus. Helv.» 25, 1968, pp. 226-229 and P. DuBois, *Centaurs and Amazons*, Ann Arbor 1982, ch.1.

31. Köhnken, op. cit. (n.25) pp. 71-111.

memorial (*P.* 9, 44-49). To claim that Cheiron admonishes an ignorant or rash Apollo on «erlaubte Liebeserfüllung»[32] by means of amatory persuasion as opposed to force[33], or that Apollo and Cheiron negotiate the conditions of the former's union with Cyrene, is to relativize Apollo's absolute knowledge and imply that things could have turned otherwise, had Apollo and Cheiron decided on a different course of action. But this is emphatically denied in the text. Apollo's inquiry does not compromise his knowledge of things or the fated course of action which is solidly predetermined. Apollo does not need clues from a cool and composed Cheiron[34]. Either Apollo is all-knowing and everything is predetermined or everything is at stake, as in the Διὸς ἀπάτη (*Il.* 14, 292 ss.), which Köhnken compares with Apollo and Cheiron's dialogue[35]. But the latter option is rejected by Cheiron and Apollo's question is good-humoredly dismissed as empty talk with no relation to reality whatsoever.

Thus with good girls who spend a lot of time outdoors hunting beasts for the benefit of their fathers' herds Apollo is willing to loosen up and play human. Bad girls who show an active interest in their fathers' guests Apollo treats very differently – he is ready to teach them a lesson. Cyrene is admired for not staying at home with her companions and age-mates (*P.* 9, 19) as it would be appropriate for her as a woman, whereas Coronis was blamed for dissociating herself from the appropriate com-

32. Köhnken, op. cit. (n.25) p. 100.

33. There is no evidence that immediate gratification of a god's desires was considered demeaning or compromising for the woman. On the contrary, it was the usual pattern in divine unions with mortal women; see J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire*, New York/London 1990, p. 203.

34. Segal, op. cit. pp. 168-171 and 173 takes this fallacious approach.

35. Köhnken, op. cit. (n.25) pp. 86 ss. The similarities with the Homeric episode are only superficial. The episode is based on the fact that Zeus is not omniscient and thus can be tricked by Hera; on the gods' knowledge in the Διὸς ἀπάτη and Homer's poetic subtlety in its presentation see H. Erbse, *Zeus und Here auf dem Idagebirge*, «Antike und Abendland» 16, 1970, pp. 93-112 (=*Ausgewählte Schriften zur Klassischen Philologie*, Berlin/New York 1979, pp. 47-72 esp. 65-72). Cheiron is a worshipper of Apollo with no power to advise him or change the fated course of action. Apollo and Cheiron's dialogue is just a friendly conversation without the serious implications of Hera's trick on which see R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, 4, Cambridge 1992, p. 169; cf. R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, Berkeley 1986, p. 18.

pany of her age-mates before the right time (*P.* 3, 17-19). Cyrene is presented in male terms but her pursuits do not include an important male activity, the pursuit of erotic pleasure. Thus she is a wonder to look at, a rare bird but not a danger or a threat to the male establishment. Its representative, Apollo[36], quickly picks her up and consorts with her. There is no more talk about lions and hunting or wandering on the mountains at dawn[37]. She becomes Apollo's sedate mistress, the almost faceless patroness of a rich African city[38] and the mother of a son they immediately took away from her.

It is ironic that even female scholars fall unawares in the frilly trap that Pindar has set up. They wholeheartedly espouse the view that Cyrene's ἀλκά was lacking something, that Cyrene was a virgin huntress indulging in sterile and savage pursuits in the wilderness[39]. First of all, ἀγροτέρα (*P.* 9, 6) means «huntress», «dweller in the woods» without any connotations of savagery[40]. Moreover, Pelion is one of the most densely wooded Greek mountains and Thessaly one of the most fertile regions of Greece. Thus the contrast between Cyrene's previous dwellings and the fertility of her new home is gratuitously supplied by the above scholars with no support in the text or the geography. Pindar does stress Libya's fertility but he does not juxtapose it with Pelion's bareness. Besides, although the above scholars present Cyrene as some kind of barbarian, solitary buccaneer who kills lions just for the savage fun of it, she was a fully integrated and useful member of her community. Her hunting was motivated by a very real and practical goal, the extermination of predators that threatened her father's royal herds[41]. Cyrene's pursuits are considered incomplete be-

36. On Apollo as the par excellence male god see P.E. Slater, *The Glory of Hera*, Boston 1968, pp. 137 ff.

37. On what Cyrene's activities at dawn were see Burton, op. cit. p. 42 and Woodbury, op. cit. (n.26) p. 250 n.18.

38. Cyrene does not even seem to have achieved formal heroic cult in the homonymous African city until the second century AD; see F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*, Paris 1953, pp. 126-127, 172-173 and 276-277.

39. See Carson, op. cit. (n.26) p. 127, Kurke, op. cit. p. 129 and Steiner, op. cit. pp. 93-94; cf. Crotty, op. cit. pp. 116-117 and Bonelli, op. cit. p. 117.

40. For the opposite interpretation see Carson, op. cit. (n.21) p. 144 n.22; cf. J. Redfield, *Notes on the Greek Wedding*, «Arethusa» 15, 1982, p. 192.

41. See Segal, op. cit. p. 168 and Calame, op. cit. (n.26) p. 301.

cause Cyrene is a woman. In Achilles' case the very same pursuit and the very same hunting scene in *N.* 3, 43 ff. do not lead to rape or marriage but are a preparation for his later heroic exploits[42]. The woman's ἀλκά, perfectly comparable to male ἀλκά, which does come to fruition and glory, can proceed no further than the bridal couch: marriage and θάλαμοι become Cyrene, Troy and Elysium is the lot of Achilles.

Cyrene's principal heroic feat, the struggle with the lion, was usually located in Libya. The heroic young woman saved the land and became the local heroine, the patron nymph-goddess[43]. There is no mention of Cyrene's fight on African soil[44] in *P.* 9 or any other Pindaric ode[45], for that matter. Although the Libyan lion version would certainly be very appropriate in an ode for a Cyrenean victor, Pindar does not opt for it but he does not skip the story altogether either as, for instance, Apollonius Rhodius did in his *Argonautica* (2, 500 ff.). Pindar does not want to make Cyrene win her place of honor in Libya with the might of her arms because that would raise her to the status of a male hero. Pindar presents her struggle with the lion as the peak of her sex-appeal. As Apollo's little talk about Cyrene's valor is only an introduction to his blunt wish to deflower her (*P.* 9, 36-37), her struggle with the lion is turned by Pindar into Cyrene's sexy ticket to immortality, the road to which passes through Libya's golden chambers presided over by Aphrodite, a smiling accomplice of Apollo. The god, excited by what he saw, receives full satisfaction and generously rewards Cyrene.

42. On Achilles and Cyrene see Bonelli, op. cit. pp. 118-119.

43. On the foundation of Cyrene see Chamoux, op. cit. pp. 69 ss., M. Nafissi, *Battiadi ed Aigeidai: per la storia dei rapporti tra Cirene e Sparta in età arcaica* in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. G. Barker, J. Lloyd and J. Reynolds, Oxford 1985, pp. 375 ss., I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Leiden 1987, pp. 60 ss. and Calame, op. cit. (n.26) pp. 309-319.

44. On versions of Cyrene's fight with the lion see J. Fontenrose, *Orion: The Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress*, Berkeley 1981, p. 188 n.58 and West, op. cit. (n.5) pp. 86-87.

45. Actually Battus, the stuttering founder of Cyrene, scares the Libyan lions under the auspices of Apollo in *P.* 5, 57-63 (cf. P. 4, 62-63). See M. Giangiulio, *Deformità eroiche e tradizioni di fondazione: Batto, Miscello e l'oracolo delfico*, «Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa» 39, 1981, pp. 1-24, D. M. Cosi, *Comunicazione disturbata. Battos, il fondatore di Cirene, balbuziente e castrato* in *Le ragioni del silenzio*, ed. M. G. Ciani, Padova 1983, pp. 123-154, Krummen, op. cit. pp. 143-144 and M. R. Lefkowitz, *Pindar's Pythian V* in Hurst, op. cit. (n.25) 42-44.

Apollo's desire was kindled and enhanced[46] by her athletic feats but it was her sex-appeal which emerged as the decisive factor that shaped her lot. Her conspicuous valor was only a tasty appetizer to the main entree, her beauty and virginity, her bridal promise and the pleasure of her sweet blossom.

What for Cyrene, the brave and beautiful huntress, took place on a divine level, the beautiful nameless Libyan maiden experienced on a less grandiose scale and on her own father's initiative[47] with the same results (*P.* 9, 106 ff.). In the case of the passive daughter of Antaeus the heroic contest is transferred to her suitors[48]. Pindar, though, decidedly underplays the difference between the two girls and stresses as much as he can the similarity of their situation. On a more remote mythological level, the Danaids, themselves strong-willed viragos according to some accounts, whose first marriage ended in an appalling blood-bath and whose father had to strike deals with reluctant suitors[49], are coupled with the innocent Libyan virgin wooed by several men (*P.* 9, 112-116).

46. Athletic prowess has always been admired and considered an unmistakable indicator of sexual prowess. The girls who in *P.* 9, 97-103 phantasize about marrying the victor Telesikrates exemplify this tendency well (see also *P.* 10, 59 and cf. *P.* 2, 18-20). On the similarities in the presentation of Cyrene and Telesikrates see Carson, op. cit. (n.27) pp. 124-125, who disregards the crucial difference: Cyrene completely discontinues her pursuits after her union with Apollo, while there is no indication that Telesikrates would discontinue his athletic career after his victory. In the same ode, for Alexidamus, Telesikrates' illustrious ancestor, marriage was just another victory in a long series of athletic exploits (*P.* 9, 125); for Cyrene marriage was the culmination and end of her hunting career. On the athlete as the object of homosexual and heterosexual desires in Pindar's poetry see S. Instone, *Love and Sex in Pindar: Some Practical Thrusts*, «Bull. Inst. Class. Stud.» 37, 1990, pp. 32-42. In fr. 123.8-9 Pindar seems to make disparaging comments about women and elevate male homosexual relationships; on this difficult passage see B.A. van Groningen, *Pindare au Banquet*, Leyde 1960, 60-67 and G. Kirkwood, *Selections from Pindar*, Chico 1982, 399-340. Heterosexual love is treated much more sympathetically in fr. 122, in which the poet addresses Corinth's sacred prostitutes in politely amused and embarassed tones. The occasion of every poem obviously influenced the opinions expressed in it; see the comments of Instone, op. cit. pp. 30-32.

47. See Carson, op. cit. (n.26) pp. 122-126 and Köhnken, op. cit. (n.25) pp. 106-108.

48. On Antaeus and the race for his daughter see W.T. Magrath, *The Antaios Myth in Pindar*, «Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.» 107, 1977, pp. 203-209 and Bernardini, op. cit. pp. 58-62.

49. On the story of the Danaids see C. Bonner, *A Study on the Danaid Myth*,

Other women in Pindar, and women that one would least expect to, receive the same flatly monolithic treatment. In *P.* 9, 84-86 Alcmene, although referred to very briefly in two lines, sandwiched between her husband's and her son's exploits and in her role as simultaneous sexual partner of Amphitruo and Zeus, receives the ambiguous and highly unusual for a woman characterization, δαίφρων, a Pindaric *hapax*. In the Homeric poetry the adjective is used for men, especially Achilles and Odysseus, the prototypes of the valorous and cunning hero respectively, and only once for a woman (*Od.* 15, 356), Odysseus' mother[50], a maternal figure who tries to take care of her family against all odds. The word is thus a virtual Homeric *hapax legomenon* and as such it was intended to recall to specific context of its unique occurence in the Homeric poems as well as the context of its more frequent use as a characterization of a sharply different social unit, male heroes[51].

Alcmene was an unconventional woman[52] and Pindar seems to have been willing to stress this fact, since he chose to call her δαίφρων in order to convey her excellence of character that had clear connotations of heroism[53]. Her erotic experience was also

«Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.» 13, 1902, pp. 129-172 esp. 164-172, E. Keuls, *The Water Carriers in Hades*, Amsterdam 1974, pp. 43-59, A. Moreau, *Eschyle: la violence et le chaos*, Paris 1985, pp. 195-202 and 300-301, F.I. Zeitlin, *La politique d'Éros. Féminin et masculin dans les Suppliantes d'Eschyle*, «Métis» 3, 1988, pp. 231-259 and K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*, London/New York 1989, pp. 153-161.

50. Woodbury, op. cit. (n.26) p. 253 n.29 considers it a characterization of good reproductive capacity (!).

51. On the broad notion of hapax legomenon in antiquity that included lexical, semasiological, metrical and even antiquarian entries see F. Martinazzoli, *Hapax legomenon*, 1, Roma 1953, pp. 43-56, 83-92. On Homeric hapax legomena in the broad sense see also J. Friedländer, *Über die Kritische Benutzung der Homerischen ἅπαξ εἰρημένα*, «Philologus» 7, 1851, pp. 228-253 and M.D. Petruševski, *Quelques mots sur les ἅπαξ λεγόμενα homériques*, «Živa Antika» 17, 1967, pp. 105-108.

52. On Alcmene's exceptional qualities see M.R. Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth*, London 1986, pp. 35-36.

53. In *N.* 1, 50-51 Alcmene, barefoot and undressed, is not overwhelmed by fear at the sight of the monstrous dragons attacking her new-born twins but courageously tries to repel them. Her reactions are different from those of her female attendants and similar to or even more appropriate than her husband's; she is there before him and reacts more energetically than he. C. Carey, *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar*, New York 1981, p. 122, who thinks that Alcmene shares «the general panic», misses the point of the passage. Cf. *Paean* 20.14 ss., which describes the same scene, Alcmene's anxiety as she rushes forth ἄπεπλος and the panic of her attendants who flee from the snakes.

very unusual: one night, two partners, two nights for one son, the husband and the lover under the guise of the husband, one labor and two sons. Nevertheless, Alcmene is portrayed by Pindar almost exclusively as a mother figure. τέκε is emphatically placed at the beginning, σθένος υἱῶν at the end of the clause that concerns her. At the very center of the clause, separating the adjective from her name, at the very center of her existence, one would say, Pindar mentions her labor[54], while her sleeping with both Amphitruo and Zeus is relegated to a brief participial clause. Alcmene, whose name[55] and characterization remind one of Cyrene's ἀλκά and the girl's fearless φρένες and make her for a brief moment the equal of an Achilles and an Odysseus, becomes only the mother of a hero, like Antikleia. Pindar's choices are clear: although he hints at a reality beyond or other than motherhood, he primarily does this in order to highlight the centrality of maternal experience for Alcmene and, consequently, all the other women in *P.* 9.

Eriphyle, one of the most notorious women of ancient mythology, receives a similar treatment in *N.* 9, 16-17. With one and a half lines devoted to her and the striking adjective ἀνδροδάμαντα at the very beginning of the clause, Pindar hints at her gruesome story but he does not recount it. Instead, he tells how she was used as a pledge to cement the alliance of male opponents, how her giving away was the seal of a truce that allowed a respite from continuous warfare to her male relatives and secured their ascent to great prominence among the Greeks. It is as if Eriphyle in her capacity as man-slaughterer is irrelevant to, or incongruous with, the development of Pindar's story. The poet chooses not to include anything that could potentially disrupt the continuity of an ode full of brave warriors, great and dangerous expeditions and gods that bless and favor both. Eriphyle receives only a passing mention, she becomes a detail, an exchange item between two groups of fierce men engaging in perpetual battles[56]. Her story being an example of conjugal

54. On Alcmene's labor see L. L. Nash, *The Theban Myth at Pythian 9, 79-103*, «Quad. Urb.» 11, 1982, pp. 95-97.

55. For Pindar's puns on names Köhnken, op. cit. (n.26) pp. 109-110 n.92 and E. Robbins, *Pindar's Oresteia and the Tragedians* in *Greek Tragedy and its Legacy*, ed. M. J. Cropp, E. Fantham and S. E. Scully, Calgary 1986, p. 6 n.39.

56. On the exchange of women see C. Lévi-Strauss, *Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Boston 1969, p. 115, G. Rubin, *The Traffic in Women: Notes on a «Politic-*

treachery, Pindar chooses to mention only her betrothal. Her hour never comes in Pindar's ode, her characterization as ἀνδροδάμαντα remains hanging in the air, never materializing, a loose end. After the participial clause about her exchange the focus shifts entirely to her male relatives, their pursuits and their concerns. One learns that she was given to the son of Oikleus and then one forgets about her, although her role in the subsequent development of events was cardinal[57].

Clytaemnestra, the par excellence incarnation of the murderous and treacherous wife in Greek mythology, has her story told in *P.* 11, 17-37. Her presentation and characterization is much more complete and impressive than Eriphyle's or Alcmene's or even Cyrene's. She is a powerful and merciless murderess who single-handedly undoes her husband and Cassandra. Her young son barely escapes her murderous designs. Aegisthus, her lover, plays no part in the plot and its execution and his name appears only at the end of the story. It seems that Clytaemnestra, her motives and the circumstances of her life, are definitively given a fair chance in comparison to other female mythological characters. Yet, at the center of the story, Pindar makes a comment that one would hardly consider plausibly motivated by Clytaemnestra's case: marital infidelity, says he, is the worst transgression (ἀμπλακία)[58] committed by newly-wedded wives and the most difficult to conceal from public censure (*P.* 11, 25-27). This is astonishing. What does Clytaemnestra have to do with newly-wedded wives? Apparently nothing[59]. According to the testimony of all ancient sources

al Economy» of Sex in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. R. Rapp, N.York 1975, pp.174-183, Redfield, op. cit. pp. 186 ss., A.L.T. Bergren, *Language and the Female* in *Early Greek Thought*, «Arethusa» 16, 1982, pp. 75-76 and N. Rabinowitz, *Female Speech and Female Sexuality: Euripides' Hippolytos as Model*, «Helios» 13, 1986, pp. 129-130.

57. Greek tragedy as well accorded even to female characters who held protagonistic roles a functionally secondary position compared to the presentation of the male self. See the comments of F.I. Zeitlin, *Playing the Other: Theater, Theatricality and the Feminine in Greek Drama* in Winkler and Zeitlin, op. cit. (n.10) pp. 69-71.

58. On ἀμπλακία see A.M. Komornicka, *Termes Déterminant le Vrai et le Faux chez Pindare* in *Aeschylos und Pindar*, ed. E.G. Schmidt, Berlin 1981, p. 83.

59. This passage defies the analysis of «gnomic progression» in *P.* 11 by W.J. Slater, *Pindar's Myths: Two Pragmatic Explanations* in *Arktouros*, ed. G.W. Bowersock, W. Burkert, M.C.J. Putnam, Berlin/ New York 1979, pp. 65-66. Neither Slater nor Herington, op. cit., address this issue.

before and after Pindar the affair with Aegisthus started after Iphigeneia was sacrificed at Aulis and Agamemnon left for Troy, i.e. at least twelve or thirteen years after Clytaemnestra's marriage, when she could not possibly have been considered a young wife any more[60]. The purely hypothetical alternative, that Pindar's comment, only tangentially related to Clytaemnestra's story, addresses the situation of a social group different from Clytaemnestra's, is very hard to support given the comment's position midway in the narrative, framed by the same episode, Agamemnon and Cassandra's murder[61]. The only plausible explanation that accounts for Pindar's gnome is that for the evil-speaking citizens Clytaemnestra is always considered a young, naughty wife who engages in amorous escapades. She never reaches full maturity and the full responsibility she bears for her crimes is incongruously masqueraded as the result of the seduction of a young wife[62]. In the eyes of the community her affair with Aegisthus is addressed in terms of a social group which Clytaemnestra has long ceased to belong to and has nothing to do with her story. As a young wife, Clytaemnestra had not done anything blamable. But since the cardinal event that determined her public image was her marriage

60. For a collection of the evidence and discussion of the treatment of Clytaemnestra's story by ancient authors before, at and after Pindar's time see J.R. March, *The Creative Poet*, London 1987, («Bull. Inst. Class. Stud. Suppl.» 49), pp. 84 ff. For a comparison between Pindar's and the tragedians' treatment of Clytaemnestra's story see I. Düring, *Klytaimestra, νηλὴς γυνά*, «Eranos» 41, 1943, pp. 109-114, J. Herington, *Pindar's Eleventh Pythian Ode and Aeschylus' Agamemnon* in Gerber, op. cit. (n.9) pp. 125-137 esp. 136-137 and Robbins, op. cit. (n.55) pp. 1-11.

61. Burton, op. cit. p. 66, attempts to resolve the problem by understanding the passage as a «suppressed a fortiori argument», but his solution is difficult to accept because no one, ancient or modern, would claim that older wives should be criticized more severely than younger ones for marital infidelity. Given the persistent ancient Greek anxiety that adultery threatened the production of legitimate heirs, it is reasonable to suggest that younger wives came under attack more easily; see J. F. Gardner, *Aristophanes and Male Anxiety - The Defense of the Oikos*, «Greece and Rome» 36, 1989, pp. 55 ss. On adultery and its social ramifications see T. Tanner, *Adultery in the Novel. Contract and Transgression*, Baltimore/London 1979, pp. 24-30 and S. Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge 1986 repr. 1988, pp. 24 and 126.

62. In classical times the woman was never considered responsible for adultery because she was deemed unable to make rational decisions; see K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, Cambridge, Mass. 1989², pp. 105-106 and E. Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughters*, trans. M.B. Fant, Baltimore/London 1987, p. 42.

to Agamemnon, people continued to regard her as Agamemnon's bride, i.e. as a social minor capable only of being seduced and manipulated.

The stories of all these women are told from a male perspective that wishes to or can accomodate only some, often marginal, aspects and details of these women's lives, whose strong personalities and unusual actions thus become pigeon-holed in unsuitable categories, while the rest is conveniently omitted. The only theme of *P.* 3 that has not reappeared so far is hostility against women and their sexuality. But in *I.* 8, 35 ss. not only does Themis' speech show extreme indifference to the feelings and fate of Thetis, it also clearly borders on hostility and almost aggression against her. Although a female divinity, Themis[63] shares the interests and dynastic considerations of the male Olympians. Her proposal sounds like a cruel punishment for a serious transgression, although Thetis was innocent and did not deserve such treatment. Themis' speech supplies the reason for the gods' action against Thetis: she caused strife in the ranks of the gods and under no circumstances should she be allowed to repeat that. This is a remarkable statement. Thetis was in no way responsible for the strife between Zeus and Poseidon, except in so far as her beauty had incensed them. In this case the gods' lust and lack of restraint should be pointed out as the cause of strife and not Thetis herself. Nevertheless, punished for something she never did, Thetis is swiftly and without further ado given away to a marriage full of misery for her. Like the Danaids, Cyrene and Antaeus' daughter, Thetis marries at once but, unlike other women, she never gets anything other than misfortunes and suffering out of this marriage[64]. It is known that she tried to escape her lot like Coronis but she failed miserably. Pindar does not mention her thwarted struggle in this ode[65]. From Themis' speech, the decision of the gods'

63. On Themis in Pindar see Vos, op. cit. pp. 56-60.

64. On Thetis' fate see L.M. Slatkin, *The Wrath of Thetis*, «Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.» 116, 1986, pp. 1-24. On the unions of goddesses with mortals see Roloff, op. cit. pp. 58-59.

65. E. Thummer, *Pindar: Die Isthmischen Gedichte*, Heidelberg 1968, and G. A. Privitera, *Pindaro. Le Istmiche*, Milano 1982, in their commentary on *I.* 8, 46a-47, think that the passage contains an allusion to the struggle. If it is indeed an allusion to the struggle, it is a deliberately vague and obscure one that suppresses the importance of Thetis' resistance. For the difficulties of attributing ἄναντα to Peleus see Carey, op. cit. p. 199.

assembly and its almost instant execution, Pindar jumps to Achilles' heroic exploits and his heroic death that brought eternal glory to his already illustrious patriline. Thetis, like so many other women, is forgotten, her dangerous and subversive potential effectively neutralized. She silently joins the host of mothers of heroes, who suffered and paid a heavy personal price for their sons' glory.

Thetis' total subjugation, her reduction to a mere helpless pawn at the hands of hostile gods, is graphically illustrated by the use of a very suggestive metaphor at the end of Themis' speech. Thetis' defloration by Peleus at a specific date is described in terms of her «loosening the lovely bridle of her virginity to him» (*I.* 8, 44-45). This metaphor is actually an artful conflation of two very well-known and widespread Greek metaphors for marriage, the loss of the girl's virginity and the effects of marriage on her. Before her first intercourse the virgin girl loosens her girdle[66]. Thus this item and this action became in poetic contexts metonyms for virginity and the loss of it respectively. Moreover, horse and other animal imagery, although quite shocking to modern sensitivities, was consistently and extensively used for young girls and brides. The virgin was conceived as an untamed filly, a wild mare, a cow who had not experienced the bull's power, a frisky young animal, wild and restless. Marriage put the yoke on, tamed, subdued, civilized and rendered her docile and fit for her duties as *mater familias*[67]. Thetis, though, already has a bridle on before she marries or rather is forced to marry and consort with Peleus. Pindar's metaphor is striking in its chilly accuracy and implications[68]. Thetis is actually deflowered by the gods' decision following the inexorable advice of Themis. Thetis, completely docile, is delivered as a gift of honor, γέρας, to Peleus[69].

66. On the girdle see G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, Berlin 1878, on 319.3 and 684.3, L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford 1896, p. 444 and King, op. cit. pp. 120-121.

67. See Calame, op. cit. (n.23) pp. 411-420, H.P. Foley, *The Conception of Women in Athenian Drama* in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. H.P. Foley, New York 1981, pp. 141-142, M. Golden, *Male Chauvinists and Pigs*, «Echos du Monde Classique» 32, 1988, pp. 1-12, Carson, op. cit. (n.21) pp. 142-145 and Sourvinou-Inwood, op. cit. (n.16) p. 66.

68. See A. B. Drachmann, *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina*, Leipzig 1927 and Thummer, op. cit. (n.65) *ad loc.*

69. *O.* 9, 57-62 is an even more radical manifestation of a wife-delivery to a hero.

Thetis' deadly struggle to escape her lot, the marriage to Peleus, is briefly recounted by Pindar in *N.* 4, 62-64. Even in this poem, though, where Pindar uses the other, less passive version of Thetis' story[70], the narrative focuses totally on Peleus' point of view. Thetis' transformations are referred to in a highly impersonal manner, her name does not appear anywhere and her motives far less. Thetis appears as a polymorphous primaeval monster that belches fire and attacks innocent Peleus with lion's claws and fangs. Thetis in both *N.* 4 and *N.* 3, 35-36 is cast in the mold of the enemy. Her defeat is one of Peleus' greatest glories, if not the greatest. The other side of the story, the fact that Peleus was the enemy, is never alluded to. Thetis the dangerous monster is overcome by the courage and wits of Peleus, a prototype of the just male hero. In *I.* 8 Thetis is delivered to Peleus as a gift, in *N.* 3 and 4 she is the prize he wins after a struggle with her[71]. In both cases there is no hint that this marriage is unusually unfair for Thetis. Either Peleus or the gods or both in a happy guest-friend relationship[72] occupy center stage. Thetis is never a protagonist in what could

Zeus favored the sterile Locros and his people so much that he most obligingly abducted, raped the nameless daughter of Opous and gave her pregnant to Locros who gratefully, or gullibly according to the Scholiast, adopted the fruit of Zeus' σπέρμα μέγιστον. On this highly unusual genealogy see Huxley, op. cit. pp. 30-33, C. O. Pavese, *Le Olimpiche di Pindaro*, «Quad. Urb.» 20, 1975, pp. 107-108 and Bernardini, op. cit. pp. 140-145.

70. On Pindar's treatment of this famous story see R. Reitzenstein, *Die Hochzeit des Peleus und der Thetis*, «Hermes» 35, 1900, p. 82, J. Kaiser, *Peleus und Thetis*, München 1912, pp. 48 ff., Wilamovitz, op. cit. (n.4) p. 174, A. Köhnken, *Gods and Descendants of Aiakos in Pindar's Eighth Isthmian Ode*, «Bull. Inst. Class. Stud.» 22, 1975, pp. 25-36, G. A. Privitera, *Eracle e gli Eacidi nella terza Nemea*, «Giorn. Ital. Fil.» n.s. 8, 1977, pp. 253-255, R. Stoneman, *Pindar and the Mythological Tradition*, «Philologus» 125, 1981, pp. 58-62, Bernardini, op. cit. pp. 112-115 and March, op. cit. pp. 9 ff. For ancient representations of the beloved theme of Peleus and Thetis' struggle see X. Krieger, *Der Kampf zwischen Peleus und Thetis in der Griechischen Vasenmalerei*, Münster 1975.

71. For Peleus' extraordinary happiness, paralleled only by Kadmus', the extreme manifestation of which was the god's attendance of his marriage see Duchemin, op. cit. (n.3) pp. 170-173, Roloff, op. cit. pp. 54-55 and F.J. Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer*, Baltimore 1989, p. 85 n.13-14.

72. On mythological heroes' familiarity with gods in Pindar see M.A. Grant, *Folktale and Heroic Tale Motifs in the Odes of Pindar*, Lawrence 1967, p. 69 and cf. S. Folgermark, *καὶ κείνοις: Pindar, Nemean 5.22* in Bowersock, Burkert, Putnam, op. cit. (n.59) pp. 76-77.

very well be described as her own personal tragedy. Her struggle for self-determination equals a monstrosity and she is punished for her desire to preserve her own divine identity untainted by an unwanted union with a mortal. Not only is she not allowed to achieve that but her story is never told properly by Pindar.

The same attitude of bias and indifference towards Thetis prevails in Pindar's narrative concerning the events after her unfortunate marriage. Her sorrow and the suffering she underwent when Achilles died under the walls of Troy is never hinted at by Pindar except as a mere implication in Themis' speech (*I.* 8, 36a). On the contrary, Peleus' pain at the death of his son receives full and sympathetic treatment in *P.* 3, 100-103, although Thetis' sorrow at her only son's loss was equally or even more intense since she, albeit a goddess, had failed to immortalize him. This part of the story, Thetis' attempt to secure a better fate for young Achilles, her quarrel with Peleus and their subsequent estrangement, is totally ignored by Pindar. Thetis' rebellion against the limitations of her new life and the sad failure of the divinely arranged marriage do not suit Pindar's program to portray Peleus as a great victorious patriarch of the male heroic world[73]. Peleus loses his son, who dies as a hero, and he suffers, but this is as far as Pindar is willing to go concerning the mortal limitations of one of his favorite heroes. The fact that Peleus failed to be a suitable match for Thetis, whom he once subdued under the auspices of the gods, and, more importantly, that he prevented the immortality of his own son, is never mentioned by Pindar, not even in order to be rejected, as it is the case with Peleus and Telamon's murder of their half-brother Phocus in *N.* 5, 14. Male antagonism and treachery, even murder within the family, Pindar feels justified to recognize as a true, although unpleasant and better-left-unsaid, fact of life and part of the heroic code. Female rebellion or treachery is much more difficult to deal with[74]. It is either outrightly condemned, compromised or totally suppressed.

Thus women not only never receive proper recognition for

73. On Pindar's repeated praise of the Aeacids see T. Oksala, *Polymythia in Pindars Aegineten-Oden*, «Arktos» 7, 1972, pp. 93-105; cf. M. R. Calabrese De Feo, *La figura di Aiace in Pindaro*, «La Parola del Passato» 39, 1984, pp. 120-132.

74. On female δόλος in Pindar see Ahlert, op. cit. ch.5.

their acts which are described in unsuitable and often misleading terms, but they are also treated as enemies and monsters, who have to be neutralized, extinguished or reintegrated into the male order, which is further justified and exalted. In his capacity as an epinician poet devoted to the exaltation of male virtue and glory, Pindar exerts a male power to make specific choices that rob the women from their chance to have their stories told from their point of view.

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Aristotle and Woman

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A thorough analysis of Aristotle's idea of female human nature is in order,[1] for ultimately from "The Teacher" have come many of the standard Western arguments for the inferiority of womankind and for the political subordination of women to men in home and in society. Although Aristotle's empirical observation of women in Greece of the fourth century B.C. certainly influenced the "scientific" conclusions of his biological and political studies,[2] the historical importance of Aristotle is that in the medieval and early modern periods of Western civilization Aristotelian generalizations were set down and perpetuated as

1. Given the large amount of ink that has been expended by scholars on Aristotle, the dearth of discussion of this topic is revealing. This article is needed because Werner Jaeger, W. D. Ross, and others, have not dealt with it. See future notes for detailed studies of aspects of the topic. The most comprehensive study to date that focuses directly on the topic may be found in F. A. Wright, *Feminism in Greek Literature from Homer to Aristotle* (London: Kennikat Press, 1932), pp. 202-222.

2. Many of the documents on which historians have based their views of the position of women in ancient Greece are collected in Julia O'Faolian and Lauro Martines, *Not in God's Image: Women in History from the Greeks to the Victorians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 1-33. Nineteenth-century historiography defended the view that Athenian women led secluded lives, spending most of their hours in the "gynaeceum," the women's quarters of the house. See Alice Zimmern, *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, trans. H. Blumner (London: Cassell and Co., 1910), chap. 4; and James Donaldson, *Woman: Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome, and among the Early Christians* (London: Longmans, Green, 1907). The revisionist school, which views the Greek woman as having some social freedoms, was initiated by A. W. Gomme, "The Position of Women in Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.," *Class.Philo. 20* (1925), 1-25. Too frequently, followers of Gomme's revisionism have been apologists for both the ancient Greek and the twentieth-century English and American treatment of women. Blatant cases in point are H. D. F. Kitto, *The Greeks* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1951), pp. 219-237 (the position of Greek slaves and Greek women are both excused); Charles Seltman, *Women in Antiquity* (London:

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universal and natural truth.[3]

In this article I critically analyze Aristotle's view of woman with the hope of inspiring historians to elucidate the later influence of the Aristotelian brand of antifeminism.[4] Only when that task is accomplished, a task requiring research by a variety of historical specialists, will the study of "Aristotle and Woman" be complete.[5] A few examples with bibliographic notation will suffice to indicate the historical significance and ramifications of Aristotle's idea of woman and to suggest worthwhile areas of further research.

Aristotle's definition of a female as a "mutilated male" was transmitted into biological, obstetrical, and theological tracts and continues

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Thames and Hudson, 1956), particularly p. 112 (the author, who finds his title "provocative," decorated his book with illustrations of dancing girls and flute-players); a → Donald Richter, "The Position of Women in Classical Athens," *Classical Journal*, October-November 1971, pp. 1-8. The contemporary prejudice underlying the erudition of the last article has been properly pointed out by Marilyn B. Arthur, "Early Greece: The Origins of the Western Attitude toward Women," *Arethusa, 6,* no. 1 (Spring 1973), 53, n. 13. A recent balanced account may be found in W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968).

3. Recent research stresses the longevity of Peripatetic influence on the University curricula and in the mainstream of European thought. The greatest number of Aristotelian works were produced between 1150 and 1650. See Charles B. Schmitt, "Towards a Reassessment of Renaissance Aristotelianism," *Hist. Sci., 11* (1973), 159-193.

4. My use of the term "antifeminist" in relation to Aristotle might be questioned by those who associate the feminist movement only with the modern period. However, the limiting of the feminist movement to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reveals the myth of "historical progress" at work, for the woman question has been a perennial question, rising in importance in particular historical epochs. One such epoch was Greece of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. For evidence that the subject of woman's position was a lively topic for introducing a description of a foreign culture, see Herodotus, *History*, I, 1-4. For humorous, popular portrayals of the woman issue, see Aristophanes, *Lysistrata, Ecclesiazusae,* and *Thesmophorizusae.* In his defense of education, military service, and political leadership for a feminine and masculine elite, the Plato of the *Republic* was a feminist for his time. Aristotle, in Book II of the *Politics*, singled out the community of wives and children along with the community of property as the most objectionable notions of Plato's ideal state. He also objected to the Spartan constitution because it was too indulgent to women. Aristotle thus was "anti" the schemes of his day that were challenging the traditional position of women.

5. Such scholarship would parallel Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (Bloomington: Indiana

to have authoritative influence through St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae.*[6] More pervasive still is the Aristotelian intellectual habit of describing the female body as a departure from the norm of the male body and of deducing a characterization of femaleness by lack of maleness.[7] Many of the so-called Old Wives' Tales on such subjects as the differences between male and female embryos have their origin not in women's self-deprecation but in the embryology of Aristotle and his followers.[8] Aristotle's belief that the male semen produces the form and impetus from which an embryo grows and the female womb contributes only the material nourishment discounted female importance in the one area where the primitive or uneducated mind suspects female

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University Press, 1959). For references to later Aristotelians, see F. E. Peters, *Aristotle and the Arabs* (New York: New York University Press, 1968); and Charles H. Lohr, S.J., "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," *Traditio, 23* (1967), 313-413; *24* (1968), 149-245; *26* (1970), 135-216; *27* (1971), 251-351; *28* (1972), 281-396; ; → "Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors A-B," *Studies in the Renaissance 21* (1974), 228-289.

6. Aristotle, *The Works of Aristotle,* ed. W. D. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908-1931), *G. A.*, II, 3(737a 27). References accord with the Oxford edition; the Greek text is in the Loeb Classical Library. For the dominant edition of Aristotle during the Renaissance and early modern periods, I have consulted *Operum Aristotelis,* ed. Issaac Casaubon, 2 vols. (Lugduni: G. Laemarium, 1590), which contains Theodore Gaza's Latin translation of the biological works. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are from the Oxford edition except for Ernest Barker, *The Politics of Aristotle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948). Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae,* I, q. 92, a. 1. Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus,* book XXVI, ed. H. Stadler, 2 vols. (Munster, 1916-1921). Joseph Needham, *History of Embryology* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1959), pp. 86-114. Vern L. Bullough, "Medieval Medical and Scientific Views of Women," *Viator, 4* (1973), 485-501.

7. Freud's influential theory of the female castration complex is one of the most blatant examples. See J. Chasseguet-Smirgel, *Female Sexuality* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970); Clara Thompson, "Penis Envy in Women," *Psychiatry,* 1943, pp. 123-125; Karen Horney, "Distrust between the Sexes," in *Feminine Psychology,* ed. Harold Kelman (New York: Norton, 1967).

8. For examples, see notes 61, 62, 75, and 76 below. Albertus Magnus, O.P. of Cologne, *De Secretis Mulierum* (Strassbourg, 1601). *De Secretis Mulierum* was analyzed by Helen Rodnite LeMay (SUNY, Stonybrook) in "Some Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Lectures on Female Sexuality," Third Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Bryn Mawr College, June 1976. "Aristotle," *The Works of Aristotle, the Famous Philosopher, Containing His Complete Masterpiece and Family Physician, His Experienced Midwife, His Book of Problems and His Last Legacy* (London, 1976).The forged eighteenth-century work going under the name "Aristotle's Masterpiece," has been a major source for popular European and early American attitudes to sex and embryology: a part of it, "The

superiority.[9]

The rivalry between the Aristotelian one-semen theory and the Hippocratic-Galenic two-semen theory allowed the maternal contribution to embryology, the ovum, to remain unsuspected until the seventeenth century.[10] Furthermore, Aristotle himself and later thinkers extended his biological-philosophical concepts of male and female into cosmic distinctions: maleness is active, femaleness is passive; maleness is spiritu-

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Experienced Midwife" directly influenced views of childbirth. In 1931 D'Arcy Power estimated that 10,000 copies were still being sold yearly in England. Many of its ideas, such as the causes for a child becoming male or female, have their ultimate origin in Aristotle's *On the Generation of Animals*. D'Arcy Power, "Aristotle's Masterpiece," in *Foundations of Medical History* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1931). Needham, *History of Embryology*, pp. 91-92. Vern L. Bullough, "An Early American Sex Manual, Or, Aristotle Who? " *Early American Literature*, Winter 1973, pp. 236-246. Currently more available sources of Aristotle's "Old Wives' Tales" are the *Problemata* IV (a pseudo-work derived from an original) and the authentic *Historia Animalium* VII.

9. Arthur William Meyer, *The Rise of Embryology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1939), chap. 1. Bronislaw Malinowsky, *The Sexual Life of Savages in Northwest Melanesia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932). Malinowsky discovered that the Trobriand Islanders were unaware of any connection between the sex act and a woman giving birth, and attributed to the female the sole role in child-bearing. This view corresponds to early creation myths and early agricultural beliefs that identify the female with the life-producing forces in the universe. Historical speculation has been concerned with the possible causal link between the discovery of paternity and the emergence of patrilineal descent: Eva Figes, *Patriarchal Attitudes* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1970), pp. 33-36; and Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Bantam Books, 1961), chaps. 4-6. By almost denying maternity, Aristotle represents an extreme position in the process of the masculinization of procreation. For Egyptian and Greek origins of Aristotle's theory of one seed, see Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, in *Aeschylus II*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), ll. 658-675, p. 335, n.

10. No one can fault Aristotle for his ignorance of the female ovum, which was not discovered until the microscopic studies of von Baer in 1827, but given Aristotle's problems in explaining the empirical observation of resemblances between mothers and offspring, one may well wonder at his lack of openness to the possibility of female formative influence on embryos.

Aristotelian embryology dominated in the medieval philosophical schools, while Galenic embryology, which utilized many Aristotelian principles, dominated in the medical schools. Aristotle's influence can be seen in no less a figure than William Harvey. See William Harvey, "On Conception," *Works of William Harvey*, trans. R. Willis, M. D. (London, 1847), pp. 575, 577-578. Howard B. Adelmann, ed., *The Embryological Treatises of Hieronymus Fabricius of Aquapendente* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1942), "A Brief Sketch of the History

al, femaleness is material.[11]

Just as Aristotle's biological sexism influenced many human beings' perceptions of themselves and their offspring, his political sexism influenced their beliefs on the proper distribution of roles in society. Secondhand from Aristotle, medieval thinkers learned to dismiss Plato's radical theory of the common education of women and men for military, intellectual, and political leadership by scoffing at the accompanying "community of women and children."[12] Aristotle's "proportionate justice," a justice that is applied not equally between persons but proportionately according to their worth, judged in practical terms by their position in natural and societal hierarchies, has given an "ethical" justification to the discriminatory policies that still pervade the West.[13] By introducing his book on politics with an analysis of the patriarchal Greek household, Aristotle legitimized the patriarchy as the proper form of government for the family.[14] When Christine de Pisan's feminist rebuttal to Jean de Meung's *Roman de la Rose* ushered into Europe a wave of polemical works on "la question des femmes," the passages in Aristotle discussed in this article were frequently quoted at length by

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of Embryology before Fabricus," pp. 36-71. Carolyn Iltis (University of San Francisco), "Harvey and Bacon: Views of Nature and the Female during the Scientific Revolution," paper read at the American Historical Association meeting in Atlanta, December 1975. Needham, *History of Embryology*. O'Faolain and Martines, *Not in God's Image*, pp. 117-127. If historical studies of seventeenth-century science were to integrate biology with the physical sciences and mathematics, Aristotle would appear to have a greater role in the emergence of modern science. See Schmidt, "Towards a Reassessment of Renaissance Aristotelianism," p. 177.

11. *G.A.*, I, 20 (729a 24-32); II, 1 (732a 2-10). Aristotle's terms *arrēn* and *thēlu* are neuter in Greek, and sometimes may appropriately be translated as "male and female principles." However, he constantly supported the distinctions in principle with examples from the differences between male and female animals. Biology and philosophy were intertwined. For a criticism of Aristotle's terminology, see Anthony Preuss, "Science and Philosophy in Aristotle's *Generation of Animals*," *J. Hist. Biol.*, *3*, no. 1 (Spring 1970), 4, 10, 18. See quotations in text at notes 38 and 28 below.

12. Aristotle, *Pol*, II, 1-6. While Aristotle's *Politics* was a standard textbook in medieval and early modern universities, Plato's *Republic* was not widely read in the West until its translation from Greek to Latin during the early fifteenth century. Paul Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), pp. 40, 58.

13. Aristotle, *Pol.*, III, 9 (1280a 1-1281a 10).

14. Aristotle, *Pol.*, I. Later political theorists defied Aristotle's attempt to view the state as something more than a large household and used the patriarchy,

disparagers of womankind.[15] An indication of the consistent antifeminism of Aristotle is that while upholders of many sides of the woman question have used the Bible to support their cause, it was a rare defender of woman who managed to use Aristotle to bring credit to the female branch of the human race.[16]

Furthermore, Aristotle's belief in the mental and biological superiority of free men to both women and natural slaves, which was his ultimate justification for male rule in the household and state, gave sanction to a hierarchy of servitudes, including wifedom and slavery.[17]

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sometimes Aristotle's model, as an analogy for the state at large. For the patriarchal paradigm at work, see Jean Bodin, *Six Books of a Commonweale,* trans. Richard Knolles (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), I, i–v; or Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha and Other Political Works,* ed. Peter Laslett (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949), II, 1. Histories of Western political thought generally either ignore the patriarchy and the patriarchal paradigm or uncritically summarize the concepts when found in Aristotle or in later thinkers.

15. C. F. Ward, ed., "The Epistles on the Romance of the Rose and Other Documents in the Debate," Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1911. Christine de Pisan, *City of Ladies,* trans. Bryan Anslay (London, 1521; British Museum Microfilm, C.13, a.18). For further discussion and references, see Emile V. Telle, *L'Oeuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine de Navarre et la querelle des femmes* (Toulouse, 1937); Francis Lee Utley, *The Crooked Rib: An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1944); Lula McDowell Richardson, *The Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance from Christine of Pisa to Marie de Gournay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1929).

16. For an example of the use of Aristotelian arguments to discredit women and of attempts to turn them to women's favor, see the debate between Gasparo and Giulano de Medici in Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* trans. Charles S. Singleton (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), III, 11-18.

17. The topic of Aristotle and slavery has had an extensive literature. Interestingly, given the critical attitude of much of the commentary and the presence in the crucial texts of statements about women's inferiority, the literature has sidestepped the woman question. For Aristotle and antique slavery, → Robert Schlaifer, "Greek Theories of Slavery from Homer to Aristotle," *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil., 47* (1936), 165-204, also in M. I. Finley, ed., *Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies* (Cambridge: Heffer, 196→ Victoria Cuffel, "The Classical Greek Concept of Slavery," *J. Hist. Ideas, 27* (July-September 1966), 323-342; Ernest Barker, *The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle* (New York: Dover Press, 1959), pp. 359-373. For the use of Aristotle in the justification of modern slavery, see Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indian;* David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: New York: Cornell University Press, 196→ and Harvey Wish, "Aristotle, Plato, and the Mason-Dixon Line," *J. Hist. Ideas, 10* (1949), 254-266. An exceptional work that

When in the post-medieval world defenders of Indian and black slavery culled Aristotle for authority, they inevitably absorbed sexism as well; for Aristotle built his case for some human beings lording over other human beings on his fundamental political analogy: "the relation of male to female is naturally that of the superior to the inferior – of the ruling to the ruled. This general principle must similarly hold good of all human beings generally."[18]

An amusing example of the legendary philosopher caught not living up to his principle is the scene of Aristotle crawling on his hands and knees, mounted by Phyllis (Fig. 1). The tale, an attribution to Aristotle of a stock Indian and Arabic story, first appeared in the first half of the thirteenth century in a sermon by Jacques de Vitry and shortly after in a long poem by Henri d'Andely.[19] In the sermon version, Aristotle rebuked Alexander the Great for doting on his wife and neglecting public affairs. Alexander's wife, seeking revenge, sought Aristotle's love. Victorious, she gained his agreement to give her a piggy-back ride before she granted him her favors. She told Alexander, who was there to witness Aristotle's humiliation. In Henri d'Andely's version, the woman is Alexander's mistress, and the scene is witnessed in a garden by Alexander and his scribe.

"Phyllis Riding Aristotle" became a popular topos for sculpture, ivory carvings, "aquamanili," drawings, and woodcuts, the most famous of which date from the sixteenth century. The theme was a two-edged sword, useful in counteracting the vogue of Aristotle and the vogue of courtly love. Sixteenth-century prints of Aristotle and Phyllis often appeared in a set of four, including Samson and Delilah, Solomon worshiping strange gods, and Vergil in the basket. The unifying theme

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analyzes Aristotle's views of women and slaves together is H. C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

18. Aristotle, *Pol.*, I, 5 (1254b 12-16).

19. There is very little historical information about Aristotle's relationship with women. The best up-to-date analysis of the bits of information on his mother, Phaestis, sister, Arimneste, wife, Pythias, daughter, Pythias, and mistress, Herpyllis, with whom he bore his son, Nicomachus, and to whom he willed a substantial income, is Anton-Herman Chroust, *Aristotle: New Light on His Life and on Some of His Lost Works* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1973), I, chaps. 5 and 15. The fiction may be found in Joseph Greven, *Die Exempla aus den Sermones Feriales et Communes des Jakob von Vitry*, no. 15, and in Henri d'Andely, *Le lai d'Aristotle de Henri d'Andely: publié d'après tous les manuscrits par Maurice Delbouille*, (Paris: Societé d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1951).



Fig. 1. Aristotle ridden by Phyllis, as depicted in a 7 3/16 x 5 1/8" Renaissance engraving by Master M.Z. (Martin Zatzinger). (Photograph courtesy of Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.)

was: beware the power of women. Literary support for this interpretation was Aristotle's supposed answer to Alexander's bewilderment at the conjunction of advice and example: "If a woman can make such a fool of a man of my age and wisdom, how much more dangerous must she not be for younger ones? I added an example to my precept, it is your privilege to benefit from both."[20]

Lest any reader take the moral to heart, let me point out that the story in its literary and visual presentation was generally misogynist to the core, supporting masculine fears of womankind. The story could have been used just as easily to present the moral "'Meddlers in marriage, beware!" or to refute Aristotle's view of woman, as I choose to do. The facts, which we all have experienced, that women sometimes do rule over men and that men and women sometimes rule jointly indicate that the relationship of male to female is not universally that of the ruling to the ruled. Furthermore, the story embodies the popular belief, based on folk experience and dynastic experience, that even the mightiest ruler, a man of the stature of Alexander the Great, needs advice and example in order not to be ruled by his wife.[21] The moral is that the hierarchy of male over female is not a natural product of sex distinctions but is in the fullest sense of the word "manmade." Women are capable of putting themselves on top like Phyllis of legendary fame or of remaking relationships on egalitarian lines. Taking Martin Natzinger's print as the emblem of this paper, I retitle the print "Aristotle Gets His Due from Womankind."

20. The most thorough study of the legen → Jane Campbell Hutchison, "The Housebook Master and the Folly of the Wise Man," *Art Bull., 48,* no. 1 (March 1966), 73-78. See also George Szabo, "Medieval Bronzes in Prodigious Variety," *Apollo,* May 1969, pp. 359-361; ; → George Sarton, "Aristotle and Phyllis," *Isis, 14,* no. 1 (May 1930), 8-19. The last quotation comes from Sarton, p. 9. Unfortunately, the latter article reveals what Sarton said of his account of the tale: "I have retold it partly in the spirit of those who told it before." I would like to thank Margaretta M. Salinger, Curator Emeritus, Metropolitan Museum of Art, for help on the "Aristotle and Phyllis" theme.

21. "Phyllis Riding Aristotle" prints, like "Lillith and Adam" stories, are literal presentations of the masculine fear of women. See Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews,* trans. H. Szold (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946-1964), I, 64-69. Women's struggles for equality are all too frequently perceived by men as attempts to "be on top." Contemporaneously with the "Aristotle and Phyllis" prints that showed Phyllis carrying a whip, men who had been "beaten by their wives" were led through their town sitting backward on an ass in ridiculing ritual. ; → Natalie Z. Davis, "Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past and Present, 50* (February 1971), 45, 65-66.

Fortunately for the historian and unfortunately for the women whose lives have been adversely affected by his influence, Aristotle the taxonomist was skilled in the art of making distinctions between kinds of life. In the *Historia Animalium* and in the *De Generatione* Aristotle precisely distinguished between male *(arrēn)* and female *(thēlu)* among animals that possess locomotion.[22] Difference of sex has a physical basis, namely, the greater heat of the male. Unlike the medical school of Hippocrates, Aristotle taught that *sperma,* in its narrow sense as the seed from which an embryo grows, is secreted only by males. Lack of heat explained why females secrete instead *catemenia*, identified with menstrual discharge: the colder body of the female prevents the blood from completing the transformation into semen. Aristotle, in fact, sometimes used the generic term *sperma* for both male seed and female catamenia, for both were viewed as surplus useful nutriment. However, he was very clear in declaring that sperm differs from catamenia in that it is the completed form.[23] In the following influential definition of "woman," one can see the far-ranging implications of his embryology: "woman " *(gyne)* is as it were an impotent male, for it is through a certain incapacity that the female if female *(thēlu)*, being incapable of concocting the nutriment in its last stage into semen."[24] On account of their lack of semen, Aristotle at several points compared women to

22. Aristotle's biology has been treated with concern for its impact on women generally only in books on the history of women. For an example of what may occur without that perspective, see G. Pouchet, *La biologie Aristotélique* (Paris: Germier Baillière, 1885), chaps. 8-10. Pouchet's analysis of Aristotle's genetics and embryology is filled with praise for Aristotle's genius and with questionable, oversimplified confirmation by science of Aristotle's theories. For example, on p. 86 we find: "Pour nous, modernes, les produits sexuels male et femelle portent en eux les deux choses: un substratus material dominant dans l'oeuf, un principe d'énergie dominant dans le spermatozoide. Nous n'avons rien ajouté, comme on le verra à la science d'Aristote." Aristotle's biology continues to gain praise for its overall contribution. Prominent examples are D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *On Aristotle as a Biologist* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913); and J.M. Oppenheimer, "Aristotle as a Biologist," *Scientia, 65* (1971), 649-658.

2➞ *H.A.*, 1, 3; III, 1 and 22; V-VIII; IX, 1. *G.A.* For a thorough discussion of the nature and role of "sperma," see Preuss, "Science and Philosophy."

24. *G.A.*, I, 20 (728a 18-20). *Arren agonos* may be rendered "impotent male" or "infertile male." Gaza's translation discussed woman's "impotentia," impotence.

For support that Aristotle's head differential between male and female was the starting point of the logic justifying antifeminism, see Clarence Shute, *The Psychology of Aristotle: An Analysis of the Living Being* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 37. Given the topic of his book, I was surprised to see Shute summarizing rather than critically analyzing the Aristotelian inequality of

young boys.[25]

While recognizing the necessary role the female plays in bearing the young, Aristotle went about as far as one can in attributing fertility exclusively to the male sex. Basic to his philosophy was his theory of causation. There are four factors that make a thing what it is: the material cause – the material from which it is made; the efficient cause – that which gives impetus; the formal cause – that which gives form *(eidos* or *logos)*; and the telic cause – the goal *(telos)* toward which it strives. In natural processes, as in the developing of a human embryo, the formal and telic causes are the same; the "telic" is the temporal term for expressing the striving of an embryo to become a fully developed human being, and the "formal" is the term indicating the potential humanity within the embryo.[26] As it turns out, three of the four causes for the embryo's coming into being Aristotle attributes to the semen; only one cause, a necessary one but one of least importance in the hierarchy of being, does he attribute to the catamenia. Woman's role in the creation of offspring is limited to the contribution of the material for the embryo's growth and nourishment.[27]

For a human embryo to be created, a male is needed to initiate growth and to direct development toward the human form. Holding a common Greek philosophical belief that matter is of much lower importance than form or spirit, Aristotle was adamant in denying that the semen contributes any material component to the embryo. Viewing the male and female as combined in plants and viewing the Divinity as pure spirit, Aristotle was able to justify the superiority of the male and the inferiority of the female on the basis of his theory of reproduction:

> ... as the first efficient or moving cause, to which belong the definition and the form, is better and more divine in its nature than the material on which it works, it is better that the superior principle should be separated from the inferior. Therefore, wherever it is possible and so far as it is possible, the male is separated from the female. For the first principle of the movement, or efficient cause, whereby that which comes into being is male, is better and more divine than the material whereby it is female.[28]

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the male and female *psyches* in their generative capacities (see p. 15, for example). There are several starting points for Aristotle's views on woman.

25. *G.A.*, I, 20 (728a 17), and V, 3 (784a 4-7).
26. *Physica*, II, 3. *G.A.*, I, 1 (715a 1-11).
27. See, for example, note 28 below. Also, *G.A.*, I, 20 (729a 9-11).
28. *G.A.*, II, 1 (732a 3-10). Preuss, "Science and Philosophy," rightly sug-

The passage seems to imply that because in procreation male contributes form and female contributes matter, Aristotle identifies maleness with form and femaleness with matter. Could it be instead that because Aristotle associated females with material activities (providing food and clothes) and males with the spiritual activities (scholarship and government), these distinctions became embodied in his embryology?

The material contribution of female catamenia had social implications as well. In the *Politics,* Aristotle advised pregnant mothers to eat well and to exercise, both items recommended by modern science. However, he also added a qualification that easily may be interpreted as eliminating pregnant women – in his time, most women during their prime of life – from challenging rational activity, the activity of Aristotle's fully developed human being: "Their minds, unlike their bodies, should be kept free from exertion; for children evidently draw on the mother who carries them in her womb, just as plants draw on the soil."[29] The plant analogy is most meaningful in an Aristotelian context, for the matter that the females contribute to their embryos has only the vegetative soul allowing for growth. It lacks in both potentiality and in actuality the sensitive soul, which distinguishes animals from plants, and the rational soul, which is the characteristic possession of humanity.[30]

On account of misreadings of Aristotle, it should be pointed out that when he talked of the female lacking *psyche* (soul), he was referring to the female principle as it reflects itself in the potential to implant *psyche* in offspring. He quite clearly stated that females have souls; in fact, this recognition provided him with an essential problem: "And yet the question may be raised why it is that, if indeed the female possesses the same soul and if it is the secretion of the female which is the material of the embryo, she needs the male besides instead of generating entirely from herself."[31] His answer was that the male alone had the potential to create the sensitive and rational souls; this assertion was supported by his observation of unfertilized bird eggs.[32]

He was trying to allay the masculine fear that "the male would exist

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gests that this passage is rhetorically designed to appeal to a male audience. This passage is based on a disputed text.

29. *Pol.*, VII, 12 (1335b 17-19).

30. *G.A.*, II, 5. For a more subtle presentation, see *De Anima,* II, 2-5; III.

31. *G.A.*, II, 5 (741a 5-10). For other differences between the souls of males and females, see quotation at note 84 below.

32. *G.A.*, II, 5 (741a 20-33).

in vain."[33] From a feminine or human point of view, he did not explain why one soul has generative capacities and why another does not. The material differences between the sexes would not be a sufficient explanation, and Aristotle did not attempt to use it. Instead, he included the male production of the sensitive soul as part of his definition of male animals.[34] In effect, because the sensitive soul is that which imparts locomotion, its existence in the semen is implicit in the identification of semen with the efficient or moving cause.[35] The rational soul of the human animal that is divine poses a more difficult issue. Because the rational soul is not connected with bodily activity, Aristotle did not even bother to explain that it could not be part of the female contribution; as one might suspect, he viewed it as a principle spiritually imparted by semen in its purest state.[36] Aristotle held to this viewpoint despite his observation that offspring often resemble their mothers in form, movement and character.[37] Given Aristotle's distinctions between the nutritive, sensitive, and rational capacities of the male and female generative secretions, we shall see that Aristotle failed to explain how female generative matter could carry with it any more than nutritive or material resemblances to the mother.

The distinctions between activity and passivity accompanied the distinctions between form and matter. The activity of the semen involved its soul-giving and formative capacities. Aristotle's reasoning was as follows:

> For there must needs be that which generates and that from which it generates; even if these be one, still they must be distinct in form and their essence must be different; and in those animals that have these powers separate in two sexes the body and nature of the active and the passive sex must also differ. If, then, the male stands for the effective and active, and the female, considered as female, for the passive, it follows that what the female would contribute to the semen of the male would not be semen but material for the semen to work upon.[38]

33. *G.A.*, II, 5 (741b 4-5).

34. *G.A.*, II, 5 (741a 13-16). Peck's translation makes the definition explicit; it is at least implicit. The argument was built up in *G.A.*, II, 4. Particularly see (733a 33-733b 1), (734b 20-24), (735a 8-9), and the definition in (738b 18-27).

35. See note 24 above.

36. *G.A.*, II, 3 (736b 26-29); (737a 6-11).

37. *G.A.*, I, 15-18.

38. *G.A.*, I, 20 (729a 25-35).

From his original distinction between the sex that generates in another and the sex that generates in itself, on which he based his explanation of the differentiation of body parts,[39] Aristotle built a case that by definition one sex must be active and one sex passive. The activity attributed to the male is his contribution of the initial movement to an embryo's growth. But the distinction between male and female implied therein derives from Aristotle's general viewpoint and has general implications:

> The female, as female, is passive, and the male, as male, is active and the principle of the movement comes from him. Therefore, if we take the highest genera under which they fall, the one being active and motive and the other passive and moved, that one thing which is produced comes from them only in the sense in which a bed comes into being from the carpenter and the wood, or in which a ball comes into being from the wax and the form.[40]

The craftsman analogy vividly combined the association of maleness with activity and form and the association of femaleness with passivity and matter, and in so doing displaced any notion that the female is the procreator. The male, or nature working through the male, is analogous to the craftsman.[41] One might have expected that since pure semen was to Aristotle the source of man's superior generative capacities, that semen would be analogous to the craftsman. However, Aristotle did not observe semen in some insects and wanted through this analogy to clarify that the observable material presence of semen is not what is important.[42] The analogy implied the following: utilizing the female

39. *G.A.*, I, 2 (716a 13-716b 1).

40. *G.A.*, I, 21 (729b 12-21).

41. "Male" is implied by the passage in note 38. *G.A.*, I, 22, clearly refers to "nature." The analogy of a craftsman making a bed appears in Plato, *Republic*, trans. and ed. F. M. Cornford (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), X (596-598); Aristotle transmitted the analogy from the context of the theory of ideas to the context of biological reproduction.

42. *G.A.*, I, 21 (729b 22) – I, 22 (730b 30). Aristotle also felt compelled to explain away what appeared to him to be a female organ inserted in the male, and regarded such male insects, which needed their material to be brought to them, as weak males. This indicates that Aristotle to some extent did associate male activity with the visible activity during intercourse. Preuss, while rightly criticizing Peck's translation of the quotation in note 34, does not give sufficient credence to the sexual overtones of Aristotle's "male activity." (Preuss, "Science and Philosophy," pp. 10-15). Of all the items he might have given his carpenter to build, Aristotle chose a bed.

body as a workplace containing raw material, nature through the male takes the female generative matter, activates it, and makes of it a human life. Implicit in this view is that the male is generative even after his offspring's birth, for it is then that the sensitive and rational faculties gradually develop to fulfill the form given the offspring by the father. Through this analogy, the male becomes the procreator *par excellence.*

Furthermore, the distinctions between procreation and creation, which in the *Symposium* Socrates' wise woman had seen as the distinction between creativity of the body and creativity of the soul, are blurred for the male procreator.[43] The male in taking a woman for the begetting of offspring is involved in an art, that of creating a human soul. The observable pregnancy of women is pregnancy of the body; the unobservable pregnancy of men is the generative force of the soul of man. The most creative aspects of procreation have thus been discounted in woman and attributed exclusively to man.

It is implied in Aristotle's view that the female is in the fullest sense of the word a "laborer."[44] She passively takes on her task, laboring with her body to fulfill another's design and plan, and consequently her contribution to the product is of a secondary nature. The product of her labor is not hers.[45] The man, on the other hand, does not labor but works. In the craftsman analogy, Aristotle implied that the male is *homo faber,* the maker, who works upon inert matter according to a design, bringing forth a lasting work of art. His soul contributes the form and model of the creation. Out of his creativity is born a line of descendants that will preserve his memory, thus giving him earthly immortality.[46]

43. Diotima's speech in Plato, *Symposium*, Loeb Classical Library (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1925), 208 D-209 B.

44. The distinction between "labor" and "work" is that of Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), chaps. 3-4.

45. It was a common practice in ancient Greece for the male parent to decide by the fifth day after birth whether to expose to death a deformed or otherwise unwanted child. Alfred Zimmern suspects that exposure fell more often on females, while Lacey suspects it fell more often on males. Both agree that the evidence from the Hellenistic period indicates that by then the abandoned pot most frequently contained baby girls. Alfred Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth: Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 330-334; Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece*, pp. 165-167.

46. *G.A.*, II, 1 (731b 30-732a 1); *De Anima*, II, 4 (415b 1-9). A common fear

A problem in applying this work-labor distinction to Aristotle's theory of procreation is that the design for the offspring is carried by the semen and is not a conscious product of the father's mind. That is why Aristotle recognized that it is nature working through the sexes that brings forth offspring. Nevertheless, one intention of Aristotle's works was to bring the design of offspring more fully under the conscious control of man. This intention was reflected most clearly in his treatment of marriage and procreation ages and of resemblances between parents and offspring.

Recognizing that children born of parents very old or very young are more often born imperfect, Aristotle suggested that women procreate between ages eighteen and thirty-six and men procreate between ages thirty-seven and fifty-four. The appropriate age differential between husband and wife would then be twenty years, increasing by a few years the pattern typical for Aristotle's time.[47] Besides his ostensible reason, that of allowing for a simultaneous development through the procreative age (ending at fifty and seventy, respectively), Aristotle, I think, found this age differential useful for backing up the appropriate power relationship of the spouses and for giving the male a greater

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of Greeks was that after death the rites would not be performed for them, and that in consequence their souls would wander around restlessly. The happiness of the dead was dependent on the continuity of descendants who would guard and respect the household hearth and ancestral tomb. A female on marriage left her father's hearth for her husband's; fathers sought sons to perpetuate their line. The importance of preventing extinction of the family is indicated by the fact that if the only legitimate heir was a daughter, even if she were married she would be brought home, the marriage would be dissolved, and she would then be married to the nearest male relative. The object was to continue the line through her son. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City,* trans. W. Small (New York: Doubleday, 1956), pp. 1-85. A pertinent case in point of a father whose only legitimate child was female was Aristotle. See his "Last Will and Testament" with commentary in Chroust, *Aristotle: New Light on His Life,* I, chap. 15. While disregarding the Greek superstitions on the dead, Aristotle agreed to some extent that the fortune and virtue of one's descendants had an effect on one's life. *Ethica Nicomachea,* I, 11 (1101a 22-1101b 10).

47. *Pol.,* VII, 16. The little legal and literary evidence we have indicates that in Athens men aged about thirty married girls aged fourteen to sixteen. Contrary to Wright's view, Aristotle was not completely conforming to custom, but was pushing the age a few years later in order to increase the number of women surviving childbirth and the number of births of tall, healthy males. Wright, *Fem-*

chance for providing the active, formal element in procreation.[48]

It is difficult to understand how by Aristotle's theory offspring can resemble the mother unless one recognizes that male "activity" is more precisely a normative than an empirical principle. The semen does not potentially contain with it the parts of the embryo; the parts are instead potentially present in the catamenia.[49] What is supposed to happen is that the movement of the semen will prevail, shaping the embryonic parts on the model of the male parent: "If, then, the male element prevails it draws the female element into itself, but if it is prevailed over it changes into the opposite or is destroyed."[50] Two Aristotelian principles work to explain the result of lack of dominance of the male semen: (1) "everything changes not into anything haphazard but into its opposite," and (2) "the agent is itself acted upon by that on which it acts."[51] The first principle explains that if the embryo does not resemble the father's line it will most likely resemble the mother's. The second principle allows for some activity of the female generative matter. This framework is successful in explaining the birth of female offspring. Because the female is the opposite of the male, if the male does not prevail a female will be born. In such cases, instead of the catamenia being heated by the semen, the semen is cooled by the catamenia, and as a result body parts appropriate to a female are formed.[52] A male accepting Aristotle's theory would have good reason to feel chagrin at the birth of a female child: his maleness had not acted but had been acted upon.

In discussing the resemblances between father and child, Aristotle indicated that the individual characteristics of the man have more force in generation than his more general characteristics as a human being or as a male.[53] Given the soul-giving force of his semen, the transmission of individual traits to male and female offspring is understandable. However, the argument becomes strained when Aristotle tries to extend

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inism in Greek Literature, p. 213; Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece*, pp. 106-107, 163. Given that a major reason for marrying daughters off young was to insure virginity, Aristotle was clever in arguing that girls who marry young develop less sexual restraint. A wife's adultery and hidden bastards were major societal fears.

48. *Pol.*, I, 12. *G.A.*, IV, 2 (767a 13-27).
49. *G.A.*, II, 6 (741b 6-10).
50. *G.A.*, IV, I (766b 15-16).
51. *G.A.*, IV, 3 (768a 1 and 768b 16-17).
52. *G.A.*, IV, I (766b 15-26); IV, 3 (768a 6-7).
53. *G.A.*, IV, 3 (767b 24 - 768a 8).

it to resemblances to the mother. The assumption is that just "as 'father' and 'mother' are opposed as general terms, so also the individual father is opposed to the individual mother."[54] This theory would seem to apply successfully only to those psychological characteristics that are biologically determined by sex differences; for example, Aristotle contended that women are more compassionate, more querulous, more void of shame, and so on.[55] Even these traits are expressed in relative terms, and it would be hard to convert them into clear-cut opposites. Furthermore, if sex-related characteristics are what he meant to imply, then Aristotle made it even harder to explain the resemblances of male children to their mothers. In those cases, he contended that the male principle prevailed while the principle coming from the individual man did not.[56]

His theory needed bolstering, and Aristotle added this explanation: "Some of the movements exist in the semen actually, others potentially; actually, those of the father and the general type. as man and animal; potentially, those of the female and the remoter ancestors."[57] Since telic and formal elements have been given to this male procreator from his father, and his father's from his father, and so on, one can understand the passing down of the traits of paternal ancestors. But how does the semen potentially carry the female mate's characteristics or, even more difficult, how does it carry her mother's characteristics?

In referring to the semen in the embryonic state, where it is activating the female generative matter, Aristotle often used the analogy of fig juice coagulating milk. Like the fig juice or rennet, the semen activates the matter, causing it to react vigorously. In the process, the active agent "sets" the reacting passive agent.[58] Given Aristotle's view that the catamenia is the source of embryonic body parts, it is understandable that if the semen does not dominate, it releases the physical characteristics of the mother, such as height or eye color. However, in the act of the "setting" *(synistasis)* of the catamenia, how might the semen potentially release a mother's unique spiritual traits, such as a calm temperament broken only by extreme bursts of religiosity or a remarkable ability to imitate and hum a tune? For such traits to be activated, must not the catamenia have some telic or formal factors,

54. *G.A.*, IV, 3 (768a 8-9).

55. *H.A.*, IX, I (608a 22 - 608b 18).

56. *G.A.*, IV, 3 (768a 28-31).

57. *G.A.*, IV, 3 (768a 12-14).

58. *G.A.*, I, 20 (729a 12-16), 21 (729a 25-35); IV, 4 (771b 26-28). I thank Marilyn Arthur of Columbia University for her stimulating dialogue with me on Aristotle's theory of resemblances.

some nonmaterial potential of its own? If the female can also pass down individual spiritual traits, then there are a craftsman and a craftswoman combining their designs for the modeling of their joint creation.

Aristotle's *a priori* assumptions on the unequal contribution of the male and female to generation necessitated his development of a complex theory of resemblance one that is not fully satisfactory. Another alternative existed for him: his observation of the parellel occurrences of offspring resembling mother and offspring resembling father might have led him to question his assumption that the father alone has a formative influence in the process of generation. Likewise, his observation of the parallel births of males and females might have led him to view the birth of females as a "normal" phenomenon; instead, he viewed females as "monstrosities" and built a theory of family resemblances that was primarily suitable for explaining the one phenomenon of sex resemblance.

Despite the recognition that the two sexes serve the telic end of preserving the species,[59] the "norm" for Aristotle was that the active principle dominates the passive principle. His practical task was to help fulfill desires for male offspring, a task that still brings forth books today. His concern for reducing the phenomena of female births contributed to his prescription to avoid possible pregnancy when either mate was under or over age.[60] If one were to accept the admonition in the *Politics* to avoid situations that produce weak or female children and his suggestion to consult a natural philosopher who would give such advice as "the north wind is better than the south,"[61] one would learn on consulting *On the Generation of Animals* to choose a female of appropriate age, to avoid cold weather and drinking cold water, and to abstain while the south wind blew.[62] Such suggestions would help one to have intercourse "in the right place, and at the right time."[63] But Aristotle also had a theoretical reason for treating the birth of females as abnormal: he needed to accommodate phenomena of females to his telic view of the nature of each individual seed.

59. *G.A.*, II, I (731b 24 - 732a 12); IV, 3 (767b 9-13).

60. See note 46. *Pol.*, VII, 16 (1335a 11-14). "In the whole of the animal world the descendants of young parents have imperfections. They tend to be of the female sex, and they are diminutive in figure." Also *G.A.*, IV, 2 (766b 28-32).

61. *Pol.*, VII, 16 (1335a 40-45).

62. *G.A.*, IV, 2 (766b 28 - 767a 35). The statements are worded as observations, not as prescription.

63. *G.A.*, II, 4 (740b 21-25).

For Aristotle, each seed has within it the potentially to develop into a completed member of its species. The final end not only is a purpose to which the seed moves but actually preexists in the parent animal.[64] (In discussing teleology, Aristotle referred to "parent" in the singular.) Thus, reproduction maintains the *eidos* of each species. From several of his definitions of the female, we have seen that she is defined by her incapacities, that is, her inability to fulfill ends that are in fact fulfilled by the male. Complete development of a particular human seed thus would necessitate that the seed become male.

Aristotle defended this view when he declared that when the male principle was appropriately active, an embryo would emerge hot enough to concoct nourishment to its final stage, thus producing semen and the accompanying male organs. This explanation accorded with Aristotle's observation that the heart was the first organ formed. Viewing it as the source of blood and of vital heat, and also as the central, most important organ, he deduced that with the development of the heart, the sex of the embryo was determined.[65] This deduction, however, depended on his introductory definition of "catamenia." The principle that the female was a male whose surplus blood was stunted at an early state of development combined very neatly with Aristotle's observation of the embryonic heart. Since his view that the semen was the high point on a continuum extending across blood and catamenia and his view that females have less vital heat than males were both originally declared as *a priori* principles, for which the empirical proof given was indirect, one would have reason to believe that these principles were in fact partly derived from his view of embryonic development.[66] Consistent as it is, his reasoning is thus circular and self-supporting.

Among the deviations from an exact replica of the male parent, the worst was the procreation of a monstrosity. The context in which Aristotle discussed monstrosities is important. "For even he who does not resemble his parents is already in a certain sense of monstrosity; for in these cases Nature has in a way departed from the type. The first departure is indeed that the offspring should become female instead of male; this, however, is a natural necessity."[67] It is not mere coincidence that females were discussed in this passage along with monstrosities; the two phenomena were related in Aristotle's science. Animals with

64. *De Partibus Animalium*, I, 1 (640a 23-28; 641b 24-35).
65. *G.A.*, IV, I (766a 30 - 766b 2); II, 1 (734a 18-33); *P.A.*, III, 4.
66. See note 24. *G.A.*, I, 18-20.
67. *G.A.*, IV, 3 (767b 6-10).

extra parts, animals missing parts, and females reveal different degrees to which the semen may fail to properly guide the catamenia. They show what occurs when the female principle dominates in procreation.[68] The association of female infants with defective infants was an inauspicious one, for in ancient Greece defective children were usually left in a pot to die.[69]

While in the above passage Aristotle felt it necessary to explain how the male parent could fail to produce a replica of the male parent, in the following one he felt it necessary to explain how a male child could emerge from a female parent: "Just as the young of mutilated parents are sometimes born mutilated and sometimes not, so also the young born of a female are sometimes female and sometimes male instead. For the female is, as it were, a mutilated male, and the catamenia are semen, only not pure; for there is only one thing that they have not in them, the principle of soul."[70] This passage again makes clear the cumulative nature of Aristotle's antifeminism. Again we find a misleading, easily overextendible definition of female derived from what Aristotle considered to be characteristics of menstrual fluid. Linking together the material deficiency of the catamenia with its spiritual defiency, he deduced another devastating catchphrase: the female is a mutilated male.

The literal intent of this definition is proved by the fact that his discussion of embryology led him to bring up "the case of eunuchs, who, though mutilated in one part alone, depart so much from their original appearance and approximate closely to the female form."[71] In another passage discussing baldness, he acutely observed that women do not grow bald. Interestingly, this capacity to retain hair he viewed as a deficiency. Eunuchs also do not lose their hair for "this mutilation is a change from the male to the female condition."[72] Aristotle put it very bluntly: women are at birth castrated men.

One consolation remains to a father whose offspring, despite all efforts to the contrary, emerges from the workshop female. This daughter's menstrual fluid, the mark of her congenital deficiency, contains

68. *G.A.*, IV, 3 (767b 10-15).

69. Records from the Hellenistic period indicate that females were frequently left exposed, as were deformed children. One might speculate on the possibility that Aristotle's views of mutilation were known beyond the Lyceum and that at the least they made parents more open about the exposure of female infants. See note 45.

70. *G.A.*, II, 3 (737a 25-30).

71. *G.A.*, IV, 1 (766a 25-30).

72. *G.A.*, V, 3 (784a 5-11).

the *telos* by which his form can again have a chance for duplication. "Then Nature, aiming at the best and the end, uses it up in this place [releases menstrual blood] for the sake of generation, that another creature may come into being of the same kind as the former was going to be, for the menstrual blood is already potentially such as the body from which it is discharged."[73] While the daughter can not completely fulfill nature's goal, through her an offspring can be born that will complete itself into the male form. Interestingly, Aristotle's genetics increased the practicality of the Greek custom of marrying such a daughter to a male relative, for such mating would increase the probability that the traits of the sought-after grandson and heir would be similar to those of the grandfather.[74]

While taking Aristotle's ideas about woman seriously, in the sense of seeking out their implications and the fundamental biological observations and principles upon which they were based, I think that it is time for us to recognize that infiltrating Aristotle's erudition was a very common prejudice, one that we shall see again in his political and social theories: an unquestioned belief that the female sex is inferior to the male sex. Further proof comes from the fact that he very cleverly argued to explain away apparent female superiorities. He observed that in the human species, unlike other species, males are more often born defective than females. Instead of using this fact to modify his previous statements on the "mutilated sex," he managed to explain it away by the assertion that the heat of male embryos makes them move more and thus makes them more liable to damage.[75] His observations also led him to conclude that females develop more slowly in the womb, but that after birth they pass more quickly through the stages of puberty, prime,

73. *G.A.*, II, 4 (738b 1-4).

74. See note 46. If more biographical information were available, Aristotle's personel feelings about his own line of descent would be an interesting topic for a psychoanalytical historian to study. I would guess that Aristotle believed that biologically he had continued his line through his son, Nicomachus. However, since an illegitimate son even if adopted could legally acquire only a life estate, he must have looked forward to the birth of heirs through his daughter, Pythias. Aristotle's will did not indicate whether the men chosen by him as prospective mates for his daughter were relatives or friends; given his biological views, I think that if there were relatives available, Aristotle would have chosen them. It would be fascinating to know whether or not Aristotle, his father, Nicomachus, the namesake, and the daughter Pythias resembled one another. If they all did, then Aristotle's biological treatises would serve to "prove" that maleness dominated in Aristotle's family.

75. *G.A.*, IV, 6 (755a 5-10).

and old age. Slowness in the womb, resulting from coldness, is interpreted as a defect, despite his recognition that colder embryos are less damaged. Quickness out of the womb is also interpreted as a defect, resulting from female weakness: "after birth it [a female] quickly arrives at maturity and old age on account of weakness, for all inferior things come sooner to their perfection or end, and as this is true of works of art so it is of what is formed by Nature."[76] Women can't win with the supposed "empiricist;" all apparent differences between male and female are attributed to the "natural deficiency" of the female sex.[77]

To draw scholarly attention to the evidence of sex prejudice in Aristotle's works is not to assert that such prejudice was the determining motivation of his system or that his works were mere rationalizations of common prejudice. The complexity and accomplishment of Aristotle indicate his overriding concern for scientific and philosophical truth. What we must recognize is that the truth discovered was not neutral, but value-ridden. The inferiority of the female sex was not in Aristotle's works an explicit end-point, a doctrine to be proved or justified, but was rather a value-ridden premise underlying his logical arguments on other topics.

Aristotle's view that the inherent goal of each human seed is to become a male had one good consequence for his view of womankind: he conceded that men and women are of the same species. This was no small concession, for in the creation account of Plato's *Timaneus* "men who proved themselves cowardly and spend their lives in wrong-doing were transformed, at their second incarnation, into women."[78] In the *Metaphysics* Aristotle brought up the question "why woman does not differ from man in species, when female and male are contrary and their difference is a contrariety."[79] He concluded that their difference is not one of essence, but rather a difference of matter or body. This conclusion was correlated with the fact that the same seed, depending

76. *G.A.*, IV, 6 (775a 18-23).

77. *G.A.*, IV, 6 (775a 16); also → *H.A.*, VII, 3 (583b 2-29).

78. Plato, *Timaeus*, trans. R. G. Bury, Loeb Classical Library (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929), 91 A. While recent research has questioned the attribution of this work to Plato, and his dialogues are of more current interest, in the formative medieval period the *Timaeus* meant Plato. In fact it was the only work of Plato available in Latin before 1100. This partly explains Plato's medieval reputation for misogyny. R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 175.

7→ *Met.*, X, 9 (1058a 29-31).

on circumstances, can grow to be either male or female.[80] Making an analogy between the material differences of sex and the material differences of color, Aristotle concluded that black men and white men, as well as males and females, are all part of the same human species.[81]

While pleased that he drew this conclusion, I must admit that in doing so he ignored some of his own definitions of the form and the essence of males and females.[82] Furthermore, despite the fact that historical studies cannot undo what has already been done to and by previous generations, I wonder what was the combined impact of the *Timaeus* and Aristotle's biology on men's and women's conception of life. Aristotle's ideas on the hierarchy of species, together with those of Plato's *Timaeus*, played the formative role in the development of the idea of the great chain of being.[83] Among Aristotle's contributions was the notion that each of the lower species (plants and some animals in which male and female are combined) takes up one link on the chain, while each of the higher species takes up two links. While one might portray Plato's hierarchy of being as a chain of single links, the links alternating in the animal region between male and female, one might portray Aristotle's hierarchy of being as a chain of single links which at the point of sex differentiation merges into a chain two links wide, with one link weaker and hierarchically below the other one.

The weaker link in the human couple is weaker not only in the capacity to generate offspring but also in the capacity to generate decisions. For Aristotle, woman needs man not only to form her children but also to form her decisions. The intermingling of Aristotle's arguments that woman is subordinate to man with his arguments that woman should be subordinate to man is nowhere more apparent than in his first book of the *Politics*:

> ... the freeman rules over the slave after another manner from that in which the male rules over the female, or the man over the child; although the parts of the soul are present in all of them, they are

8→ *Met.*, X, 9 (1058b 22-24).

8→ *Met.*, X, 9 (1058b 1-15).

82. See, for example, note 38.

83. Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936). The topic of sex differentiation is not mentioned in this superb work. Nor has it been followed up by researchers who continued Lovejoy's *topos*. This paper suggests that later believers in the great chain of being need to be studied to determine the impact on them of Plato's and Aristotle's views on the hierarchy of sex.

> present in different degrees. For the slave has no deliberative faculty (bouleutikon) at all; the woman has, but it is without authority (akuron), and the child has, but it is immature. So it must necessarily be supposed to be with the moral virtues also; all should partake of them, but only in such manner and degree as is required by each for the fulfillment of his duty.[84]

That woman's deliberative faculty is *akuron* is Aristotle's most explicit statement on woman's mental or spiritual inferiority, yet it is cryptically ambiguous. The passage deserves to be explicated[85] since it reveals the convergence of Aristotle's biological and political sexism. As we shall see, Aristotle used the adjective *akuros* both as a political term implying lack of legitimate power or authority and as a biological and medical term implying inadequacy of capacity.

He may have meant, "A woman has no right to deliberate." Aristotle used the term *akuros* to refer to "fraudulent" legal proceedings, "invalid" contracts, decrees declared "void",[86] and he used the term *kurios* to refer to "binding" contracts, constitutional schemes actually "in power," and government "according to the law."[87] On the macropolitical level of the city-state, deliberative acts have authority when they conform to the legitimate constitution; likewise, on the micropolitical level of a marriage, deliberative acts have authority when they conform to the legitimate constitution. While Aristotle recognized several alternate legitimate constitutions for the city-state, he recognized only one legitimate form for a marriage. The constitution is an aristocracy, a government by the best for the benefit of all. Unlike macropolitical aristocracies, where there is an interchange of the roles of ruler and ruled, in the family the husband permanently rules over the wife, allocating to her the sphere of activity proper to a woman. The ruler needs practical wisdom; the ruled need only true opinion.[88] It is right for the wife to accept and enact the deliberations of her husband.

84. *Pol.*, I, 13 (1260b 28-31), translation of B. Jowett in the Oxford edition.

85. Recent scholars have rarely quoted this passage in full or commented upon it at length; even articles on Aristotle's concept of the "natural slave" discreetly pass over the point about women (see note 17 above).

86. *De Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, 36 (1443b 28); *Rhet.*, I, 15 (1376b 27 and 12).

87. *Rhet.*, I, 15 (1376b 27); *Pol.*, II, 12 (1274b 27); *Pol.*, V, 6 (1306b 20).

88. *Pol.*, I, 12 (1259a 39 - 1259b 10); III, 4 (1277b 8-30); *E.N.*, VIII, 11 (1160b 32-37).

Indeed, Aristotle's assertion that woman's deliberative faculty lacks authority was part and parcel of his assertion that woman possesses moral goodness to the extent required to discharge her function.[89] The conventional female functions during Aristotle's lifetime influenced his prescriptions on the proper use of woman's deliberative faculty. A conventional Greek, Aristotle limited his perspective of women's service to the state to her fulfillment of functions within the family. The family is that part of the state which perpetuates citizens and provides for recurrent daily needs.[90] Within that institution, man's role is to beget offspring, woman's role is to bear and nurture offspring, man's role is to acquire household goods, woman's role is to take care of household goods.[91] The separate spheres of man and woman necessitate different virtues. Man needs the courage of a ruler; woman needs the modesty and silence of one who obeys.[92] Just as Aristotle thought it was improper for a freeman to understand how to do the physical labor of a slave or the productive work of a craftsman or mechanic, he considered it improper for a freeman to understand how to do the housework of a woman. Too much useful knowledge on menial subjects degrades the mind, making it unfit for the higher liberal tasks of governing.[93] A freeman commands that tasks be done and lets his subordinates give instruction on how such tasks are to be done.[94] It would be illegitimate rule for the husband to take authority on all household matters; he appropriately allocates to his wife a limited sphere of decision making in the execution of the housework.[95]

Aristotle was able to justify the authority of husband over wife on the basis of his principles of distributive justice and distributive friendship. Justice is giving each his due: equals should receive equal, and unequals should receive unequal. Offices should be distributed so that the better do more of the ruling and the inferior do more of the obeying.[96] Likewise, affection in friendship is appropriately proportionate to worth: the better partner should receive more affection than he gives.[97] "The friendship of man and wife, again, is the same that is

89. See quotation in note 84 above.
90. *Pol.*, I, 2 (1252a 26-31, 1252b 12-15).
91. *Pol.*, VII, 16 (1335b 27-29); III, 4 (1277b 24-25).
92. *Pol.*, I, 13 (1260a 20-30), III, 4 (1277b 21-25).
93. *Pol.*, I, 7; III, 4-5; VIII, 2; II, 5 (1264b 4-6).
94. *Pol.*, III, 4 (1277a 30 – 1277b 6).
95. *E.N.*, VIII, 11 (1160b 34-36).
96. *Pol.*, III, 9, 12; *E.N.*, V, 3.
97. *E.N.*, VIII, 7.

found in an aristocracy; for it is in accordance with virtue – the better gets more of what is good, and each gets what befits him; and so, too, with the justice in these relations."[98] While viewing the marital friendship as an unequal friendship, in which the female loves the male more than he loves her, and as a relationship of proportional justice, in which she recognizes in him more honor and authority than he recognizes in her, Aristotle did think man and woman could achieve the highest form of friendship: that based on admiration for each other's virtue. The marital friendship exists for pleasure – companionship and the union for procreation; for utility – the distribution of labor for maintaining life; and in its perfected form, for the common good of both. In such a marriage, each partner fulfills his respective virtue and delights in the excellence of the other partner.[99] Practical wisdom, the virtue produced through deliberation, is a virtue a wife should enjoy in her husband. If the wife also had practical wisdom, the hierarchy of the marital government and marital virtue would be overthrown.[100] The husband enjoys in his wife the virtue of the ruled.

Aristotle also may have doubted woman's decision-making capacities. He distinguished a deliberative person, one who chooses the means to intrinsically good ends, from the clever person, one who chooses the means to good or bad ends.[101] There is strong evidence that he considered cleverness to be a biologically based female trait. He referred to males in general as less cunning than females, and explicitly said that "in the Laconian breed of dogs the female is cleverer than the male."[102] The psychological differences between the sexes are most developed in the human species, where the female in comparison to the male is "more void of shame and self-respect, more false of speech, more deceptive, and of more retentive memory."[103]

That the weakness of woman's deliberative faculty is its tendency to cleverness is also supported by Aristotle's use of the term *kurios* for distinguishing between cleverness and practical wisdom: "as practical wisdom is to cleverness – not the same, but like it – so is natural virtue to virtue in the strict sense *(kurian)*."[104] He explained further that

98. *E.N.*, VIII, 11 (1161a 23-28).
99. *E.N.*, VIII, 12 (1162a 16-27).
100. *Pol.*, I, 13 (1260a 18-20); III, 4 (1277b 25-30).
101. *E.N.*, VI, 12.
102. *H.A.*, IX, 1 (608a 26; 608b 16-17).
103. *H.A.*, IX, 1 (608b 16-17).
104. *E.N.*, VI, 13 (1144b 1-4).

"both children and brutes have the natural disposition to these [moral] qualities but without reason these are evidently hurtful."[105] The crucial ingredient that turns "natural virtue" into "virtue which has authority" is grasp of the rational principles underlying proper conduct.

Another way in which a deliberative faculty may lack authority is in its control over the lower portions of the soul.[106] Aristotle built his analogy of the authority of man over slave and man over wife on the analogy of the authority of soul over body and reason over appetite.[107] The comparisons consistently carried over into his analysis of the proper forms of government within the household. Rule of soul over body is despotic, as is rule of master over slave; rule of reason over appetite is aristocratic, as is rule of husband over wife, or royal, as is rule of father over children.[108] The appetites of both women and children seem to interfere with their moral behavior; and thus both should be deterred from moral weakness by husband and father.

Aristotle used the term *kuria* to describe the "control" deliberative desire exercises over action,[109] and he did describe a person deficient in the capacity to exert self-control over pains originating in appetite as "soft and effeminate."[110] There is some evidence that Aristotle thought there was a biological basis for woman's incapacity to exercise control over her own behavior: "the female is softer in disposition than the male."[111] The "softness" of a man unable to withstand normal pleasures and pains is analogous to the "softness ... which distinguishes the female sex from the male."[112] Thus, in the *Rhetorica*, Aristotle mentioned "self-control" as a distinguishing trait of women of good birth.[113] In the *Nicomachean Ethics* as in the *Politics*, woman's failing derives not from the quantity of her appetites in relation to her reason but from the qualitative lack of control her reason exercises over her appetites.[114]

105. *E.N.*, VI, 13 (1144b 9).
106. *E.N.*, VII.
107. *Pol.*, I, 5 (1254b 2-9); I, 13 (1260a 4-8).
108. *Pol.*, I, 12 (1259a 36 – 1259b 10).
109. *E.N.*, VI, 2 (1139a 17-18).
110. *E.N.*, VII, 7 (1150b 1-5).
111. *H.A.*, IX, 1 (608a 35 - 608b 2).
112. *E.N.*, VII, 7 (1150b 12-16).
113. *Rhet.*, I, 5 (1361a 5-12).
114. *E.N.*, VII, 7-8; *Pol.*, I, 13 (1259b 35-38). Christine Garside, "Can a Woman Be Good in the Same Way as a Man? " *Dialogue: Canadian Philosophical Review, 10* (1971), 534-537, interprets the lack of authority in woman's deliberative faculty as a lack of self-control derived from an excess amount of irrational

The terms *kurios* and *akuros* appear in Aristotle's biological writings to contrast strength with weakness, capacity to function with incapacity to function, and potency with impotency.[115] Woman's supposed inability to produce seed, from which Aristotle derived his view that woman is an "impotent male," parallels woman's supposed inability to produce deliberative action, from which he derived his view that she has an "impotent *(akuron)* deliberative faculty."[116] The craftsman analogy, through which Aristotle attributed to the male the rational principle that guides the procreation of a child within a female, appears again in the *Politics* in order to substantiate the view that the male's rational principle guides the production of good deeds within slaves, women, and children: "The ruler, accordingly, must possess moral goodness in its full and perfect form [i.e., the form based on rational deliberation], because his function, regarded absolutely and in its full nature, demands a master-artificer, and reason is such a mater-artificer."[117]

One might speculate in accord with Aristotelian principles that the impotency of the female in producing the rational principle of her offspring and the impotency of the female in producing the rational principle of her deeds have a common organic source. Aristotle considered the heart, not the brain, to be the seat of sensation; the heart plays the central role in an individual's experience of pleasure and pain and in his accumulation of sense knowledge.[118] The vital heat of the heart, which gives an embryo the future potential to concoct generative seed, might also give an embryo the future potential to deliberate. In any case, the deficiency in vital heat is the physical source for the development of a female, and in the *Metaphysics* Aristotle did claim that the distinction between male and female is a difference of matter.[119]

In the *Politics*, Aristotle declared that there is a biological basis for inferiority and superiority: "There are species in which a distinction is

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faculty and a deficient amount of rational faculty.

115. *G.A.*, V, I (778a 1); IV, 4 (772b 27-33); fragment 426 (1548b 33, 4). For a defense of the biological basis of Aristotle's philosophy, see Marjorie Grene, *A Portrait of Aristotle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

116. Garside, "Can a Woman Be Good," p. 536. See also note 24 above.

117. *Pol.*, (1260a 16-19). See notes 40-46 above.

118. *P.A.*, III, 4 (665b 28-35; 666a 10-20). Benjamin Farrington, *Science in Antiquity*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 93-95.

119. See Notes 23, 24, 65, and 80 above.

already marked, immediately at birth, between those of its members who are intended for being ruled and those who are intended to rule."[120] He did not argue at length to apply his dictum to the distinction between males and females, for what distinction is more conspicuous at birth? Aristotle could assume that his students in ancient Athens were familiar with the Greek preference for male offspring, and that they "knew" that the best women were those who conformed to their father's and then their husband's decisions and who spent their days far from the assembly, the marketplace, the gymnasia, and the schools, dutifully occupied in the women's quarter of their household.[121] Aristotle judged his immediate audience well when he anticipated no objection to his theoretical assocation of slaves, women, and children (the three groups were the only ones in an Athenian household during the day) or to his assertion that women were intended to be ruled by men (with little opposition, men ruled both Greek society and Greek households). The assumed biological basis of the institution of wifedom was one of the premises upon which Aristotle built his general dictum on the biological basis of rulership.

Aristotle's biological and psychological ideas about women parallel his political and ethical ideas about women. Together, these ideas are circular, self-supporting, and antifeminist to the core. On the one hand, woman's alleged inadequacies of body and mind backed up his general dictum that men naturally rule over women. On the other hand, Aristotle's unwillingness to view women as potential voting and ruling citizens and his unwillingness to recognize alternatives to the political and ethical hierarchy of husband over wife limited his viewpoint on female capacities. From his teleological perspective, "all things derive their essential character from their function and capacity."[122] In the case of women, Aristotle may have derived his view of essential character and capacity from his view of appropriate function. His belief that it is the nature of a husband to provide the rational principle for the behavior of his wife may have led him to the parallel belief that it is the nature of a husband to provide the rational principle for the procreation of a child. Throughout Aristotle's corpus, the alleged deficiencies of women served to enlarge the capacities and powers of men.

120. *Pol.*, I, 5 (1254a 20-24).

121. See note 2 above. Also Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Press, 1975), pp. 57-92.

122. *Pol.*, I, 2 (1253a 23-24).

But perhaps I am giving Aristotle too much credit when I seek out the logical basis for his ideas of woman. Maybe Candidus in Thomas Elyot's *Defence of Good Women* better captured the essential point:

> For Poetes wrate agaynste women in wanton ditties, to content men with newe fangled devises. But the reproche to women, given by Aristotel, was in treatynge of matter wayghty and seriouse, whereby it appereth, that the saide words so spytefully spoken, proceded only of cankred malyce.[123]

Phyllis has whipped a horse dead over two millennia. However, there are still a few live descendants to subdue: the notion that the female body is castrated, the notion that woman's role in child-bearing should inhibit her accomplishments in other spheres, the notion that women cannot be trusted with high government position, and the general suspicion that women are not as good as men. It is not enough that Aristotle gets his due from womankind, womankind must also get her due.

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123. Thomas Elyot, *The Defence of Good Women* (London: Thomae Bertheleti, 1540) sig. C4^{v}. In the dialogue between Candidus and Caninus, a purported Aristotelian, Aristotle's view of woman is dismissed rapidly. This is particularly apparent in Caninus' agreement that Aristotle thought that women have reason and practical wisdom (sig. D3 - D5).


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JOSEPH D. REED



The Sexuality of Adonis

THE DEMOLITION by Marcel Detienne of the Frazerian agricultural interpretation of the Attic rites of Adonis has enabled more recent scholars to explore a rare expression of female perspective in male-centered Classical Athens.[1] His myth is that of a beautiful young man in the power of a mighty goddess; his Attic festival, the ritual lamentation of the Adonia, was celebrated exclusively by women and lay outside the civic calendar and the jurisdiction of the Athenian state religion. It is the intent of this paper to continue this work by showing, through detailed analysis of our sources, the ways in which Adonis reveals to us the attitudes and desires of both sexes. If a close examination of Adonis and the Adonia gives a rare look into a woman-centered Athens, it also allows us to glimpse the shifting perspectives of Athenian men and their varied strategies in dealing with the other sex.

Let us start with history. The cult of Adonis originated as a seventh-century BCE adaptation by Greeks of the yearly lamentation for the Mesopotamian god Tammuz (Dumuzi), consort of the goddess of love Ishtar (Inanna), which the expansion of the Assyrian empire had impelled westward.[2] Tammuz was lamented in the dry summer as the personification of the failing crops and herds; he was lord and protector of the people, embodied in the kings of Sumer and Babylon.

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1. See in particular Winkler 1990:188-209, Stehle 1990, Holst-Warhaft 1992:99-103. Detienne 1994 was originally published in French in 1972.

2. Burkert 1979:105–108. Dumuzi and Inanna are their Sumerian names, replaced by Tammuz and Ishtar under Akkadian rule.

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The lament, traditionally a female rite, must have been transmitted from woman to woman across cultures and languages. The widespread worship of Tammuz attested later in Syro-Palestine shows that he went as far west as did Assyrian domination, with women of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard adopting the lament apart from connected Mesopotamian rites and celebrating it privately, side by side with the established rites of their cities. The Greek Adoniazousai have their counterparts in the women of Jerusalem weeping for Tammuz at the north gate of the temple, excoriated in Ezekiel 8:14–15. As his name shows, Greek women got Adonis ultimately from Syrian or Phoenician women;[3] he became a Greek mythological figure (although the Greeks never forgot his Levantine provenance), and his cult spread among the *poleis*.[4] Men of Athens, as we shall see, habitually slighted and suspected the Adonia, distancing the home-bound, emotion-filled celebration from masculine dignity and statecraft. Testimonia that seem to include men among the Attic celebrants turn out to be syncretistic: the male *Adôniastai* attested in the Piraeus around 300 BCE (*IG* II^2 1261 = *SIG*^{4} 1098) are Cypriot expatriates of Phoenician extraction belonging to a thiasos of Syrian Aphrodite (i.e., Astarte). Their Adoniac procession, performed κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, is thus a nominal Hellenization of some Levantine rite.[5] A late paroemiographer uses masculine participles in describing the "gardens of Adonis": οἱ ταύτῃ (Aphrodite) ὀργιάζοντες, κήπους εἰς ἀγγεῖά τινα φυτεύοντες ἢ φυτεύουσαι ... ([Diogen.] 1.14 [L-S i.183]).[6] Although the masculines could be generic (Winkler 1990:235 n. 7), the subordination of the Adoniac rite to a cult of Aphrodite—for which Attic sources give no warrant—probably reflects knowledge of a syncretistic Near Eastern festival like the famous civic Adonia at Byblos, where a Phoenician dying and reviving god was celebrated by both men and women in the temple of his divine lover.[7] The absence of men from the Attic rite indicates that Adonis did not

3. Ἄδωνις < Western Semitic *adn*, "lord," often used as a divine title; cf. Atallah 1966:310–18, Burkert 1979:192 n. 3. The Greeks have taken the title for a proper name. The belief popularized by W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911) that Greek Adonis came from a city god of the West Semites, rather than from Mesopotamian Tammuz *via* the West Semites, does not fit the evidence.

4. On the transmission of religious practices from Near Easterners to Greek-speakers see most recently W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Harvard, 1992) 41–87; S. Morris, *Daidalos* (Princeton, 1992) 115. Both authors stress the intimate cohabitation necessary for such transmission as resulted; an anonymous reader for *ClAnt* suggests the kidnapping of Near Eastern women by Greek slavers as a mode of transmitting the Adoniac lament.

5. On their thiasos, mentioned in *IG* II^2 337 = *SIG*^{4} 280, see P. Foucart, *BCH* 3 (1879) 514–15; M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1948) 250–51.

6. This late antique collection of proverbs, falsely attributed to the second-century CE grammarian Diogenianus of Heraclea, exists in various redactions of a larger version, published in L-S i.180–320 ([Diogen.]), and in a more detailed epitome, published in L-S ii.1–52 ([Diogen.], *Epit.*).

7. The Greeks long identified the pair at Byblos with Aphrodite and Adonis: cf. the mythological syncretism of Cleitarchus, *FGrH* 137 F 3, and the description of the rites in Lucian, *De dea Syr.* 6–7. In another project I shall try to disentangle the different ethnic voices in our testimony on Adonis; here it is important to remember that post-Classical authors must have been largely unaware of differences between the Adonia they observed and those of Classical Athens.

come to Athens through trade with Cyprus or Phoenicia, as has sometimes been supposed. Greek Adonis was in the hands of women from the very beginning.

Evidence for the Adonia in pre-Hellenistic Greece comes only from Archaic Mytilene (Sappho frr. 140A and 168 L-P) and Athens from the late fifth century to the end of the fourth.[8] It is on Athens that we shall concentrate, seeking evidence in Classical texts and, more cautiously, in later authors who use Attic sources (it is especially worth bearing in mind that what may look like several independent pieces of late testimony on a Classical practice may really be several different echoes of the same source). Here the Adonia were a private festival unconnected with those of the civic religion, unfunded and unsupervised by the state, without *temenos* or priesthood. They were celebrated in summer on the flat roofs of the celebrants' own houses;[9] Menander, *Sam.* 46 indicates a *pannykhis*. Props mentioned are figurines of Adonis (Zenobius 1.49 [L-S i.19] and Plut., *Alcib.* 18.5 suggest a mock *ekphora* through the streets of Athens),[10] and the "gardens of Adonis," pots of soil sown with quickly sprouting seeds.[11] The number of days covered by the festival is uncertain;[12] this was an informal celebration outside the official calendar, and details such as its length may have been up to the participants. "We should ... imagine," suggests Winkler (1990:193), "that a gathering of women friends for the Adonia had as much a regular format as, say, a modern birthday party or a Christmas tree-trimming, at which the general course of events is known in advance but many variations of detail in conduct and style are allowable." We hear of the city filled with the funereal trappings of the rites and the sounds of lamentation,[13] but also of dancing and partying.[14]

8. Paus. 2.20.6 mentions lamentation for Adonis by the women of Argos in the temple of Zeus the Savior; the Adonia there were thus attached to a civic cult, perhaps early on. The month Ἀδωνιών attested for the Argive colony Iasus may indicate Adonia there (E. L. Hicks, *JHS* 9 [1888] 342; the Julian equivalent is unknown); but in view of the very early date of colonization the cults probably arose independently.

9. Date: J. Servais in S. Ribichini, ed., *Adonis: Relazioni del colloquio in Roma* (Roma, 1984) 83–93; cf. Plato, *Phdr.* 276B; Theophr., *H.P.* 6.7.3. Rooftops: Aristoph., *Lys.* 389 (and Schol. *ad loc.*, with Weill 1966:669 n. 1), 395; Men., *Sam.* 45. This is a Near Eastern feature: Burkert 1979:192 n. 8.

10. Figurines: Plut., *Alcib.* 18.5, *Nic.* 13.7; Alciphron 4.14.8; Hesych. s.v. Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι. Photius, *Lex.* s.v. Ἀδώνια (whence the Suda s.v.) reports that this effigy was termed the Ἀδώνιον.

11. Theophr., *H.P.* 6.7.3; Schol. Theoc. 15.113; Zenobius 1.49 (L-S i.19); Alciphron 4.14.8; Hesych. and the Suda s.v. Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι. Hesychius and the Suda list lettuce and fennel as the plants used; the Theocritus scholiast, wheat and barley. Availability and rapidity of germination may have been the criteria. The use of broken amphorae for the gardens, as pictured in *LIMC* pl. 47, suggests the improvised domestic nature of the festival. The term "gardens of Adonis" was also used in Imperial times for galleries of potted flowering plants unrelated to the cult: Atallah 1966:225–26.

12. When Socrates in Plato, *Phdr.* 276B specifies eight days as the growth period for the gardens of Adonis, he is improvising a length of time to parallel the eight months he specifies for crops; he is not talking about the length of the festival, as some have thought.

13. Aristoph., *Lys.* 393, 396; Plut., *Alcib.* 18.5, *Nic.* 13.7; cf. Pherecrates, fr. 181 *PCG*.

14. Aristoph., *Lys.* 392–96; Diphilus, fr. 42 *PCG*; Men., *Sam.* 41–46; Alciphron 4.14. On Menander's Adonia, see N. Weill, *BCH* 94 (1970) 591–93; Winkler 1990:191. In Diphilus, fr. 49 *PCG* (from a play entitled *Theseus*) three Samian girls at the Adonia engage in ribald humor: they are presumably courtesans and the scene is probably in Athens.

An early fourth-century lekythos (*LIMC* pl. 47) emphasizes the convivial aspects of the festival, fancifully depicting a beautifully coifed and bejeweled semi-nude woman on a ladder (Aphrodite herself?) receiving a garden of Adonis from a chubby, curly-headed Eros while celebrants as elegant as herself look on with delight.[15]

The Attic Adonia reveal their Mesopotamian origins in such features as the summer date and the potted gardens. The purpose and nature of the rite have nevertheless undergone radical change. The private celebration had no place in the cycles of the whole community; indeed, the agricultural connection has disappeared. Although Tammuz and similar Near Eastern dying gods (e.g., Ba'al-Hadad in Ugarit, Osiris in Egypt) embody the agricultural cycle of the communities that worshipped them, there is no evidence that the Greeks connected their Adonis with the growth of fruit or crops until the syncretistic religions of the Roman Empire.[16] The original, Near Eastern importance of the gardens had probably been agricultural: "Sie stellen eine sympathetischen Zauber dar, der in der Zeit, wo die Erde erschöpft ist, deren Fruchtbarkeit für das kommende Jahr sichern soll"; this significance, however, "den attischen Frauen schwerlich gegenwärtig war."[17] A redaction of the second-century CE paroemiographer Zenobius reports that the pots "are carried out together with the dead god and thrown into springs" (1.49 [L-S i.19]). If this custom was Attic, it may represent a fossilization of some Near Eastern agricultural magic.[18] The Mesopotamian love-goddess was naturally replaced by Aphrodite, whose concern Adonis is since our oldest testimony (Sappho, fr. 140A). But no Attic evidence attaches the Adonia to her cult, and in myth Adonis is for her only a romantic diversion, not a consort.[19]

15. A cluster of similar mid-fifth- to mid-fourth-century paintings without the gardens, discussed by Atallah 1966:177–93 and Weill 1966:664–74 (including *LIMC* pl. 45–46, 48–49), are not demonstrably Adoniac; C. M. Edwards, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 62–72, warning that the mere presence of women with a ladder does not automatically signify the Adonia, identifies them as marriage scenes involving Aphrodite Urania. A red-figured lekythos on which A. P. Zarkadas, *Horos* 7 (1989) 137–43 sees a representation of the Adonia (including the gardens) also more probably depicts a marriage scene (*LIMC* ii.2 s.v. Aphrodite pl. 210).

16. Thus the lateness of the scholium on Theoc. 3.48, stating that Adonis is "really the grain," remaining six months in the ground before growing. Cf. Cornutus, *Theol. gr.* 28; [Orph.], *H.* 56; Origen, *Sel. in Ezech.* 9 (13.797 Migne); Porphyry in Euseb., *P.E.* 3.11.9 = Porph., *Agalm.* 7 Bidez; Sallustius, *De deis* 4.3; Amm. Marc. 19.1.2, 22.9.15; Macrob., *Sat.* 1.21.1–4; [Clem. Rom.], *Hom.* 6.9; Jo. Lyd., *Mens.* 4.64.

17. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932) 221. On analogues from Palestine and Egypt see M. Delcor, *Syria* 55 (1978) 371–94 (discussing Isaiah 17:10 and Ezekiel 8:17); J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* ([Cardiff], 1970) 37. Cf. N. Robertson, *HThR* 75 (1982) 348.

18. Eustathius' unique report that the gardens were thrown into the sea (*Od.* 1701.45–50) sounds like a confusion of Zenobius' testimony with the Alexandrian practice of committing an effigy of Adonis to the sea, perhaps Osirian in origin (Theoc. 15.133 with schol.; Dioscorides, *A.P.* 5.53 and 193; cf. Plut., *De Is.* 13).

19. Whether Aphrodite herself had Near Eastern origins is irrelevant for our purposes, since she was established as a Greek goddess well before the arrival of Adonis. On the origins of Aphrodite see most recently Penglase 1994:159–79.

Mesopotamian Tammuz has fallen from his high estate, lost the trappings of royal might and cosmic power, and even left behind his godhead, since we have no evidence that the Attic celebrants ever prayed to Adonis or expected anything from him. Some vestiges of the old myths and customs have clung to him in transit, but their patchy survival has compelled shifts in their functions. He has become a fict for Athenian lamentation.

Sir James Frazer, misled by the similar Near Eastern figures, endowed Attic Adonis with all the waning and reviving grandeur of an *eniautos-daimôn*.[20] The structuralist interpretation of Marcel Detienne has done much to uproot that influential fallacy and to clear the way for a proper assessment of the social function of the Adonia in Classical Athens. Detienne, taking as his key the well-known myth that Adonis' pregnant mother Myrrha or Smyrna (both Greek words for myrrh) was metamorphosed into a myrrh tree, from whose trunk the newborn in due time emerged, sees Adonis as essentially the fruit of an aromatic shrub, a perfume, an anti-agricultural product.[21] His method is to find a counter-phenomenon in Attic society, in response to which the Adonia can take their significance: surely the Thesmophoria, the autumn festival in honor of Demeter at which the women of Athens celebrated the growth of food crops. Detienne finds a further, sociological opposition here: the Thesmophoria were celebrated only by the wives of Athenian citizens; the Adonia were notoriously celebrated by prostitutes. He positions Adonis and the data of his cult within various oppositional codes discernible in Greek culture—each illustrated by a diagram—that parallel one another quite precisely, replicating the same meaning in different terms: aromatically, Adonis stands for heady perfume; botanically, for profitless agriculture; socially, for seduction and extramarital pleasure. The Adonia, Detienne declares, were a celebration of infertility and fruitless sex, a spectacular illustration of the dangers of untrammeled female sexuality, serving to balance and emphasize the autumn celebration of fruitfulness and legitimate connubiality in the service of the *polis*.

But much evidence slips through Detienne's grid. In several versions of the birth of Adonis myrrh has no place: in our earliest his mother is one Alphesiboea ([Hes.], fr. 139 M-W); in another she is one Metharme ([Apollod.], *Bibl.* 3.14.3). Philostephanus of Cyrene made him the son of Zeus alone (*ap.* [Probus] on Verg., *Ecl.* 10.18).[22] As for the carnival of whores, the Adoniac festivities in brothels

20. *The Golden Bough*, pt. IV "Adonis Attis Osiris" (1st ed. London, 1913); Frazer's interpretation goes back to W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1877) 273–91. For thoughtful critques of Frazer's comparative method here see H. Frankfort, *The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near Eastern Religions* (Oxford, 1951); C. Colpe in *Alter Orient und altes Testament*, vol. 1 (1969) 23–44.

21. Detienne 1994, first published in French in 1972. Atallah 1966:325–27 sketches a version of the same thesis, whence perhaps Detienne.

22. On Detienne's selectivity see the reviews by D. E. Eichholz, *CR* 24 (1974) 234–35 and G. Piccaluga, *Maia* 26 (1974) 38–39.

in Diphilus, fr. 42.38–41 *PCG* and Alciphron 4.14.8 (based on fourth-century comedy), are to be supplemented by Aristophanes, *Lys.* 391–96, and Menander, *Sam.* 35–50, in which wives and daughters of citizens celebrate the Adonia.[23] Most surprisingly, Detienne's theory takes only passing account of the ritual lamentation, which ancient sources make the most conspicuous feature of the festival, and in general ignores what the celebrants themselves thought of what they were doing—unless we are to imagine that the women of Athens climbed onto their roofs once a year deliberately to celebrate their own failings to the community. There was probably another reason, one which feminist studies of the cult have begun to seek.[24]

Another assumption, however, more fundamentally flaws Detienne's interpretation. While proposing to tease an inherent meaning from Athenian cult practice by identifying the inherent correspondences and oppositions within it, Detienne fails to define a perspective more specific than a homogeneous Greco-Roman society. Adonis, for example, must have meant many things to many people at many times (even different things to the same people at different times), but Detienne's formula assumes that he meant essentially the same thing to everybody, no matter how many borders of nation, culture, language, gender, or time he may have crossed—as if any detail of the myth of Adonis tapped into one immanent meaning and could be adduced for the significance of the Athenian cult.[25] Rhetorical motives are undifferentiated: a line of Sappho is treated equally with a line of Philodemus; the testimony of Aristophanes is put on a par with the testimony of St. Cyril. This method is programmatic and derives from Lévi-Strauss, who articulates the principle thus vis-à-vis his interpretation of Oedipus: "[W]e define the myth as consisting of all its versions; or to put it otherwise, a myth remains the same as long as it is felt as such."[26] Combining details from diverse myths of Adonis, regardless of date or provenance, Detienne treats the resulting conglomeration as a single sacred tale holding a precious key to the meaning of the ritual. But for *whom* does it hold meaning? For Detienne alone. Purportedly context-based, his method actually isolates phenomena from their diverse cultural

23. See Winkler 1990:199–203.

24. Cf. Winkler 1990:199: "The notion that women gathered for both festivals [Adonia and Thesmophoria] to express the excellence of male farmers and the tawdriness of pleasure-bent females seems counter-intuitive. It would imply a complete assimilation of women's consciousness, even on occasions of relative autonomy, to the ruling categories of male discourse"; Stehle 1990:93: "The courtesans, on [Detienne's] interpretation, would be enacting their own marginality."

25. Cf. 1994:77–78, where he denies the value of historicism "for our type of study" and uses a detail gleaned from Ovid to decode the Attic rite. A new afterword acknowledges boundaries between the Attic Adonia and those of Roman Byblos and Alexandria (1994:134–45), but ends by reaffirming the vision of the structuralist critic "[c]rossing through texts, leaping over chronologies, pushing aside the gatekeepers of History" (1994:143).

26. C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology,* tr. C. Jacobson and B. G. Schoepf (New York, 1963) 217. Lévi-Strauss himself reviews Detienne's interpretation in *L'homme* 12.4 (1972) 97–102.

uses and recontextualizes them into an artificial code that transcends the messy inconsistencies of Greek thought.

Meaning is to be sought not in a phenomenon itself, but in its matrix. Let us pay as much attention to the context of the testimony on Adonis as to its content, following two guiding principles whose importance has already emerged from our brief discussion of the festival. First: for Classical Athenian practice we must stick to Classical Athenian sources (though admitting later texts that seem to draw on them), always staying alert to syncretism. A text like Theocritus' *Id.* 15 *(Adôniazousai)* is born of a different socio-political situation and different ideological compulsions from a text like Aristophanes' *Lysistrata;* moreover, many of the Adonis cults described by Hellenistic and later authors are ancient Near Eastern cults, Hellenized only nominally and irrelevant to Classical Athens. To presume that their practices explicate the mindset of the Attic Adoniazousai is blind Athenocentrism. Secondly: only a distorted female perspective can be discerned in texts controlled by men or developing in the male-controlled matrices of dramatic literature or the like.[27] We shall have a few chances to hear the actual words of women who may actually have taken part in the rites (Sappho and Praxilla); otherwise we must be cautious, remembering the control that men had over the written and unwritten discourses of the time. We confront in the ancient testimony a throng of religious, literary, and artistic characters passing under the name "Adonis," in whom we should hesitate to seek consistency of meaning, since it is *a priori* likely that once he passed from one context into another (e.g., from the hands of the women worshippers to the professional myth-tellers or the coiners of proverbs) he became a *new Adonis,* took on new life in a new symbolic framework. We should, of course, remember that constancy of meaning may indeed follow constancy of name, and that the typical attitudes and modes of expression of one sex are habitually internalized by the other; but also that other Adonises could be suppressed when one was in use. In the end, context is all-important: we must never inquire into the meaning of a thing without insistently asking *"for whom?"*

Let us take as a test case the "gardens of Adonis," those seedlings sown in crockery and carried up to the rooftops for the festival. The prevalent view, based on Detienne's interpretation (1994:101–22), is that they represent anti-agriculture: the celebrants deliberately let the plants wilt in a botanical reenactment of Adonis' own untimely demise. This equivalence between Adonis and the gardens goes back to Mannhardt and Frazer (n. 20 above). Detienne's theory, while inverting theirs, foregrounds agriculture no less.[28] The current consensus is expressed most clearly and most vulnerably thus:

27. Cf. Holst-Warhaft 1992:100: "Trying to imagine how women saw their own role in a society like that of ancient Greece by reading male sources is as difficult an exercise as peeling the drapery from a marble image of Aphrodite."

28. Burkert 1979:107 finds the ritual's origins in "play-acting the failure of planting in order to insure its success in reality," but cautions that it "has a meaning in itself and is not necessarily correlated to Aphrodite's lover."

> The rituals surrounding the Gardens of Adonis, as Marcel Detienne has argued, are a negative dramatization of fertility.... [They] are planted in the most unseasonable of times, the Dog Days of summer: the plants grow with excessive speed and vigor, only to be scorched to death by the sun's excessive heat, and this death then provides the occasion for the mourning of Adonis, protégé of Aphrodite.... Like his suddenly and violently growing plants, Adonis himself dies *prohêbês* "before maturity."[29]

Some of this comes from the data; much is supplied from Detienne's theory alone. The season of the festival is not to be taken automatically as a sign of anti-agriculture, since plenty of food crops were sown in high summer (cf. Theophr., *H.P.* 7.1.2). Never do our sources blame the sun's heat, nor name the seedlings' death as the object of celebration, deliberately engineered by the Adoniazousai. They only say that the gardens soon wither and so are proverbial for things that do not last long enough to produce anything of value ("More fruitless than the gardens of Adonis").[30] The explanation requiring the fewest assumptions is that the greenery, used as traditional décor at the festival, was simply thrown away (like an old Christmas tree) and left to wilt as soon as the Adonia were over and it was no longer needed. Artistic evidence—the seedlings depicted by white dabs in a red-figured vase-painting (*LIMC* pl. 47)—suggests that during the lamentation the gardens were meant to be alive and flourishing. That is the proper condition of their Near Eastern prototypes and their modern survivals.[31] The "negative dramatization of fertility" exists in the use to which the proverb was put, not necessarily in the gardens themselves as the worshippers understood them. Observers of the fresh young shoots allowed to grow ἄχρι χλόης μόνης (Zenobius 1.49 [L-S i.19]), then discarded and left to die, found an irresistible metaphor for all things of great promise that never reach fruition.[32] But the gardens preceded their proverbial value, which is attested in male-oriented sources and no

29. G. Nagy in T. J. Figueira and G. Nagy, eds., *Theognis of Megara* (Baltimore, 1985) 62. Cf. Winkler 1990:192 "They were then deprived of water and allowed to turn brown and shrivel up"; Piccaluga 1977:47; Stehle 1990:92; Murray 1993:87.

30. Theophr., *C.P.* 1.12.2; Schol. Plato, *Phdr.* 276B; Epict. 4.8.36; Zenobius 1.49 (L-S i.19); [Diogen.] 1.14 (L-S i.183); [Diogen.], *Epit.* 1.12 (L-S ii.3); Plut., *Mor.* 560C; Greg. Naz., *Carm. mor.* 29.53 (37.888 Migne); Julian, *Symp.* 329C–D; anon. *ap.* Stobaeus 2.6.2; Simplicius on Aristot., *De caelo* 269A9, *Phys.* 230A31; Suda s.vv. Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι and -ος; Photius, *Lex.* s.v. Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι. The first comprehensive discussion of the proverb was by R. Rochette, *RA* 8 (1851) 97–123.

31. On the modern usage in Greece and elsewhere, attached to Good Friday, see G. Pilitsis, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1985) 160–66; Burkert 1979:107. On a South Indian version of the rite see the articles by A. Hiltebeitel and M. Biardeau in A.-M. Blondeau and K. Schipper, eds., *Essais sur le rituel* I (Louvain, 1988).

32. As Weill 1966:390–91 notes, this comparison is implicit in Plutarch's description of the launching of the Sicilian expedition, when the funereal rites of the Adonia caused the superstitious "to fear for the campaign that had been prepared, lest with all its brilliance and conspicuous splendor it quickly wither away (μαρανθῇ)" (*Nic.* 13.7).

doubt originated among male observers; the proverb gives no clue to the value they had for the women celebrators.

As we have seen, two late lexica mention lettuce among the plants used in the gardens.[33] From the ancient belief that lettuce was an antaphrodisiac modern scholarship has inferred that the ancients held Adonis to be sexually dysfunctional.[34] His procreative abilities seem not to have been questioned by authors who make Aphrodite the mother of various children by him: Alexander the Great's chamberlain Chares, for example, makes Adonis the father of Hystaspes and Zariadres.[35] The unexpected diagnosis finds specious support in a discussion by Athenaeus of two Hellenistic poets and two Middle Comedy poets (*Deipn.* 69B-D). Callimachus wrote somewhere that Aphrodite hid Adonis in a bed of lettuce (fr. 478 Pfeiffer),[36] and Nicander, in an explanation of the term βρένθις for "lettuce" in his *Glosses,* said that Adonis died there while trying to escape the boar that killed him (fr. 120 Schneider). These accounts were doubtless inspired by the sowing of lettuce in the potted gardens; they would have even more etiological point if the traditional Adonis-figurine rested amid the greenery in the pots during the festivities. But Athenaeus asserts that these poets were further alluding to the proverbial antaphrodisiac powers of lettuce (ἀλληγορούντων τῶν ποιητῶν ὅτι ἀσθενεῖς εἰσι πρὸς ἀφροδίσια οἱ συνεχῶς χρώμενοι θρίδαξι), and quotes from the *Astytoi* ("unerect") of Eubulus to make his point:

> Don't set lettuce before me on the table,
> wife, or you'll only have yourself to blame.
> For in that vegetable, as the story goes, once upon a time
> Cypris laid out the dead Adonis:
> so it is the food of the dead.
>
> Eubulus, fr. 13 *PCG*

Detienne carries Athenaeus' claim farther and raises impotence to a central position in the persona of Adonis for the Greeks, pairing the lettuce of his deathbed with the seductive perfume of his birth to portray an Adonis who

33. Hesych. and the Suda s.v. ' Αδώνιδος κῆποι. H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexica* (Berlin, 1950) 154 traces the testimonium to the lexicographer Pausanias in the second century CE.

34. Detienne 1994:67–71; cf. Winkler 1990:204. Medical writers of the Roman period record the power of lettuce-seed to inhibit the sex drive, check the flow of semen, and prevent wet dreams: Dioscorides, *M.M.* 2.136.1; Ruf. Eph., frr. 109 and 456 Ruelle; Oribasius, *Eup.* 2.8. Cf. *RE* 12.368.

35. Chares of Mytilene, *FGrH* 125 F 5. One might object that Chares does not reflect Classical Athenian tradition—but according to Detienne's methodology that should not matter. Nonnus, *Dion.* 41.155–57 records that Aphrodite and Adonis were the parents of Berοë; other children attributed to them are Golgos (Schol. Theoc. 15.100/101) and Priapus (Tzetzes on Lycophron, *Alex.* 831; cf. Schol. Ap. Rh. 1.932–33A). Servius on Verg., *Ecl.* 10.18 says that Adonis and Erinoma were the parents of Taleus.

36. Hid from the boar that killed him? We could imagine a version in which Aphrodite whisks Adonis out of the hunt (as she rescues Paris and Aeneas from combat in *Il.* 3.380 and 5.318); but there were other enemies and rivals she could have hidden him from.

embodies premature and infertile sensuality.[37] But Eubulus offers no evidence for the characterization. His speaker gives a comic etiology for the lettuce's unwelcome property by alluding to the etiology for the cult practice treated in somewhat different form by Callimachus and Nicander. Eubulus' joke depends on a delicate juxtaposition of the literal meaning "dead" in the case of Adonis and the metaphor "dead = impotent" (common in Attic comedy[38]) in the present situation; it does not depend on or necessarily reflect an assumption of Adonis' impotence by the audience. An incomplete passage of Amphis (fr. 20 *PCG*), also quoted by Athenaeus, seems to reflect the same pun, not theological dogma.[39] Eubulus' "as the story goes" (ὡς λόγος) may or may not indicate that the story of Adonis' laying-out in the lettuce was well known and had perhaps originated among the Adoniazousai. But of a story that Adonis was impotent there is no trace among either men or women of ancient times. It is a figment of modern scholarship, resting upon the fallacious assumption that a sign (lettuce) will transcend its context and bear the same referent (impotence) anywhere.

Note that the problems with Detienne's interpretation do not lie simply in the way it handles this or that bit of data, but in its theoretical underpinning. We would of course be obliged to accept that in Classical Athens the gardens of Adonis mimed failed agriculture, and that Adonis himself was correspondingly considered infertile, if we subscribe to a rigid structuralist logic that identifies polarities, marks out a network of fixed cultural assumptions, and then expects any phenomenon placed on the field to take on an inevitable, predictable meaning from the signs around it. Then indeed, if the Adonia suggest a contrast with the Thesmophoria, their every detail could be fruitfully interpreted in light of that contrast. But a thing may suggest different oppositions from different points of view, and the other phenomena that it suggests and responds to are themselves charged with a flickering multivalence. The various oppositional terms that have been used to explain Adonis and the Adonia—true agriculture vs. failed agriculture, male hegemony vs. female autonomy, Greek vs. Oriental, divine vs. human—and many others—are all at work on the field, both simultaneously and by turns, activated and deactivated according to the changing stances and passing preoccupations of the players. The negative position that Detienne assigns the Adonia within the symbolic vegetable code of the Greeks is not the only one possible, and would have to be substantiated by actual texts in which Greeks use the cult in the way that Detienne says they did. His characterization of Adonis as an infertile seducer is not quite falsifiable, but neither can it be proved simply by Adonis' location amid the other data of Classical Athenian society.

37. Cf. Detienne 1994:63–67 on the seductiveness of myrrh. No extant myth, however, makes Adonis a seducer, and no testimony links aromatics or seduction to the Adonia (notwithstanding the intrigue in Men., *Sam.* 47–50).

38. Cf. R. L. Hunter, *Eubulus: The Fragments* (Cambridge, 1983) 104.

39. Hesych. s.v. Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι also says that Aphrodite laid the dead Adonis in lettuce, perhaps following these comic fragments.

Detienne's interpretation, in fact, seems to work so well only because it must. The framework of spices and herbs that he establishes—myrrh, lettuce, mint, sea-holly, and the rest, with their attendant network of opposing scents—is so perfectly self-contained that interpretations based on it will necessarily be tautological. With its single perspective it flattens our testimony into univocality, but its constituents come from widely disparate sources. No extant myth, for example, includes both the myrrh of Adonis' birth and the lettuce of his deathbed, so an interpretation that includes both will have to rely on a kind of super-myth, transcending actual tellings. Likewise, the polarity between richly scented myrrh and the scentless anemone into which Adonis' blood is said to be metamorphosed upon his death is neat in theory,[40] and might have value for elucidating a Greek collective unconscious, but is of little use in interpreting the actual texts: the anemone myth is unattested until Nicander (fr. 65 Schneider),[41] and in our only full treatment of it—Ovid, *Met.* 10.737–39—emblematizes not scentlessness (Venus effects the metamorphosis by means of "fragrant nectar"), but the poignant evanescence implicit in many comparisons of flowers with youth and beauty. Bion of Smyrna, who actually calls Adonis Aphrodite's "perfume" by way of hypercorism (1.78), spoils the potential binarism by metamorphosing his blood into the proverbially fragrant rose (1.66). Each of Detienne's seemingly planar codes is really a constellation reaching into many spheres, many levels of discourse. The planting of lettuce in the gardens (perhaps for its quick growth) was fortuitous and arbitrary, so if its negative connotations rubbed off on Adonis, that will have been a secondary development, part of the lore that accrued to him in a male milieu (where impotence, after all, would have been of greater concern than among women).

The gardens will yield another meaning within another framework, one closer to women's experience—and I do not mean simply experience of state-run religious festivals like the Thesmophoria. We have seen that the gardens were a relic of an agricultural ritual, but need not have had—and seem not to have had—any agricultural value, positive or negative, to the Athenian celebrants. Perhaps because fertility cults like that at Eleusis already took the place in Athenian life that the worship of Tammuz and his counterparts did in the East, that potential lay dormant.[42] Yet as a more distant metaphor the gardens still had life, and

40. M. Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort* (Paris, 1977) 115; Detienne 1994:141–43. Our only ancient testimony on the scentlessness of the anemone seems to be Schol. Theoc. 5.92F ἀνεμώνα· ἄνθος ἄνοδμον, ὃ φασιν ἀναδοθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος Ἀδώνιδος (note that commentators may well have invented its scentlessness in order to explain Theocritus' line, a contrast of the anemone with the rose).

41. This is significant, since no flower metamorphosis is attested in Greek myth before the Hellenistic period (P. M. C. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths* [Oxford, 1990] 129). Thus if the fable goes back to a dying god of the Near East (W. F. Albright, *History, Archeology, and Christian Humanism* [New York, 1964] 172–73), its entry into Greek is more likely due to Hellenistic syncretism than to an original transmission with the Tammuzian lament.

42. G. von Lücken, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 36 (1962) 243–45; cf. Murray 1993:86.

it is possible to equate the little plants with Adonis without seeing either an allegory of the crops' renewal or a condemnation of sterility. Viewed from the standpoint of women's laments in ancient and modern Greece, everything about the gardens insofar as they can be compared to Adonis suggests compassion rather than contempt. Comparison of dead youths to young plants, for example, was and remains conventional (cf. Alexiou 1974:195–97). We cannot reach an interpretation that is certain, but we should look for women's understanding of the gardens of Adonis somewhere within their own culture of lamentation and its idioms.

Stehle 1990:94 well cautions us to take "positionality"—"awareness that interpretation always comes from a specific social, sexual, and intellectual place"—into account. *Whence* is meaning created? Although Detienne seems to assume an objectively constituted framework of signs, he is clearly scanning the scene from the viewpoint of a hypothetical Athenian male citizen. What happens when we shift perspective? If we scrutinize for the female viewpoint our three earliest testimonia on the life and death of Adonis, we already find a split between the female poet, Sappho, who reflects the ritual lamentation (frr. 140A and 168 L-P), and the male poets, Pseudo-Hesiod and Panyassis, who elaborate myths about Adonis—perhaps based on the ritual, but not necessarily. According to Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.14.4, the *Catalogue of Women* made Adonis the son of Alphesiboea and Phoenix, an eponymous representative of the Phoenicians in Greek mythology.[43] The affiliation is part of the poet's larger program of subsuming "eastern" mythological figures into Greek genealogies.[44] Pseudo-Apollodorus (ibid.) ascribes to the early fifth-century epic poet Panyassis of Halicarnassus a longer myth, whose basic outline became standard:

> Panyassis says that he was the son of Theias, king of Assyria, who had a daughter Smyrna. On account of the wrath of Aphrodite (for she did not honor the goddess), Smyrna conceived a passion for her father, and taking her nurse as accomplice she slept with her father for twelve nights without his knowledge. When he found out, he drew his sword and pursued her. Being overtaken, she prayed to the gods that she might disappear, and the gods in pity changed her into a tree, which is called "myrrh" [σμύρνα]. In ten months' time the tree burst open and Adonis, as he is called, was born.[45]

Certain elements in Pseudo-Apollodorus' retelling suggest Hellenistic sources (e.g., the complicity of the nurse), and it may be a composite. On the other hand,

43. [Hes.], fr. 139 M-W. On Phoenix and his role in Greek mythology see C. Tzavellas-Bonnet, *EtCl* 51 (1983) 3–11. A nymph Alphesiboea is metamorphosed into the river Tigris in [Plut.], *De fluv.* 28.1.

44. Cf. M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford, 1985) 149–50.

45. Panyassis, fr. 22A Davies. Adapted from Sir James Frazer's Loeb translation of [Apollod.], *Bibl.* (ii.85–87).

the intrigue is quite Herodotean—remember that Panyassis is said to have been Herodotus' uncle—and the Hellenistic poets themselves only raised into the limelight certain types of stories, previously marginalized in epic, that engaged their new sensibility.[46] In any case, if Panyassis indeed said that Adonis was "the son of Theias, who had a daughter Smyrna," then he presumably included the incest and the metamorphosis. This etiology of Adonis' birth is unlikely to have had a part in the dynamics of the cult. No evidence connects myrrh or any incense or perfume with the Adonia. Myrrh was probably no more prominent there than at any ritual gathering; sprinkled on the fire by those who could afford it, it added exotic fragrance to any proceeding.[47] Furthermore, Panyassis' myth is constructed as an unsavory sexual daydream told from the male point of view: an older man has relations with his nubile adolescent daughter without the remotest risk of being blamed for the misdeed. Notice especially, when Theias finds out the truth, the excessive violence of his punitiveness, serving as an emphatic denial of guilt.[48] But before any harm is done, Smyrna miraculously turns into a tree. Why the myrrh tree? Because the Greeks purchased myrrh (which grows in southern Arabia) from Phoenician merchants and originally thought it native to the Levant.[49] Adonis' birth from the myrrh tree has not been traced to any Near Eastern source.[50] Rather Panyassis or some prior Greek mythographer has spliced a just-so story of myrrh onto that of another eastern import, Adonis (whose origins the Greeks constantly located in the Orient).[51] The result conforms to a common myth-pattern whereby women who commit crimes of passion, or are victims of crimes of passion (their fathers treat them as criminals in either

46. On prefigurations of Alexandrianism in Panyassis see H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 48 (1976) 504.

47. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, tr. J. Raffan (Harvard, 1985) 62 does not support his statement that "Incense offerings and altars are associated particularly with the cult of Aphrodite and Adonis." The vase-paintings in which Detienne sees a mock harvesting of myrrh at the festival (1994:115–16) are not demonstrably Adoniac; see n. 15 above.

48. In an anonymous version reported by St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. in Is.* 2.3 (70.440 Migne) the father is the seducer; elsewhere he is unwitting (Theodorus, *SH* 749; Ovid, *Met.* 10.465–74; Hyginus, *Fab.* 58; Ant. Lib., *Met.* 34; Schol. Theoc. 1.109A; Schol. Opp., *Hal.* 3.403).

49. Pseudo-Apollodorus' or Panyassis' "Assyria" should not be taken literally; the name was often used loosely for any region of the Near East at one time subject to the Assyrian empire. See T. Nöldeke, *Hermes* 5 (1871) 443–68.

50. The bare motif of the baby in the tree, however, may have come from the Near East with Adonis: in a Sumerian text the mother of Dumuzi (here called Damu) puts him to sleep in the bark of a tree; see Penglase 1994:179.

51. In many sources the passion of Smyrna is transferred from Theias and Assyria to Cinyras and Cyprus (e.g., Theodorus, *SH* 749; Ovid, *Met.* 10; Schol. Theoc. 1.109A; Xenophon, *FGrH* 755). Cinyras, a legendary Cypriot king as early as *Il.* 11.20, is first attested as Adonis' father around 400 BCE (Antimachus, fr. 102 West; Plato Comicus, fr. 3 *PCG*); his colorful history probably gave him an advantage over the shadowy Theias, who was just a kind of stand-in for "mythical figures of the East" (his name may be a calque on that of Semitic 'El). On Cinyras see C. Baurain, *BCH* 104 (1980) 277–308.

case), subsequently bear children.[52] This is a literary invention, and although Athenian women may have known about it, we cannot see that it influenced their understanding of the rites.

Pseudo-Apollodorus continues:

> While he was still a baby Aphrodite hid him from the gods in a chest because of his beauty and entrusted him to Persephone. But when Persephone beheld him, she would not give him back. The case coming before Zeus, the year was divided into three parts, and the god decreed that Adonis should spend one part by himself, one with Persephone, and one with Aphrodite. But Adonis made his own share over to Aphrodite in addition.

As Adonis starts out still a baby here, it is most likely that this portion of the summary represents Panyassis' own continuation; we shall indeed see that it conforms more to an Archaic than to a Hellenistic narrative pattern. Immediate models for the story are perhaps the myths of Erichthonius (the baby in the box) and of Persephone (the judgment of Zeus). At its core is a very ancient Sumerian season-myth about how Dumuzi spends half the year with Ereshkigal, the queen of the underworld, and half with Inanna, his divine consort; this myth may well have been transmitted along with the cult as its etiology.[53] But although the Panyassian story explains the salient features of the Adonia—Adonis' yearly disappearance and his connection with the goddess—there is no emphasis on the lament and no hint of the love affair with Aphrodite. Mere alternation between lower and upper worlds mitigates the tragedy (in Mesopotamian lament-texts Dumuzi is brutally murdered at the instigation of his divine lover) and thus obscures the origin of the ritual mourning,[54] and even if the prospect of a love affair with Adonis in eighteen or twenty years' time was supposed to have drawn Aphrodite (and then Persephone) to his infantile beauty, this surprising story shunts it into the background.[55]

52. Cf. the myths of Danaë, Antiope, and Auge, which introduce the birth of the founder of an important city or dynasty; Panyassis, in adopting the pattern, may or may not have given Adonis such historical importance.

53. Cf. Burkert 1979:110.

54. A final sentence in Pseudo-Apollodorus ("But afterwards, while hunting, he was gored and killed by a boar") reprises a version mentioned just before our testimony and is not to be considered part of Panyassis' account. On Adonis' widely attested fatal boar-hunt, first attested after 400 BCE, see below.

55. In Philodemus' list of tellers of Aphrodite's "shameful" love for Adonis Philippson restores the name of Panyassis for π[(P. Herc. 243 col. v/vi 18 = Panyassis fr. 22B Davies); V. J. Matthews, *Panyassis of Halicarnassus* (Leiden, 1974 = *Mnemosyne* Suppl. 33) 121 is more certain than I that Philodemus is accurately reflecting Panyassis' account. In other versions Aphrodite makes Adonis her lover and disputes him with Persephone after he has been reared to manhood: Ovid, *Met.* 10.519–28; Ant. Lib. 34.5; Servius on Verg., *Aen.* 5.72 (< Ovid); Cyr. Alex. (n. 48 above); Tzetzes on Lycophron, *Alex.* 829.

David Daube, observing that the story has "distinct legal overtones," analyzes it thus: "Aphrodite saves a foundling, who may thereby turn into her slave, her foster-son or her adoptive son.[56] ... Aphrodite immediately hands the child on to Persephone, who doubtless becomes a foster-mother. A foster-mother who does her duty may acquire strong rights to the child. The case, then, is rather subtle: the foster-mother who has actually brought up the child[57] defending the title against the woman—owner, first foster-mother or adoptive mother—from whom she received him.... Perhaps the verdict in the myth establishes something like a joint usufruct, to be exercised in rotation. Or maybe it makes the competing women into a kind of co-owners, defining the precise extent of each one's share. Nor would the grant of a third of the year to Adonis himself ... necessarily conflict with this construction. He, too, is a co-owner."[58] Daube well evokes the associations and meaning that the story would have held for Panyassis' readers, within the fabric of the various and subtle legal bonds operating between persons in Greek society. Compare Aphrodite's abduction of the beautiful child Phaëthon, whom in an Archaic version of the story ([Hes.], *Theog.* 988–91) she makes a temple-keeper in her sanctuary and a δαίμονα δῖον—is this the presumed destination of baby Adonis in Panyassis' telling? Homer, too, assimilates the story of Zeus and Ganymede to this pattern—a human child is taken away to serve the gods because of his beauty—whether or not the sexual relationship between them was yet current in myth (*Il.* 20.234–35).[59] These legendary children become older sexual objects in later versions of their stories, but early literature knows them as comely servers, and the Aphrodite of Panyassis, far from betraying nepiophilic tendencies, hides Adonis from the other gods in a vain attempt to avoid rival masters for her captivating page-to-be.

Hellenized, the Mesopotamian tale of Tammuz has been stripped not only of its agricultural import, but also of the love affair and the lament. The connections with the rite have been downplayed and obscured through literary re-formation, and though women lamenters in Greece may have known Panyassis' version, it will not have originated with them. We do not even know if the lamenters thought of Adonis as dividing his year between upper and lower worlds according to the Mesopotamian tradition, or how indeed they rationalized his yearly dying; since

56. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *JHS* 98 (1978) 114–18 sees the placing of a child in a basket as a symbol of ritual adoption by a deity in the Archaic kourotrophic cult of Persephone at Locri; cf. Athena's concealment of her "son" Erichthonius.

57. Panyassis' account does not state, but only implies, that Persephone has reared Adonis by the time of Zeus' arbitration.

58. D. Daube, *Collected Studies in Roman Law,* vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1991) 1103. Daube connects Apollodorus' phrase μένειν παρά with the legal term παραμονή, denoting a situation in which a slave or debtor is freed, but stays bound to serve his former master.

59. Cf. Dover 1989:196–97: "[W]e may wonder why beauty (as distinct from zeal and a steady hand) is a desirable attribute in a wine-pourer, but it should not be impossible for us ... to imagine that the gods on Olympos, like the souls of men in the Muslim paradise (Koran 76.19), simply rejoiced in the beauty of their servants as one ingredient of felicity."

there is no attested Greek celebration of his ascent corresponding to the ritual mourning for his death,[60] the resurrection and division of his year need not have figured at all in the cult or the cultists' attitudes.

Aphrodite's enclosing Adonis in a chest recalls Callimachus' statement that she hid him in a lettuce patch (fr. 478 Pfeiffer, mentioned above): both motifs would seem to introduce an element of maternal solicitude, even in a hypothetical context where he is a grown youth. Winkler, speculating on connections between the myth of Adonis and the rite of the potted gardens, sees in the story of Adonis a pattern familiar from other Greek myths, that of a great goddess who takes away and conceals a mortal beloved: Aphrodite and Adonis, Selene and Endymion, Eos and Tithonus.[61] Winkler finds in these stories evidence of a female love of peaceful stability, a disposition to nurture and protect: "The implied permanence of the union makes it a quasi-marriage. This is quite different from what gods do when they desire mortal women. Male deities come down and consummate their desire on the spot, then leave the maiden behind to become the founding member of an important race or noble family line, usually after much suffering and disgrace" (Winkler 1990:203). The contrast between female benevolence and the callousness of men is misapplied. Adonis is dead, Endymion is permanently unconscious, Tithonus spends his endless senility locked away in a cabinet—are these exemplars of the ideal husband seen through female eyes, or men's nightmares of what will happen to them should they fall under the spell of a powerful woman? As Winkler stresses, Sappho told all of these stories, and she, perhaps, elaborated them as fantasy marriages; but the myths have come down to us elaborated and interpreted by male writers, and we should be skeptical of automatically seeing in them the female point of view.[62] Let us add to the list the stories of Calypso, whose love for Odysseus threatens to keep him forever from his family and estate (*Od.* 1.48–59), and Anchises, who fears that the love of a goddess will cripple him (*H.H.* 5.188–90). Selene, Eos, and Calypso promise an immortality that turns out to be not an eternal life of divine splendor, but an endless languor or senescence. Winkler assumes that stories of the loves of male gods reflect male desires, and stories of the loves of goddesses the desires of women. The fallacy is obvious. In stories told by men, both reflect male feelings: brute lust tempered by historical consciousness, and abject fear of woman's power were she

60. See P. Lambrechts in *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (Bruxelles, 1955) 207–40. Such passages as Theoc. 15.136–44 and Lucian, *Dea syr.* 6 reflect Near Eastern resurrected gods syncretistically disguised under the name of Greek Adonis, and are not evidence for Classical practice. Cf. R. de Vaux, *Revue biblique* 42 (1933) 31–56.

61. Winkler 1990:202–206, working from a paper by Eva Stehle published in revised form as Stehle 1990 (cf. esp. 110–12). Aphrodite and Phaon, also listed by Winkler, are a dubious case; cf. Stehle 1990:89.

62. Winkler 1990:204 is duly skeptical (cf. Stehle 1990:100), but still sees the miserable fates of the young paramours as part of the fantasies of women. As we have them the stories may well be entirely the creations of men.

to get the upper hand.[63] Beautifully comparing a red-figure painting of a woman watering a garden of pert *phalloi* (itself, of course, the work of a man), Winkler interprets the proverbial brevity of the gardens of Adonis as a sexual joke at the expense of men's quick defatigability: " 'O woe for Adonis!' Poor little thing, he just had no staying power."[64] But can we not detect in this allegation of amused solicitude toward male potency a lurking androcentrism that even the feminist Winkler is unable to avoid? If such a sentiment lies behind the proverb—and the connection with Aphrodite's beautiful, short-lived lover makes some such equation at least plausible—are we dealing with a joke of Athenian women, or the anxiety of Athenian men?

I know of only one interpretation of such a myth that is carefully grounded in the presumptive perspective of the myth's telling. Winkler himself, in an article that should be better known, convincingly interprets Sappho's myth of Tithonus in her badly damaged fr. 58 L-P as drawing an analogy between Tithonus and the poet herself, inevitably approaching old age and death but confident in the immortality of her beautiful voice.[65] "Sappho allows us briefly to see herself in the role of Tithonos, wrapped in the rosy arms of Dawn and rapt away to the goddess' home in the Far East to be her 'spouse' (22) forever." So the woman teller of this myth identifies not with the great goddess, but with her mortal favorite. The "fantasy marriage" motif is applied quite differently and says nothing about women's self-image vis-à-vis men in Archaic Mytilenean society. Men are irrelevant here; the myth, as Winkler interprets it, is truly gynecocentric. The other myths of this kind Sappho may well have treated in like fashion. Her Adonis-myth is poorly preserved, but suggests a mimetic treatment within a festival ode (in greater Asclepiads), with a chorus of girls in mourning and a second voice representing Aphrodite herself:

—Lovely (ἄβρος) Adonis is dead, Cytherea; what shall we do?[66]
—Beat yourselves in lamentation, girls, and rend your garments.
fr. 140A L-P[67]

63. Bion's late Hellenistic *Epitaph on Adonis,* for instance, is suffused with the fear of being smothered by female power. Compare Gilgamesh, spurning the favors of Ishtar lest he share the fate of Adonis' Mesopotamian prototype: "For Tammuz, the lover of thy youth, / Thou hast ordained wailing year after year" (J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*[3] [Princeton, 1969] 84); Daphnis' rebuke to Aphrodite concerning Anchises and Adonis in Theoc. 1.105–10 is similar.

64. Winkler 1990:205–206.

65. "Sappho and the Crack of Dawn (fragment 58 L-P)," *Journal of Homosexuality* 20 (1990) 227–33. Winkler 1990:204–205 summarizes this article. For the prospect of immortality through song cf. Sappho, fr. 55 L-P.

66. Pres. κατθνάσκει is probably used perfectively here: cf. Soph., *O.T.* 118; Eur., *Hec.* 696; Bion 1.14 (of Adonis). "Adonis is dead" may have been a traditional ritual cry at the Adonia.

67. Sappho's Adonis-odes are mentioned by Dioscorides, *A.P.* 7.407.7–8 and Paus. 9.29.8. On this fragment see J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama* (Berkeley, 1985) 56–57; M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992) 339–40; A. Lardinois, *TAPA* 124 (1994) 65–66.

This reflects no fantasy marriage, but the grief of the goddess replicated in the yearly ceremony: myth and ritual are collapsed into one. Fr. 168 L-P ὦ τὸν Ἄδωνιν, from this or another ode for the Adonia, directly reflects the rite; the rare exclamatory accusative is found mainly in lamentatory cult formulas, and Sappho's formula is paralleled by later sources: Aristoph., *Lys.* 393 αἰαῖ Ἄδωνιν; Bion 1.32 αἴ τὸν Ἄδωνιν.

Our single other testimonium on Adonis definitely by a female author, Praxilla of Sicyon (mid fifth century), may reflect the ritual more obliquely. According to its preserver, Zenobius 4.21 (L-S i.89), Adonis is answering questioners in the Underworld:

> The most beautiful thing I leave behind is the light of the sun;
> secondly, the bright stars and the face of the moon
> and ripe cucumbers and apples and pears.
>
> fr. 747 *PMG* (in dactylic hexameters).[68]

This is the only place in all of surviving ancient literature where an author gives Adonis direct speech. The seeming bathos in the last line gave rise to the proverb "More foolish than Praxilla's Adonis," but in context a wistful remembrance of fresh garden produce on the part of the dead youth, consigned to the Underworld, is poignant. If Praxilla took part in the ritual lamentation herself (evidence for Adonia in mid-fifth-century Sicyon?), we have a sympathetic identification on the part of the lamenter with the object of her lament.

There is thus little direct evidence for a genuinely female perspective on the myth of Adonis. The early versions of Adonis' life-story that have come from the minds and pens of men should not be expected to reflect, nor indeed seem to reflect, the viewpoint of his worshippers, and the two fragmentary accounts by women frustratingly give only the expected sense of grief and tenderness. Extant later versions come from male comic poets, Hellenistic show-offs and pedants, Roman spoofers, and beetle-browed church fathers. What we have in all these stories, as in the proverb based on the gardens, is a male-oriented Adonis proceeding from the facts of the rite as they were observed by men, but elaborated into new traditions. We should admit *a priori* that once Adonis got into the hands of men, they might have found uses for him quite unrelated to the ritual context whence he came, or to their feelings toward it. Whatever female attitudes these male authors may have absorbed from observing the celebrants we must expect to find transformed and transgendered.

So what of the *male* attitude toward Adonis in the Classical period? The motif of Adonis' death, obviously inferred from the yearly mourning over him, lends itself to the anxiety-ridden perspective we noted in similar stories of mortals

68. The statement of Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 694A that Praxilla was admired for her skolia raises the suspicion of a particularly male context for her poetry; but Athenaeus' statement may only mean that her poems became popular at symposia. Zenobius finds these lines ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις.

and their goddess-lovers, and the well-known version in which he is killed by a wild boar that he is hunting reinforces that perspective by assimilating Adonis to a type of failed hunter.[69] Since the Stone Age, hunting is the manly activity *par excellence,* and its successful execution the supreme test of manhood, both where it is still practiced as a source of livelihood and even where it has become merely emblematic. Soft Adonis, grown effeminate in the chambers of Aphrodite, would naturally lose to his prey, in binary opposition to the stalwart ephebes who battle boars in solitary combat on red-figured vases.[70] Ribichini feels that Adonis' status as failed hunter excludes him from the society of adult men (1981:108–44; cf. Detienne 1994:66–67); the boar-wound, which he will have sustained in the vicinity of the groin, could symbolize emasculation[71] (support for Detienne's view of Adonis as infertile?). Giulia Piccaluga sees in Adonis a parable of the end of serious hunting and the advent of an agricultural way of life, whose antithesis he will embody.[72]

A problem: his boar-hunting death is not even hinted at until after 400 BCE (Araros, fr. 1 *PCG*; Dionysius I of Syracuse, fr. 1 *TrGF*) and is not certainly attested until the early Hellenistic poets Lycophron (*Alex.* 831–33) and Glycon (*PMG* 1029).[73] There is no evidence that it came over to Greece with Adonis from some Near Eastern legend. Its source, however, probably is Classical: contamination from Attis, who in one version of his Greek legend (seemingly as old as the fifth century) was killed by a wild boar that he was hunting.[74] Adonis and Attis, both imports from the East, both darlings of mighty goddesses, both dying young, both increasingly celebrated in Athens in the later fifth century, were no doubt readily confused, either mistakenly or for comic effect. Again, this contamination did not necessarily originate among the women celebrants, who would hardly have confused the object of their lamentation with the prototype of the eunuch priests of Cybele, but more likely in the male-dominated discourse of dramatic fiction. Comedy was a fertile producer of new myths, and in addition to that of Araros we know of comedies titled *Adonis* by Nicophon, Antiphanes, Philiscus, and Plato Comicus. The last, according to Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 456A (= Plato, fr. 3 *PCG*), made Adonis both lover of Aphrodite and beloved of Dionysus, apparently in a bisexualized burlesque on the Panyassian rivalry between Aphrodite and Persephone. The comic element found by Athenians here lies in the undignified

69. On this figure see especially Piccaluga 1977; N. F. Rubin and W. M. Sale, *Arethusa* 16 (1983) 137–71.

70. Cf. A. Schnapp, *RA* (1979) 195–218.

71. Burkert 1979:108. Adonis' wound is on his thigh or groin in Bion 1.7 and 41; Ovid, *Am.* 3.9.16 and *Met.* 10.715; often in art.

72. Piccaluga 1977.

73. On Araros' fragment see Atallah 1966:72–73. On Glycon and his date see W. J. W. Koster, *Philologus* 80 (1924–1925) 357. Two early fourth-century vase paintings, described in *LIMC* i.1 s.v. Adonis nos. 27–28, have been thought to represent the hunting myth.

74. Burkert 1979:108. The story of Atys in Hdt. 1.34–45 rationalizes this myth, which is explicit in Hermesianax, fr. 8 Powell; Plut., *Sert.* 1; Schol. Nicander, *Alex.* 8.

spectacle of the Olympians squabbling over an affair of the heart, and the later efflorescence of myths of jealousy and revenge in which various deities instigate Adonis' boar-hunt or actually *are* the boar may also come from lost comic treatments or Hellenistic works based on them.[75]

Thus Adonis' status as a "failed hunter," with all the connotations that that type would have carried, could have marked him for Classical audiences as a man *manqué*, a model of what a Greek man should avoid being. The binarism is established, the system of associations is well marked out, the semantic net is cast—but once again Adonis slips through. This use of the hunting motif is pure hypothesis. Classical and later versions that survive give no hint that he was thought to be anything but a brave young hunter who met a tragic end. This is the impression given, for example, by his story as depicted in relief on numerous Roman sarcophagi.[76] Venus' vain plea in Ovid, *Met.* 10.705–707 that he avoid fierce beasts and chase only timid ones, though some take it as evidence that Ovid's Adonis was a coward (e.g., Ribichini 1981:70), clearly implies the opposite; cf. 709 *sed stat monitis contraria virtus*. Comedies like that of Araros, of course, may have presented him as a coward for their special purposes, and the story recounted by Nicander, fr. 120 Schneider that he sought refuge from the boar in a lettuce patch may reflect such a treatment. On the other hand, the very fact that Adonis was the subject of Dionysius' tragedy *Adonis*, presumably performed in Athens like Dionysius' other plays, suggests that he could accommodate more for Classical audiences than a mere target for contempt, and the speaker of our only fragment—a boar-hunter, probably Adonis himself—sounds overconfident, if anything (Dionysius, fr. 1 *TrGF;* cf. Bion 1.60–61). That very boldness, to be sure, might have been used as a kind of "tragic flaw" to sound a warning, a sign of a hot-headed young man's hubris, inexorably to be punished; but such interpretations of Adonis' downfall—either from cowardice or its opposite—are valuable for showing how the Greeks *could* have characterized him, not how they *must* have characterized him.

Extant references to Adonis' hunting, in fact, are so scrappy that it is hard to tell what mythological type (if any) it assimilated him to. His hunting might have borne little semantic weight at all: the etiological emphasis on Aphrodite's mourning and the cursory treatment of the accident itself in our few full literary versions of Adonis' death (Bion 1; Ovid, *Met.* 10.708–39) recall Hyas, whose death while hunting serves only to motivate the grief of his sisters, the Hyades.[77]

75. The Muses (Lycophron, *Alex.* 831 with schol.), Apollo (Ptolemy Chennus in Photius, *Bibl.* 146B), Artemis ([Apoll.], *Bibl.* 3.14.4 < Schol. Eur., *Hi.* 1420?), Jupiter (Servius on Verg., *Ecl.* 10.18), Hephaestus (Nonnus, *Dion.* 42.320–21), Ares (Nonnus, *Dion.* 46.209–11 and often). Cf. Atallah 1966:53–56.

76. *LIMC* pl. 38–39f. Cf. J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines* (Paris, 1951) 520–22.

77. Hyas is killed by a snake, a boar, or a lion; for the extant versions see *RE* 9.24–25. The earliest is by the early Hellenistic historian Timaeus of Tauromenium (*FGrH* 566 F 91), but a hunter depicted near the Hyades on an early fourth-century krater may be Hyas (*LIMC* v.1.550).

If models are to be sought, the figures most often invoked as examples of the "failed hunter"—Actaeon, Orion, Meleager—are unsatisfactory parallels to Adonis. They do not, like him, actually fail at hunting; they are hunters who die in some other way. Mythological boar-hunters killed by their quarry are not necessarily constructed as social failures. The people of Tegea in Arcadia seem to have represented Ancaeus' death by the Calydonian boar as a heroic last stand (Paus. 8.4.10 and 45.2). Apollonius' tale of the death of Idmon, the seer of the Argonauts ambushed by a wild boar in the land of the Mariandyni (*Arg.* 2.815–50), probably goes back to Herodorus, who in the early fourth century wrote of Idmon's death and the grand tomb raised for him in the agora of Heraclea (*FGrH* 31 F 50–51). These honorable deaths attested in ancient poets and historians, rather than the contemptible deaths hypothesized by modern critics, would have been ready models for the hunting-myth of Adonis.

Permit me, as a kind of devil's advocate, to proffer a new interpretation of Adonis' death by the boar, only to retract it for lack of contextual confirmation. My intent is simply heuristic. A young man's hunt, even where it is not actually an initiatory rite (as it apparently was in Crete: Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F 149), always carries overtones of a coming-of-age.[78] At the dawn of ancient Greek literature, the young Odysseus proves his worth to his maternal uncles and grandfather by killing his boar (*Od.* 19.392–466); toward the end, the emperor Hadrian holds back from a lion-hunt in order to test the marksmanship of his beloved Antinous (Pancrates, 15.2.6–9 Heitsch). In this light, Adonis' boar hunt might brand him as the pathetic antithesis of all a boy must do to become a man. On the other hand, *death* is also a common motif in initiation rituals and related myths: symbolic death in the rituals themselves, mythopoetically transformed into the actual demise of fictional youths like Dionysus, Hyacinthus, and Orion, followed by resurrection, posthumous honors, or translation to a higher existence.[79] Whether we are dealing with direct reflections of initiation rites or of idioms of transition that myths and rites shared, Adonis' death assimilates him to a paradigm—not an antitype—of the successful passage from boyhood to manhood: the initiatory hunt kills the boy, but he is reborn in new guise. To support this interpretation, however, we would search our sources in vain for references to a "new" Adonis, cleansed by death of pre-initiatory folly, or indeed for any real sequel to his yearly resurrection, which does not seem to have engaged the imagination of the Greeks anywhere near as much as his death did. Nevertheless, the interpretation I have just sketched should

78. On hunting as an initiatory idiom in Greek mythology see most recently Leitao 1993:86–141, who follows M. Bloch, *Prey into Hunter* (Cambridge, 1992). P. Vidal-Naquet discusses adolescent hunting in ancient Greece as a preliminary inversion of adult warfare: *The Black Hunter* (Baltimore, 1986); cf. *PCPS* 212 (1986) 126–44.

79. See V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca, 1967) 96 on death as a metaphor for van Gennep's "liminal" stage of rites of passage; Bloch (n. 78 above) sees any such rite as beginning with a relinquishing of vitality. C. Gallini, *SMSR* 34 (1963) 61–90 discusses drowning as a symbol of transition in Greek myth and ritual.

keep us aware not only of the need for individual contexts to establish meaning, but also—if mythical death may signal either success or failure, depending on how it is used—of the Protean polysemousness of a motif.

The interpretation of the potted gardens of Adonis as dramatizations of failed agriculture, although it does not illuminate the ritual itself, may at least illuminate the motivation behind the *proverb*, and thus men's attitudes. Detienne exhaustively lists the authors who rank the gardens with sterility against fertility, with precocity against maturity, with women and children against adult men, and concludes that "from Plato to Simplicius an entire tradition condemns the Adonian gardens for being cultures without crops and essentially sterile."[80] What we have in this tradition is a smearing of "the Other" in microcosm, part of the long monologue of self-definition carried out by Greek male writers over a millennium. The proverb is used ἐπὶ τῶν ἀώρων καὶ ὀλιγοχρονίων καὶ ἀνάνδρων, according to the epitome of Pseudo-Diogenianus (L-S ii.3). Although extant writers who use the gardens metaphorically are mostly late,[81] we may assume that they model their censoriousness on the Classical authors from whom they adopted the maxim. Caution, however, is in order, since Imperial prosaists, while addicted to Classical proverbs and other such flosculi, had their own programs, and the Atticizing lexica that served them must reflect post-Classical impressions of the bygone heyday of Athens. Our only Classical attestation comes from Plato, *Phdr.* 276B,[82] where Socrates says:

> Tell me this: Would an intelligent farmer, with seeds he cared about and wished to grow to fruition, sow them in gardens of Adonis in all seriousness during the summer and rejoice as he watched them become beautiful in a matter of eight days; or would he do this for fun and festivity, when he did it at all? For things he was serious about, would he not use his farmerly craft, plant them in a suitable environment, and be content if everything he planted came to maturity in the eighth month?

Recent scholarship on the Adonia seems to be unanimous in holding that Plato, speaking through Socrates, disparages and despises the rite as "anti-agricultural." But Socrates is not even addressing the Adonia directly. The gardens here are a byword for potted plants in general, and Socrates is simply drawing a contrast between planting that you do seriously and planting that you do just for fun. "Would a serious farmer plant corn and peas and tend them until harvest-time, or would he waste his time forcing narcissus bulbs?" Disapproval is not intimated in the upshot of the parable in 276D, where writing—the analogue to the potted gardens—is an exercise for short-term pleasure and amusement, unlike the lasting,

80. Detienne 1994:101–106, 135–36.

81. Citations above, n. 30. Elsewhere potted plants are similarly reviled without mention of the Adonia (e.g., Jo. Chrys., *Epist. ad Ephes.* 4.12 [62.91 Migne]).

82. The scholiast on this passage says that Euripides used the gardens proverbially in his *Melanippe* (= Eur., fr. 514 Nauck). Theophr., *C.P.* 1.12.2 is another early example.

generative mode of discourse, speech.[83] Perhaps readers are so used to thinking of Plato as the dour Savonarola of Academe that they cannot see him speaking of "fun and games" without a scowl on his face; but Socrates is surely smiling.

There is a tendency in recent scholarship to extend the disdain that Greeks felt for "things that do not last long enough to produce anything of value" not only to the ritual potted plants, but to the entire festival and to Adonis himself. In comedy the Adonia do represent the realm of the unworthy or unmanly. A character in the *Boukoloi* of Cratinus (fr. 17 *PCG*) mocks the poetic aspirations of the son of Cleomachus by suggesting that he is unworthy to train a chorus even for the Adonia, let alone for the Great Dionysia; compare the comic bathos in Aristophanes, *Pax* 420 μυστήρι' Ἑρμῆ, Διπολίει', Ἀδώνια.[84] Aristophanes' lost *Hôrai,* in which foreign gods (Sabazius, for one; cf. Aristoph., fr. 578 *PCG*) were expelled on a charge of *xenia*—impersonating a citizen—suggests that comic belittlement of the Adonia may have reflected as much xenophobia as misogyny;[85] but the proboulos in *Lys.* 387–96, suspicious that the women on the Acropolis are up to some Sabazius-worship or "Adoniasm," clearly demarcates the emotion-filled new cults as an outbreak of female licentiousness, classing them as women's *tryphê* (387) and contrasting the speechifying of a responsible citizen in the Assembly with his wife's cries of "alas for Adonis!" on the roof (391–96).[86] So Attic comedy supports the view that "license and shamelessness lie at the very heart of the Adonia" (Detienne 1994:122)—as long as we are talking about men's conception of the cult as a foil for their own self-control. As Stehle (1990:106) observes, the hetairas' Adonia in Diphilus, fr. 42.38–41 *PCG* and Alciphron 4.14 (based on fourth-century comedy) demonstrate "how the cult was explained (away) by the dominant culture: by joking about courtesans and their lovers enjoying it, mainstream discourse at once acknowledged curiosity, claimed control (for courtesans live at the mercy of men), and dismissed the cult as marginal."

As for Adonis himself, we have already encountered the notion that he, like his gardens, symbolized infertility and premature growth. Fissures appear in the even, monolithic planes of meaning that Detienne assumes when we observe that for Roman-era intellectuals, among whom the proverbial use of the

83. Cf. O. Ballériaux in J. Servais et al., eds., *Stemmata* (Liège, 1987) 161–64. An anonymous commentator anthologized in Stobaeus 2.6.1 misses the mark when he says that "Plato likens the majority of what certain authors write to the gardens of Adonis, which readily wither, their charm being ephemeral."

84. Cratinus' joke does not, of course, imply that men were actually engaged to compose Adonis-odes at Athens like those of Sappho in Mytilene.

85. On the reflection of Classical Athenian xenophobia in the *Hôrai* and its part in Athenian self-definition see Hall 1989:175.

86. Cf. Winkler 1990:190–91 on this passage. A scholiast on 389 seems to discern notes of both misogyny and xenophobia in the proboulos' comments: παρὰ πολλοῖς δὲ ὀργιάζονται αἱ γυναῖκες θεοὺς οὐ δημοτελεῖς οὐδὲ τεταγμένους. For contemptuous references to later Adonis-worship (coupled with Attis-worship) see Callim., fr. 193.34–38 Pfeiffer; Plut., *Mor.* 756C.

quickly fading gardens is best attested, Adonis himself, on the contrary, symbolizes the ripe fruits of the earth (n. 16 above). Only Pseudo-Diogenianus 1.14 (L-S i.183) etymologizes the gardens' name from Adonis' own similar fate, and the extemporaneity of this etiology is as patent as its inventiveness.[87] The emperor Julian compares the gardens to the fruitless works of Constantine (*Symp.* 329C–D); his contemporary and supporter Sallustius has Adonis symbolize καρπούς (*De deis* 4.3). For Porphyry it is rather Attis who represents plants that fade πρὶν τελεσιγονῆσαι, in binary contrast to Adonis, τῆς τῶν τελείων καρπῶν ἐκτομῆς σύμβολον (in Euseb., *P.E.* 3.11.9). The *Etymologicum magnum* even attests a sort of counter-proverb: Ἀδώνιδος καρπός, ἀρέσκων (19.9). The Greeks of Classical times, too, must often have constructed meaning in despite of mere homonymy; clearly, we must resist extrapolating their characterization of Adonis simply from their apparent disdain for his eponymous gardens. We shall soon discern quite a different attitude toward Adonis on the part of Athenian men.

Nevertheless, he would probably have attracted censure. It was typical for Greek men to despise youths who sought to attract women. Hector hectors Paris for being woman-crazy (*Il.* 3.39). Pentheus derides Dionysus as a fair-skinned gigolo "on the prowl for Aphrodite" (Eur., *Ba.* 457–59): who more than Adonis was open to this charge? A few passages in extant ancient literature do suggest a conception of him as a hopeless molly-coddle, a slave to love, incapable of manly behavior. The earliest, probably derived from a Classical source, is from Aristotle's student Clearchus of Soli, who explained the proverb οὐδὲν ἱερόν ("worthless, good-for-nothing") by a story that Heracles, upon seeing the worship of Adonis, coined it as an expression of his disgust (Clearchus, fr. 66A-C Wehrli); the contrast between the paradigmatic he-man and the soft minion of Aphrodite speaks for itself.[88] A century or so after Clearchus, Plautus' Menaechmus, dressed in his wife's gown, facetiously compares himself to a kept boy like "Catamitus" (Ganymede) or "Adoneus" (*Men.* 143–44); in Catullus 29.8 "Adoneus" is a term of abuse of one who *perambulabit omnium cubilia.*[89] Dio Chrysostom twice uses Adonis in images of effeminate luxury (*Or.* 29.18, 62.6). Again, behind this disapprobation lies masculine fear lest a youth fall under a woman's power and thus fail ever to become a man. Classical Athenian boys were discouraged from relations with women before the darkening of their beard

87. Cf. the amusingly puzzled explanations for the proverb given by [Diogen.], *Epit.* 1.12 (L-S ii.3), plainly contrived by a late scholar who knew something of Adonis but nothing of the rite: "For Adonis was a good-looking young man who did not benefit from his beauty. Or because having acquired a rocky garden, he got no profit of it."

88. Compare the proverbial-sounding remark used in a scholium on *Il.* 24.23 that goes back to Aristarchus: ὡς εἰ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἀγωνίζοιτο πρὸς Ἄδωνιν (analogous to Athena's futile beauty contest with Aphrodite).

89. The unusual form of Adonis' name recurs in Ausonius, *Ep.* 48.6.

signified that they were ready for such expenditures of their vital substance.[90] Lysias testifies to the recklessness, and explains the effeteness, of the younger Alcibiades by the charge that he kept a mistress before coming of age (14.25). Men saw mythical Adonis as dominated by a powerful goddess-lover, and—scarier—ritual Adonis as dominated by their own wives and mothers. Their presumptive belittling of him would be a defense against identifying him with their own youthful selves, a defensive tactic against women's power in the sexual and social realms.

This web of prejudices and apprehensions is the matrix of a four-line fragment of the comic Plato's *Adonis*, an oracle delivered to Cinyras, king of the δασύπρωκτοι (i.e., emphatically, even comically, masculine) Cypriots: a most beautiful and wondrous boy has been born to him, who will "row" a goddess and "be rowed" by a god. As noted above, Athenaeus, who may well have had Plato's text before him, identifies the goddess as Aphrodite (of course) and the god as Dionysus. The humor here, apart from the bawdy metaphor, lies in the depiction of Adonis as a youth involved in heterosexual and pederastic relations *simultaneously,* spending his precious energies on a woman before he has been made a man. The perils of such activity are made explicit by the generally accepted emendation of Jacobs: the two deities will thus *destroy* the son of Cinyras.[91]

Yet this is comedy, where the drama of self-definition was played out so as to make a male audience mock that which they feared. This attitude does not enter the other Classical treatments of Adonis that we possess, and it is risky to project it into them universally. The qualities that are supposed to have marked Adonis for contempt—early death, wifelessness, childlessness—are rather grounds for compassion in the main tradition of Greek epitaphic literature and underlie the most hackneyed conventions of grave inscriptions and epicedic verse.[92] Given the chance—in a more reflective genre, for example, like tragedy (that of Dionysius?) or narrative elegy (cf. Antimachus, fr. 102 West)—could Athenian men not have pitied Adonis as they did their ἄωροι sons, despite his violations of their sexual protocols? Pretty-boy though he might have seemed from some perspectives, could Adonis not have embodied all the complexity and ambivalence of a Hippolytus, inviting both censure for the foolhardy boy that he had been, yet the deepest sympathy for the man that he would never become? We are speculating now, but we are speculating within legitimate boundaries of Greek thought, where the cognitive oppositions are always shifting. If on one and the same stage Heracles could be both a paragon of noble suffering and a buffoon,

90. Leitao 1993:173–78. R. A. Segal's interpretation of the Adonis-myth, tempering the social criticism of Detienne with Jung's archetype of the *puer aeternus,* faults Adonis' youth (in D. C. Pozzi and J. M. Wickersham, *Myth and the Polis* [Ithaca, 1991] 64–83).

91. Jacobs reads ὀλεῖτον where the manuscripts have the nonsensical ἔχειτον or ἔχετον.

92. Cf. R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1962); E. Griessmaier, *Das Motiv der mors immatura in den griechischen metrischen Grabinscriften* (Innsbruck, 1966).

poets could no doubt similarly manipulate the figure of Adonis and elaborate his best-known features into contradictory personae.

Sergio Ribichini has written a book discussing Adonis as a Greek formulation of "the Oriental," "the anti-Greek," "the Other," a figure onto which a Greek man could project all the qualities he considered—or desired—to be foreign to himself.[93] The notion is exciting, but again, the evidence disappoints. Despite Detienne's tour through the fabulous landscape that for Herodotus was the Orient (1994:5–36), Classical Adonis seems not to have been much of an exotic: our scanty literary treatments do not emphasize this quality, and in the visual arts he wears only the vaguely Ionian style that at Athens had long passed for luxury, both good and ill. Adonis' incestuous parentage might have signified barbarian incontinence,[94] but that motif would have indicted Myrrha rather than Adonis himself. Some of Ribichini's suggestions are misleading. He believes, for example, that Adonis' homosexuality places him "ai margini della normalità."[95] Now, Adonis is beloved of Dionysus in the scurrilous fancy of Plato the comic poet (discussed above; followed by Phanocles, fr. 3 Powell). Versions preserved by Ptolemy Chennus make Heracles and Apollo Aphrodite's rivals for Adonis' favors; these too may come from Attic comedy or Hellenistic works derived from or modeled after it.[96] But since when does homosexual activity of this kind—playing *paidika* to a more experienced male—put anyone at the "margins of normality" for an Athenian? It is rather his pathological *hetero*sexuality that would put Adonis, like Paris for Hector and Dionysus for Pentheus, at the limits of acceptable behavior—*would* put him there, if we had evidence that Greek men thought of him this way. In any case, there is no reason to think that an Athenian man was always concerned to make his feelings about a mythological character absolutely consistent—that if he sneered at Adonis in one context he was forbidden to slaver over him in another.

For if vase-paintings, created and purchased by men, are any indication of male attitudes, Athenian men of the later fifth century rather *liked* Adonis. Classical iconography gives him—and other youths beloved of goddesses, like Phaon, Cephalus, Tithonus, and Endymion—the flowing hair, the beardless profile, and the smooth Polyclitean physique of the paradigmatically beautiful *paidika,* what

93. Ribichini 1981 (this interpretation is anticipated by Detienne 1994:128–29). The use of eastern peoples as an alter ego or foil, studied for the modern West by E. W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), becomes a basic tactic of Greek self-construction after the Persian Wars: F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus,* tr. J. Lloyd (Berkeley, 1988); Hall 1989.

94. Ribichini 1981:70–71; cf. Hall 1989:189–90.

95. Ribichini 1981:71.

96. Ptolemy Chennus' stories are preserved in Photius, *Bibl.* 147A and 151B. See K. H. Tomberg, *Die Kaine Historia des Ptolemaios Chennos* (diss. Bonn, 1967) on Ptolemy (early Roman period) and his compendium of bizarre exegeses, many of which may be the improvisations of commentators, like the story that makes Adonis beloved of Zeus (Schol. Theoc. 15.86A; see T. Wolbergs, *Griechische religiöse Gedichte der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte* [Meisenheim am Glan, 1971] 67–68).

Kenneth Dover calls a "pin-up."[97] He often holds a lyre, token of the nubile youth.[98] Here is the soft, passive Adonis whom the men of Athens are supposed to have despised, glorified on their most elaborate tableware; here, too, lies the explanation of a long line of poets' describing him as *habros*[99] or in terms of that quality—not to effeminize and belittle him, but to celebrate his ephebic gorgeousness, employing a well-established tradition of homosexual acclamation.[100] This was an aristocratic tradition, known first and best from the pederastic effusions of Ibycus and Anacreon, but one that was paralleled more and more in popular art toward the end of the fifth century, as by the painter Parrhasius, whose Theseus "appeared to have been fed on roses."[101] In other words, men are appropriating the stance of their wives toward Adonis and assimilating him to their own paradigm of youthful male attractiveness. The gaze-theory to which Stehle appeals, based on the assumption that "the male figure cannot bear the burden of sexual objectification" since "[m]an is reluctant to gaze at his exhibitionist like,"[102] is helpless to explain such images as these. Stehle sees in vase-paintings of a goddess and her mortal beloved, and in the legend they illustrate, "an irreconcilable conflict between two established hierarchies, that of male and female and that of divine and human,"[103] and she finds one way around this impasse by approaching the scene from a hierarchy-dissolving female viewpoint, though allowing that certain motifs could divert a male gaze into a subliminal mother-and-child fantasy.[104] Of course, almost any interpretation of any text is possible, insofar as any viewer reconstitutes its meaning according to his or her own lights; but in the social context of these vase-paintings there is no room for a genuine female viewpoint ungoverned and unwarped by male painters and patrons. What resolves the con-

97. Dover 1989:6. See Dover 1989:172 on how "the attributes which made a young male attractive to erastai were assumed to make him no less attractive to women," with special reference to paintings of the *erômenoi* of goddesses. For such depictions of Adonis see e.g., *LIMC* pl. 5, 8–11; they are common in contemporary Etruscan art as well. Cf. Wehgartner 1987.

98. On the lyre as a standard part of the equipage of beautiful young men on vase paintings, including the inamorati of deities, see Dover 1989:75.

99. First Sappho, fr. 140A.1 L-P, whence male poets: Bion 1.79; [Orph.], *H.* 56.2; Proclus, *H.* 1.26.

100. See L. Kurke, *ClAnt* 11 (1992) 91–120 on the double-edged semantics of *habrosynê* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

101. Plut., *Mor.* 346A. This changing taste was no doubt connected to the increased value placed on private sentiments: men could appreciate *habrosynê* as a private ideal, while scorning it as a civic one. Wehgartner 1987:196–97 notes the aristocratic—not to say oligarchic—motifs present in many late fifth-century representations of Adonis (e.g., personified Eunomia); cf. Burn 1987:38–39.

102. L. Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington, 1989) 20. Mulvey's distinction (derived from Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis) between scopophilic spectation of a woman as erotic object and ego-forming spectation of a man is too limited for our purposes.

103. Stehle 1990:94.

104. Stehle 1990:101–104. She is pleased to find that in such paintings "the scene has been detached from the narrative whose closure determines its ideological shape" (Stehle 1990:101), but a student of cultural poetics would take the circumstances of the paintings' conception, production, and use as the unavoidable matrix of their content, and so interpret text and context as a continuum that provides more than enough ideological closure.

flict is more likely the representation of Adonis and the other boys as *paidika,* who in Athenian society would not be granted any hierarchical power.[105] The subordination of male to female in these paintings would not have caused anxiety to their hypothetical male focalizers, who were objectifying Adonis more than identifying with him.

Artistic depictions of Adonis begin appearing in Athens (indeed, anywhere) in the late fifth century.[106] The finest from this period appears on a hydria by the Meidias Painter (Florence 81948 = *LIMC* 10). It may have been designed as a gift for an Athenian bride: male iconographers are creating a female gaze in the image of their own. Adonis is shown in left profile, wearing shoulder-length curling hair, a fringed headband, and an expression of almost torpescent bliss: this is the living face of *habrosynê.* Nude but for some token drapery over his far leg, he reclines between the knees of Aphrodite, who is seated a little uphill from him; she has her hands on his shoulders as if massaging them. He has let his lyre slip to the ground. Aphrodite's attendants—personifications of good fortune, the wedding feast, and the like, creating by their presence a connubial paradise—surround the couple, as splendidly coifed and attired as the goddess herself. A winged Desire hovers above Adonis' face, holding his attention with an *iynx.* Lucilla Burn, discussing the symmetry with which the artist has disposed all these figures, notes the subtle organization of intercrossed gazes converging on Adonis and his divine paramour, whose limbs envelop him and whose face is bowed toward him.[107] Everything directs one's eye to the youth embowered at the center of the composition, hypnotized and stilled by the spinning love-charm.

Men could indeed have represented Adonis as the antithesis of what they *were,* but seem more often to have represented him as the ideal of what they *wanted;* if we thus shift their motivation from identification to desire, a whole new paradigm opens up, foiling both the antitypist interpretation of Ribichini and the strict feminist approach that declines to see a male as object of a male gaze. Thus my title: what was the sexuality of Adonis? That is to say, where was he located, and how was he oriented, amid the Athenian protocols of sexual behavior? The answer depends on which Adonis you are talking about, or at least on how he was being used in a given context. A first answer might be that he was loved by women, despised by men; yet that male attitude is poorly attested and is unhelpful for the interpretation of much of our evidence. The discourse surrounding Adonis has come to us in chips and shards, and in its disorderly

105. The subordinate sexual and social status of *paidika* has been much discussed, especially since Dover's study. See M. Golden, *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 308–24 on the strategies used to keep *erômenoi* from being assimilated entirely to slaves and women. Stehle 1990:97 discusses Adonis among other such *paidika,* but admits them only as models of failure "to make the transition to adulthood."

106. There is insufficient reason to think that the earlier works discussed by Atallah 1966:141–68 and D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *BCH* 104 (1980) 325–30 depict Adonis.

107. Burn 1987:5–6.

wealth we glimpse a myriad of refractions of the beautiful boy. Easily dissociated from the ritual that men feared, derided, or simply ignored, he soon took on new lives with new significance. Diachronically, the first myths of Adonis, intended to account for his rites and encode him in the Greeks' mythological understanding of their world, gave way in the later fifth century to reactions to his popularity among Athenian women; thus Adonis entered the Hellenistic period a cipher for the anxieties and lusts of post-Periclean Athenian men. Synchronically, in the sum of all his Classical manifestations, he is a pawn—or better, a go-between—in the negotiations between men and women in a harshly gendered society.

So how did women deploy this pawn? We shall never know what stories the celebrants themselves told on the rooftops in the twilight, while wailing and beating their breasts over a figurine of Aphrodite's toy-boy. In the absence of direct testimony, however, we can infer from the socio-political matrix of the Attic cult at least some motivation for its popularity. Private, ritual lamentation may have fulfilled some of the same emotional needs as public laments at real funerals, and part of the appeal of the Adonia may have lain in the sheer luxury of mourning, perhaps mingled with a rarely indulged sexual expressiveness. It is true that in playing the role of Aphrodite over a doll-like effigy of her beautiful lover the women of Athens were taking on a sexual role quite different from the one they showed to their older, dominant husbands, and it would not be surprising if the cult offered them an escapist outlet. The Adoniazousai, suggests Oswyn Murray, "mourn forbidden fruit—the fantasy lover that society has deprived them of, and those frontiers of desire that they will never know."[108]

Now consider the status of lamentation, generally speaking, in Classical Athens. Legislators since the time of Solon had steadily restricted funereal activity to the *prothesis* at home, cracking down on public displays on the road during the *ekphora* and at the grave. These restrictions strengthened civic loyalties to the detriment of aristocratic clan-loyalties, thus nurturing a unified, democratic *polis;* but at the same time they tended to strike at one of women's only public roles in traditional Athenian society.[109] Yet the very weakening of clan-loyalties fragmented the *polis* into new centers of loyalty and authority in the private space of the home, and the fierceness with which women might defend their prerogatives against social change—the background of Sophocles' *Antigone*[110]—guaranteed that in that traditionally female space women's power over death

108. Murray 1993:87. Cf. Burkert 1979:107; E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (New York, 1985) 28: "In bemoaning the death of Adonis, Athenian women lamented their own loveless lives."

109. On Athenian funeral legislation (attested in [Dem.] 43.62; Cic., *Leg.* 2.64 and 66; Plut., *Sol.* 21) see especially Alexiou 1974:3–23; R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (London, 1985) 21–23, 137; Holst-Warhaft 1992:102–103, 114–19.

110. Cf. Holst-Warhaft 1992:4: "We must listen to Antigone's lines with care, not reading into them so much a woman's side to the conflict over the right to control death, but perhaps the tragedian's awareness that there is in the Athenian state, that embodiment of civilized *man,* a danger in interfering with traditional customs and the family's relationship to the dead."

and its ceremonies could assert itself anew.[111] A private religious festival that reaffirmed this ancient power would be welcome, and the rooftop venue of the Adonia, outside of the house yet still within the home, offered a nice compromise between public and private, a stage for female privilege within sight, but beyond the reach, of the dominant society.

Our first datable testimony on the Attic Adonia is Aristophanes, *Pax* 420 (421 BCE); Cratinus, fr. 17 *PCG* may be earlier. Adonis himself first appears in Athenian art a decade or so later. Other imported cults that emphasized high-pitched emotion are first attested in Athens around the same time: those of Attis, Bendis, and Sabazius are examples.[112] This was a time of crisis for Athens: the Peloponnesian war polarized the city in many different ways, not least by sex. The Adonia emblematize this polarization in the passage from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* already cited, where the proboulos wants to know if the women's hijinks are part of some outlandish cult; in fact, the women have seized the Acropolis in an attempt to stop the war. Frustration at the plight of their city and their own powerlessness to do anything about it (and fury at the stupidity of their husbands, who can do something about it but won't) inspire the women of Athens, in the fantasy of the comic poet, to astounding feats of civil disobedience and diplomatic success. As the proboulos guesses, a good cry up on the roof, mingled with festivity in the company of other women, was the best relief that *life* could offer. Relief not just from the strains of war-time, but from the wear and tear of ordinary life, especially those stresses peculiar to Athenian womanhood.[113] The upper-class woman, confined to her house all day and made to feel that it was not nice even to be seen by men outside her family, and the working-class woman, consigned to a life of drudgery without even the satisfaction her husband got from his place in the ranks of Pericles' democracy, must have felt, it need hardly be said, a certain amount of oppression and distance from what was important and significant in her society. But once a year, in the privacy of her own home, she could be Aphrodite.

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111. Detienne sees "an explosive expansion of the private sector" as a formative influence on the Attic Adonia and their public representation, but dates this development specifically to the years after the Peloponnesian War (Detienne 1994:130).

112. On this trend cf. E. R. Dodds, *HThR* 33 (1940) 171–76, *Euripides: Bacchae*[2] (Oxford, 1960) xxiii.

113. The appeal of the Ptolemaic cult of Adonis described in Theoc. 15 has been discussed in the context of the social status of women by F. T. Griffiths in H. Foley, ed., *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (London, 1981) 247–59; R. S. Kramer, *Her Share of the Blessings* (Oxford, 1992) 31–34. It remains to explore the situation of the women of Syro-Palestine and the socio-political dynamics of the original eastward transmission of the lament for Tammuz.

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ATTIS: A GREEK GOD IN ANATOLIAN PESSINOUS AND CATULLAN ROME

BY

JAN N. BREMMER

ABSTRACT

In my contribution I attempt a new analysis of the myth and ritual of Attis and its reception in Catullan Rome. I argue (1) that the attempts to identify Attis with the Herodotean Atys are unconvincing, as they are based on Hermesianax's poem, which intended to provide an aetiology for a taboo on the pig in Pessinous; (2) that Attis starts to appear in the Greek world in the middle to the third quarter of the fourth century BC; the mention in Demosthenes should be taken as referring to his own time, not to that of Aeschines' mother; (3) that a careful comparison of Timotheus' account with that of Pausanias enables us to reconstruct the Phrygian myth and ritual of Pessinous as well as its gradual development, whereby special attention is given to Kybele, Agdistis, Attis and his festival, and the eunuch Galli; (4) that the religious aspects of Catullus 63 show a close identification of the cult of Kybele with that of Dionysus.

To what extent does Catullus give us an idiosyncratic picture of the myth and ritual of Attis? Fordyce (1961, 261) gave a firm answer to this question: "Catullus' Attis bears no resemblance to the Attis of myth and ritual." But is this true? And who was the Attis of myth and ritual? Attis has been the subject of lively contemporary debate, and we may note at least four recent studies that all go into somewhat different directions. After the long popularity of Frazer's (1914, I.261-317) interpretation of Attis as a "rising and dying god",[1]) Walter Burkert (1979, 99-111) was the first to note that the steady increase in new material from the Ancient Near East has refuted this traditional interpretation.[2]) He also distinguished

1) Frazer had been influenced by Mannhardt (1876, II.291-301).

2) Neglected in her historical survey by Lancellotti (2002, 9-15). Note that one of the most prominent American historians of religion still finds it hard to accept such progress in scholarship, see Smith 1982, 36-46, discussed by Bremmer (2002, 52-5). For an interesting, but eventually unpersuasive, attempt at rehabilitating the notion see now Casadio 2003, 235-48.

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various elements of Anatolian provenance in the myth and ritual of Attis, and his is undoubtedly the most innovative modern contribution. Philippe Borgeaud (1988; 1996, 56-88) also pays attention to Attis in the course of his study of the Great Mother. He accepts the traditional distinction between a Lydian version as exemplified in Herodotus (§ 1) and the Phrygian version with Attis' castration. He also argues that Attis acquired divine traits only after his transplantation to Greek soil, whereas his ritual eventually derives from Mesopotamian traditions about emasculated priests who are the functional model of Kybele's eunuch priests. Gerhard Baudy (1997, 247 f.) also distinguishes an older Lydian version, influenced by the Phoenician Adonis myth, and, like Borgeaud, sees in Attis' castration a reflection of the castration of his priests, which he, rather improbably, interprets as a radicalization of a symbolic rite of male initiation. The last monograph on Attis, by Maria Grazia Lancellotti (2002), connects the Lydian version with 'royal ideologies' of the Ancient Near East, associates the Phrygian version with the local monarchy, and stresses the funerary connotations of the cult.

In my own contribution I will try to reconstruct the myth and ritual of Attis in the period up to Catullus. Religion is a living part of society, and the cult of Attis kept developing until the end of Late Antiquity, but that period is not of interest for an interpretation of Catullus 63. However, even with the stated restriction, it is not easy to get a grip on the early stages of Attis' cult. Our testimonies are few and sometimes difficult to interpret. Moreover, established opinions have been accepted too long—often without being properly scrutinized. In our discussion, we will try to move as much as possible along chronological lines in order to see the myth and ritual of Attis in its historical development. Burkert's results mean that we need not go back before him, although the older monographs of Hepding (1903) and Vermaseren (1966; 1977; 1977-89; Vermaseren & de Boer 1986) keep their value as collections of material.[3]) Subsequently, then, we will look at the 'Lydian' complex (§ 1), Attis' arrival in Greece (§ 2), Attis in Phrygia (§ 3), Attis'

3) Note now also Lightfoot 2003, 357-63.

arrival in Rome and the poem of Catullus (§ 4) and end with some concluding observations (§ 5).

1. *The 'Lydian' Complex*

In the nineteenth century, scholars started to connect the Herodotean episode of Atys (1.34-45), the son of Croesus, with Attis.[4]) Although obscured in more recent studies, the identification between the two was made within the then dominant nature paradigm: "Atys, the sun-god, slain by the boar's tusk of winter".[5]) The Herodotean passage is well known. It relates that Croesus had two sons, although Bacchylides (3.34-5) also mentions daughters, and Hellenistic poetry knew of a daughter Nanis, who had betrayed Sardis to Cyrus.[6]) The eldest, by far the foremost of his contemporaries, was called Atys, although, interestingly, the valuable codex D calls him Attys, and the same variation in the manuscripts can be noticed in Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v. Attaluda.* Here the founder of Attalyda is called Attus or Atys (in the important codex R).[7]) Names like Attas and Attes are epigraphically also much more frequently attested than names with a single *t.*[8]) As Croesus had dreamt that a boar would kill Atys, he kept the youth away from all weapons. However, when an enormous boar appeared in Mysia and destroyed the fields, the Mysians sent a delegation to Croesus and ordered him to send his son 'with elite youths and dogs' in order to help them. In the end Croesus gave in and sent his son with the Phrygian royal exile Adrastus as his supervisor. Unfortunately, Adrastus killed Atys accidently during the hunt.

4) Stein 1856 and many successive editions on 1.43; Meyer 1896, soon followed by Frazer (1914, 286 f.). Note that the link was not made by Cumont (1896).

5) Sayce 1883, 21 f.

6) Licymn., *PMG* 772; Hermesian. F 6 Powell; Parth. F 22 Lightfoot; *FGrH* 252 B (6) = *IG* XIV.1297, cf. Haslam 1986. Lightfoot (2003, *ad loc.*) calls her a "romantic creation" but overlooks that Nanis is an epichoric name, which suggests a relatively old date for her origin, cf. Zgusta 1964, 347 f.

7) Lancellotti (2002, 30 note 83) also adduces the Lydian names Adyattes (Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 47) and Sadyattes (Hdt. 1.16.1; *SEG* 45.1584), but their names probably have the same suffix *-ttV-* as that of the Hittite king Maduwatta and should be kept out of the dossier, cf. Bryce 1998, 140 note 35.

8) Zgusta 1964, 105-11.

It has often been seen that Herodotus has invented this episode in order to demonstrate the precariousness of Croesus' happiness and wealth. In this episode he drew on the myth of Meleager, if most likely through the prism of Attic tragedy.[9]) Here he found the motif of a hunt on a destructive boar by a prince and a group of young followers, since such a group is lacking in the Adonis myth, which had been introduced into the Attis complex by Hepding and Gruppe.[10]) And indeed, Adonis was not connected with Attis before Late Antiquity.[11]) However, in Herodotus there is nowhere any mention of Attis, just as there is nothing in the story that even hints at a connection with the Phrygian cult.[12]) In fact, the name Atys is not even found in palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions, but it is a name with good authority in the earliest Lydian royal genealogies.[13]) In his *Roman Antiquities*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus records various Lydian royal genealogies in order to explain the name of the Etruscans. In the first genealogy mentioned by him, the first king of Lydia is called Masnes, one of whose two grandsons was called Atys (1.27.1). As we know that the name Masnes, probably deriving from Masdnes,[14]) is well attested for Lydia,[15]) whereas in Phrygia we find only Manes,[16]) this genealogy must go back to authentic Lydian traditions. It is thus also a guarantee of the name Atys with-

9) As has often been seen, Herodotus probably drew on Sophocles, perhaps his *Meleager*; see most recently the detailed discussion by Chiasson (2003). For a narratological analysis of the episode see de Jong 1999, 244-51.

10) Meleager: see Bremmer 1988; Grossardt 2000. Adonis: see Hepding 1903, 101, followed by Gruppe (1906, II.950).

11) Porph. F 358 Smith; Macr. *Sat.* 1.21, but note that Varro, *Test.* 540 Cèbe both mentions *Adon(is)* and is written in galliambics, the metre of poetry for Kybele, and see also Call. fr. 193.34-9 (cf. Nauta 2004a, 617-8, n. 72 (this issue)).

12) *Contra* Lancellotti (2002, 31), who states: "If, as is apparent from Herodotus [however, Herodotus nowhere makes any mention of Attis!], the royal prerogatives ascribed to Attis were already characteristic of him in one of his earlier attestations . . ."; Morisi (1999, 19 f.).

13) Note that, without any authority, Lancellotti (2002, 25) calls him "Attis/Atys".

14) Robert 1963, 101 f.

15) Given that Gallus is the name of the king of Pessinous but also of the adjacent river (§ 3), it is perhaps noteworthy that Masnes is also the name of a Lydian river, cf. Xanth. *FGrH* 765 F 24 (where the name is a conjecture by Jacoby); Hdn. *De prosodia catholica* 3.1.64; Heph. 5.22 and Choerob. *ad loc.; EM* 249.17.

16) Masson 1987; Gusmani & Polat 1999, 137-62. Interestingly, Herodotus (1.94.3) calls him Manes, but Masnes is clearly the older form.

out any connection with Attis. Moreover, Dionysius mentions that Xanthos of Lydia, an elder contemporary of Herodotus, had also already mentioned Atys (1.28.2 = Xanthos *FGrH* 765 F 16). As Herodotus equally mentions Atys as the ancestor of the Lydians (1.7.3) and as a son of Pythios (7.27), he will have drawn for the name on Xanthos, perhaps attracted by the resemblance with the Greek word *atê*, 'disgrace' (thus Asheri *ad loc.*).[17])

In fact, the only reason why Atys is associated with Attis is a notice from the Koan poet Hermesianax, who lived around 300 BC. In one of his poems he tells that Attis honoured the Mother to such an extent that Zeus became angry with her[18]) and sent a boar against the Lydians that killed not only several Lydians but also Attis himself.[19]) In her recent monograph, Lancellotti (2002, 58) writes that "in the tradition recorded by Pausanias (Hermesianax) . . . Attis joined a hunting party with tragic consequences. In that tradition the motifs of hunting and the priesthood are connected." Yet Pausanias mentions neither a hunting party nor a priesthood explicitly, even though the text could perhaps be construed in that direction. On the other hand, he does mention something Lancellotti pays no attention to. Pausanias continues his summary of Hermesianax by writing that 'in consequence of these events the Galatians that inhabit Pessinous do not touch pork' and he stresses that this is not the local myth, which he mentions subsequently and which we will discuss shortly (§ 3). In other words, Hermesianax gave in his poem an aetiological explanation of the Galatians' abstinence from pork, which as a taboo for Attis' worshippers is confirmed by Julian (*Or.* 5.17 Prato). Apparently, we have here an influence from Syria and Phoenicia, as swine were prohibited from Comana in Pontus (Strabo 12.8.9), from the cult of Men (*CRMDM* 12), from that of the Dea Syria (Lucian, *De dea Syria* 54 with Lightfoot 2003, *ad loc.*), and among the Phoenicians

17) Note that Atys is a conjecture by Jacoby in Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 15.

18) Unlike Hepding 1903, 30, all modern editions emend the manuscript reading of αὐτῇ into Ἄττῃ, but the recent Lorenzo Valla edition of Moggi (2000) rightly sticks to the manuscript reading, since the scholion on Nic. *Al.* 8e also stresses that Zeus sent the boar because the Meter 'deemed him (Attis) worthy of honour'.

19) Hermesian. F 8 Powell = Paus. 7.17.9.

(Porph. *Abst.* 1.14)—not to mention of course the Jews and Egyptians.[20]) There is no reason, then, to suppose that in his explanation Hermesianax drew on old Lydian traditions.

What have we learned so far? In the last decades of the nineteenth century, scholars started to connect the Atys episode in Herodotus with the cult of Attis on the basis of the poem by Hermesianax. However, this poem clearly intended to provide an aetiological explanation for a food taboo in Pessinous but not an insight into epichoric Phrygian or Lydian cult traditions. We therefore conclude that our Greek sources do not connect Attis with Lydia in the archaic and classical period. Consequently, there is no 'Lydian' version, as all recent discussions, with the exception of Burkert, have led us to believe.

There is even another argument against the 'Lydian' connection. We actually happen to know that Lydia had its own cult of the (a?) Meter, but her Lydian name is Kuvav- or Kufav-; Herodotus attests her importance by calling her 'Kybebe the native goddess' (5.102.1). Her name continues that of Kubaba, the great goddess of Carchemish on the Euphrates,[21]) but the Ionians transcribed the name of this goddess as Kybêbê, not Kybele. From Lydia she must already have been early accepted among the Greeks, as the seventh-century Semonides calls a follower of Kybele a *kybêbos* (F 36 West^2), just like Cratinus in his *Thraittai* (F 87 KA) of about 430 BC,[22]) and in the sixth century Hipponax calls her 'Kybêbê daughter of Zeus' (F 125 Degani^2 = 127 West^2); in fact, a recently published sixth-century Locrian inscription still has the form K(y)baba (*SEG* 49.1357). Given that Lydia had its own Meter, it seems odd that the Lydians should have imported into Sardis a figure from Pessinous, whose cultic existence anyway is not even established for that time. And indeed, Attis' cult is not attested in Lydia before the third century AD.[23])

As we have neither Lydian nor indigenous Phrygian epigraphical, literary or iconographical sources about Attis as cultic figure

20) For a discussion of the taboo on pigs see Bremmer 1996a, 251 f.
21) Graf 1985, 111.
22) Note that Borgeaud (1996) wrongly ascribes the form *kubêbis* to Cratinus.
23) Paz de Hoz 1999, nos 12.1, 12.2.

before Roman times, we will first look at the god's arrival in Greece, as in the older testimonies we see him only through Greek eyes.

2. *The Arrival of Attis in Greece*

Hermesianax's poem indicates that Attis had already become known in Greece at the beginning of the third century, but when exactly did he become accepted into the Greek world? For our purpose, we can draw on archaeological, literary and epigraphical sources, which all seem remarkably to converge on more or less the same date.[24]) The oldest testimony for Attis is usually seen in the Old Comedy dramatist Theopompus, but the surviving fragment 'I will punish you and that Attis of yours' rather indicates a human lover;[25]) in fact, we find at least three Attides, two Attas and one Attos in fourth-century Athens.[26]) The earliest securely identified image of Attis is a votive stele of the Piraeus from the middle to the third quarter of the fourth century BC. The identification is secured by the inscription 'Timothea to Angdistis and Attis on behalf of her children according to command' (*IG* II^2 4671), which is probably also our earliest testimony for the cult of Attis in Athens *tout court*.[27])

In any case, the late date well fits with the earliest literary mentions. In his *On the Crown* Demosthenes mentions that Aeschines called out in the private mysteries of his mother 'Hyês, Attês' (18.260). Wilamowitz magisterially rejected the passage as a testimony for the cult of Attis and noted: "so weiss man in demosthenischer Zeit noch nichts von Attis" and he has been followed in modern times.[28]) Yet the already quoted stele from the Piraeus demonstrates that Wilamowitz was wrong. The chronological value of the testimony is a different question, though. It is hardly credible that Demosthenes

24) Burkert (1979, 104) and Morisi (1999, 19-22) provide the most recent surveys, but some progress can be made, as I hope to show in this section.

25) Theopomp. F 28 with Kassel & Austin, *ad loc.* *Contra* Hepding 1903, 99; Burkert 1979, 104.

26) Fraser & Matthews 1994, 78 f.

27) Vermaseren 1977-89, II no. 308 = Naumann 1983, pl. 40.1 = Roller 1994, at pl. 55.1 = Vikela 2001, at 116-7 with pl. 23.2.

28) von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1941, 2, followed by Lambrechts (1962, 22 note 1); Wankel on Dem. 18.260, although he does not provide an alternative explanation of the word.

would have known exactly what Aeschines' mother did in his youth. However, it is in his interest to impress his audience with contemporary rituals. That is why he presents this *bricolage* of several ecstatic cults. In other words, the cry should be taken as an indication of the existence of Attis' cult in 330 BC rather than at the time of Aeschines' youth.

Demosthenes also furnishes another detail of interest. He suggests that Aeschines performed in front of old women. The audience conforms to our impression of the general following of new cults in Athens, which attracted women in particular.[29]) In this connection, it is noteworthy that the first dedication to Attis (above) was by a woman, perhaps a slave or a foreigner in Athens, just as a maiden worships Agdistis in, probably, Menander's *Theophoroumene*.[30])

The last early testimony derives from Neanthes of Cyzicus (*FGrH* 84 F 37), who apparently discussed Attes as a servant of the Mother of the Gods among the Phrygians. The recent re-edition of Philodemus' *Academicorum Index* has shown that Neanthes has to be put into the fourth century.[31]) An interest in Attis in Cyzicus is hardly surprising. Herodotus had already reported about the impressive *pannychis* of the Meter,[32]) and Nicander of Kolophon (*Al.* 7-8) situated 'the place of the secret rites of Attes' in the 'caverns of Lobrinian Rhea', Lobrinon being a mountain in Cyzicus (schol. *ad loc.*). It is therefore perhaps hardly by chance that we find the name Attes already in Cyzicus around 300 BC (*I. Kyzikos* 101).[33])

29) Bremmer 1999, 72.

30) Men. *Theoph.* fr. dub. on p. 146, ed. Sandbach, cf. Handley 1969, 96.

31) Dorandi 1991, col. II.38-9, III.35 and a scholion in the margin of col. V (*FGrH* 84 F 23), cf. Burkert 1993a, 92: "Die Lebenszeit dieses Neanthes rückt damit etwas weiter zurück ins 4. Jh." Following Jacoby, Borgeaud (1996, 66) still puts Neanthes at 180 BC.

32) Hdt. 4.76.3-4, cf. Bravo 1997, 119, who observes that these nightly festivals were typical of the cults of Kybele and Dionysos. Note that in his discussion Bravo overlooks the onomastic evidence: Pannych(i)os was a highly popular male name, as was Pannychis, if to a lesser extent, among women.

33) Cf. her temple in Cyzicus (Amm. 22.8.5), which has been excavated, cf. Vermaseren 1977-89, I.91-7; the poem on a Gallus by Erucius of Cyzicus (*AP* 6.234 = 2256-61 GP) and the connection between the Argonauts, Cyzicus and Dindymon/a in Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F 39 (Str. 1.2.38; cf. 12.8.11), A.R. 1.1092-152, and V.Fl. 3.20-2.

As the Mother herself,[34]) Attis too may well have reached mainland Greece via the Hellespont and the Propontis.

Our analysis so far has shown that Attis started to become known in the Greek world in the last decades of the fourth century, where he seems to have been particularly worshipped by women. Yet the conquest of Asia Minor would be required before the Greeks could read more detailed reports on the Phrygian myth and ritual of Attis. From about 300 BC onwards, different reports started to appear that would reveal (or not!) startling details of a strange myth and ritual. It is time to look at Phrygia itself.

3. *Attis in Phrygia*

The continuing publication of ancient Phrygian texts has also enriched the dossier of Attis. In 1982 an inscription dating from the seventh or sixth century BC was published with a dedication to Atas/Ata.[35]) As *atas* means 'father' in the meaning of 'father as fosterer',[36]) the editors suggest that we perhaps may find here a male, if somewhat inferior, companion for the main Phrygian goddess *Matar*, 'Mother'. However, it seems hard to see in this Atas the same supra-human being as Attis, since the latter is in no way connected with fatherhood. In other words, our modest knowledge of Phrygian religion does not allow us any trace of Attis before the Macedonian conquest of Asia Minor opened up the hinterland to the curiosity of the Greeks. However, already within a few decades they could learn about this strange cult from at least three, possibly four, sources with only a difference of half a century at the most between them, viz. from Timotheus, Hermesianax, Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) and the author I call Anonymus Ovidianus. Let us start with the oldest version.

Around 300 BC, under the rule of Ptolemy I, the Athenian Eumolpid Timotheus published an account of Kybele and her rites, which Burkert calls the *hieros logos* of Pessinous.[37]) However, this is

34) Graf 1985, 113 f.
35) Brixhe & Lejeune 1984, I.W-10.
36) Benveniste 1969, II.87 f.
37) Burkert 1987, 73.

only partially correct, as we will see below. Our source for Timotheus is Arnobius (5.5-8),[38]) who devoted a large passage to the Mother and Attis around AD 300.[39]) Timotheus had made Sarapis palatable to the Alexandrian Greeks (Tac. *Hist.* 4.83), and we may assume that his purpose was to make Kybele and her cult equally palatable to them, perhaps as part of plans of Ptolemy to conquer Western Asia Minor. In this respect it seems significant that Varro combined the cults of both Kybele and Serapis in his *Eumenides*. As we do not find this combination anywhere else, Varro may well have found it in Timotheus' book, which was still available in Rome in his time—witness its use by Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrH* 273 F 74), who worked in Rome at the same time as Varro.

According to Arnobius (5.5), Timotheus pretended that he had his knowledge *ex reconditis antiquitatum libris* and *ex intimis mysteriis*, but these protestations only demonstrate the strong necessity he felt to authenticate his strange story. An appeal to antiquity while relating a myth was a well-known device from Hellenistic times onwards, and Timotheus must have been one of the first to use it.[40]) We do not know Arnobius' source(s?) for Timotheus, whom he calls 'no mean mythologist' (5.5),[41]) but Arnobius often uses Varro,[42]) although the latter explicitly declined to talk about Attis and the Galli in his theology—an interesting testimony to the attitude of the Roman elite towards his cult.[43])

In any case, in addition to Timotheus, Arnobius had also consulted *alios aeque doctos*, whose influence, even though they remain anonymous, we sometimes can distinguish. We will discuss these cases below at their appropriate moments, but we may already mention them: the entering by the Mother of the city 'having raised

38) Fantham (1999, 138) strangely states that Arnobius uses a "garbled" version of Pausanias.

39) See the analysis by Mora (1994, 116-34).

40) Cf. Call. F 612 Pfeiffer; Verg. *A.* 9.79; Ov. *Met.* 1.400, *Fast.* 4.203-4.

41) More recently, Lane (1996, 128 note 21) has doubted the identification. He is followed by Roller (1999, 244 note 20) and Lancellotti (2002, 85 note 121), but this is hypercritical in the light of Alexander Polyhistor's mention of Timotheus. For some, possibly, additional references to Timotheus see Turcan 1996b, 388.

42) For his great indebtedness to Varro see le Bonniec 1982, 48 f.

43) August. *C.D.* 7.25: *Et Attis ille* (Varro) *non est commemoratus nec eius ab isto interpretatio requisita est, in cuius dilectionis memoriam Gallus absciditur.*

the walls with her head, which in consequence began to be crowned with turrets', the presence of the pine under which Attis had castrated himself, and the end of Timotheus' account, where it is said that his body would not decompose and, rather morbidly, that his little finger continued to move. Arnobius mentions only one source by name, and that only incompletely: *Valerius pontifex* (5.7), who had called Attis' bride Ia. Given the interest in Attis and Kybele in the first half of the first century BC (§ 4), this is most likely Valerius Messalla Niger, who was pontifex in 81 BC.[44]) His invention must have been stimulated by the prominence of the violet in the Roman ritual of Attis and Roman funerary cult,[45]) since we hear nothing of the kind for Asia Minor. Here the blood of Attis was believed to have caused the purple veins in the marble of Phrygian Synnada.[46])

So, what did Timotheus tell us?[47]) From stones taken from the rock Agdus (below) in Phrygia, Deucalion and Pyrrha made the Great Mother. When Zeus unsuccessfully attempted to rape her, he poured out his semen on a rock. This produced the fierce, hermaphroditic Agdistis. In order to tame him, Dionysos lured him to a spring with wine, and tied his testicles to a noose. When Agdistis awoke from his hangover and tried to get up, he unwittingly castrated himself. As Burkert has seen, the beginning of this episode closely resembles the beginning of the Hittite myth of Ullikumi, where we also find the birth of a monstrous figure from a rock.[48]) Getting Agdistis drunk, on the other hand, is of course a calque on the catching of Silenus by Midas. This myth was narrated in the very same area, as is illustrated by the mention of the well of Midas in Ankyra (below).[49])

44) *ILS* 46; Syme 1986, 227. Turcan (1996a, 34 and 1996b, 389) suggests that Arnobius confused him with the *augur* M. Valerius Messala, consul in 53 BC. This is not impossible but hardly necessary, given our dearth of sources.

45) Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 5.227.

46) Robert 1980, 221-6 and 1990, 109-21.

47) For several observations on his account see also Turcan 1996a, 31-5.

48) Burkert (1979, 197-8) convincingly illustrates the resemblances in two parallel columns; for a more detailed discussion, Burkert 2003a, 87-95. For translations of the passage see Hoffner 1990, 52; García Trabazo 2002, 185-7.

49) For all testimonies see Miller 1997. Note that the archaeological testimonies well predate the earliest literary one (Hdt. 8.138).

When a pomegranate had sprung from the blood of Agdistis, Nana, the daughter of the local king or river Sangarius, placed it in her bosom and became pregnant. Her father then shut her up, but the Mother of the Gods kept her alive. After the father had her child exposed, a certain Phorbas, 'Nourisher', found him, raised him on goat's milk and called the boy Attis, 'as the Phrygians call their goats *attagi*'. When the latter grew up, he roamed the woods with Agdistis, who loved him—if naturally somewhat inadequately. Under the influence of wine Attis confessed his love and that is why those drinking wine are forbidden to enter his sanctuary. This episode is a mixture of the theme of 'the mother's tragedy' (exemplified by Greek heroines like Io and Danae), of the fostering of heroes (exemplified by the fostering of Zeus by a goat),[50] and of the aetiological explanation of the prohibition of wine. At the same time, Timotheus kept a certain *couleur locale* in the story by his usage of the epichoric names Nana (§ 1) and Sangarius.[51] We may assume that he had made proper enquiries before adapting the local lore to his sophisticated Alexandrian public.

In the final part of the story the king intended to give his daughter in marriage to Attis, but the Mother of the Gods wanted to prevent the marriage and entered the city. At this point Agdistis filled the guests with frenzy and the daughter of a certain Gallus cut off her breasts, apparently an 'alternative' castration. This Gallus had not yet been introduced, and clearly something has gone wrong in the text, as Oehler already noted in his 1846 edition of Arnobius by comparing *c.* 5.13 where Gallus is spoken of as having already mutilated himself. However, Oehler did not notice that Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrH* 273 F 74) had also mentioned 'that Gallos and Attis had cut off their sexual organs', a notice most likely derived once again from Timotheus. In his account of the Attis cult, Pausanias (7.17.12) mentions that Attis also cut off the private parts of his father-in-law. Gallus will therefore have been the name of the king,

50) For the themes of the mother's tragedy and the fostering of heroes see Bremmer & Horsfall 1987, 27-30, 54-6 (by Bremmer); Bremmer 1996b.

51) For a Sangarios at Pessinous and a discussion of the name see Robert 1963, 536-7; add now the local Sagarios and Sagaria (*SEG* 41.1152, 45.1706); note also the Galatian Sagaris (*SEG* 30.1473).

even though this does not fit well with the name Midas, which is also used by Arnobius for the king.

In this frenzy Attis castrated himself under a pine tree, and the Mother of the Gods collected his parts and buried them; she also brought the pine tree to her cave. She was joined in her howling wailing by Agdistis who beat and wounded her breast. From Attis' blood sprang the violet, which even today decorates the pine tree—so clearly Arnobius himself. Zeus refused to revive Attis, but he allowed his body to remain undecayed, with even some movement left in his little finger. Agdistis buried the body in Pessinous and honoured Attis with yearly rituals and high priests.

The final episode starts with perhaps another survival from Near Eastern mythology. Burkert has persuasively compared the entry of the Mother with the advent of Inanna from the netherworld and her entering Dumuzi's palace to destroy him.[52]) The raising of the walls (above) made the Mother into the Ovidian *dea turrigera* (*Fast.* 6.321),[53]) but the detail must be a later addition, since Kybele's *Mauerkrone* is archeologically not attested before about 240 BC.[54]) The presence of a pine tree is somewhat surprising, since this tree is not attested in Attis' Greek cult and neither are pine cones found in Attis' Greek iconography.[55]) On the other hand, the pine was an important part of the later Roman ritual of Attis, and its prominence here clearly serves to explain its role in the famous ritual of the *Arbor intrat* in the West. A further reference to the actual cult of the Mother must be the mention of the cave, which was associated with the Mother in Asia Minor,[56]) even though this feature did not survive the transfer to Rome. Apparently, Timotheus merely mentioned that the Mother of the Gods brought the (pine?) tree into her cave, but Arnobius (5.14) already wondered what had happened in that case to Attis' member. And indeed, we probably catch here Timotheus in the act of 'cleaning up' the story before

52) Burkert 1979, 110.
53) For literary references see Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 688.
54) Simon 1997, 751 no. 24.
55) Roller 1999, 279; Lightfoot 2003, 500 f.
56) E. *Ba.* 123; Nic. *Al.* 8; Rhian. *AP* 6.173 (= 3236-41 GP); Diosc. *AP* 6.220 (= 1539-54 GP); Sil. 17.21; Paus. 10.32, cf. Robert & Robert 1970, 590; Graillot 1912, 394.

presenting it to the Alexandrians, since in Cyzicus those that had castrated themselves did deposit their member in 'holy subterranean places'.[57]) The howling wailing is a typical feature of the cult of Attis and is often mentioned in Latin literature (§ 4). Last but certainly not least, the most interesting item in Timotheus' account is undoubtedly the description of Attis' body. But how old is this morbid passage?

It is not easy to gain a precise insight into the definitive fate of Attis. In our oldest testimonies, there seems to be no interest in his body (Hermesianax) or it is considered to have been buried first before completely disappearing (Dionysius Scythobrachion [?]: below). In his *Bithyniaka*, Arrian (*FGrH* 156 F 22) also mentions that Attis' worshippers went into the mountains and called out for him. Pausanias' mention of Attis' grave (1.4.5) thus seems to reflect this early situation.[58]) Apparently, things started to change in the second century AD when Pausanias (7.17.12) relates that his body would not see corruption; Arnobius' mention of the moving little finger probably has to be assigned to the same period. Clearly, Attis was moving upwards in Pausanias' time, and that is why, presumably, Tertullian could already refer to him as *deum a Pessinunte* (*Ad nat.* 1.10.47). However, Attis' 'resurrection' is not mentioned before the third century and seems closely connected with the rise of Christianity, just like the 'resurrection' of Adonis is not mentioned before the third century.[59]) These testimonies strongly suggest that Attis' body only gradually became of interest to his worshippers, but in Catullus' time none of this is yet visible.

The second early account was provided in the first decades of the third century by Hermesianax of Kolophon, who recounted that Attes (he does not write 'Attis', which is not an epichoric spelling: below) was a son of the Phrygian Kalaos and unfit to procreate. When he had grown up, he moved to Lydia and introduced the

57) Schol. Nic. *Al.* 8b. For the various destinations of the genitals of eunuchs, see Graillot 1912, 297; Lightfoot 2003, 508.

58) Thus, persuasively, Thomas (1984, 1520). Note also the mention of Attis' burial in Servius Auctus on Verg. *A.* 9.116.

59) Attis: Hippol. *Haer.* 5.8.22-4; Firm. *Err.* 3.1; Damasc. F. 87A Athanassiadi. Adonis: Lightfoot 2003, 309-11.

rites of the Mother of the Gods to the Lydians. Subsequently, he met the sad fate through a boar that we have already discussed (§ 1). The father's name looks like a variant of Gallus (below), and the impotence a euphemism for his castration. Apparently, Hermesianax did not think his audience fit for the more awkward details of the cult; that is probably why we also do not hear anything about Agdistis. Moreover, he limits himself to portraying Attis as a missionary of the Mother to the Lydians. This is perhaps not surprising. Kolophon was adjacent to Lydia and knew a flourishing cult of the Mother, whose temple was already an important local institution since the seventh century.[60])

Our third early account has been handed down by Diodorus Siculus (3.58-9), but the place within his oeuvre and its euhemerising tone almost certainly guarantee that he derived the story from Dionysius Scythobrachion, the euhemerising mythographer of the middle of the third century.[61]) It relates that king Meion of Lydia and Phrygia had married Dindyme, by whom he begot a daughter, whom he exposed on Mt Kybel(l)on.[62]) She was fed by animals, and female (!) shepherds called her therefore Kybele. Growing up she invented the syrinx,[63]) cymbals and tambourines; not surprisingly, her best companion was Marsyas. She even cared so much for the young animals that they gave her the name 'Mother of the Mountain'. Having arrived at a suitable age, she fell in love with Attis, became pregnant and was recognized by her parents. When her father had killed her nurses and Attis,[64]) Kybele became mad and started to roam in the country accompanied by Marsyas. In the end Marsyas challenged Apollo to a duel on the double flute, lost and was flayed alive. When an illness had struck Phrygia, Apollo gave orders to bury Attis and to honour Kybele. As his body had

60) Graf 1985, 113.

61) So, persuasively, Bommelaer (1989, xxxiii-v).

62) Bommelaer (1989) and Borgeaud (1996, 67) wrongly translate with 'Cybélos' and '*Kubelos*', respectively.

63) For the syrinx see Lightfoot 2003, 487.

64) The mention of nurses is rather surprising. Can it be that they are the mythical reflection of priestesses, since D.S. 34.33 mentions a priestess in Pessinous in 204 BC? Or are they the women that are regularly associated with the Galli, cf. Rhian. *AP* 6.173 (= 3236-41 GP) and Thyill. *AP* 7.223 (= 364-71 P)?

already decomposed, the Phrygians made an image of Attis and chanted songs of lamentation until the present day. For Kybele they built a splendid temple in Pessinous with sumptuous sacrifices. Next to her statue they placed panthers and lions, as they had fed her when a child.

It is obvious that this account is not part of "the dossier concerning the attempt by the (Lydian) Mermnad dynasty to reconstruct a Phrygian "prehistory" in order to guarantee its own legitimacy to the throne."[65]) Far from it. It combines a euhemerising version of the myth of Kybele and Attis with that of Marsyas, another Phrygian myth. It makes Attis the beloved of Kybele and mentions her ecstatic side, but, as was the case with Hermesianax, it makes no mention of the hermaphroditic Agdistis nor does it mention Attis' castration. Clearly, several authors thought that Greece was not yet ready for the cult of Attis in all its strange aspects.

The date of the fourth account has to remain obscure, but it seems to find its origin in an Alexandrian context.[66]) In his *Fasti* (4.223-46), Ovid relates that Attis had fallen in love with Kybele, who pressed him in promising that he would remain a boy forever. However, he broke his promise and fell in love with the nymph Sagaritis. Kybele took revenge by killing the nymph, at which Attis lost his mind. Imagining that the Furies pursued him, he ran to the top of Mt Dindymon where he castrated himself. Once again we have here a relatively 'sanitised' version of the myth: there is no mention of copulation with a rock or the hermaphrodism of Agdistis, but the castration receives full attention—as could have been expected from Ovid.

In its simplicity, Ovid's account also conforms to that of Pausanias (7.17.10-2), whose account largely overlaps with that of Timotheus, as Hepding already saw. According to Pausanias, Zeus copulated with a rock and thus begot the hermaphroditic Agdistis, whom the gods castrated. From his organ there grew an almond tree, of which a fruit made the daughter of the river Sangarios (Ovid's Sagaritis) pregnant. A boar raised the child, Attis, who grew into a very handsome young man. When he was going to get married to the daugh-

65) *Contra* Lancellotti 2002, 44.
66) Knox 2002, 167-70.

ter of the king, Agdistis appeared, whereupon Attis, in a frenzy, castrated himself and the king. Agdistis repented, and he requested Zeus not to let Attis' body be corrupted or rot away.

In his chronological enumeration, Hepding prints Pausanias' notice in a column parallel to Timotheus' account. This procedure has had the unhappy effect that not even Burkert differentiates between the two.[67]) However, there is a remarkable difference between the two accounts. Whereas Timotheus mentions Agdistis and the Mother of the Gods, Pausanias mentions only Agdistis. On the other hand, Hermesianax, Dionysius Scythobrachion and the Anonymus Ovidianus make no mention of Agdistis but only of Kybele. How can we explain these differences?

We know that Pausanias wrote in the last quarter of the second century AD, came from Magnesia on Mount Sipylus,[68]) and had observed that in 'his own time' the well of Midas in the temple of Zeus was still shown in Ankyra, which was not that far from Pessinous. As he accurately locates Pessinous 'below Mount Agdistis where they say that Attis was buried' (1.4.5), there is thus every reason to believe that he had visited Pessinous himself and made some inquiries.[69]) As he himself stresses that he relates the local myth (*epichôrios logos*), we should not conflate his account with that of Timotheus, but consider Pausanias' notice a most valuable witness for what was narrated in Pessinous towards the end of the second century AD.

This conclusion naturally raises the question as to why Pausanias did not hear anything about Kybele, but we can understand this problem only when we now try to reconstruct the history and meaning of the myth and ritual at Pessinous. We have already looked at a number of details when discussing the various versions, but now we will try to present in broad strokes an integral picture of

67) *Contra* Hepding 1903, 104; Burkert 1979, 190 note 23; 1987, 73; and 2003a, 93; similarly, Lancellotti 2002, 23, who also did not notice that Pausanias distinguishes between the versions of Hermesianax (who is not even mentioned in her index) and Pessinous: source criticism is a weak side of especially the first part of her book.

68) For Pausanias' time and place see Habicht 1985, 9-15; Ameling 1996, 156-7 (after AD 170).

69) For Pausanias' interest in interviewing people, see Andersen 1996.

the Pessinuntine cult. Let us start once again by looking at the mythical protagonists. Timotheus, our earliest extensive source, mentions four names that also recur in the other reports: the Mother of the Gods (in other versions called Kybele), Agdistis, Gallus and Attis. The occurrence of the Mother of the Gods is probably due to the influence of Kybele. As two sixth-century Phrygian inscriptions show, Kybele was worshipped in Phrygia itself as *matar kubileya* or *kubeleya*, 'Mother of Mt Kubel(l)on or Kubela'.[70]) In the seventh century she was already 'exported' to Greece. Here, from the early fifth century onwards, she became known either more general as *Matâr oureia*, 'Mountain Mother',[71]) or more specifically as *Matêr Idaia*, 'Mother of Mt Ida',[72]) or *Mêtêr Dindymenê*, 'Mother of Mt Dindymon/a',[73]) the mountain that gave the name to the mother of Kybele in the account of Dionysius Scythobrachion (above). However, in Mycenaean times the Greeks also had a Divine Mother (PY Fr 1202), and the two Mothers may have soon become identified.[74])

Now Timotheus has introduced both the Mother of the Gods and Agdistis in his story, but that was one goddess too many. This is also clear from the other three accounts that we have discussed: they all make use of either Kybele or Agdistis, but none retains them both. Presumably, Timotheus thought that Agdistis would be insufficiently known to his public, and thus he introduced the Mother of the Gods to represent the ecstatic side of the goddess. Yet he

70) Brixhe & Lejeune 1984, W-04, B-03. Note that the manuscripts have *Kybellon* in St.Byz. *s.v.* Κυβέλεια; note also the plural *Kybella* in Schol. Lyc. 1170; the same strange alternation of singular and plural also in Dindymon/Dindyma (note 76). Jacoby (on Alex. Polyh. *FGrH* 273 F 12) rejected the etymology, but Brixhe (1979) and Zgusta (1982) have since convincingly defended it.

71) *H.Hom.* 14.1; Pi. fr. 70b.9, 95.3 Maehler; Ar. *Av.* 746, 873 ff.; Telestes, *PMG* 810.2-3; E. fr. 472.13 N²; Tim. *Pers.* 124.

72) E. *Or.* 1453; for her cult on Ida see also E. *Hel.* 1323-4, fr. 586 N², to be read with the observations on the text by Radt (2002, 439-40); Varro, *Onos lyras* 358 Cèbe; Strabo 10.3.12, 22; Verg. *A.* 9.600-1; Hsch. *s.v. Idaia*; Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 182.

73) Hdt. 1.80.1, 4.76.3 (Cyzicus); Strabo 14.1.40 and Plu. *Them.* 30.6 (Magnesia); Arr. *An.* 5.6.4 (Dindyma; the plural also in Ov. *Fast.* 4.234). Mitchell (1993, II.22) observes that "there is remarkably little evidence that the Pessinuntine cult of Meter Dindymene travelled", noting *MAMA* VIII.363.

74) For the place of the Mother of the Gods in Athens see Borgeaud 1996, 31-55; Parker 1996, 159-60, 188-94; Robertson 1996.

apparently also felt that he could not do without Agdistis who represented the hermaphroditic side, and thus he introduced them both into his story. This narrative trick apparently worked outside Pessinous, as the versions of Hermesianax and Dionysius Scythobrachion show, but it did not catch on in Pessinous itself. This becomes clear from Strabo, who in his report of his visit of about 50 BC writes that Pessinous contains 'a temple of the Mother of the Gods that is deeply venerated. They call her Agdistis.' (12.5.3) In other words, the locals had rejected the Greek innovation and stuck to the original name of their goddess, Agdistis, and that is why Pausanias too did not hear anything about Kybele or the Mother of the Gods. Yet in due time the Greek tradition caught up with Pessinous and in later Roman times Agdistis is called 'Mother of the Gods' on coins and three local inscriptions.[75])

Agdistis was the name of the local mountain Agdus (so Arnobius) or Agdistis (Pausanias 1.4.5) of Pessinous,[76]) which is not otherwise attested in literary sources. Fortunately, though, Louis Robert has published several coins that carry the name Agdistis and show a mountain;[77]) it may well have been the highest or most prominent peak of Mt Dindymon. Apparently, Agdistis was the local variant of the type of mountain goddess that had also generated Kybele.

As regards Gallus, recent studies of Kybele and/or Attis have argued that it were the invading Gauls that gave the name Galli to the priests of Pessinous and the river Gallos.[78]) This explanation cannot be true. As we have seen, Timotheus probably already mentioned the castration of Gallus, who seems to have been the king and the mythical reflection of Attis' eunuch priests, just like Attis

75) Inscriptions: *IGR* III.225, 230; Lambrechts & Bogaert 1969, II.405-14. Coins: Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 173-4, nos 1-10.

76) Strabo (12.5.3) calls the mountain Dindymon and says that it gave the name Dindymene to the goddess, just like Kybele was named after Mt Kybela (plural, strangely enough). For (Meter) Dindymene see Hdt. 1.80.5; A.R. 1.1125; *AP* 7.728; Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.5; Strabo 10.3.12, 12. 8.11, 13.4.5, 14.1.40; Mart. 8.81.1; Arr. *An.* 5.6.4; Paus. 7.17.9, 7.20.3, 8.46.4; Hsch. ὸ 1858, ι 157; *I. Prusa* 1021; *MAMA* I.338.

77) Robert 1980, 236, who on p. 238 note 69 refers to the epigraphical bibliography with the varying forms of the name, such as Agdissis, Aggistis, Angdisis, Angistis or Anggdistis.

78) Borgeaud 1996, 119-20; Lane 1996; Takacs 1999, 951; Lancellotti 2002, 101 note 203.

himself. His name, then, predated the invasion of the Gauls;[79]) a Gallos even occurs in the genealogy of the Cappadocian kings (D.S. 31.19.1) but we do not know the antiquity of this (undoubtedly imaginary) ancestor. Moreover, Gallus' name can hardly be separated from the name of the river Gallos, which was already called so before the arrival of the Gauls, since Timotheus (*apud* Alexander Polyhistor) calls the neighbouring peoples Potamogallitai, just as Promathidas (*FGrH* 430 F 6), a contemporary of Alexander, called them Potamogallenoi.[80]) There seems therefore no reason to doubt the ancient explanation that the Galli were named after the river Gallos or its eponymous king Gallos.[81])

Soon after Timotheus the name of the priests became widely known in Greece. We meet a Gallus perhaps first in an anecdote about the philosopher Arcesilaus (*apud* D.L. 4.43), and subsequently the name occurs in Callimachus (F 411 Pfeiffer),[82]) Rhianus (*AP* 6.173 = 3236-41 GP), Dioscorides (*AP* 6.220 = 1539-54 GP), Antipater (*AP* 6.219 = 608-31 GP) and 'Simonides' (*AP* 6.217 = 3304-13 GP). Alexander Aetolus (*AP* 7.709 = 150-5 GP) refers to them without mentioning their name and is therefore commonly overlooked in this respect.[83])

As regards Attis we must observe first that this form of the name is not attested in palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions,[84]) where we find only Ates and Ata:[85]) the name Attis is clearly a Greek invention, as the oldest inscription with the name, Timotheus and Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) attest. On the other hand, Demosthenes, Neanthes, Hermesianax, Nicander (*Al.* 8), Arrian (*Tact.* 33) and Pausanias call

79) As was seen already by Graillot (1912, 292).

80) For the river and its name see Waelkens 1971; Tischler 1977, 56.

81) Call. F 411 Pfeiffer; Alex. Polyh. *FGrH* 273 F 74; Ov. *Fast.* 4.361 ff.; Pliny *Nat.* 5.147; Hdn. 1.11.2; Festus 84L; *EM* 220.28; App. *Prov.* 1.67; Macar. *Prov.* 2.92.

82) Note also the reference to a Gallus in F 193.35-6 Pfeiffer, cf. Kerkhecker 1999, 78-80; Acosta-Hughes 2002, 245 f.

83) Magnelli 1999, 234-8.

84) *Contra* Lancellotti 2002, 34: "The name Attis is quite widespread in Phrygia." It is therefore misleading when Lancellotti (2002, 34-5) speaks about "the name of Attis (in the Old Phrygian variant form 'Ates')".

85) Zgusta 1964, 119-21; Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1982, 70, 83; Brixhe & Lejeune 1984, I.G-107, 118-9, 128, 221, 224, 234, W-10, Dd-101; Varinlioglu 1992; Darga 1993, 316 f.

the god Attes, whereas Dioscorides (*AP* 6.220, 3 = 1541 GP) names his priest of Kybele Atys.[86]) There seems to have been no authoritative tradition in this respect.

The first time that we hear of Attis in Pessinous itself is in 189 BC, when the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso campaigned against the Galatians. When he had crossed the Sangarius river, two Galli appeared in full ornament 'on behalf of Attis and Battakos,[87]) the priests of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinous'.[88]) Apparently a double priesthood was in charge of the cult, and we may perhaps compare the occasion when in 190 BC Livius Salinator threatened to besiege Sestus and *duo Galli* came out to beseech him (Plb. 21.6.7; Liv. 37.9.9). A series of letters from Eumenes II and Attalos II to Attis between 163 and 155 shows that 'Attis' was a title rather than the personal name of an individual priest and that, moreover, the 'Attis' was clearly the more prominent member of this duo.[89]) As Aioiorix, the Galatian name of the brother of this 'Attis', demonstrates, the Galatians had taken over the supervision of the cult, and they may well have skipped the traditional castration of the high priest! It seems, then, that after 300 BC Pessinous had started to differentiate between the mythical figure Attes and the priest 'Attis', with the latter variant of the name apparently imported from Greece.

A development from name to title is not totally unique. In Ephesus, the eunuch (!) priest of Artemis was called Megabyxos and this title must have developed from the name of one of the first Persians that took over the office.[90]) Now in Timotheus' account the king is called Gallus, as we have seen. Can it be that in his time the highest priest was perhaps called Gallus and that things had changed

86) For further variants see Lightfoot 2003, 359 f.

87) For the epichoric character of the name Battakos see Robert 1963, 533 f.

88) Plb. 21.37.5; D.S. 36.13; Liv. 38.18.9; Plu. *Mar.* 17.

89) For the correspondence see Welles 1934, nos 55-61, republished by Virgilio (1981); see also Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 218 f.

90) Office: Tzetzes *H.* 8.400 (painting of a M. by the Ephesian Parrhasios [*ca.* 440-380]); X. *An.* 5.3.6; Pliny *Nat.* 35.132 (tomb of a M. by Antidotos [earlier fourth century]); Pliny *Nat.* 35.93 (painting of a procession of a M. by Apelles); Strabo 14.1.23; Plu. *Mor.* 58d, 471-2; Quint. 5.12.21, who also mentions paintings; Heraclit. *Ep.* 9; Ael. *VH* 2.2; Burkert 2003b, 113-5. Name: Hdt. 3.70, 153, 160 and 7.82, 121; Th. 1.109.3; Bremmer 2004.

in the period between him and 190 BC, just as there may have been some changes in the Ephesian cult of Artemis after the take-over by the Persians? In any case, the mythical Attis did not rise to great prominence in Pessinous, since he is mentioned only once in local inscriptions and appears on coins only with the goddess and never just by himself.[91])

Even though we may now know a bit more about the protagonists of the cult, much remains obscure about the myth and the ritual. The myth apparently told of the miraculous birth of Agdistis, the birth of Attis, the amorous relationship between the two, the wedding with the daughter of the king, the castration of Attis and his father-in-law Gallus, and Attis' death. However, the exact Pessinuntine narration around 300 BC, if there was indeed an authoritative narration, is no longer recoverable. It is clear, though, that the myth made use of ancient Anatolian traditions and explained the relationship between Agdistis and Attis, which may well have been the model for the self-presentation of the Galli, the castration of the priests and, perhaps, the yearly festival in memory of Attis.

On the ritual level it is clear that we have to do with a festival and a priesthood, the Galli. The festival is recoverable only in outline, as we have only two early sources. The festival took place in spring, as it later did in Rome,[92]) and an important element was the mourning for Attis, apparently in front of an image of him.[93]) However, 'ritual logic' requires that lamentations are succeeded by rejoycings, just as in the later Roman ritual the setting up of the pine (22 March) and the *dies sanguinis* (23 March) were followed by the Hilaria (24 March). It is here that I would like to place the tree. Recent studies of Attis have stressed the absence of the pine in his Phrygian cult (above). Yet it is hard to imagine that the Romans would have invented the presence of the pine completely *ex nihilo*, the more so as pine cones are already attested in the Magna Mater's second-century (BC) shrine on the Palatine.[94]) And indeed,

91) Devreker & Waelkens 1984, 173-4, nos 1-4, 222 no. 25.

92) Scholion on Nic. *Al.* 8e; for the Roman evidence see the full bibliography in Lightfoot 2003, 500 note 2.

93) Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) *apud* D.S. 3.59.7; Scholion on Nic. *Al.* 8e.

94) Roller 1999, 279.

Pausanias' mention of an almond tree and the Greek name of the *dendrophori*, the central actors of the Roman ritual of the *Arbor intrat*,[95]) do suggest an Anatolian origin of the Roman pine. Now we know that a decorated tree was part of the Hittite New Year festival, the spring EZEN *purulliyaš*, as symbol of the blessings desired for the new year.[96]) As Dionysius' version of the Attis myth relates that the mourning was preceded by infertility of the land,[97]) we would expect that the ritual would end this desolate situation. The ritual of the tree, perhaps an almond tree, would well fit such a new beginning.

At the spring festival of Atargatis in Hierapolis, decorated tree-trunks also played a prominent role and it seems that during this festival the prospective Galli of Atargatis castrated themselves.[98]) Given this resemblance, it is hardly probable that there is not some connection between this festival and that of Attis in Pessinous, even though the historical lines are totally obscure. It may therefore well have been the case that prospective Galli also castrated themselves during Attis' festival in Pessinous.[99])

Burkert suggests connecting the name of the Galli, who were hierarchically structured,[100]) with the Mesopotamian *gallu*, who are Inanna's infernal retinue, and with that of the Babylonian *kalu*, the lamentation priests, by adducing the name *Kalaos* of Attis' father as given by Hermesianax.[101]) However, as the name of the Galli derived from the river, as we just saw, the name Kalaos is more likely a variant of Gallos than a trace of Babylonian priests who were not

95) See most recently Salamito 1987; Rubio Rivera 1993; Gordon 1997; Liertz 2001.

96) Haas 1994, 718 f.

97) Dionysius Scythobrachion (?) *apud* D.S. 3.59.7.

98) Burkert 1979, 137; Lightfoot 2003, 500-4.

99) For a detailed discussion of the nature of these castrations see Rousselle 1988, 122-8, who overlooked the probable eye-witness report by Aretaios, cf. Henrichs 1998, 56-7; note also the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 11.14.

100) This is also stressed by Thomas (1984, 1528). However, the term *archigallus* is not attested before the second century AD and clearly an imperial invention, see *TLL s.v. archigallus*; *TAM* III.1.267, 578, 619; Lambrechts & Bogaert 1969.

101) Burkert 1979, 111 and 198 note 20, who by mistake ascribes the name Kalaos to Timotheus.

castrated and thus lacked the most prominent aspect of the Galli.[102])

Although influence from Mesopotamia is not impossible,[103]) castration was reasonably popular in Anatolia itself, since it is also attested in the cult of Ephesian Artemis (above), of Hekate of Carian Lagina,[104]) and in the temple of the Galli in Phrygian Hierapolis (Strabo 13.4.14). Moreover, castration already plays a prominent role in the Hurrian *Kumarbi Cycle*, that inspired Zeus' swallowing of the phallus of the first cosmic king in the Derveni Papyrus (Col. XIII.4).[105]) It seems, then, preferable in this case to derive the practice from epichoric, perhaps originally Hurrian traditions. Phenomenologically, as Borgeaud has seen,[106]) the Galli belong to those transcultural groups of men who have given up their male sexuality in the service of religion, such as the American Berdaches and Indian Hijras.[107]) Their particular choice enables them to function in a male-dominated society where they perhaps might not have survived otherwise or not achieved the important function they evidently coveted.

4. *Attis' Arrival in Rome and the Poem of Catullus*

In 204 BC Kybele was introduced in Rome as *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* or, more shortly, *Mater Magna*—not *Magna Mater*, as even the most recent British history of Roman religion writes.[108]) The mention of Ida, the name of the Mother of the Gods, the *dendrophori* (§ 3), the Greek language of the cult songs (Servius on Verg. *G.* 2.394) and the iconography of the Roman votive figurines all support

102) Note also the persuasive criticism of Burkert's suggestion by Borgeaud (1996, 77 f.).

103) But note that, among the Assyrians, eunuchs were only very rarely attached to temples, cf. Grayson 1995; Deller 1999; Reade 2001.

104) *I. Stratonikeia* 513, 544, 1101.19.

105) Burkert 2003b, 99-100; Brisson 2003; for the Hittite original see most recently the discussion by García Trabazo (2002, 167).

106) Borgeaud 1996, 78-9; see also Burkert 1996, 47-51; for castration in antiquity in general, Muth 2001, 286 ff.

107) For these two categories see most recently: Roscoe 1998; Nanda 1999; Bremmer & van den Bosch 1999.

108) Beard *et al.* 1998, I.96; similarly, Morisi 1999, 81, cf. Wissowa 1912, 317-25; Ziegler 1969; add *I. Pessinus* 146: *Mêtêr Magnê*. For the introduction of the cult see most recently Graf 1985, 304-7; Bremmer & Horsfall 1987, 105-11 (by Bremmer); Gruen 1990, 5-33; Borgeaud 1996, 89-130.

Varro's notice that the goddess came from Pessinous via Pergamum,[109]) and not straight from Pessinous as most sources tell us.[110]) Although second-century terracotta votive figurines of Attis were found at the shrine of the Mater Magna on the Palatine,[111]) in the surviving literature his name appears for the very first time in Roman literature in Catullus 63.

Catullus wrote his poem at a time that was interested in the cult of Kybele and, occasionally, Attis. In the years 80-67 BC,[112]) Varro wrote about the cult of Kybele in his Menippean satires *Cycnus* (fr. 79 Cèbe), and *Eumenides* (fr. 132-43 Cèbe);[113]) somewhere between 80 and 45 BC, Laberius put on his mime *Galli* (Gellius 6.9.3), just at the time when Valerius Messalla Niger also mentioned the Attis myth (§ 3). In 57 and 56 BC Cicero paid much attention to the battle for the office of 'Attis' between Deiotarus and Brogitarus in Pessinous,[114]) exactly in the years that Catullus served in Bithynia under Memmius as propraetor: he may well have regularly heard about the affair.[115]) It is in this very same decade that Catullus' friend Caecilius wrote a poem about the *Dindymi domina*, as we know from Catullus' reaction (35.14) and that Lucretius published his *De rerum natura* with his picture of the cult of Kybele (2.600-60).[116]) It is attractive to date Catullus' poem, too, to these early years of the 50s, and see perhaps a connection with the struggle for the main office in Pessinous. Such a connection would explain why in his

109) Varro: *L.* 6.15, cf. Kuiper 1902. Pergamene influence: Roller 1999, 212, 278. Beard *et al.* (1998, I.96) goes too far in not even mentioning Pessinous.

110) D.S. 34.33.2; Strabo 12.5.3; V.Max. 8.15.3; Sil. 17.3; App. *Hann.* 56.233; Hdn. 1.11.1.

111) Roller 1999, 275-9, who thus refutes the objections raised by Lambrechts (1967, 3); Thomas 1984, 1506.

112) For the chronology see Zaffagno 1977, 208-12.

113) In his poem Catullus probably alluded to both satires. Cèbe (1975, 338) persuasively compares Varro's *tua templa ad alta fani properans citus itere* (*Cycnus* 79) with both Catullus' *agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul* (12) and *viridem citus adit Idam properante pede chorus* (30). Roper (1858, III.39) had already compared Varro's *apage in dierectum a domo nostra istam insanitatem* (*Eum.* 142) with Catullus' *procul a mea tuos sit furor omnis, era, domo: alios age incitatos, alios age rabidos* (92-3).

114) Cic. *Dom.* 60, 129; *Har.* 28; *Sest.* 57-9.

115) Curiously, Cairns (2003) does not mention our poem.

116) For Lucretius' picture see more recently Lacroix 1982; Jope 1985; Schmidt 1990, 113-25; Summers 1996; Craca 2000.

poem the chief, *duce me* (15) and *per nemora dux* (32), of the group of castrated Galli (17) is called Attis, as there is no Hellenistic example of the name in this capacity.

Catullus' Attis has received much attention over the years, but here we will limit ourselves to the religious aspects of Catullus' poem. Such a point of view is of course one-sided, but it may not be without interest, given the mainly literary attention over the years and the almost total lack of attention to the religious side of the poem in the more recent commentaries of Fordyce (1961), Quinn (1970), Thomson (1997) and Morisi (1999), in contrast to the older ones of Ellis (1889) and Kroll (^{2}1929).

The poem starts with the hurried voyage of Attis to the wooded mountain range of Ida (2-3, 30, 70).[117]) Attis is not introduced at all, but the central position of his name in the opening line and many others (27, 32, 42, 45, 88) leaves no doubt about his pre-eminent position within the poem.[118]) The choice of Ida is not evident and must have been motivated by the official Roman name of Kybele, *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* (above), and the Trojan descent of the Romans.[119]) The mention of fury (*stimulatus furenti rabie*, 4), a major theme in the poem,[120]) prepares the reader for Attis' instant castration with a flint (5),[121]) as they already did in Pessinous (Arnobius 6.11). However, from the first century onwards less 'manly' prospective members (*excusez le mot*) of the cult may also have used a knife.[122]) By this deed Attis lost his manhood and thus, in the logic of gen-

117) For the prologue see Fedeli 1979, I.149-60.

118) Means 1927, 101 f.

119) For the Roman association of Kybele with Ida and their interest in that mountain, see Lucr. 2.611; Verg. *A.* 9.617, 10.252 and Harrison *ad loc.*; Ov. *Fast.* 4.182; Liv. 29.10.5; Stat. *Theb.* 10.170. See further Nauta 2004a, 600, 622-5.

120) Note also *demens* (90), *furens* (4), *furibundus* (31, 54), *furor* (38, 78-9, 92), *rabidus* (38, 85, 93) and *rabies* (4, 44, 57). The theme is discussed by Syndikus (1990, 92), but overlooked in the useful enumerations of key themes by Elder (1947, 402-3) and Sandy (1968); Kroon 2004, 641-4 (this issue).

121) For this traditional usage of the flint or a pot sherd see Lucilius *Sat.* 7; Ov. *Fast.* 4.237; Plin. *Nat.* 35.165; Juv. 6.514; Mart. 3.81.3; Plut. *Nic.* 13.4; Min. Fel. 23.4, 24.12.

122) Pliny *Nat.* 35.165; Juv. 2.116, 6.514; Stat. *Theb.* 12.227; Mart. 2.45.2, 3.24.10 and 81.3, 9.2.14; Lact. *Inst.* 5.917; Manetho *Ap.* 5.179-80; Prud. *Perist.* 10.1081; Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 4.237; Sanders 1972, 1004. Philippus *AP* 6.94.5 (= 2724 GP) calls the knife σάγαρις with an evident allusion to the river Sangarios near Pessinous (§ 3).

der, had become a woman. The text signals this by both a change of gender to the feminine (8, 11, 14-5, etc.)[123]) and the use of the term Gallae (12), a device that Catullus had borrowed from a Hellenistic predecessor (below). Vergil followed suit and wrote *O vere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges* (*A.* 9.617), even though the Homeric model is hardly to be overlooked (*Il.* 2.235, 7.96); not surprisingly, then, the Galli are called *semiviri* by Varro and *semimares* by Ovid.[124])

At first Catullus leaves the identity of the object of his worship literally somewhat in the dark: *opaca . . . loca Deae* (3). However, the tambourine (8-9), the instrument *par excellence* of Kybele already in Greece (below), betrays the name of the goddess, although *Cybebe* (9) is a much more frequent variant of her name in Roman than in Greek poetry.[125]) Even closer to the world of Attis is her name *Dindymena domina* (13), an expression almost similar to the *Dindymi dominam* of Catullus' friend Caecilius (35.14) and perhaps a homage to him. In Latin, we find both Dindymon and Dindyma, which, curiously, is the same alternation between the singular and plural that we find between Kybel(l)on and Kybela (§ 3). It is her mountain that is the goal of Attis and his group.

However, we only occasionally hear of Galli worshipping Kybele in the mountains, whereas we know very well a group of women—and remember that we are talking here about 'women'—that regularly went into the mountains for cultic reasons, namely the Maenads. And they are exactly whom Catullus is referring to here; in fact, he even calls the mountains the area of the Maenads (23) and Attis' group a *thiasus* (27; similarly used in 64.254), the technical term for the Dionysiac group. This connection between the cults of Kybele and Dionysos is not new. It had already struck Strabo (10.3.12-6), who, probably via Apollodorus,[126]) provides us with some important testimonies for this development. This becomes already epigraphically visible in Olbia in the sixth century (*SEG* 48.1020), but in

123) For a brief discussion of the text-critical aspects of this change see Syndikus 1990, II.85.

124) *Semiviri*: Varro *Eum.* 140 Cèbe; Verg. *A.* 4.215, 12.97; Sen. *Ep.* 108.7; Sil. 17.20; Stat. *Ach.* 2.78; Mart. 3.91.1, 9.20.8. *Semimares*: Ov. *Fast.* 4.183.

125) *TLL s.v. Cybebe.* Cf. Nauta 2004a, 601 with n. 20.

126) Schwartz 1894.

literature it takes really off in Euripides after fleeting appearances in Aeschylus (F 57 Radt) and Pindar (fr. 70b.8-11 Maehler).[127]) Ptolemaeus Philopater was even called Gallos as he had himself tattooed with ivy (*EM* 220).

Given the *rapprochement* between Kybele and Dionysos, it is hardly surprising that scholars have drawn attention to the fact that in this epyllion Catullus draws on both Metroac and Dionysiac literature. An example of the combination is the Hellenistic fragment that served as the example for the term Gallae:

> Γάλλαι μητρὸς ὀρείης φιλόθυρσοι δρομάδες
> αἷς ἔντεα παταγεῖται καὶ χάλκεα κρόταλα[128])

It is clear that the Gallae and the Mountain Mother refer to Kybele, whereas the thyrsos was typical of Dionysos, just as παταγεῖν is attested only in a Maenadic context (Pratinas, *PGM* 708.2-3). 'Running', on the other hand, is suitable to both Galli (speed is a major theme in our poem)[129]) and Maenads,[130]) just like the castanets are attested for both Dionysos and Kybele.[131])

Recently, scholars have also pointed to the influence of the *Bacchae* and Theocritus 26, a poem with also a version of the *Bacchae*, in order to explain the structure of Catullus' poem.[132]) It is not surprising, then, that we can find at least three more examples of this influence. First, Attis calls his 'women' to the woods (12), the *Idalium frondosum* (64.96), just like the mountainous woods are the settings

127) See Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 1301-68; Dodds, Roux & Seaford on E. *Ba.* 78-9; Parker 1996, 189 note 134; Fedeli on Prop. 3.17.35-6; Lavecchia 2000, 141-4.

128) This anonymous fragment is quoted by Heph. 12.3 and was once thought to be by Callimachus (fr. dub. 761 Pfeiffer), cf. Mulroy 1976; Courtney 1985, 91; Harder 2004, 575-7 (this issue); Nauta 2004b (this issue).

129) Cf. *celer* (1), *celerare* (26), *citatus* (2, 8, 18, 26), *citus* (30, 42, 74), *excitus* (42), *incitatus* (93), *mora cedat* (19), *properante pede* (30), *properipedem* (34), *rapidus* (16, 34, 44) and *volitare* (25); Kroon 2004, 641-4.

130) E. *Ba.* 136, 748; note also E. *Ant.* F *22 Jouan-Van Looy = *Antiope* F 4 Diggle (= *POxy.* 3317).

131) Dionysos: E. *Cyc.* 205; Antipater, *AP* 9.603, 6 (= 597 GP). Kybele: *HHom.* 14.3; Pi. F 70b.10 Maehler; E. *Hel.* 1309.

132) Hutchinson 1988, 310-4; Perutelli 1996, 267-9; Morisi 1999, 92 (a good comparison of E. *Ba.* 152-67 with the beginning of the poem); Fantuzzi & Hunter 2002, 551-3. Also Harrison 2004, 522-5, 530-1 (this issue).

of the traditional Maenads.[133]) Secondly, his cry *agite ite ad alta nemora* (12), even if parodied by Vergil's Numanus Remulus as *ite per alta Dindyma* (*A.* 9.617-8), comes close to the traditional cry *eis oros, eis oros* that guided the Maenads to the mountains.[134]) And thirdly, the wanderings of the followers of Dionysos, "le dieu voyageur" as Jeanne Roux (on E. *Ba.* 13-20) calls him, are reflected in the wanderings of the *vaga pecora* (13) of Kybele,[135]) the *vaga cohors* (25), with their *citatis erroribus* (18) and *volitare* (25), a word that Catullus also uses for the wanderings of Dionysos.[136]) As Cicero (*Har.* 11.24) knew that *Matrem Magnam . . . agros et nemora cum quodam strepitu fremituque peragrare*, we may have here another convergence between the myths of Dionysos and the cult of Kybele, since the Galli more and more became "nomades qui vont de place publique en place publique".[137])

After the initial call, Attis now proceeds with a description of the nature of the woods, where again he combines the activities of the followers of Dionysos and Kybele (19-26). He first enumerates the typical musical instruments of Kybele,[138]) which are also found in the cult of Dionysos, such as the cymbal, tambourine (both instruments are often mentioned together)[139]) and the Phrygian *tibia*.[140])

133) *H.Dem.* 386; E. *Ba.* 218-9, 688, 876; Verg. *A.* 7.385, 387, 404, with Horsfall *ad loc.*

134) E. *Ba.* 116, 164, 986, cf. Bremmer 1984, 276-7; Riu 1999, 173-6; Morisi 1999, 84, who rightly compares the Maenadic ὀρειβασία; Mureddu 2000; Horsfall on Verg. *A.* 7.385.

135) Note that Accius *Ba.* F 1 Dangel uses *vagant* for the Maenads; Ov. *Fast.* 4.207.

136) Catul. 64.251-2: *volitabat Iacchus cum thiaso Satyrorum.*

137) Borgeaud 1996, 63 with a good discussion of the gradual 'nomadisation' of the Galli.

138) In general on Kybele's music: Graillot 1912, 257-8; Wille 1967, 56-60; Robert 1969, 1003-4.

139) Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 5.441.

140) Cymbal: A. F 57 with Radt *ad loc.*, but also note his second thoughts on the text of this fragment in Radt 2002, 441-4; *AP* 6.51.5 (3836 GP); Varro *Eum.* 132; Prop. 3.17.36; Ov. *Fast.* 4.189; Graillot 1912, 257-8. Tambourine: A. F 71 Radt; Pi. fr. 61 Maehler; E. *Hel.* 1346, *Ba.* 59, 124, 156, *Cyc.* 205, fr. 586 N^2; Diog. Ath. *TGF* 45 F 1; *AP* 6.51.8 (anon. 3839 GP), 217.5 ('Simonides' 3308 GP), 218.6 (Alcaeus 139 GP), 219.9 (Antipater 616 GP), 220.10 (Diosc. 1548 GP); Varro *Eum.* 140 and *Onos lyras* 358 Cèbe; Catul. 64.261; Lucr. 2.618-20; Prop. 3.17.33; Maec. fr. 5-6 Courtney; Ov. *Fast.* 4.183; Babrius 141.9; Vikela 2001, 90 (connection with Kubaba in Carchemish). *Tibia*: Diog. Ath. *TGF* 45 F 1; Call. F

The Romans did not like these instruments. Horace thinks the tambourine *saeva* (*Carm.* 1.18.13-4) and Ovid its sound *inanis* (*Fast.* 4.183); it was even associated with effeminacy.[141]) The sound of the cymbal *terret* (Ov. *Fast.* 4.190; V.Fl. 2.583) and is *rauca* (Prop. 3.17.36), like that of the flute (*rauco . . . buxo*: Sen. *Ag.* 689; *buxus circumsonat horrida cantu*: Claud. *De raptu Pros.* 2.269), and the horns are threatening with their *raucisono cantu* (Lucr. 2.619) and a *signum luctus* (Stat. *Theb.* 6.120-1). In short, this side of Kybele's cult evokes a picture of threatening, lugubrious cacophony rather than of harmonious and pleasant music.

Then he evokes the activities of the ivy-bearing Maenads who toss their heads in ecstasy (23), howl (24, 28; not Dionysiac, but again an unpleasant acoustic aspect of Kybele's rites), and swiftly wander about (above).[142]) This is the area where he and his followers should speed to with their *citatis tripudiis* (26). Fordyce (*ad loc.*) rightly points out that the *tripudium* belongs to the ritual of the Salii,[143]) but we should also note that the Salii were identified with the Kouretes (D.H. 2.70-1), whom Lucretius (2.631) represented as leaping about in the service of the Mater Magna; moreover, the term soon became associated with ecstatic dances.[144]) As jumps and whirling dances were also part of the Maenadic ritual, it is perhaps not surprising to find in Accius' *Bacchae* Dionysos (probably) *in Parnaso inter pinos tripudiantem in circulis* (F 4 Dangel).[145]) Once again we notice the merging of ecstatic techniques in both cults.

193.34ff Pfeiffer; Varro *Eum.* 139 Cèbe; Catul. 64.264; Lucr. 2.620; Tib. 2.1.86; Verg. *A.* 11.737; Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 689; Morisi 1999, 93.

141) M.W. Dickey 1985, 175; add Quint. 5.12.21.

142) Tossing of head in ecstatic cults: Graillot 1912, 304; Bremmer 1984, 278-9; add Varro *Eum.* 140 Cèbe; Lucr. 2.632; Maec. fr. 5-6 Courtney; Tac. *Ann.* 11.31; Quint. 11.3.71; Servius auct. on Verg. *A.* 10.22. Howling: Verg. *A.* 7.395; Ov. *Fast.* 4.186, 341, *Ars* 1.508, *Tr.* 4.1.42; Maec. fr. 5-6 Courtney; Luc. 1.567; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.87-8; Mart. 5.41.3; Firm. *Err.* 3.3; Claud. *De raptu Pros.* 2.269, *Eutrop.* 2.302; Servius auct. on Verg. *A.* 10.22; note also the *absonis ululatibus* of the followers of the Dea Syria in Apul. *Met.* 8.27.

143) Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.27; Liv. 1.20.4; Plu. *Num.* 13; Festus 334L.

144) Ov. *Fast.* 6.330; Apul. *Met.* 8.27; for the ecstatic dances of Kybele's worshippers see also Pachis 1996.

145) See Bremmer 1984, 279 (whirling dances; add Welcker's comparison between maenads and derwishes as discussed by Henrichs 1986, 222), 280 (jumps). For Accius and Euripides see Mariotti 1965.

It is no wonder that the group got out of breath and became exhausted when they finally reached the *domum Cybebes* (35), their goal (20). The term *domus* is probably indicative of a Greek background, since *oikos* is a well-known Greek term for a more private 'sanctuary'.[146]) They collapsed and fell asleep *sine Cerere* (36), a sign of their exhaustion rather than a reference to the required abstinence of bread in later times.[147]) Once again the best parallel for such a collapse is found in Maenadic ritual. Euripides' *Bacchae* already noted 'welcome in the mountains whosoever from the running *thiasoi* falls to the ground' (135-7) and described their sleep from exhaustion (683).[148]) And indeed, just like the members of Attis' *thiasus*, Maenads also fall on the ground from exhaustion. Plutarch, who had access to the female leader of the Delphic Maenads, the Thyiads, relates that about 353 BC they once had been so exhausted from their dancing on the mountains that they had fallen asleep in the agora of Amphissa.[149]) Apparently, such scenes appealed to the Romans, since not only Catullus, but also Propertius (1.3.5-6) and Ovid (*Am.* 1.14.21-2) briefly sketched the exhausted Maenads.[150])

When Attis wakes up from his sleep, he has also woken up from his fascination for the Mater Magna; the critical moment receives special attention through Catullus' spending four lines on the rising of the sun that symbolizes Attis seeing the light (39-43).[151]) His thoughts now focus on his fatherland that he will never see again. The address to the *patria* (50) was a Roman device when the place had not been previously specified,[152]) but the qualifications *creatrix* and *genetrix* of the fatherland are rather ironic here and focus attention on the fact that Attis himself would never be able to sire an

146) Henrichs 1976, 278.

147) *Contra* Weinreich 1973, 526: "Aber das kann ja rationalistische Umwandlung der in der Vorlage versteckt angedeutenden kultischen νηστεία sein" (farfetched and the more so as we do not have the *Vorlage*); Ellis *ad loc.*, who compares Arnob. 5.16; Lancellotti 2002, 88, who sees it as expressing "the dialectical opposition between these two goddesses" (i.e. Kybele and Ceres).

148) For a probable parallel note also Chaeremon *TGF* 71 F 14.

149) For the episode and its representation by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema see Bremmer 1984, 274; add Henrichs 1994, 51-6.

150) Leo 1891, 49.

151) For this part of the poem see especially Fedeli 1977.

152) E. Dickey 2002, 300.

offspring. He now contrasts his elevated social position from before with his new low status in the cult of Kybele. Will he end up as a *Cybeles famula* (68)? A *famulus* is the property of a *dominus* or *domina*, and Varro (*Res div.* 16, fr. 269 Cardauns) already knew *Dominam proprie Matrem deum dici*, just as our source for this fragment, Serv. auct. on Verg. *A.* 3.113, observes: *hanc eandem Eram appellari, hoc est Dominam tradunt.*[153]) Indeed, Kybele was often called Despoina or Kyria in Greece, and *Domina* must be the translation of this Greek title;[154]) it would fit this particular title that *famulus* was particularly used in relation to the followers of the Mater Magna.[155]) However, in our poem, the 'slaves' do not address Kybele as *domina*, which would be against Latin usage, but as *era* (18), which is the typical term of address of slaves to their owner.[156]) The term *famula* is also one more testimony to the development in Hellenistic times where cults started to flourish in which the worshippers saw themselves as the slaves of their autocratic divinities. This development is visible even in the New Testament, where Paul regularly calls himself a 'slave of God' (*Romans* 1.1, etc.).[157]) Attis continues with wondering 'Will I be a Maenad, I only part of myself, I an infertile man?'[158]) Once again we are struck by the merging of the Dionysiac and Metroac. Evidently, it made little difference whether one was a Maenad or a Gallus.

The result of all this soul-searching is that Attis already feels regret about his life choice: *iam iamque paenitet* (73). Such a regret naturally came *geminas deae . . . ad aures* (75), the more so as Kybele/Agdistis was also a goddess *epêkoos*,[159]) and the poem closes with a funny variant on a theme often treated in the *Greek Anthology*, namely the meeting of a Gallus with a lion, in which the Gallus chased away the lion with the tambourine.[160]) In the version by Alcaeus

153) Note that neither Thilo nor Cardauns capitalizes here.

154) See the learned study by Henrichs (1976).

155) Varro *Eum.* 140 Cèbe; Cicero *Leg.* 2.22; Liv. 37.9.9; Germ. 38; V.Fl. 3.19-20.

156) For the usage of *domina* and *era* see E. Dickey 2002, 77-99 and 2001.

157) This aspect was already seen by Weinreich (1973, 527), but put in a wider Hellenistic context by Pleket (1981) (although overlooking Weinreich); Versnel 1990, 90-1; Lightfoot 2003, 538.

158) For the frequent repetition of *ego* see Granarolo 1978.

159) Weinreich 1969, 135, 147.

160) *AP* 6.217 ('Simonides' 3304-13 GP), 6.218 (Alcaeus 134-43 GP), 6.219

(*AP* 6.218 = 134-43 GP) the Gallus even converts, so to speak, the lion, which starts to dance as a follower of Kybele. From the very beginning of her representations, Kybele had been connected with lions. Dionysius Scythobrachion's (?) closing statement about the positioning of lions and panthers next to her statue (§ 3) is one more testimony to the merging of the Dionysiac and Metroac, since panthers are never associated with Kybele but typical of Dionysos.[161]) In Catullus' case, though, he reversed the usual theme and let the outcome be that the lion effected that Attis *omne vitae spatium famula fuit* (90).[162])

In his closing prayer Catullus one more time mentions the *furor* of the *era* (92), but with a typical Roman *epipompê* he prays that this fury may pass to others.[163]) Kybele might be a powerful goddess, but Catullus preferred to stay outside her sphere of influence. Some editors (Mynors 1958 = Fordyce 1961, Quinn 1970, Goold 1983) print the first line of this prayer (91) as *dea, magna dea, Cybebe, dea domina Dindymi* (Goold with an additional comma after the third *dea*), but this presents a wrong combination (*magna dea* instead of *dea magna*)[164]) and disturbs the *tricolon crescendo* and anaphora, which are typical of ancient prayer.[165]) So the line should be punctuated as *dea magna, dea Cybebe, dea domina Dindymi* (with e.g. Thomson 1997, Morisi 1999, as well as Harrison in this issue).

5. *Concluding Observations*

Catullus' poem, then, has no reference to the mythical Attis, just as Attis or Attes as a personal name is not attested in Rome before the first century AD,[166]) when his name gradually becomes more

(Antipater 608-31 GP), 6.220 (Diosc. 1539-54 GP), cf. Gow 1960; Fedeli 1981; Courtney 1985, 88-91; Gall 1999. Also Harder 2004, 577-9.

161) Lions: Simon 1997, passim. Panthers: Gasparri 1986, 461 nos 430-4.

162) For a clever, if perhaps not totally persuasive, attempt in interpreting the behaviour of the lion as reflecting that of the Galli, cf. Shipton 1986. See also Nauta 2004a, 607-8.

163) For the type of prayer see E. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1573 and Fraenkel 1957, 410-1; Weinreich 1973, 517-21 and 1979, 156-84; Versnel 1981, 18-21.

164) Cf. Prop. 3.17.35: *dea magna Cybebe* and p. 557 with n. 108 on Mater Magna instead of the usual Magna Mater.

165) Weinreich 1973, 516-8.

166) Solin 1982, I.372 and 1996, II.300.

frequent in the poets. Evidently, Attis was not a major cultic or mythical figure in Republican Rome.

In his major analysis of the poem from the religious point of view, Otto Weinreich made a very modern observation. According to him, we should look at the poem from the perspective of the psychology of religion, and suggested that we have to do here with a "radikaler *Fall von religiöser Bekehrung*" (his italics).[167]) Weinreich had clearly been influenced in this view by the recent appearance of Nock's classical study on conversion.[168]) However, it is clear that conversion is not Catullus' focus. On the contrary, he pays no attention at all to the process that led to Attis' entry into Kybele's service. Admittedly, he does provide us with a fairly detailed description of the activities of Kybele's followers, but, as we have seen, in this description Catullus hardly distinguishes between the cults of Kybele and Dionysos. This seems to suggest a Greek literary model, since the two cults developed in rather different directions in the Roman world.[169])

What must have also struck the Roman reader is Catullus' stress on the elevated social status of Attis. Both the mention of the gymnasium (60-4) and the hint at his male lovers (64-6) show that Attis is represented as belonging to the *jeunesse dorée* of his town. This went of course totally against the ruling ideas of Catullus' time. Roman citizens and even slaves were forbidden to join the cult,[170]) just as it was forbidden to Roman citizens and slaves to castrate themselves. In 77 BC the Roman consul Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus even reversed an earlier judgment that a Roman citizen turned Gallus could inherit: such a person, after all, was neither man nor woman.[171]) One cannot escape therefore the thought that this part too came from a Greek model, although we need not agree with

167) Weinreich 1973, 490. Note also that he approvingly quotes Frazer 1914, 270 note 2, that "als Schilderung eines Menschenschicksals" the poem "gains greatly in force and pathos. The real sorrows of our fellow-men touch us more nearly than the imaginary pangs of the gods", of which he will have hardly missed the anti-Christian tenor.

168) Nock 1933.

169) For the development of the Dionysiac cult in Hellenistic times see Burkert 1993b.

170) D.H. 2.19.5; V.Max. 7.7.6; Jul. Obseq. 104.

171) V.Max. 7.7.6; Jul. Obseq. 44; *Dig.* 48.8.4.2.

Weinreich that Catullus when writing these lines was thinking about a "Fahnenflucht aus dem Vaterland" or an "Exil in der Welt des orientalisch-weibischen Wesens".[172])

As we have already seen, the last part about the lion is equally a variation on a Hellenistic theme. This surely refutes Wiseman's unwise suggestion that the poem was meant as a hymn for the Roman Megalesia.[173]) One may also wonder whether the Roman population at large would have appreciated a hymn on a youth, whom everybody would associate with passive homosexuality,[174]) with awful music (§ 4) and that was written in the 'weakly effeminate galliambus'.[175]) The poem, then, drew on Hellenistic model or models,[176]) even if the 'quote' from Accius shows that Roman models should not be overlooked either. The fact that Varro in his *Onos lyras* (358 Cèbe) had also mentioned the anecdote of the lion and the Gallus indicates that the anecdote exerted a certain fascination not only on the Hellenistic, but also on the Roman public. In his own variation, Catullus seems to have played with the lion theme in at least three different ways. First, he incorporated the theme into a larger poem, whereas his Hellenistic predecessors had focused their poems on the theme only; Varro may in this respect have shown the way. Secondly, Catullus reverses the theme by letting the lion be the winner. And thirdly, in the Hellenistic anecdotes the event is related by the poet, who does not display any involvement in the cult of Kybele. In Catullus' poem, though, the storyteller immediately proceeds with what the commentaries (Fordyce, Quinn) call a 'concluding prayer'. This prayer starts with a most solemn invocation of Kybele (91) but also presents the poet indirectly as a slave of the goddess by addressing her, "servilely and

172) Weinreich 1973, 522 (written in 1936!). For Weinreich's political sympathies see Cancik 1982.

173) *Contra* Wiseman 1985, 198-206. The interpretation is also rejected by Hutchinson (1988, 314 note 74), by Fantuzzi & Hunter (2002, 551 note 74) and by Nauta 2004a, 609.

174) As appears from Martial's use of the name Dindymus, cf. Obermayer 1998, 69-73.

175) Mart. 2.86.5: *mollem debilitate galliambon*, tr. Shackleton-Bailey, Loeb; see also Quint. 9.4.6. For the most recent analysis of this metre see Morisi 1999, 49-56.

176) For this background see most recently Shipton 1987, 444-9 and, if hardly advancing our knowledge of this aspect, Lefèvre 1998, 308-28.

abjectly",[177]) as *era* (92). In other words, in the end the poet presents himself, rather tongue in cheek,[178]) as a worshipper of the goddess, but as one who would rather do without the most characteristic quality of a follower of the goddess, that is, the loss of his manhood. Catullus, then, ate his cake and had it. He praised the powers of the goddess but wisely wanted to keep her as far away from himself as possible. Is that not the best attitude for any male student of Kybele and, especially, Attis?[179])

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177) Dickey 2002, 80 note 9.

178) The humorous side of the poem is stressed (exaggerated?) by Holzberg (2002, 126-32).

179) For comments and corrections of my English I am most grateful to Stephen Harrison, Theo van den Hout, Ruurd Nauta and, especially, Nicholas Horsfall.

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HOLDING HANDS IN THE *ARGONAUTICA*

Abstract: Apollonius thematically uses and develops three hand gestures familiar from earlier Greek art and literature. Lightly touching the fingers accompanies requests, grasping the right wrist or hand reinforces sexual dominance, and firmly taking the hand supports a promise of help made from a superior position. Often these gestures support the primary sense of an encounter, but in several important episodes, especially the meeting of Jason and Medea at the temple of Hecate, they undercut or complicate the dominant understanding of the relationship between the characters.

Gestures and body language are prominent in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, although the critical attention paid them rarely goes beyond the convenient label, "Alexandrian realism".[1] If we pay closer attention, however, it becomes clear that Apollonius has a developed system of gestures that he employs consistently throughout the poem. In this paper I focus on three gestures that appear with particular prominence. First, characters that wish to, or in fact do make a request of a more powerful character reinforce their request by touching the hand or fingers of their potential benefactor. Second, sexually aggressive characters demonstrate their dominance by grasping the right hand or wrist of their desired objects in a fashion familiar from earlier Greek art and literature. Finally, characters in a position to offer aid to less powerful or less fortunate characters cement their superior position by firmly taking the hand of their dependent. Normally Apollonius uses these gestures to reinforce the denotational sense of each scene, but in the second half of the poem, after the system has been established, several scenes appear where the gestures undercut the most obvious power relationships. This pattern of allusion followed by variation is consistent with Apollonius' technique on other levels; an excellent parallel can be seen in Fantuzzi's distinction between first uses and re-uses of archaic or Homeric phrases. The first occurrence is an allusion to a specific context in the earlier epics, but later occurrences allude to previous passages in the *Argonautica*.[2]

[1] Beye (1969) 49 and Zanker (1987) 66–71 concentrate on "pictorial realism"; Hunter (1989) 25 n. 107 questions the idea of "realism" here, but has not provoked any subsequent interest in the area.

[2] Fantuzzi (2001) 186–92.

Systems of gestures have been explored more thoroughly in Homer[3] and tragedy,[4] so that it is not necessary to argue again their relevance to ancient literature, but a brief discussion of those treatments will help place Apollonius' practice in a larger context. Lateiner's seminal study of body language in Homer goes a long way toward completing a taxonomy of nonverbal communication in Homer, and his emphases on heroic competitiveness and aristocratic reciprocity remind us again that Apollonius rejects these (archaic) heroic ideals in his Alexandrian epic. The scope of this discussion is much more limited, focusing on a small subsystem of gestures, and, since Apollonius' techniques are not as well understood, it is necessary to spend more time in explication of the text. Nevertheless, Lateiner's key insights are directly applicable to Apollonius as well as Homer: The poet's selection of key gestures out of the continuum of body language is by definition significant, and the poet is capable of deploying gestures that undercut or contradict the assertions of characters or even the narrator.[5] Kaimio's treatment of stage conventions in tragedy provides another excellent comparison. Again, gestures that emphasize equality, such as hand taking in greeting, taking leave, and especially agreement are far more prominent in tragedy than in Apollonius, and erotic gestures such as matrimonial wrist seizing are virtually absent in tragedy, but abundant in Apollonius.[6] This contrast, as we will see, appears to reflect a broader cultural trend from a hoplite ideology of cooperation to an imperial concern for hierarchy and order.

1.

The first gesture that Apollonius uses prominently is that of touching, or in our first example kissing, the hand or fingers of a second character to reinforce a request. This is not the same as the formal supplication by touching the knees or chin, which is performed several times in the *Argonautica*, but is used between characters of relatively good relations to reestablish an understood hierarchy, which has been tested or temporarily overturned. Apollonius' differentiation of the finger-touching gesture from formal supplication by touching the knees or chin may be his own innovation, but it is easily comprehended by the larger continuum of supplication gestures in Greek literature and art. It is clear that touching the fingers is

[3] Lateiner (1995). Bremmer (1992) provides a brief overview of gesture throughout Greek culture.

[4] Kaimio (1988); Herman (1987) 41–58 specifically on gestures in supplication; and Kosak (1999) specifically on Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.

[5] Lateiner (1995), esp. 19–29.

[6] Kaimio (1988) 26–34.

always available as a form of supplication. In Homer it occurs once, in Priam's supplication of Achilles (*Il.* 24.477–9).[7] The precise implication of the gesture *per se* in this scene is perhaps impossible to recover. Rather, Priam's kiss of Achilles hands is determined by the poetic needs to juxtapose Achilles' "manslaying hands" (*Il.* 24.479) with the father of "manslaying Hector" (11x in the *Iliad*), and to emphasize Priam's paradoxical role.[8] In Euripides touching the hand is used as the first step in a formal supplication (*Hipp.* 325)[9] and as dramatic shorthand for it (*Med.* 339).[10] In two cases, the rejection of the hand signals the failure of the supplication (*Hipp.* 605; *HF* 968–9).[11] In each of these cases, the suppliants are also making a vigorous vocal appeal, and their grasp is described in language that implies physical as well as moral force.[12] It seems clear, therefore, that there is no distinction in Euripides between supplication by hand or more formally by touching the knees or chin.[13] In Greek art, supplication is often shown by touching the hand or hands, along side of touching the chin, and in exclusion of touching the knees.[14] Apollonius also depicts formal supplications (3.705–6, 987–9; 4.81–2, 693–703, 1012–14, 1053–4), where the suppliants touch their protectors' knees and present their case as a matter of life and death.[15] As we will see, touching the fingers in Apollonius is a much less formal gesture, whose origins lie in literary treatments of "supplication", but appears here more broadly as "accompanying a request".[16] Thus, its general significance would be easily recognized, but the Alexandrian poet will play with that recognition in his subtle and ironic manner.

The meeting of Jason and Iphias as the former processes from his home to the launching of the Argo demonstrates how Apollonius

[7] Gould (1973) 77.

[8] That is, the rich man supplicates the murderer in his own land, whereas the usual situation is that the murderer supplicates the rich man in a foreign land, as in the simile *Il.* 24 480–2; so Richardson (1993) 322–4, who also suggests that the gesture "defuses" the power of Achilles' hands. See also MacLeod (1982) 126.

[9] τί δρᾷς; βιάζῃ, χειρὸς ἐξαρτωμένη, followed by the Nurse in the next line: καὶ σῶν γε γονάτων.

[10] τί δ' αὖ βιάζῃ κοὐκ ἀπαλλάσσῃ χερός;

[11] *Hippolytus:* ναί, πρός σε τῆσδε δεξιᾶς εὐωλένου. Hippolytus rejects the nurse's advances, and she then repeats the supplication with γονάτων (607) in place of the hand, which is also rejected. *Heracles:* ὁ δέ νιν Εὐρυσθέως δοκῶν | πατέρα προταρβοῦνθ' ἱκέσιον ψαύειν χερὸς | ὠθεῖ.... The χερός belongs to Heracles, which the "Father of Eurystheus" is trying to touch.

[12] See notes 9–11, especially βιάζῃ.

[13] Kaimio (1988) 49–53 has a full discussion of these passages.

[14] Neumann (1965) 67.

[15] Plantinga (2000) 105–28 discusses the literary qualities of each of these and other figurative (verbal only) supplications in the *Argonautica*.

[16] One passage in Euripides seems to refer to this same gesture: πάσης δεξιᾶς προσθιγγάνων (*IA* 339)—Menelaus is describing Agamemnon's efforts at canvassing support for his leadership of the expedition.

uses this gesture to reinforce the primary sense of the scene. This scene is one of the few in which Jason is depicted in an unquestionably heroic fashion: He has just shown fortitude in the face of his parents' laments (1.292–305), he is compared to Apollo leaving one of his temples (1.307–9), and the crowd cheers him on (1.310–11). The meeting with Iphias reinforces these heroic images. Just as Jason has left his aged parents, Iphias' age is emphasized (γεραιή 1.311, 315). As Jason is compared to Apollo, Iphias is said to be the priestess of Artemis (1.312). Again, as Jason is seen and encouraged, Iphias is ignored and unacknowledged (1.314–15). Iphias' gesture, kissing Jason's hand, repeats these oppositions in a compressed but visually effective way. Jason must be imagined as physically above Iphias; he must be in motion and she is left standing still; and he is successful in reaching the Argo, while her desire to speak is unfulfilled. These oppositions, enacted by the gesture, mark Jason as "heroic" (tall, efficient, and successful), and, on the simple, narrative level, this is Iphias' function.

On other levels, however, Apollonius is also problematizing Jason's heroism. When Priam employs the gesture on Achilles' manslaying hands, every nuance is given weight by the 15,000 lines of the *Iliad* that precede this moment: the history of the epithet ἀνδρόφονος, the consistent failure of earlier supplications, and Achilles' ongoing refusal to take part in the ritual and social life even within the Greek camp.[17] When Iphias employs the gesture, nothing has yet happened in the *Argonautica* for the gesture to acquire meaning from. Therefore, as often in Apollonius, it must rely on other texts for its significance, in this case the *Iliad*. Therefore, the gesture acquires a second, readerly, function of enacting the disjunction between the Alexandrian present and the Hellenic past. Old Iphias is unable to speak to young Jason as the heroic past is unable to speak to the cosmopolitan present. The *Iliad* can provide the form for Jason's Achillean aspirations, but not the content.[18] The gesture within the *Argonautica* clearly points to Jason and his heroic stature, as Iphias is lost in the crowd, but, at the same time, it underlines that Iphias is not Priam and Jason is not Achilles.

A number of other similar scenes show that this finger-touching gesture is used consistently by Apollonius. Later in Book 1, when Jason is determined to leave Lemnos, Hypsipyle asks him to return after his quest and touches his hands in a similar way (χεῖρας ἑλοῦσα

[17] MacLeod (1982) 15–16.

[18] There is, of course, additional irony in the fact that Apollonius repeatedly emphasizes that Homer wrote the "sequels" for the *Argonautica*: the Argonauts are the fathers of the Homeric heroes, as when Chiron holds up baby Achilles for Peleus to see (1.553–8). For more on the aesthetic of discontinuity, see below.

| Αἰσονίδεω 1.885–6).[19] Again at the end of Book 1, when Telamon is convinced not to search for Heracles, he asks for Jason's pardon with the same touching gesture (χεῖρα δὲ χειρί | ἄκρην ἀμφιβαλὼν 1.1330–1). Finally, when Thetis relays Hera's instructions for crossing the Planctae to Peleus, she also begins with the same gesture (ὀρεξαμένη χερὸς ἄκρης 4.852). In the last two examples Apollonius' language is particularly effective, so that it becomes clear that the gesture is made by touching the fingers lightly (χεῖρα/χερὸς ἄκρην/-ς), rather than a more confident gesture, such as shaking the hand. More importantly, however, we can see that the gesture is used to reestablish the "correct" hierarchy in each of these cases. At the end of the Lemnian episode Jason steps back into his heroic position as leader of the expedition, finally taking charge of his relationship with Hypsipyle.[20] Telamon had questioned Jason's leadership and nearly taken charge of the Argo himself, but here, after Glaucus' warning, retreats to his inferior position below Jason. Finally, Thetis, however briefly, reconciles herself to her position as Peleus' wife for the first time since she left him (Apollonius, however, complicates any simple reading of Thetis' gesture here; see further below).

We have, then, a group of very similar gestures involving touching (or kissing) the (right) hand. There are also a group of contextual similarities tied to this group of gestures: In each case the character employing the gesture speaks (or tries to speak in the case of Iphias) to the second character, in most cases making a request. In each case the character employing the gesture is literally or figuratively "lower" than the second character. Telamon is subordinating himself to Jason, Hypsipyle asks for Jason's instructions, and Thetis must come up from the water to address Peleus.[21] In the case of Hypsipyle, we

[19] Fränkel (1968) 117 perhaps considers this a gesture of parting ("noch ein Mal die Hand zu drücken"), though he is referring to all the Lemnian women (χερσὶ ... ἐδεικανόωντο 1.884), and it is likely that *touching* is not involved in 1.884 at all, cf. *Il.* 15.86. Still, it is possible that we should consider this a gesture of parting, and that, at any rate, is impossible to disprove. Kaimio (1988) 28 identifies only three examples of parting gestures in tragedy (E. *Med.* 1069–75; *Hec.* 409–24; and fr. 362.32–4); in each of these cases the gesture is a handshake, and in the first two, Kaimio suggests, it develops into an embrace. In Homer perhaps the closest is *Il.* 6.406 ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί, with Andromache holding Hector's hand (also *Il.* 6.253, similarly 12 x *Il.*, 21 x *Od.*). Lateiner (1995) 57 n. 48 considers this a gendered act (i.e. "clinging"), primarily enacting the participants' hierarchy, rather than their affection. Kirk (1990) 195 understands "embraced him closely" here and "took a firm grasp" at *Od.* 2.302 and 321. Again, it is impossible to be conclusive, but χεῖρας ἑλοῦσα seems to me closer to "clinging" (acknowledging Jason's superiority) than to "bidding farewell" (in mutual affection).

[20] See previous note and below.

[21] It is not clear whether Apollonius pictures Thetis leaving the sea or only appearing from it: she comes to the Aeaean shore, where the Argonauts are by the ship, and dives back into the depths (4.850–1, 865). I suspect that Apollonius is alluding to or allowing for a rationalizing interpretation in which Thetis *is* the sea, as seems to be the case with Galatea in Theocritus *Id.* 11; cf. Hunter (1999) 215–16.

may suspect that the gesture implies affection as well, although this is probably reversed in the case of Thetis, since she parts with a threat (4.863–4), and such a connotation would be out of place with Iphias and Telamon.

Within this set of similar gestures with similar connotations, whose common thread is that the touching character is about to make a request, we can see Apollonius combining further gestures and implications quite subtly in the first meeting of Jason and Hypsipyle. In contrast to the earlier scene with Iphias, here Jason is shown as decidedly unheroic, as Hypsipyle dominates the relationship and Heracles must recall him to the quest for the fleece. Apollonius again deploys the finger-touching gesture (among others) to reinforce the ambiguity of Jason's position. Jason's (sexual) submissiveness is marked in a number of ways. On his initial journey into the city, Jason falls under the erotic gaze of the Lemnian women, but pointedly fails to overcome or even meet their looks:

> ὁ δ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς ὄμματ' ἐρείσας
> νίσσετ' ἀπηλεγέως
>
> but he kept his eyes on the ground
> and went without noticing
> 1.784–5

Hypsipyle's body language is similarly reserved at first (1.790–1), but it is she who addresses him (ἔμπα...αἰδομένη 1.791–2), and her first words only thinly veil her sexual availability:

> Ξεῖνε, τίη μίμνοντες ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔκτοθι πύργων
> ἧσθ' αὕτως; ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι ναίεται ἄστυ...
>
> Stranger, why do you wait so long outside the towers
> and sit by yourselves? The city is not inhabited by our
> husbands...
> 1.793–4

In the general reversal of gender roles, Hypsipyle's feminine "gates" (πύλαι) have been exchanged for masculine "towers" (πύργοι).[22] In such a charged erotic atmosphere, Jason might be expected to grasp Hypsipyle's wrist in the gesture of marriage (see below), but instead he touches her fingers as an inferior making a request (δεξιτερῆς χειρὸς θίγεν 1.842).

There are clearly a number of layers of significance to this gesture. First, the specification of her *right* hand is an allusion to the

[22]πύργοι in the plural also means "city walls", cf. LSJ ad loc., and Hunter (1993a) 22 translates it so, but the word was certainly chosen for its sexual symbolism also.

marriage gesture, where Apollonius regularly emphasizes this dexterity.[23] This allusion, of course, reinforces the fact that Jason does *not* employ the marriage gesture, but the requesting gesture, which supports the primary interpretation of the scene as stressing Jason's naïveté at this point in the journey. Despite Jason's erotic arming scene (1.721–73), he approaches Hypsipyle as an exile, not a lover.[24] Furthermore, as if any action on Jason's part could seem too assertive for his role in this scene, Apollonius has him quickly retract his hand (αἶψα δ' ὀπίσσω 1.842) and return to the ship.[25] Here then, as in the case of Iphias and the others, the hand-touching gesture supports the dominant hierarchy already implicit in the episode.

2.

The marriage gesture, mentioned already in the previous section, is the most widely used (hand) gesture in the *Argonautica* and already carries a more impressive pedigree than the hand-touching gesture treated above. The marriage gesture, χεῖρ' ἐπὶ κάρπῳ, is widely recognizable throughout the Greek world in literature, art and ritual. It occurs first in the *Odyssey*[26] and appears in tragedy, though not prominently.[27] The gesture appears far more clearly in art. Here it is well documented from geometric to Roman imperial art, between gods, heroes and mortals.[28] It is agreed that the gesture also played an important role in Greek weddings. It occurred near the end of the ceremony, immediately after the bride's unveiling, and symbolized her incorporation into the groom's household.[29] Moreover, the gesture was sufficiently recognizable so that it could be used in art and literature outside of its ritual function in the marriage ceremony. Already in the *Odyssey* it is not used in a marriage, but in Penelope's recollection of Odysseus' departing instructions, reinforcing her fidelity. In his discussion of the gesture in Greek art, Jenkins notes that Heracles' apotheosis, Briseis relegation, Aethra's rescue, Helen's abduction and Thetis' marriage all employ the same ges-

[23] See below. The mention of the right hand is certainly not conclusive, as the right hand was also specified with Iphias (1.313), but as it is often used of the marriage gesture in Apollonius, and as Jason and Hypsipyle do form a liaison, it seems impossible to deny that it adds this nuance to this scene.

[24] In his classic study Lawall (1966) 150–1 understands the episode as Jason's "education" in the power of love.

[25] αἶψα δ' ὀπίσσω perhaps strictly refers to Jason's return to the ship, but since it directly follows θίγεν it is hard not to understand it also as referring to his hand.

[26] *Od.* 18.258, not enacting a marriage, but between Odysseus and Penelope; cf. Lateiner (1995) 71 n. 10.

[27] E. *Alc.* 375–6, 1113–15.

[28] Mylonas (1945) 563–7; Neumann (1965) 59–66; Sutton (1981) 181–4.

[29] Mylonas (1945) 564; Redfield (1982) 192 discusses its symbolic appropriateness.

ture.[30] Sourvinou-Inwood discusses the tendency of the gesture to move from marriage to abduction and rape in the fifth century.[31] Boegehold takes a very broad view of the gesture, suggesting that it generally conveys control, but its precise nuance must be taken from the context.[32] Given the ubiquity of this image, therefore, it will not be surprising that Apollonius varies the gesture already in its first appearances, and perhaps even calls attention to its absence. Apollonius' avoidance of formulaic language to describe the gesture (e.g. χεῖρ' ἐπὶ κάρπῳ) is in itself typical of the Alexandrian poet's usage, but is certainly not an obstacle here, where similar ambiguity is tolerated already in Euripides.[33]

The examples of the marriage gesture, with the right hand grasping the right wrist, display the variety and reversals we expect from this Alexandrian epic. Apollonius' vocabulary is not consistent, but the terms he uses for this gesture are largely much stronger or more violent than those used for the touching gesture. First, when the nymph abducts Hylas, she "drags" or "snatches" his elbow (δεξιτερῇ δὲ | ἀγκῶν' ἔσπασε χειρί 1.1238–9).[34] The genders are reversed, but the gesture is clearly recognizable, and, if there was any doubt of the significance, the authoritative Glaucus provides the correct interpretation a few lines later, saying that the nymph has made Hylas her "husband" (πόσιν 1.1324). In Book 4, when Jason agrees to take Medea with him and swears to marry her when he returns to Greece, he "fastens" their right hands together (χεῖρα παρασχεδὸν ἥραρε χειρὶ | δεξιτερήν 4.99–100).[35] When Medea is cast out by Circe, Jason again "holds" her hand (χειρὸς ἐπισχόμενος 4.751). The gesture again supports the sense of the scene, as Circe's primary objection to Medea is that she "married" (ἀείραο 4.746) Jason without Aeetes' permission.[36] Finally, when Medea is about to destroy Talus, Jason seizes her, now his wife, by the hand and leads her to the prow of the ship (χειρὸς δέ ἑ χειρὶ μεμαρπώς 4.1663). As Paduano argues, this scene is the final induction of Medea into the community of the Argonauts, so the marriage gesture is again very appropriate.[37] We can see, therefore, that Apollonius conscientiously deploys the marriage gesture, is capable of using it innovatively, as in the case of Hylas,

[30] Jenkins (1983) 138, 140.

[31] Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 65–8.

[32] Boegehold (1999) 17–18, briefly discussing several examples from Homer and vase-painting.

[33] E. *Alc.* 1113–5; see Kaimio (1988) 32–4.

[34] It is worth noting that Theocritus' (earlier?) version is much less explicit in terms of the gesture: ταὶ δ' ἐν χερὶ πᾶσαι ἔφυσαν (*Id.* 13.47).

[35] Vian (1996) 151 compares this to 1.842 and 1.1330, but, as we have seen, there is a difference both in the relations of the characters and the exact gesture involved.

[36] ἀείραο is only one possible reading, but see Vian (1996) 103 n. 1.

[37] Paduano (1970–1), esp. 65–7.

and perhaps even evokes its absence in the cases of Jason and Hypsipyle's liaison and the "official" wedding on Drepane of Medea and Jason (see further below).

With this in mind, we must consider the first use of the gesture between Jason and Medea. When Medea and Jason meet at the temple of Hecate, Apollonius uses the marriage gesture to undercut the power relations otherwise suggested by the narrator. Preceding the meeting itself, we are led to expect that Jason will be firmly in control and that Medea has yielded entirely to Eros. Medea's helplessness has been vividly examined in her monologues, and, in the immediately preceding scene, she has been unable to concentrate on the games with her maids. Jason, on the other hand, has carefully constructed his plan with the help of the Argonauts, Hera has beautified him, and, immediately preceding, the crow, through Mopsus, has reminded Jason of Aphrodite's promised aid. Within the scene itself, the narrator generally supports this sense, with, of course, one well-known exception (τὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπήιε δάκρυσι κούρης | οὖλος ἔρως 3.1077–8).

Although the narrative presents Jason as being in command of the encounter, the nonverbal markers in the text suggest that Medea occupies the superior position. First, Jason employs no aggressive gestures himself, and his body language demonstrates his passivity. When they meet, neither Jason nor Medea make a move, but are compared to trees rooted on a mountain (3.967–71).[38] Further, when Medea holds out the drug in her hand for Jason to take, with his hands he grasps *it*, not *her* (αὐτὰρ ὅγ' αἶψα χεροῖν ὑπέδεκτο γεγηθώς 3.1014). This may appear a subtle point, but, as in the earlier scene with Hypsipyle, Apollonius has surrounded this scene with wedding imagery (especially Medea's wagon ride to the temple), so that the assertive wrist-grasping gesture is first suggested, but then withheld. Finally, Apollonius attributes to Jason gesture-like actions, but then limits them to his speech: τοῖον ὑποσσαίνων φάτο μῦθον (3.974), καταψήχων ὀάροισι (3.1102).[39]

Medea, on the other hand, also at times coy and reserved, turns out to be the more aggressive of the two in terms of gestures. Most important here is the fact that Medea grasps Jason's right hand with her (right?) hand (εἶλέ τε χειρὸς | δεξιτερῆς 3.1067–8). This is clearly

[38] Cf. Jason's downward gaze when he meets Hypsipyle (1.784–5).

[39] It would be possible to understand ὑποσσαίνων and καταψήχων literally, but their juxtaposition with words of speech, even if not strictly instrumental, makes it virtually inevitable that they would be understood metaphorically. According to LSJ, ὑποσαίνειν appears first here, then not again until Plutarch, which makes the boldness of the metaphor difficult to assess, but καταψήχειν is used metaphorically only here, suggesting that the limitation of Jason's gestures to language should appear surprising.

the marriage gesture, but enacted by Medea on Jason.[40] Apollonius has, of course, prepared for this reversal of wedding imagery in the scene immediately preceding, where Medea rides from town in her wagon. In addition to the visual reminiscence of the transference of the bride to the groom's home, the scene replays Nausicaa's journey to find Odysseus, invoking the wedding theme inherent in *Odyssey* 6.[41] Reversals abound here; unlike Nausicaa who, in keeping with Homer's sense of propriety, keeps Alcinous informed and in control of his daughter's sexuality, Medea explicitly avoids Aeetes.[42] Again, unlike Nausicaa or the Greek bride, whose role in the chariot ride is *to be seen*, the townspeople of Aea *avoid looking* at Medea (3.885–6). More directly relevant to our topic, Medea by her gestures takes control of the wagon, and, symbolically, her own marriage:

> αὐτὴ δ' ἡνί' ἔδεκτο καὶ εὐποίητον ἱμάσθλην
> δεξιτερῇ, ἔλαεν δὲ δι' ἄστεος·
>
> she herself took the reigns and the well-made whip
> with her right hand, and drove the wagon through the city.
> 3.871–2

Here her grasp of the whip foreshadows her grasp of Jason's wrist in the later scene (δεξιτερῇ / δεξιτερῆς), again by her gestures building up a subtext in which Medea controls her relationship with Jason, although on the narrative level Jason is in charge.

3.

The third hand gesture used by Apollonius is that of offering a hand in a promise of help, inherently by a "powerful" character to a "helpless" one. Like the marriage gesture, this hand taking is recognizable throughout Greek civilization. It occurs frequently in Homer, as it reinforces the idea of aristocratic reciprocity,[43] and is ubiquitous in Attic tragedy.[44] Clearly this is not merely a literary convention either. The handshake as an emblem of the promise of help pervaded Greek society to the point that δεξιά (the right hand) comes to mean

[40] Hunter (1989) 215–16 "This open gesture of affection, normally a male action, suggests an intimacy which no young girl should have with a man who is not her husband...."

[41] There are a number of discussions, but the most important is still Clausen (1987) 15–25. Also notable is Clauss (1997).

[42] Hunter (1989) 194.

[43] Lateiner (1995) 69 describes it as a "manly handshake", 140–1.

[44] Kaimio (1988) 29–31 collects a large number of examples with relevant bibliography. Boegehold (1999) 23–34 briefly discusses the handclasp as indicating either leave taking or agreement.

"pledge, promise".[45] Furthermore, the gesture can be traced through Greek history and art, and even bronze replicas of the outstretched hand could be used as a token of the promised help.[46] Therefore, Apollonius does not need to (and in fact does not) establish a broad thematic use of this hand taking before employing it in his own subtle manner, since the gesture and its meaning were readily recognizable.

The clearest example of this gesture in the *Argonautica* is in Book 2, when Zetes promises to free Phineus from the Harpies (ἑλὼν χερὶ χεῖρα γέροντος 2.243). Many of the same structural oppositions employed in the earlier scene with Jason and Iphias also appear here. The young Zetes is in a superior position to the old Phineus, as seeing to blind, standing to prostrate, self-controlled to impetuous and pious to hubristic. Where Iphias as the inferior member of the pair failed to initiate contact, Zetes as the superior member is successful, and his position is reinforced by his initiation of the hand holding. In a similar way, when Hera concludes her request to Aphrodite to help Jason, she is shown to have "won" the encounter by taking her hand (τὴν δ' Ἥρη ῥαδινῆς ἐπεμάσσατο χειρός 3.106), and promising that Eros will soon stop his outrageous behavior (3.110).[47] In reality, of course, it is Aphrodite who has promised to help Hera. The real meaning of the gesture, then, as often, is for Hera to reestablish her superior position in the divine hierarchy after being in the embarrassing position of having to ask Aphrodite, apparently something of a lower-class goddess in Apollonius' universe, for help. Neither Aphrodite nor the reader will seriously believe that Eros will change his ways, but Hera must assert that he will in order to complete the gesture of help and reassert her authority.[48] A third example of hand taking as indicating superiority predicated on a promise of help may be seen in Jason and Medea's encounter with Circe. Jason and Medea sit at Circe's hearth in silence (4.693) and keep their eyes on the ground (4.697–8). Only after Circe has ritually cleansed them does she have the suppliants stand up and then sit on chairs with her (εἷσεν ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσιν ἀναστήσασα θρόνοισιν 4.719). Although Apollonius does not explicitly indicate the hand taking in this case, we may

[45] LSJ s.v. with examples.

[46] Herman (1987) 50–4. Neumann (1965) 49–58 traces the handshake as a sign of *xenia* in classical art.

[47] Cf. Hunter (1989) 108 "ῥαδινῆς emphasizes Hera's control, as does her smile in 107."

[48] This tension between form and meaning is typical of Apollonius; compare the discussion earlier of Iphias and Priam. Hera and Aphrodite *act out* a scene of archaic/classical reciprocity, which the reader knows is meaningless: Hera and Aphrodite are not equals, and Hera will not return Aphrodite's favor. The (mis-)use of the gesture once again demonstrates the inability of archaic or classical ideals to provide models of action in the Hellenistic world.

be able to understand it in the process of standing them up (ἀναστήσασα). Doing so, of course, requires reading into Apollonius' text more than some will be willing to do, but there is some evidence for this position. In Homer, the same gesture is described with the same verb, and the ancillary χείρ is often included: *Il.* 24.515 γέροντα δὲ χειρὸς ἀνίστη (Achilles lifts up the suppliant Priam and has him sit down), and *Od.* 14.318–19 ἦγεν ἐς οἶκον, χειρὸς ἀναστήσας (the son of Pheidon receives the suppliant Cretan stranger in Odysseus' tale to Eumaius).[49] Similarly in *Od.* 7.163 Echenous advises Alcinous to lift up the suppliant Odysseus from the hearth and sit him in a chair, using εἶσον ἀναστήσας, and when Alcinous complies, he explicitly does use his hand to help Odysseus up: χειρὸς ἑλὼν Ὀδυσῆα.[50]

The paucity of reassuring hand taking is perhaps more remarkable than its presence in Apollonius, given its ubiquity in Homer.[51] This is best demonstrated by looking at a scene where this third gesture is conspicuous by its absence, the meeting of Thetis and Peleus. Hera has delegated to Thetis the responsibility of bringing the Argonauts through the Planctae or Wandering Rocks, and Apollonius, it seems, cannot resist the opportunity to bring together another married couple as a (broken) example for Jason and Medea. As in the case of Medea and Jason's meeting, the narrator sets up an "obvious" hierarchy between the characters that is then complicated by the use of gestures. Thetis is in the superior position: her divinity is emphasized (esp. 4.845–55), the Argonauts are clearly dependent on her help to proceed, and Apollonius pauses to tell how she left Peleus (4.867–79). Similarly, Peleus' inferior position is clearly stated: he ruined Achilles' chance for immortality, and the conversation with Thetis reduces him to despair (4.867). Thus, in their meeting we might expect Thetis to take Peleus' hand in the reassuring gesture that accompanies offers of help. Instead, however, she unexpectedly employs the gesture of touching his fingertips (στῆ δ' ἄσσον, ὀρεξαμένη χερὸς ἄκρης, | Αἰακίδεω Πηλῆος, ὁ γὰρ ῥά οἱ ἦεν ἀκοίτης) 4.852–3. The marriage gesture also has a present absence in this scene; we

[49] If we care to see the passage in Apollonius as an allusion to *Iliad* 24, we may notice a number of precious ironies: Priam begs for the body of his son, but Jason has mutilated the body of Circe's nephew Apsyrtus; Achilles threatens to become angry with Priam, and Circe in fact becomes angry with Medea but for another, more trivial reason; Achilles eats over Hector's body, recalling his threat to eat his liver, but Jason in fact tasted Apsyrtus' blood, though again in the un-epic, superstitious attempt to avert blood-guilt. The connection may not be strong enough to support these, and I prefer to think that the similarities exist because both refer to the same gesture, which remained relatively constant.

[50] Apollonius nowhere else uses ἀνίστημι in the sense "make (a person) stand up". Instead we have: 1.346 "elect a leader", 1349 "found a city"; 2.689 "set up an altar"; and 4.533 "lay waste". This distinction may help solidify the sense that Apollonius is alluding to *Od.* 7 and thereby implying the use of the hand in our scene.

[51] Lateiner (1995) 66, 71, 140–1.

may not expect any such move toward reconciliation, since we know Thetis' story, but Apollonius repeatedly reminds us that Thetis and Peleus are married, although separated (4.805, 853, 867).

On a human level perhaps these mixed signals are what reduce the otherwise redoubtable Peleus to tears. The positive significance of the gesture is hard to pin down. It is not a supplication as Thetis gives Peleus orders, although it shares some characteristics with the "reinforcing a request" gesture (see above). Affection is again unlikely. If it is permissible to impute such a complex psychology to one of Apollonius' characters, one might say that Thetis was so disdainful of Peleus (as a mortal) that she can barely bring herself to touch him at all.[52] It is probably better not to make any conjectures about Thetis' state of mind, but rather to see her relationship with Peleus and her expression of it in this gesture in terms of the dominant themes in Book 4, particularly marriage. The immediately preceding episode finally confirms Medea's break with her family (i.e. Circe 4.745–8). Jason and Medea's marriage, in turn, immediately follows (4.1141–69), and Hera, as the goddess of marriage, is involved more directly in this part of the narrative than any other. The meeting of Thetis and Peleus is then placed here as a duly ominous model for the marriage of Medea and Jason, a connection which is confirmed by Hera's prophecy that Medea will be Achilles' wife in Elysium (4.811–14).[53] Thus, Thetis and Peleus' meeting foreshadows the eventual failure of Medea and Jason's marriage.[54] Her gesture, in turn, is determined by not being the marriage gesture and by not being a reassuring gesture.

The problematics of exemplarity are, of course, a central concern of the Alexandrian poets, and key studies, such as those of Bing and Hunter, have shown that Callimachus and Apollonius question the relevance of archaic and classical myths for their Ptolemaic audience.[55] The idea of non-exemplarity is a very apt approach to these scenes, and it is underlined by the pointed nonuse of the marriage gesture. Hera arranges for Thetis and Peleus to meet in this scene, and in the next scene arranges the marriage of Jason and Medea on Drepane (4.1151–2, 1184–5, 1199–1200), which will complete her plan

[52] Hunter (1987), esp. 129–34; (1988), esp. 442–8; (1993b), esp. 13–15, and Goldhill (1991) 298–307 argue that Apollonius' characters (like those in 5th century tragedy) should not be understood in terms of their psychology, but rather how they recall or rework their earlier representations.

[53] Euripides similarly uses the marriage of Thetis and Peleus as an ominous exemplum for the "marriage" of Iphigeneia and Achilles in *IA* 1036–79.

[54] Perhaps more specifically referring to the end of Euripides' *Medea*, so that Peleus' despair repeats Jason's despair there, and Thetis' anger repeats Medea's anger there. Note *Med.* 1320–2, where Medea warns Jason that he will not be able to *touch* her with his *hand*.

[55] Bing (1988); Hunter (1993b). Others, especially Stephens (2003), see the poets as transforming their inherited mythology to be relevant in a specifically Ptolemaic/Egyptian setting; see below.

of avenging Pelias and restoring order in Iolcus (1.14; 3.65). Hera does a remarkably poor job as a goddess of marriage, however, and both of these plans misfire. Thetis is not moved to accept Peleus again, and she even threatens to become angry with him anew (4.864). The narrator himself undercuts the idea of marital bliss in the wedding of Medea and Jason (4.1161–9), and, perhaps more importantly, Hera's very contrivance to have them marry on Drepane gives Jason his plausible denial of the legality of their marriage in the "sequel" in Euripides' Corinth.[56] Hera's failure is highlighted on the level of gesture, as Peleus is unable to employ the marriage gesture on Thetis, and it is omitted entirely in the wedding of Jason and Medea.[57] The argument from silence can never be convincing by itself, but let us consider the examples which these scenes break. The marriage of Jason and Medea reworks a number of themes from the reunion of Odysseus and Penelope: it takes place at night, under threat of attack (from the families of the suitors/Colchians), with the local singer (Phemius/Orpheus) providing cover, and through the machinations of a goddess (Athena/Hera). The context on the island of the Phaeacians makes any reference to the *Odyssey* require little imagination. The presence, then, of the marriage gesture in the prelude to Penelope and Odysseus' reunion (*Od.* 18.258) lends some weight to its absence here.[58] Thus Peleus and Jason are unable to "keep a hand" on Thetis and Medea as an Odysseus could (ignoring all Penelopean subtleties), and Hera has considerable difficulty in keeping up with the *Odyssey*'s Athena, who guides Odysseus through the land of the Phaeacians with rather less trouble than Jason has, and more clearly succeeds in returning Odysseus to Penelope.

4.

In conclusion, we have looked at Apollonius' use of three different hand-holding gestures: touching another's fingers as an accompaniment to a request, grasping the right hand or wrist to indicate sexual control or marriage, and taking another's hand to reinforce a

[56] Hunter (1993b) 74 notes a similar irony in Alcinous' desire to protect Medea's children.

[57] Vian (1996) 49–50 fails to note this omission in his discussion of the wedding ceremonial.

[58] The only use of the gesture in Homer (Lateiner (1995) 67 n. 10), Penelope mentions it while preparing for the contest of the bow, which is the instrument of restoring order in Ithaca. Note also that like the marriage here, Odysseus and Penelope's remarriage must be conducted in secret from the families of the suitors, who, like the Colchians on Drepane are ultimately reconciled to the *fait accompli*. A similar ambiguity seems to exist in Vergil, where Dido invokes Aeneas by his right hand (*dextramque tuam*) and their marriage (4.314–16), but hand taking is not mentioned in the cave scene (4.165–8). Kaimio (1988) regularly argues for the significance of missing gestures in recognizable scenarios.

promise of help. This, of course, does not exhaust the range of gestures used by Apollonius, or even those focused on the hands,[59] but it does show that our poet is capable of the same subtlety in this area as archaic epic or tragedy. Furthermore, we can trace the shift from archaic and classical emphases on heroism and class solidarity to more Hellenistic concerns with eroticism and hierarchy enacted on the level of gesture. Thus, the finger-touching gesture, which appears only in the context of supplication in Homer and tragedy, takes on a life of its own and gives the poet a way to handle the interactions between non-equals. The marriage gesture, which has limited use in earlier serious poetry, becomes very important in Apollonius as a reflex of his eroticization of heroism.[60] Again, the handshake which accompanies a promise of help and occurs prominently in earlier epic, where the ability to provide aid is an important part of the game of aristocratic heroism, virtually disappears in the *Argonautica*, whose heroes are more typically help-*less* (ἀμήχανοι).[61]

The idea of hierarchy in the *Argonautica* has received little attention, since, among the Argonauts, collective virtues and like-mindedness (ὁμονοία) have a more central role. In the Argonauts' adventures, however, the idea of "who is in charge" does become a central concern. The Argonauts question Amycus' right to lay down his laws to them (2.22–4). Aeetes refuses to give the fleece up to Jason if the latter proves to be his inferior, rather than his equal (κακωτέρῳ, 3.420–1). In Book 4, the Argonauts repeatedly succeed, not by asserting their authority, but by manipulating the rules in their position as inferiors, as when they arrange Jason and Medea's marriage in order to appeal to the ruling of Alcinous (4.1073–222), or when they are content to supplicate the Hesperides (4.1409–21) and Triton (4.1551–619) in Libya. More broadly, some attention has been paid to the more rigid ranks of the gods in Apollonius in comparison

[59] E.g. Heracles raises his hand to assert his dominance in the election scene (1.344), Glaucus asserts his divine authority by grasping the stern of the Argo (1.1313), and Zeus is described as holding his hand in protection over suppliants (3.986).

[60] The increased prevalence of the marriage gesture in Apollonius is, of course, not sufficient to assert that the poet regularly eroticizes epic themes. Rather, this aspect of Apollonius' epic is already well established; see especially Beye (1969) 43–5 and *passim*; Hunter (1989) 129–30 (comparing Medea's "wound" with Menelaus' in *Il.* 3); (1993b) 46–74. Given, then, the eroticization of epic themes, the distribution of the relevant gestures is entirely predictable and tends to confirm the reading presented here.

[61] The "helplessness" of the heroes of the *Argonautica* is, of course, one of the central themes of the epic; see Vian (1978) for a sober treatment. Again, the distribution of gestures does not need to establish the theme, but the fact that it makes sense in terms of our wider perspectives on the poem tends to confirm that these are appropriate readings of the gestures.

with their counterparts in Homer,[62] and the emphasis on Jason's (hetero-) sexuality has been interpreted as a conflict between classical and Hellenistic ideologies.[63] In the light of Stephens' recent study, it is difficult not to imagine that this reflects the hierarchical nature of Alexandrian society.[64] Specifically, we have noticed that the Homeric emphasis on reciprocity within heroic Greek society (that is, in its models in the Achaean camp and on Ithaca) has been exchanged with hierarchical relations both occasionally among the Argonauts (e.g. Jason and Telamon), but more often with the non- or semi-Greek people they encounter or with the gods. This, of course, reflects something of the Greek experience in Alexandria, with the semi-Greek, semidivine Ptolemies above and the native Egyptians and other non- or semi-Greek people below. Naturally, we must avoid simplifying the *Argonautica* to a propagandistic allegory of the superiority of Greek culture, though there is little fear of that, given the often questionable "superiority" of the Argonauts within the epic.[65] Moreover, it is indicative of the subtlety of Apollonius' treatment of the theme that the two most subversive uses of hand gestures are deployed in just this sort of encounter. Thetis instructs or commands the Argonauts, but she hardly employs a proverbial firm hand when she does so. The Jason-Medea romance, like the Greece-Egypt romance, consummated under the auspices of the brother-sister monarchs on Drepane,[66] where Jason and Medea take turns being the "man", and where a final definitive gesture is lacking, is a less predictable, less hierarchical relationship than the "official" (i.e. narrator's = Ptolemy's) version presents.

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[62] Hunter (1993b) 77–90 emphasizes the smaller role played by the gods and the delegation of direct interaction with mortals to minor divinities; Feeney (1991) 57–80 similarly emphasizes the increased distance between gods and mortals.

[63] Beye (1982) 91–9, reading Jason's Hellenistic heterosexuality as a dialogue between equal "others" against Heracles' classical homosexuality reflecting a hierarchy of Greek over barbarian.

[64] Stephens (2003), esp. 238–57.

[65] Stephens (2003) 183–92 similarly warns against simplistic oppositions; so also Hunter (1991), esp. 90–4.

[66] For the connection between Alcinous/Arete and Philadelphus/Arsinoe see Hunter (1993b) 161–2.

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HEPHAISTOS AND SPIDERS' WEBS

INGRID E. HOLMBERG

"Fiction is like a spider's web."
Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*

Thought-Woman, the spider,
Names things and
As she named them
They appeared,

She is sitting in her room
Thinking of a story now
I'm telling you the story
She is thinking.

Leslie Silko, *Ceremony*[1]

THESE TWO INTRODUCTORY EPIGRAPHS, Victorian and native American, indicate the cross-cultural and trans-historical consistency of the connection between spiders' webs and narrative.[2] While the first author is broadly concerned with the problematics of gender and creative productivity, especially literary productivity, the second specifically asserts a feminine author or creator for the web of narrative. The basis for the presence of spiders and their webs in both of these considerations of narrative can be found in the long-standing association between notions of weaving and the creation of narrative, an association occasionally expressed through arachnid imagery.[3] Furthermore, because of the traditional cultural role which women occupy as weavers, any weaving metaphor, simile, or analogy which is employed for narrative is already implicated in issues of gender. This relationship between women and weaving is made explicit in Silko's version of the beginning of things, where a female spider is responsible for the naming, and thus the creation, of both reality and fiction. In this native American myth, not only is a female (spider) credited with the tangible activity of weaving, but also with the intangible, abstract production of narrative. Woolf's words leave latent the connection between the feminine and the weaving of narratives, yet

[1] Woolf 1929: 72; Silko 1977: 1.

[2] I would like to express my deep gratitude to the referees of this article; I very much appreciate the care and generosity with which they read a challenging, if not idiosyncratic, piece of work. Their suggestions significantly improved the clarity and force of my argument.

[3] From the ancient world, see the myths of Arachne (Ov. *Met.* 6.5–145) and Procne and Philomela (Ov. *Met.* 6.424–674; Apollod. 3.14.8); see Scheid and Svenbro 1996: 128–136 for references to spiders and narrative in antiquity and Hillis Miller 1978 and 1992 for analyses of narrative and weaving based on Ariadne's thread.

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one might infer that Woolf has in mind some of these associations in a manifesto directed towards liberating women's creative powers.

The *Odyssey*, and indeed Homeric epic, are full of references and situations which suggest an analogical relationship between weaving and narrative, all of which evoke anxieties about narrative and gender.[4] Little noticed, however, are the two mentions of spiders' webs in the *Odyssey*. The first reference occurs in the Song of Ares and Aphrodite in *Odyssey* 8, where Hephaistos captures the illicit lovers in bonds like delicate spiders' webs (ἠύτ' ἀράχνια λεπτά, *Od.* 8.280). The major premises of this narrative seem to be neither well known nor frequently repeated in early Greek: the marriage of Hephaistos and Aphrodite is virtually unattested elsewhere; the subsequent adultery of Ares and Aphrodite finds its most explicit and lengthy version in this very episode; and Hephaistos' apprehension of the lovers in their amorous adventures is also unfamiliar.[5] Given the uniqueness or rarity of this scene in contemporary art and literature, it seems likely that the Homeric poet or tradition either selected a little known tale for specific narrative purposes or constructed an innovative scenario for these same purposes which may then have entered the mythological vernacular. The second reference to ἀράχνια is in the "strange echo" of Telemachos' words to Eumaios at *Od.* 16.34–35, when the young man asks the family retainer to relate to him the status of his mother's fidelity to Odysseus; this would be exemplified by the absence of spiders' webs on Odysseus' bed, an indication that Penelope has not abandoned the οἶκος.[6] In both instances, the spiders' webs play a significant role in determining the sexual fidelity of a wife.

These two references to spiders' webs, I hope to demonstrate, are not simply "strange," but are both intimately related to the narrative strategies of the *Odyssey*. Embedded within the *Odyssey* as an already known narrative (whether it actually *is* already known or not) is a narrative representation of the worst possible scenario for Odysseus within his own epic. This internal narrative allows the *Odyssey* to rehearse a story of marital infidelity whose outline is highly suggestive of a potential narrative direction for the *Odyssey* itself; Penelope's fidelity is already under intense scrutiny both in the context of the dominant narrative and through repeated contact with the narratives of Clytemnestra and Helen.[7] The narrative

[4] For weaving and narrative in Homer, see, for example, Snyder 1981: 193–194; for weaving, narrative, and the feminine in ancient Greece, see Bergren 1983.

[5] "[I]t is striking to find that in developing this passage the poet both creates the marriage and apparently annuls it" (Brown 1989: 283, n. 2); see also Garvie 1994: 293. The relationship between Aphrodite and Ares is better attested: see Hainsworth in Heubeck 1988: 364, referring to the François Vase, cult, Hes. *Theog.* 933–937, and a Lemnian vase of 550; see also Delcourt 1957: 76. The passage contains not only mythic novelty but also linguistic variation: see Brown 1989: 284; Hainsworth in Heubeck 1988: 364. Delcourt (1957: 9) argues for the Song being a recent part of the *Odyssey*, even if the theme itself is ancient.

[6] See Garvie (1994: 297 *ad loc.*), who offers no explanation for spiders' webs in either passage, for the "strange echo"; Newton (1987: 18, n. 22) merely observes both instances.

[7] See Bliss 1968: 63 on the *Odyssey* and marital fidelity; Newton (1987: 13, 15–16) also acknowledges the implicit equation between Penelope and Aphrodite; Zeitlin (1995: 122) reads

self-reflexivity of the Song, however, suggests that there may be readings which transcend the simple equation between its plot and the marital plot of the *Odyssey*. Not only do I concur with earlier critics that the Song of Ares and Aphrodite must be considered seriously within the narrative of the *Odyssey*, but I further suggest that the spiders' webs embedded within the Song and repeated in *Odyssey* 16 are crucial to understanding the Song and the *Odyssey* itself. Together these two rare uses of the word are further indications of the *Odyssey*'s meditation on narrative.

Before moving to the text of the *Odyssey*, let me outline a recent theoretical debate which also turns on spiders and their webs. The use of arachnid images in this discussion may seem as strange as the references in the *Odyssey*, but at stake is how to understand the production of narrative, which I have indicated will figure significantly in my analysis of Hephaistos' webs. The metaphorical connection between the spider's web, a fictional narrative, and a woven cloth provides the impetus for a fragment in one of Roland Barthes's influential commentaries about the production of a text. In *The Pleasure of the Text*, Barthes writes (1975: 64):

> we are now emphasizing, in the tissue, the generative idea that the text is made, is worked out in a perpetual interweaving; lost in this tissue—this texture—the subject unmakes himself, like a spider dissolving in the constructive secretions of its web. Were we fond of neologisms, we might define the theory of the text as an *hyphology* (*hyphos* is the tissue and the spider's web).[8]

In this passage, we see Barthes's trademark effort to minimize the authorial influence on a text and to imagine a text as a "discursive process" (Logan 1982: 74).[9] In addition, Geoffrey Hartman in "The Voice of the Shuttle: Language from the Point of View of Literature" appeals to the myths of Procne, Philomela, and Arachne to bolster his contentions about weaving, Language (sic), and narrative (Hartman 1970). These analyses of weaving and narrative, despite their basis in activities and in myths significantly related to the feminine, do not problematize the interrelation of gender and narrative, even though the analogy between narrative and weaving seems to suggest such a direction.

Feminist critics, as a result of what they perceived to be the androcentric direction of Barthes's "hyphology" in *The Pleasure of the Text* and Hartman's appropriation of the myths of Philomela and Arachne, examined the significance of the neglect of gender in analyses of these mythical narratives and the denial of authorship in a theory based upon a spider's web. Patricia Joplin's "The Voice of the Shuttle is Ours" (Joplin 1984) and Nancy Miller's "Arachnologies: The Woman, the Text, and the Critic" (Miller 1986) re-insert the female as

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Penelope's sexual fidelity as the "principal anxiety which hovers over the whole poem"; for the "indeterminacy" of Penelope's fidelity throughout the narrative of the *Odyssey*, see Katz 1991.

[8] For text as the "interweaving of a tissue," a "fabric," see also Barthes 1981: 39 and 32.

[9] See also Logan 1982: 70–74 for a chronological account of Barthes's movement from *text*, based on the cognate Latin, to the Greek *hyphos* which effectively disconnects the notion of text from the English (and French) signifier.

author into the narrative of narrative. As her title indicates, Miller opposes her own "arachnology," which returns our gaze to the producer of the text, to Barthes's "hyphology," which finds its meaning in the product, the text itself (Miller 1986: 270–272). Following Hartman, Joplin and Miller particularly situate their arguments in the ancient model of the myth of Arachne in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.5–145), a narrative which efficiently combines the images of female weaver, weaving as a potential form of narrative, and spiders and their webs. The discussions then progress to the narrative of Procne and Philomela, which strongly associates the female voice and weaving.[10] The disturbing leap made by Arachne and Philomela from real weaving to metaphorical weaving, i.e., narrative, from feminine silence to masculine language, from passivity to resistance, has significant narrative results, as Joplin argues.[11] The subversive weaver Arachne is punished violently, while in the story of Procne and Philomela the violence of Tereus is presented as being exceeded by the infanticide of the sisters, well illustrating the dangers which might result from feminine access to masculine power in language.[12] These two narratives serve both to acknowledge the connections between the feminine and narrative/language/writing while simultaneously implicitly justifying cultural control over feminine access to them. Joplin's and Miller's strongest contribution to the debate is their recognition of the presence of the female in Barthes's and Hartman's narrative of language, in which an "elision of gender" elevates Literature and narrative to unmarked, and therefore masculine, abstractions (Joplin 1984: 26).[13]

The terms "hyphology" and "arachnology," as their coiners would surely agree, represent radically different theoretical approaches to a text. Nevertheless, all of the critics invoke literary evidence in which either the figure of the spider has been a woman or the production of webs is within the feminine frame of weaving, whether or not this is explicitly acknowledged in their analyses. Considered from this perspective, Hephaistos' webs appear even stranger as the product of a masculine technician, and a question thus arises concerning what kind of "arachnoid writing" the *Odyssey* might propose.[14] A close study of the ἀράχνια in the *Odyssey* will contribute to the debate about "hyphology" and "arachnology," just as the frame provided by these terms will illuminate the spiders' webs of the *Odyssey*.

[10] Ov. *Met.* 6.424–674; Apollod. 3.14.8, where Philomela reveals the rape ὑφήνασα ... γράμματα.

[11] For Arachne's narrative web revealing or signifying shameful sexual encounters of the gods, see Vincent 1994: 378; Miller 1986: 272–273. For weaving as "resistance," see Joplin 1984: 26.

[12] See Segal 1994: 275 for the presentation of the women's revenge as more monstrous than Tereus' original rape and excision of Philomela's tongue.

[13] See also Miller 1986: 282. Among classicists, Segal (1994) reacts to the work of Barthes as his title indicates, while also responding to the work of Joplin and Miller on narrative.

[14] For the phrase "arachnoid writing," see Scheid and Svenbro 1996: 128–129; for them, the term refers to "the web of the poem ... which holds the voice [cicada] prisoner." Each reader liberates the voice by reading the poem, i.e., by reconstructing the (meaning of the) poem.

Not just the spiders' webs, but much else about the Song of Ares and Aphrodite is strange. The most immediate marker of difference from the main body of the narrative is a comic eroticism which belies the seriousness of the topic.[15] The content of the Song also distinguishes it from the other two sung by Demodokos: Goldhill rightly points out that the first and third songs introduce an Odysseus who arrives in Phaeacia "already a subject for epic song"; these *epyllia* appear to resemble the genre of epic poetry typified by the *Iliad* (Goldhill 1991: 50).[16] The first relates a quarrel between Achilles and Odysseus which has been variously interpreted, which is otherwise unattested, and which remains unresolved in this context.[17] The third narrative relates Odysseus' trick of the Trojan horse, which successfully ends the ten years of the Trojan war. The Song of Ares and Aphrodite is quite different from the other two in its narrative mode: the story is unconnected to Iliadic events, which in the context of the *Odyssey* are treated as historical, and relates events solely concerned with the exploits of the Olympian gods. In this sense, the Song is as "mythological" for the internal audience of the *Odyssey* as it is for the external audience, ancient or modern. The Song also exhibits no direct relationship to Odysseus or his narrative. While the truth value of the two stories dealing with Odysseus seems to be validated by Odysseus' silent, tearful acceptance of the narratives, the truth value of this central song is less clearly discernible, and its value to us, the external audience, is correspondingly less dependent upon Odysseus' reaction, because he cannot vouch for its veracity.[18] Despite the unique erotic and mythological quality of the song, its integration and efficacy within the *Odyssey* have been successfully maintained. Braswell has demonstrated that the Song is relevant to the recent encounter between Odysseus and Euryalos (Braswell 1982: 131–135, 136).[19] The Song can also be read as projecting a possible future event within the narrative of the *Odyssey* itself, or as an intratextual narrative suggesting one of the many possible directions for the main narrative of the *Odyssey*, as Braswell,

[15] For the comic aspect of the song, see Burkert 1960: 130–144; Hainsworth in Heubeck 1988: 363. All the songs in *Odyssey* 8 are also marked by the intervention of Demodokos; for the Song of Ares and Aphrodite in particular, *scholia* note that it is created by Demodokos, not Homer, as an explanation of its difference from the rest of the narrative: see Bliss 1968: 57; Newton 1987: 12, n. 1.

[16] See also Pucci 1987: 218.

[17] On the relationship between this quarrel and the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in *Iliad* 1, see Braswell 1982: 130, n. 5; Nagy 1979: 22–23. For this song representing the deep, traditional enmity between Achilles and Odysseus, see Nagy 1979: 42–58. "In fact the poet tells us all we need to know at this moment, and a sensitive reader or hearer will always see in the opposition of Achilles and Odysseus an antithesis between violence and guile. A good case could be made for the contention that this is all the myth there ever was" (Bliss 1968: 64, n. 19).

[18] For Demodokos as both a "truthful" and an "Iliadic" poet in the first and third songs, see Pucci 1987: 215. Odysseus does indeed react with pleasure to Demodokos' second recitation (*Od.* 8.367–368); a striking parallel is Odysseus' pleased reaction to Penelope's unwitting seduction of the suitors in *Od.* 18.

[19] See also Burkert 1960: 136; Marg 1971: 14–15.

Edinger, and Newton argue.[20] Odysseus/Hephaistos could arrive home to find his wife Penelope/Aphrodite in the embrace of one of the suitors, whom he would then punish.[21] In Demodokos' middle song, the *Odyssey*, rather than referring back to Iliadic themes as the other two songs do, creates its own internal web of narrative whose threads are delicate, virtually invisible, but unbreakable.

The tenuous but strong ties of the Song of Ares and Aphrodite to the narrative of the *Odyssey* are mirrored by a similar bond between the god Hephaistos and the hero Odysseus. Again, a parallel which at first glance appears strange is revealed upon examination to be fundamentally motivated by the narrative strategy of the *Odyssey*, which encourages an identification between Hephaistos and Odysseus himself. The god Hephaistos appears as both the hapless cuckold of the glamorous Aphrodite and the powerful Ares, and the clever, even heroic, captor and exposer of the adulterous pair. With Hephaistos Odysseus shares weaknesses and strengths which are essential elements of his characterization throughout the *Odyssey*. Physically, lameness or bad legs are associated with both Hephaistos and Odysseus. Hephaistos' characteristic lameness is either congenital, causing Hera to hurl him from Olympus (*Il.* 18.395–405); or the result of Zeus throwing him from Olympus for his role in an aborted rebellion by Hera (*Il.* 1.586–594), which is connected to the divine rebellion described at *Il.* 1.396–406.[22] The *Odyssey*'s own reference to Hephaistos' birth and lameness occurs in Book 8, where he is described as the son of Hera and Zeus who is lame from birth (*Od.* 8.312–313).

Odysseus' legs and unprepossessing physical appearance are also the focus of attention in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Odysseus is described by Priam at *Il.* 3.193–194 as shorter than Agamemnon and wider in the shoulders and chest; a few lines later Antenor reveals that Menelaos' shoulders are bigger than Odysseus' even though Odysseus is "more majestic" (γεραρώτερος) when sitting (3.210–211). Antenor's remembrance of Odysseus also emphasizes the contrast between Odysseus' outward appearance and his verbal ability: having fixed his eyes on the ground and looked up at his audience, he seems to be an ignorant

[20] See Edinger 1980: 46 for the specific and broader relationship of the Song of Ares and Aphrodite to the narrative of the *Odyssey*, although Edinger's article as a whole concentrates, like Braswell's, on the song within *Odyssey* 8. For more recent interpretations, see Newton 1987: 12, citing Athenaeus (5.192d–e) as an ancient commentator who recognized the implications of the song for Odysseus.

[21] For the ultimate morality of the outcome, see Hainsworth in Heubeck 1988: 363; Bliss 1968: 64, n. 18; Brown 1989: 284–285. Pucci (2000: 291–292), while questioning the notion that the *Odyssey* as a whole has any fixed morality, notes that certain episodes, among them the Song of Ares and Aphrodite, pertain to morality. Cf., however, Peradotto (1993: 181), who reads the Song as "exceeding" the morality of epic, and Olson (1989: 136, 139–143), who sees the song as the subversive intrusion of a "real" scenario of adultery which highlights the comfortable, unreal conclusion of the epic.

[22] A *scholium* to *Il.* 1.586–594 indicates that Hephaistos was thrown to Lemnos for his participation in this rebellion.

man, surly and foolish. Odysseus' speech, however, reveals him to be worthy of his epithet πολύμητις (3.216) as he sends forth his huge voice and words like winter snow (3.221–222).[23] As Braswell and then Newton have outlined, Odysseus' appearance in the *Odyssey* is frequently degraded and also bears similarities to Hephaistos' physique. In Book 8, Odysseus refers to the weakness of his sea legs (230–233) and Hephaistos comments on his own lameness (306–312). Odysseus, as part of his beggarly disguise when he arrives on Ithaca, supports himself on his walking stick, feigning disability (17.203 and 338), and finally, the scar, the physical mark which identifies Odysseus most firmly to certain members of his household, is the result of a wound to his thigh.[24]

In addition to certain physical characteristics, Odysseus and Hephaistos also share an internal quality which is both innate and necessitated by their physical weakness, whether actual as in the case of Hephaistos, or feigned, as is frequently the case for Odysseus. This is μῆτις, by means of which in *Odyssey* 8 Hephaistos captures the illicit lovers with his device of a net. Hephaistos' epithets include κλυτοτέχνης (*Od.* 8.286; *Il.* 1.571, 18.143 and 391), κλυτόμητις (*Homeric Hymn* 20.1), πολύμητις (*Il.* 21.355), and πολύφρων (*Il.* 21.367; *Od.* 8.297, 327), all of which indicate his connection with μῆτις and two of which also describe Odysseus (πολύμητις, πολύφρων).[25] Hephaistos exhibits his μῆτις primarily through his activities as a craftsman: his τέχνη and μῆτις create objects which appear to be animate, like the creatures on Pandora's headdress similar to speaking beings (*Theog.* 584); the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18, decorated with images that appear to move; and magical dogs which guard the palace of Alcinous in *Odyssey* 7 (91–94). Hephaistos also creates objects which come alive themselves, such as Pandora (*Theog.* 571–572; *Erga* 60–71), and the handmaidens which he fashions as his own helpers (*Il.* 18.417–420).[26] In these depictions of Hephaistos as a craftsman relying on his μῆτις and τέχνη, the production of animate and semi-animate beings imitates or even replicates female reproduction.[27] We see a similar pattern in the representation of Zeus in the *Theogony*, where Zeus himself possesses μῆτις, an innate quality which is confirmed or solidified through his literal incorporation of the pregnant goddess Μῆτις. Zeus' μῆτις seems to enable him to participate in a displaced process of reproduction: Zeus is the ultimate creator of Pandora, and he gives birth to Athena from his head after swallowing her pregnant mother Μῆτις. Like Zeus, Hephaistos through μῆτις assumes at least metaphorically the female capability for reproduction. Thus Hephaistos

[23] Newton (1987: 13, n. 8) maintains that the comparison of Odysseus to a ram in the following lines implies that his legs are short and thin, an implication which to me remains fanciful.

[24] Newton 1987: 13–15, adducing other similarities.

[25] πολύφρων: *Od.* 1.83, 14.424, 20.239, 21.204; πολύμητις: *Il.* 1.311, 3.200; *Od.* 2.173, 4.763, 5.214.

[26] As Delcourt (1957: 11) notes, the Hephaistos who is capable of immobilizing by chains or binding is also able "animer l'immobile."

[27] See the chapter "Naissances miraculeuses": Delcourt 1957: 137–153.

already has significant associations with the feminine which underlie the spiders' web simile in the Song of Ares and Aphrodite in *Odyssey* 8.

An even closer relationship between Odysseus and Hephaistos as both craftsmen and "feminine" in some way appears to be presented by the text of the *Odyssey* more than once. First, the simile comparing Odysseus to a blacksmith in the famous episode when he blinds Polyphemos using μῆτις (*Od.* 9.391–394) directly suggests an association between the hero and the god. Odysseus also reveals woodworking skills in the construction of the raft he builds to escape Kalypso's island. Furthermore, the most famous instance in the *Odyssey* of Odysseus' craft is his construction of a marital bed, the narrative of which, like Hephaistos' spiders' webs around another marital bed in *Odyssey* 8, will reveal proof of female/marital fidelity.[28] Odysseus thus shares Hephaistos' reliance on μῆτις and his technical abilities. He also, like Hephaistos, is a masculine figure whose representation has feminine overtones; I have argued that Odysseus' μῆτις is a feminine aspect of his characterization, while Foley has demontrated that Odysseus partakes of the feminine in "reverse similes" in the *Odyssey*.[29]

In the Song of Ares and Aphrodite, however, Hephaistos applies his μῆτις not towards the production of life-like creations, but towards the creation of a web of chains.[30] When Hephaistos hears about the adulterous behavior of his wife, he relies upon his μῆτις to make a δόλος or trap (*Od.* 8.276, 278, 282, 317) comprising unbreakable and unloosenable metal chains (274–275) which are repeatedly referred to as crafty or tricky: δολόεντα (281), τεχνήεντες (297), τέχνας (327), and τέχνῃσι (332). These bonds are doubly insidious because no one can see them, not even the blessed gods. Like so much else in this Song, Hephaistos' connection with chains and binding is not strongly attested elsewhere. In the *Iliad*, there are elusive references to various gods whose bindings have been associated with Hephaistos by *scholia*, by suggestive vases and statues, and by later authors. At *Il.* 1.396–406, Thetis describes an episode in which Hera, Poseidon, and Athena want to bind Zeus (συνδῆσαι, 399). A *scholium* to *Il.* 1.591 saying that Zeus threw Hephaistos to Lemnos because of the chains of Hera (τοὺς τῆς Ἥρας δεσμούς) seems to relate to the binding at 1.396–406 (Delcourt 1957: 43).[31] Hephaistos also apparently enchains Hera herself on a throne, perhaps as revenge for her unsatisfactory maternal attention.[32] In *Odyssey* 8, the bonds hanging invisibly from the rafters, another expression of Hephaistos' μῆτις, strangely suggest ἀράχνια λεπτά, spiders' webs, and bring us back to the implicit binding power of weaving and narrative in Homeric epic, particularly the *Odyssey*.

[28] For Hephaistos' carpentry, see *Il.* 1.606–608, 2.101; for woodworking, Newton 1987: 13–14.

[29] Holmberg 1995 and 1997; Foley 1994: esp. 72–73.

[30] One of the most successful operations of μῆτις is through binding (Detienne and Vernant 1991: 81); and binding is indeed a particular focus of Hephaistos' μῆτις (279–326).

[31] Plato (*Rep.* 2.378d) presents the binding of Zeus by Hera as Iliadic; see above, n. 22.

[32] Pindar fr. 283 (Snell). For Wilamowitz's inventive weaving together of all these stories into a cohesive, if unlikely, narrative, see Delcourt 1957: 31, 87, 78–79.

The acts of weaving depicted in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* present an image of weaving which combines the manual, technical skill (τέχνη) familiar from Hephaistos' creations and the mental or intellectual skill (μῆτις) required for the weaving of a δόλος and narrative. The ancient Greek word used for weaving in many, although not all, of the instances of weaving is ὑφαίνω, cognate with Barthes's "hyphology" from the Greek ὕφος. The craft of weaving fabric is confined in the Homeric poems to females, but it is also, even in this context, strongly associated with song and narrative. In the introductions of Kalypso and Kirke, who sing while they weave, we see a very simple connection between weaving and singing.[33] In *Il.* 3.125–128, Helen weaves (ὕφαινε, 125) a tapestry which depicts the battle which is being fought because of herself and Paris. A *scholium* notes that the poet has provided a worthy archetype of his own poem in Helen's weaving (ἀξιόχρεων ἀρχέτυπον ἀνέπλασεν ὁ ποιητὴς τῆς ἰδίας ποιήσεως);[34] Helen's tapestry, however, is embedded within the monument of the *Iliad*, and memory of her tapestry only survives through the skill and immortality of that epic.[35] In this example, we see the explicit association of narratives woven in fabric with the female. The weaving of fabric and the weaving of a narrative are so closely associated here as to suggest that the oral tradition understood or considered the poetic creation of a narrative to be analogically related to weaving.[36]

The Homeric poems also present a semantic range for ὑφαίνω which widens beyond the weaving of fabric into a broader metaphorical context. Penelope's production of the shroud for Laertes is both a literal and metaphorical act of weaving, combining in her deceptive ravelling and unravelling of the shroud both the technical aspects of weaving and abstract μῆτις, thereby warding off the suitors. The suitors' descriptions of Penelope's deception mention both trickery and weaving, but not in a direct relationship: in *Odyssey* 2 and 24, a suitor says that Penelope plans a δόλον (*Od.* 2.93 = 24.128; see also 2.106 for the δόλῳ) and weaves the shroud (ὕφαινε, *Od.* 2.94 = 24.129). Penelope's own description, however, gestures significantly towards a relationship between the

[33] *Od.* 5.58–62; 10.221–223, 226–228, 254–255. For this connection between singing and weaving, see Snyder 1981: 194; also Pantelia 1993: 498. The singing of these immortal females marks a recognition of the informal songs in which ancient women surely engaged while plying their tasks; see Lord 1948: 40 for the significant number of texts (11,000 out of 12,500) attributed to women in the Parry Collection of South Slavic Texts. Nevertheless, such a representation does not support a gender-based distinction between oral (feminine) narrative and written (masculine) texts. Any gender-based distinction derives from the cultural authority of types of narratives: Bassi (1997) persuades that in Homeric epic, face-to-face orality associated with masculine communication supersedes any type of written communication. In ancient Greece, in fact, the deceptiveness believed to be inherent to writing aligns it with the feminine. While written texts may be privileged in the critical analyses I have introduced, what is important is less a question of oral vs. written than of the use of language as a tool of cultural modelling and reflection, and of who controls this determination.

[34] Erbse 1969: 381.

[35] Helen's knowledge of the workings of narrative is further revealed later by her famous statement to Hektor in *Iliad* 6 (357–358) that they will be the subjects of song for men in the future.

[36] *Contra* Scheid and Svenbro 1996: 112.

literal weaving of Laertes' shroud and a metaphorical, mental weaving of δόλοι and μῆτις. In her own words, Penelope's decision to trick the suitors was a spinning of tricks (ἐγὼ δὲ δόλους τολυπεύω, *Od.* 19.137). By using the word for spinning, she refers to the preliminary work necessary to weaving, and neatly stays within the metaphorical context of weaving by manipulating the extended field of activities related to it. After Penelope has finished her narrative, she despondently tells the beggar that she can find no other μῆτιν (19.158). As Pietro Pucci notes (2000: 284), Penelope is the only mortal female in the Homeric text whose weaving becomes metaphorical, although her metaphorical weaving is still intimately connected to literal weaving. Penelope's μῆτις of Laertes' shroud, temporarily successful, is eventually uncovered and ultimately fails to deceive the suitors. In fact, Penelope's weaving and unweaving symbolize stasis in the narrative, rather than the forward movement which is the prerogative of Odysseus once the narrative urges him from Kalypso's bed. Penelope's weaving preserves and prepares the way for the heroic Odysseus, just as Penelope's plotting at the end of the epic functions as a supplement, however important, to Odysseus' own plot and narratives.[37] In the figure of Athena, the Homeric text even more explicitly uses weaving metaphorically when the goddess weaves μῆτις for Odysseus' νόστος (ὑφαίνω, 13.303 and 386) only to be forced to invoke her father Zeus in the last lines of the *Odyssey*.[38] Zeus ultimately resolves the potentially endless generational conflict which that νόστος has initiated, and effectively provides closure for the epic itself, just as his decision to allow Odysseus to be roused from Kalypso's island begins the narrative. The weaving of both Penelope and Athena, while playing a significant role in the narrative, is ultimately marginalized and subordinated to the demands of the narrative focus on Odysseus.

In the Homeric texts, men do not weave fabric, but they are described as weaving μῆτις, like Athena, and, once, words. This entirely abstract weaving by masculine characters is appropriate within each context but also highly problematic for a variety of reasons. The weaving of a μῆτις can be dangerously deceptive and threatening to the hero's mission, as when the Lydian king weaves a πυκινὸν δόλον for the hero Bellerophon (*Il.* 6.187) and the suitors in the *Odyssey* weave a μῆτις (4.678). On the other hand, the μῆτις created in defense of the hero's goal (i.e., the narrative goal) can also be presented as essentially positive: the wise and cunning old Nestor weaves a μῆτις for the Greeks (*Il.* 7.324, 9.93); Odysseus describes his victory over Polyphemos as the weaving of δόλοι and μῆτις (*Od.* 9.422); and Penelope imagines Laertes as weaving a plan to protect her household (4.739). In the only direct connection between weaving and words in epic, the Greek ambassadors to the Trojans weave words and plans (μύθους καὶ μήδεα . . .

[37] For more positive readings of Penelope's subjectivity, see Felson-Rubin 1994; Katz 1991; Winkler 1990: 129–161.

[38] Athena does not literally weave, but she does teach the art of weaving to Pandora and to women: see Hes. *Erga* 63–64; *Od.* 7.109–110.

ὕφαινον, *Il.* 3.212).[39] The ambiguity of metaphorical weaving is clear from these divergent examples. Hephaistos, known for his μῆτις, his δόλοι, his τέχνη, fits comfortably into a situation, if you will, in which he might "weave" (ὑφαίνω) any of these, including perhaps μῦθοι. The Song of Ares and Aphrodite thus incorporates the masculine but unmanned Hephaistos within an ambiguous nexus of weaving, femininity, and marginality.

These same spiders' webs, however, also redeem the figure of Hephaistos. The imagery of the spiders' webs in the Song of Ares and Aphrodite, in fact, serves to obscure the connections established by the Homeric texts themselves between the female and weaving. The emphasis in the Song on the webs rather than the spider/weaver resembles the emphasis in Barthes's "hyphology" on the *hyphos* rather than the spider, on the text rather than the producer. Yet while Barthes's formulation implies the death of the author, Homeric poetry firmly establishes the masculine Hephaistos as the creator of these webs. We remember that the arc of both the Arachne and Philomela narratives contains the representational weaving of sexual crimes against women, but that the representation of, or revenge for, these events is not condoned by the narrative. Feminine weaving and language, by revealing abuses endemic to the Olympian and patriarchal power structure, become subversive and dangerous, to be controlled by males.[40] The web in the hands of this masculine weaver, however, does not represent the sexual crimes of the patriarchy, but rather captures a sexual crime *against* the patriarchal institution of marriage which is revealed and punished accordingly. In *Odyssey* 8, by comparison with the Ovidian passages, Hephaistos the husband is the victim and is in a sense violated, rather than a female, and the picture he presents of sexual infidelity exposes a crime against the patriarchal institution of marriage rather than against a single female whose legitimacy as a victim is ultimately compromised by the narrative itself. Hephaistos' web protects rather than destroys the social fabric, capturing for all the gods and goddesses (and the audience of the *Odyssey*) the picture of Aphrodite, the epitome of sexualized femininity, acting out a husband's worst fears. The Hephaistos from the *Iliad* who is associated with feminine challenges to the authority of Zeus is reconfigured within the context of the *Odyssey*.[41] He now becomes the avenger of adultery and the upholder of patriarchal authority. This revision of Hephaistos has everything to do with the *Odyssey*'s eponymous hero and the narrative ideology of the *Odyssey*. Hephaistos' webs, by capturing and representing a narrative of sexual infidelity, contain a narrative whose own ideological truth (the sexual inconstancy or vulnerability of the female *and* the male ability to overcome this danger) bolsters

[39] As Scheid and Svenbro (1996: 114) point out, Homer here is clearly "familiar with the metaphor of verbal weaving" although he does not use it for his own art.

[40] Doherty (1995: 127–160) emphasizes the "disruptive" (127) qualities of a number of narratives by females within the *Odyssey* (Helen, Sirens, Penelope) which are framed and ultimately contained by a narrative hierarchy which privileges the stories of Odysseus and the epic narrator.

[41] In *Odyssey* 8 we see a "nouvelle incarnation" of Hephaistos according to Delcourt (1957: 30).

the narrative fidelity of the *Odyssey* by refracting its concern with Penelope's own sexual vulnerability and predicting Odysseus' ultimate triumph.

The *Odyssey*'s intertwining of sexual and textual fidelity is later exemplified by the second reference to spiders' webs, in Penelope's bed: at *Od.* 16.34–35, a bed having evil spiders' webs (εὐνὴ ... κάκ' ἀράχνια ... ἔχουσα) potentially signifies Penelope's infidelity.[42] Telemachos has come to Eumaios' hut to see the old servant, and to hear the story (μῦθον) of whether Penelope waits at home or whether someone else has married her so that the bed of Odysseus lies bereft (of bedclothes or occupants, captured in κάκ' ἀράχνια). These spiders' webs speak to the *Odyssey*'s central concern with the fidelity of Penelope. Their presence would mean that Penelope has vacated the bed she shared with Odysseus; they would capture her infidelity just as the web of Hephaistos captures the infidelity of Aphrodite. Telemachos wants to hear the μῦθος which their presence or absence tells about Penelope's fidelity, a narrative strand which is woven into the μῦθος of the *Odyssey* and is now resonantly connected by a verbal thread to the story of Aphrodite's infidelity in the Song of Ares and Aphrodite in *Odyssey* 8. Thus, in both *Odyssey* 8 and 16, the spiders' webs cover a nuptial bed, a bed whose construction is closely aligned with the technical skill and identity of the rightful husband, and the presence of these webs reveals the infidelity of the wife. The web and its present or absent contents become a sign of infidelity: in Book 8, the trapped lovers themselves are caught in the visible act of infidelity; in Book 16, the absence of Penelope would have allowed the spiders' webs to enshroud the bed.[43] These webs are thus pictured as ordering and making visible, through their presence, a tale of infidelity.

The narrative of the *Odyssey*, however, weaves a story in which no spider's web is necessary as an epistemological device. Or rather, narrative itself becomes the web which captures the truth about fidelity or infidelity. Demodokos relates the μῦθος of Aphrodite and Ares; Telemachos desires the μῦθος of his mother, learning from Eumaios that she remains in the palace with an enduring heart; and Odysseus' μῦθος about the construction of that very same bed enables the revelation of Penelope's continuing fidelity while at the same time revealing his own identity in the most forceful manner possible. All of these embedded narratives posit the power of μῦθος to ensnare sexual fidelity or infidelity and the role of narrative in maintaining (the) patriarchal order through textual fidelity.

The maintenance of order in domestic arrangements and in narrative compositions is essential for the proper management of both. In the οἶκος, weaving and webs can symbolize a state of "domestic harmony and order" in which weaving is an antidote to "a state of domestic disorder."[44] Indeed, the absence of Odysseus causes disorder in his house which may itself be figured by Penelope's inconclusive

[42] For the importance of this bed as determinative of Penelope's fidelity, see Zeitlin 1995: 133.

[43] *Pace* Zeitlin 1995: 133, reading reverse signs of absence and presence in these passages.

[44] See Pantelia 1993: 498, 499; also Joplin 1984: 48 for weaving as "a return to order."

weaving of the shroud of Laertes. Epic, as does most narrative, presents us with a picture of a world whose order is ultimately revealed; the narrative of the *Odyssey* establishes the correct, harmonious, and above all satisfying ordering of the world of Odysseus. Not only does narrative order the world, but it also puts a framework around a series of events, "binds" them if you will, as the chains of Hephaistos bind the activities of Ares and Aphrodite, providing a captive display of their adultery. The *Odyssey* itself acknowledges the order in which a narrative must be represented. Odysseus compliments Demodokos for singing κατὰ κόσμον (*Od.* 8.489) and encourages him to sing the next song κατὰ μοῖραν (*Od.* 8.496). George Walsh, whose *The Varieties of Enchantment* attempts to elucidate the nature of song in archaic texts, identifies two kinds of order (1984: 7–9): the internal, aesthetic order or μορφή which is expressed at *Od.* 11.363–368 in the words of Alcinous, and the external, morally appropriate order which extends the internal rightness to socio-cultural "rightness." In addition, this pleasing order can validate a narrative, as Walsh argues (1984: 7): "the aesthetically pleasing thing about song cannot be separated from the truth contained in it."[45]

The internal, aesthetic narrative order thus forms and informs the external order on the moral level and is often crucial to the meaning of the narrative as a whole (Walsh 1984: 9); in other words, the harmonious weaving of the various and often differing strands of a narrative can thus form a meaningful story which resembles the complex structure of a spider's web. I have already remarked upon the difference between the Song of Ares and Aphrodite and the rest of the narrative of the *Odyssey*: the alternative poetic voice of Demodokos narrates the Song and it lacks the ostensible historical status of Demodokos' other tales. As I stressed earlier, the Song seems to be a mythological narrative for the internal characters featuring divine players, unlike the other narrated stories embedded in the *Odyssey* which are presented as either fact or fiction concerned with the realistic events of mortal life. This difference, I suggest, is marked precisely to establish the Song's paradigmatic narrative function, which the Song's content also reflects.

The relationship between myth and fiction within the same cohesive narrative plays a significant role in the construction of *Ceremony*, the Silko narrative from which I derived the second epigraph. The book is a blending of traditional native American myth in the form of poetry with a prose narrative about modern native Americans. Cousineau, in her analysis of myth and fiction in this text, makes some observations relevant for my study of spiders' webs. She notes that in Silko's novel the parts of the narrative in poetic verse are clearly marked off

[45] While these may be general guiding principles about song, the *Odyssey* itself undercuts the notion of aesthetically pleasing order guaranteeing truth both in *Odyssey* 11 and also at *Od.* 19.203 where lies resemble the truth. While it is possible for some speakers and poets to manipulate the truth, I would contend that the text of the *Odyssey*, despite its acknowledgment of the potential multiplicity of language and narrative, presents itself as a truthful text, primarily through its ability to order itself in just the way Walsh describes.

as belonging to mythic time. These fragmentary poetic verses are interspersed throughout the narrative; taken together, they assume a status as "conveyor of meaning" which tells a cohesive story (Cousineau 1990: 21). The narrative modes of myth and fiction, however, become confused and interwoven: mythic/poetic and fictional/prosaic narratives and meaning intermingle (Cousineau 1990: 23), just as the questions of fidelity addressed by the Song of Ares and Aphrodite are sewn into the narrative of the *Odyssey* both in *Odyssey* 8 and also in the larger narrative arc of Odysseus' reunion with Penelope and her fidelity. As "[o]ne story gives rise to other stories, and each story must be told if one is to understand the timeless pattern .... The reader must hold a multitude of unfinished stories in his mind, some told in prose, some in poetic form, stories of ancient myth and of the contemporary world" (Cousineau 1990: 22). The mythic presentation of the Song of Ares and Aphrodite additionally supplies a containment strategy which reflects Hephaistos' own containment of Ares and Aphrodite: the unexpected but possible ending to the *Odyssey* is inscribed mythically and safely. Similarly, Joplin argues that the middle of the Procne and Philomela myth, where the two sisters kill the infant Itys and feed him to his father, inscribes the subversive violence of the women and allows them to escape socio-cultural demands. This becomes the locus where the narrative simultaneously presents and then prevents an "unexpected ending" (Joplin 1984: 46). Ultimately in the Song of Ares and Aphrodite, socio-cultural and narrative order is restored, but its complete meaning is clarified only by the ending of the *Odyssey*.[46] This Song, whose existence is so shallowly attested, has its narrative validity verified by the Homeric narrative, which weaves the μῦθος into its own tale as both myth and truth.

The terms "hyphology" and "arachnology" have provided me with a hermeneutic frame to examine two unusual references in the Homeric epics to spiders' webs and their relationship to Homeric narrative. The question of how to classify the narrative strategy of the *Odyssey*, however, still persists. Are the epic poems "arachnoid writing" which hold their strands of narrative in place? Or is the oral poet the "spider that has created and so commands it all" (Hillis Miller 1992: 21)? In the native American context I've been discussing above, Cousineau inquires whether spiders' webs represent a "central structure which becomes accessible to the reader in the course of reading, or [whether] the multiple strands and crisscrossings deny the very notion of a unified discourse" (Cousineau 1990: 20).[47] Her answer is that in this narrative tradition, the "spiderweb is an emphatically nonhierarchical form" (Cousineau 1990: 21).[48] Cousineau's queries are expressions of very broad

[46] "The end of the story is the retrospective revelation of the law of the whole. That law is an underlying 'truth' that ties all together in an inevitable sequence revealing a hitherto hidden figure in the carpet. The image of the line tends always to imply the norm of a single continuous unified structure determined by one external organizing principle" (Miller 1992: 18).

[47] Hillis Miller (1992: 4, 8–9, 14) also notes the significance of repetition and lack of closure in narrative.

[48] For a text as a "polysemic space," see Barthes 1981: 37

theoretical and philosophical methods for approaching narratives, but the approaches she describes are not irreconcilable; in other words, a narrative can both have a central structure and also challenge the notion of a unified discourse. The *Odyssey* is in many ways such a narrative, an epic whose strong structure struggles to contain its centrifugal impulses, to borrow John Peradotto's term. The form of the *Odyssey*, then, in many ways corresponds to Barthesian "hyphology." Not only that, but the notion of the *hyphos* also works as a metaphorical representation of the oral tradition, in which the actual performance is ephemeral, visible and invisible, present and absent, but strong. The spiders' web in the Homeric text captures a narrative moment; the Homeric tradition does the same, weaving these moments together to form the epic. A single author, undiscernible in an oral tradition like the one which created the Homeric epics, or declared dead in the post-structuralist tradition of Barthes, is elusive behind spiders' webs.

A single author may be elusive if not non-existent in the oral tradition which created the *Odyssey*, but the *Odyssey* itself specifies a spider for its webs. In the *Odyssey*, the unmarked, implicit masculine appropriation of feminine weaving, a theoretical move which Miller and Joplin argue is implicit in Barthes's "hyphology" but contradicted by the very ancient literature which provides its premise, is made explicit. In the Homeric text or *hyphos*, the feminine weaving spider is already displaced by a powerful masculine creator of metaphorical spiders' webs. Unlike the later stories of Philomela and Arachne, this displacement is accomplished invisibly without violence to the female, and indeed Hephaistos himself becomes the object of sympathy. In its self-presentation, the *Odyssey* establishes a powerful hierarchical authority which is epitomized by Hephaistos and his web in *Odyssey* 8.[49] The Homeric narrative cunningly manipulates and then obviates the feminine associations of a weaving spider by instantiating the masculine master craftsman as the protector of the narrative and social order within and beyond the *Odyssey*. In this text, an "arachnology" does not unearth an originary feminine but rather a masculine spider who creates it all. The spiders' webs in *Odyssey* 8 reflect the fabric or *hyphos* of the oral tradition while also positing the figure of the bard as spider who weaves the fabric of the oral tradition, a move which acknowledges the *hyphos* but also lays claims to the bard's status as the originary spider. Finally, we can read the Homeric text as a strange but powerful interweaving of "hyphology" and "arachnology," incorporated into the poetic tradition by threads that are λεπτά, delicate but tight.

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[49] For the "hierarchical order" of narrative, see Doherty 1995: 161–177.

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THOMAS M. FALKNER



Slouching towards Boeotia: Age and Age-Grading in the Hesiodic Myth of the Five Races

> Myth has the task of giving an historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal.
>
> Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*

RECENT DISCUSSION OF Hesiod's "myth of the five races" (*WD* 106–201) has focused primarily on its structure and on the relation between the text as we have it and the tradition in which the poet worked.[1] There is no need to rehearse here in detail the various accounts—most prominently those of Walcot, West, and Vernant[2]—which have identified the structure, coherence, and history of the text in such different ways. If one truth has emerged from these closely argued treatments of the text, it is that we will do well to speak not of *the* structure of the sequence but of a number of structures which coexist, peacefully or otherwise, with each other and that to some extent the artistry of the sequence is a product of the various directions in which the text is pulled.

1. References to Hesiod are based on the Oxford Classical Text (1970) of Solmsen, Merkelbach, and West, with *WD* indicating the *Works and Days* and *Th.* the *Theogony*.

An oral version of this essay was presented at the meetings of the APA in 1986 as part of a panel on "Old Age in Ancient Literature and Society." I would like to express my thanks to the College of Wooster for a research leave in 1987–1988 which enabled me to complete the essay, to the Department of Classics at Cornell University for the use of their excellent facilities and for their gracious hospitality during this period, and to Pietro Pucci, David Mankin, and, especially, Carolyn Dewald for helpful comments and criticisms.

2. P. Walcot, "The Composition of the *Works and Days*," *REG* 74 (1961) 4–7, and *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff 1966) 81–86 (cf. Carl W. Querbach, "Hesiod's Myth of the *Four* Races," *CJ* 81 [1985] 1–12, which elaborates upon Walcot's pattern of ring composition); M. L. West, *Hesiod:*

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My concern here accordingly is not to argue against other structurings of the text per se but to call attention to a dimension of its structure that has not been appreciated, which serves to complicate and enrich the text and account for some of its problematic aspects.

The present study is an attempt to show how the myth of the five races employs concepts of age as a system of description and evaluation, and how the manipulation of these concepts reflects the way in which Hesiodic thought and Boeotian society, insofar as Hesiod represents it, "construct" age.[3] Anthropological and ethnographic literature has appreciated the degree to which models of the life course are cultural products which differ in their fundamental terms: in the number and length of the constituent stages or age grades, in the rituals and social markers between them, in their complex relation to the varied forms of social life.[4] Hesiod's characterization of the five races, I will suggest, involves no less distinctive an appreciation of the human life course and a culturally defined view of the nature and significance of its age grades. The argument involves three parts: a description of the Hesiodic model of the life course as a schema that informs the sequence and that is consistent with other principles of organization in the *Works and Days;* an appreciation of the relative value of the various

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Works and Days (Oxford 1978), esp. 172–77; J.-P. Vernant, "Le Mythe hésiodique des races: Essai d'analyse structurale," in *Mythe et pensée chez les grecs* (Paris 1965) 19–47 (= "Hesiod's Myth of the Races: An Essay in Structural Analysis," *Myth and Thought among the Greeks* [London 1983] 3–32). A review of the history of interpretation of the myth of the five races and helpful bibliography can be found in Peter Smith, "History and the Individual in Hesiod's Myth of the Five Races," *CW* 84 (1980) 145–53.

3. Relatively little attention has been paid to Greek ideas about age, whether in relation to social organization or to artistic expression. In lieu of any comprehensive treatment of the nature of age in Greek culture, the following works (and their references), although limited in scope, serve as a useful introduction to various aspects of the subject: B. E. Richardson, *Old Age among the Greeks* (Baltimore 1933); W. Schadewalt, "Lebenzeit und Greisenalter im Frühen Griechentum," *Antike* 9 (1933) 285–302 (= *Hellas und Hesperien* [1960] 41–59); P. Roussel, "Essai sur le principe d'ancienneté dans le monde hellénique du Ve siècle avant Jésus-Christ a l'époque romaine," in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 43, no. 2 (1951) 123–228; G. S. Kirk, "Old Age and Maturity in Ancient Greece," *Eranos Jhb.* (1971) 123–58; Stephen Bertman, ed., *The Conflict of Generations in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Amsterdam 1976); F. Preisshofen, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Greisenalters in der frühgriechischen Dichtung, Hermes Einzelschr.* 34 (Wiesbaden 1977); Laura L. Nash, "Concepts of Existence: Greek Origins of Generational Thought," *Daedalus* 107 (1978) 1–21; M. I. Finley, "The Elderly in Classical Antiquity," *Greece and Rome* 28 (1981) 156–71; Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World* (Baltimore 1986) (orig. published as *Le Chasseur noir: formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec* [Paris 1981]), chaps. 4–6.

4. See, for instance: P. H. Gulliver, "Age Differentiation," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1968) 1: 157–62; J. S. La Fontaine, ed., *Sex and Age as Principles of Social Differentiation* (New York 1978), "Introduction" 1–20; in the same volume P. T. W. Baxter and U. Almagor, "Observations about Generations," esp. 159–60; and Jennie Keith, "The Ethnography of Old Age: An Introduction," *Anthropological Quarterly* 52 (1979) 1–6. A collection of recent work on the subject and useful bibliography can be found in David I. Kertzer and Jennie Keith, eds., *Age and Anthropological Theory* (Ithaca 1984).

life stages as these are implicit in Hesiod's work as a whole; and a detailed examination of how this model works to define the movement of the sequence and the interrelationship of the races.

Several commentators have observed a relationship among the various references to old age in the sequence,[5] from the Golden race which did not know old age (οὐδέ τι δειλὸν / γῆρας ἐπῆν, 113–14) to the Iron race whose demise will be imminent εὖτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν (181), and have related this to Hesiod's grim perspective on his own times. The attention to old age, I would suggest, is just one aspect of a larger pattern in which aspects of age help give shape to the sequence. The Golden race, like other "prelapsarian" visions, provides an image of perfection which is culturally produced and which, as we shall see, is itself age-specific in its terms.[6] The following four races, which explore a series of less than ideal social orders, do so in terms that image the human life course, with the progress of the races suggesting respectively the four successive life stages, which we will provisionally identify as childhood, youth, maturity, and old age (although we shall see some significant differences between the Hesiodic and our sense of these terms). In this schema, with the four expressions of social imperfection corresponding to the structure of individual human life, Hesiod provides us with a curious model in which, in contradistinction to the biological dictum, it is phylogeny which recapitulates ontogeny, that is, the history of the race (or more properly *races,* since for Hesiod each is a distinct γένος) resumes that of the individual. Hesiod marks the correspondences in a variety of ways, but it will be clear that in respect to the conceptualization of the human life course neither of the last two races is in any sense "anomalous" or forced: each is essential to a complete sequence.

5. E.g., G. S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Function in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970) 234, and "Old Age" (supra n.3) 135, relates the references to a pattern of immaturity, maturity, and hypermaturity. Vernant (supra n. 2) 40–41 sees his three pairs of races in terms of youth, maturity, and old age, respectively. On Eastern and Asian versions of the myth which associate the final race and early senescence, see West (supra n.2) 174–75, and Joseph Fontenrose, "Work, Justice, and Hesiod's Five Ages," *CP* 69 (1974) 2–3. Smith (supra n.2) also discerns a developmental pattern to the sequence such that "the character and the actions of each of the races are presented in such a way as to suggest a stage—or the unconscious memory of a stage—in a man's life." Smith's attention to age differs from mine both in its purpose—a "psychological" reading of the sequence as "a symbolic expression of personal growth" (145) as opposed to the cultural reading I offer—and its analysis. He equates the Golden race with an unconscious memory of earliest childhood, where I argue that the Golden race is conceived of in terms of adulthood and its self-awareness. He sees the Heroic race as largely imposed upon the sequence and merely "an echo and a pendant to the Bronze race" and reads the Iron race as inclusive of the whole of adulthood. While I disagree with some of the particulars of Smith's interpretation, an anthropological understanding of the sequence in no way precludes an appreciation of its psychological significance. The Golden race, for instance, might reflect a nostalgia for childhood experience and yet be articulated in terms not drawn from childhood itself and which have a broader cultural significance.

6. On Hesiod's use of this mythic type as an *aition* in his "gospel of work," see esp. Fontenrose (supra n.5) 5–16. On his originality in conceiving of the Gold (and Silver) race, see H. C. Baldry, "Who Invented the Golden Age?" *CQ* 2 (1952) 83–92.

As a cognitive and a symbolic system that gives order to social reality, age concepts, like those of gender and kinship, frequently serve as material symbols of abstract qualities and values—strength and weakness, wisdom and foolishness, autonomy and dependence, and so forth—and are easily extended to phenomena that have no essential relation to age. Apart from its general importance as a system of differentiation, other factors make this model particularly suitable for Hesiod's purposes, particularly its representation of time. A life-course model, while it is temporal, is not chronological or historical, for the stages of human life are distinguished not only by their ranking but by their quality: youth does not simply come before maturity, but is of a different order of experience.[7] The life-span model represents a sense of time that is primarily cyclic (consider our concept of a life cycle), and as early as Homer's simile of the leaves (*Il.* 6.146–49) we find conceptions of the individual human life by analogy with the vegetal cycle. As such, a life-course model is consistent with the other natural models of time available to the mythological and poetic tradition: the circle of the seasons, the movement of the planets, the patterns of birth, growth, and decay in the animal or vegetable world. Like these, the human life course naturalizes cultural markers of time by assimilating them to physical processes. As such, it is the proper model in such a poem as the *Works and Days,* which is informed by Hesiod's attunement to the life of the farmer and his relation to the natural environment.

As categories of age also necessarily involve not only description but evaluation, Hesiod's use of a life-course model is also prompted by its moral possibilities, and particularly its ability to represent the ambiguity and depravity of his own time (his personal experience of which provides the occasion for the poem). In this respect the life-course model functions differently from a strictly degenerative one. In the latter, what is prior is superior to what follows, as is suggested—at least superficially—by the decreasing value of the four metals. But in the life-course model the nature and the relative merits of the races are also derived from the cultural perception of the various age grades, and the value assigned each race is determined by how the culture perceives the corresponding period of life and how the poet in turn shapes that perception. The myth of the five races naturalizes the cultural organization and evaluation of biological life, in keeping with a poem which accommodates the patterns of social life to those of the natural world, so that both are ὡραῖα and ἐν καίρῳ, where and when they "belong."

Although the character of the age-grades as Hesiod employs them will be-

7. On the nonchronological and cyclical notion of time in Hesiod, cf. Vernant (supra n.2) 22–23. Although I disagree that the values associated with the races are timeless (the periods of human life can come of course in no other order), the life course model I suggest is compatible with Vernant's suggestion that the races represent a "renewable cycle" which implies a new beginning at its conclusion.

come clearer as we work through the sequence, we may comment first on their organization and expression elsewhere in Hesiod. The Greeks, indeed, never developed a uniform conception of the age grades, whether in their number or names or qualities, with the result that Greek thought reveals considerable variety in the language of its age classifications.[8] Moreover, chronology per se plays only a small role in Hesiod's understanding of the life stages, and references to chronological age are approximations to be understood in relation to other more significant principles of division.[9] As a result the structure of the age system must be inferred not only from the linguistic catgories Hesiod provides but also from the distinctions embedded in his discussion of social life.

As Hesiod's poem is addressed to the agricultural and economic realities of Boeotian life, the construction of the life course he offers finds its corollary in the requirements of that life and is structured in accordance with changing social roles, skills, and responsibilities. The conceptualization of the male life course Hesiod presents in the *Works and Days,* one that is frequently employed in Greek thought and reflected elsewhere in the Hesiodic corpus, effectively distinguishes four age grades.[10] That of the παῖς describes male life until the arrival of sexual maturity, and in Hesiod as elsewhere in Greek thought childhood is conceived of primarily as propaideutic to manhood in general.[11] The boundary between the stage of the παῖς and manhood will be signalled biologically by the achievement of puberty or ἥβη,[12] but the passage will also coincide with changes in one's relationship to the *oikos* and incorporation into the labor force that sustains it. Finley does well to note that in economies of peasants and craftsmen childhood ends for all intents and purposes with the assumption of work or apprenticeship, perhaps several years earlier than puberty.[13] Such an order seems particularly likely in the context of Boeotian agricultural life and the advantage of engaging the full energies of the *oikos* (cf. *WD* 379–80).

Within the general age grade of manhood Hesiod suggests a distinction between young manhood—the νέος or νεώτερος or κουρότερος (ἀνήρ)—and

8. Cf. Nash (supra n.3) 5.

9. Where in modern Western culture aging is conceived in the context of chronological age and a fixed dating system, such is rarely the case in preliterate and nonindustrial societies, where age is understood rather in relation to biological, generational, and social factors; see esp. Meyer Fortes, "Age, Generation, and Social Structure," in Kertzer and Keith (supra n.4) 99–122.

10. With the omission of the παῖς (as is often the case), Hesiod uses the same division in fr. 321. The locus classicus on the grades of νεότης, ἀκμή, and γῆρας is Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.12–14. For references to the principal distinctions in Greek literature and some interesting variations, see T. Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek Elegy* (Cardiff 1926) 129–30.

11. The relation is explicit in Hesiod's caution regarding the accidental emasculation of twelve-year-old boys (*WD* 750–52).

12. Which for instance Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* 581a puts at age fourteen.

13. (Supra n.3) 159–60. Finley distinguishes the biological achievement of manhood, the passage to civic manhood (as for instance at Athens with the δοκιμασία of the ephebes at eighteen), and the virtual end of childhood several years earlier in peasant cultures. On the significance of regulation of the life course by a chronology governed by the state, see esp. Fortes (supra n.9).

the mature ἀνήρ, though here (as elsewhere in Greek thought) the distinction is marked less formally than others and with some linguistic confusion.[14] The stage of the νέος begins with the ἥβης μέτρον (*WD* 132),[15] but the passage from young manhood to maturity will be marked not by any clear biological differentiation but by social markers: marriage and the begetting of children, and assumption of authority over the *oikos*. Hesiod says that marriage is ὥριος at about age thirty (695–97), and in a generational pattern of thirty years the father's transfer of authority to his son (when it has not already taken place) might occur at about age sixty. In the absence of any institutionalized concept of retirement, such a transfer of authority, accompanied necessarily by some diminution in one's productive capacities, will provide a functional marker of the passage from the stage of the mature ἀνήρ to that of the γέρων, and one which roughly coincides with other chronologically based markers of old age in Greek historical contexts. In Athens age thirty made one eligible for the *Boule,* and sixty marked the end of one's liability for military duty. Spartans lived in military quarters until age thirty, at which point they took up residence with their families, and at sixty became eligible for election to the *gerousia.*[16] Even at this level of abstraction, the organization of male life as Hesiod understands it shares some significant features with traditional models of the life course. In the latter, the passage to manhood and arrival of puberty are regularly marked by elaborate *rites de passage* which have their parallel in Greek culture.[17] Equally important is the distinction between the categories of junior and senior manhood in Hesiod's two grades of the ἀνήρ, in many cultures a distinction so strongly marked that the term *elders* or its equivalent functions as a comprehensive category for males who have achieved the higher grade.[18] The passage into the elder grade involves the assumption of greater political power, marital and domestic responsibilities (as

14. See supra n.10 and Nash (supra n.3) 4–5 and 19 n.13, who observes the terminological problems regarding youth and "middle age."

15. Cf. the description of Phaethon as τόν ῥα νέον τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρικυδέος ἥβης (*Th.* 988).

16. Solon's "ten ages" (West 27) first applies the term ἀνήρ to the fifth hebdomad (ages 28–35) and recommends attention to marriage and offspring at that age; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 460e, *Laws* 772e, and Aristotle *Pol.* 7.15.10.

The predicament of the elderly is closely related to the patterns of retirement and inheritance in the *oikos* and to the generational transfer of authority. On the Boeotian *oikos* in general, see W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (Ithaca 1968) 71–72, and esp. M. Arthur, "Early Greece: The Origins of the Western Attitude toward Women," *Arethusa* 6 (1973) 19–26.

17. See esp. Vidal-Naquet (supra n.3) chaps. 5–6, who discusses the relation between the two different ephebic structures at Athens, the entry into the phratry (with its martial associations) at age sixteen with the sacrifice of the κουρεῖον at the feast of the Apaturia, and the military and civic ephebia that began at eighteen, and the significance of both as rituals of status transition.

18. For two examples, see P. H. Gulliver's study of the Arusha, *Social Control in an African Society* (Boston 1963) 25–66, and Paul Spencer, *The Samburu: A Study of Gerontocracy in a Nomadic Tribe* (London 1965) 80–101. In each case the passage from the lower grade of manhood to elder occurs at the end of young manhood (approximately age thirty) and largely coincides with marriage and domestic responsibilities.

opposed to mere sexual activity), and in such "gerontocratic" cultures[19] distinctive rites of initiation mark off this class as different from and superior to those before it.

Although more weakly marked than in traditional cultures, Hesiod's distinction between the youth and the man who bears responsibility for farm and family maintains some of these features. As the poet correlates the nonmetallic race of Heroes, which is the best of the imperfect human worlds, to the period of senior manhood or "maturity," he gives expression to an ethics which places special value upon it. Indeed, the poem as a whole is located within the perspective of the adult male—the world of Hesiod and of Perses and the Boeotian landowners to whom the poet offers his wise counsel. Maturity is consistently regarded as the most valued stage of masculine life and the standard by which others are to be judged, and is often defined precisely in opposition to youth and old age. A man should marry at about age thirty, presumably because he then has the wisdom to select the right kind of wife (cf. 698–701) and the economic and emotional stability to assume the rule of the *oikos*. He should hire a τεσσαρακονταετής (441) to handle the plough,

> ὅς κ' ἔργου μελετῶν ἰθείην αὔλακ' ἐλαύνοι,
> μηκέτι παπταίνων μεθ' ὁμήλικας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἔργῳ
> θυμὸν ἔχων· τοῦ δ' οὔ τι νεώτερος ἄλλος ἀμείνων
> σπέρματα δάσσασθαι καὶ ἐπισπορίην ἀλέασθαι·
> κουρότερος γὰρ ἀνὴρ μεθ' ὁμήλικας ἐπτοίηται.
>
> (443–47)

While the younger man clearly has the physical strength to drive the plough, only the mature adult has the concentration and discretion to compete successfully in an agricultural environment of limited resources.[20] In the Hesiodic perspective, as we shall see, only the period of maturity is credited with any real excellences, so we can speak of Hesiod's concept of virtue as being age-graded primarily in a negative sense. The high value that Hesiod places upon maturity reflects the realities of Boeotian peasant society and stands in contrast to the heroic idealization of the young warrior in epic and the obsession with youthful eroticism in aristocratic lyric.

In juxtaposing the Heroic race to those of Bronze and Iron, Hesiod establishes it not as a downward step in a steady degradation but as a high point between races of relatively lower value. In comparison with his view of maturity,

19. In anthropological discourse *gerontocracy* need not necessarily denote *old* age. The practice has a loose parallel in the Homeric γέροντες, who serve in the council of princes regardless of their literal age, but in which broadly speaking those who are older lay claim to being wiser and to "know more."

20. Compare Hesiod's preference for nine-year-old bulls (ἐννaετήρω, 436), which are superior in their youth (ἥβης μέτρον ἔχοντε, 438) by reason of their greater physical strength (σθένος, 437). Human excellence for Hesiod is characterized more by discretion and restraint than sheer strength. West (supra n.2) ad loc. notes that nine and forty are to be considered formulaic or notional figures.

Hesiod's perspective on old age is more complex and ambiguous. As elsewhere in the epic tradition, divinity is defined negatively in being "deathless and ageless,"[21] and Hesiod uses the formula ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα and others like it to describe the gods and those on whom immortality is conferred.[22] As vitality and power are embodied in the ageless gods, so the process of aging is linked with degeneration, death, and the generally grim prospect of the Greek afterlife. The epithets applied to old age are similarly negative: γῆρας is δειλόν (wretched), ὀλοόν (destructive), and οὐλόμενον (baneful),[23] although these epithets are routine in Homer and the Homeric Hymns. Ironically, we find the most positive representation of old age in the god Nereus, eldest offspring of Pontus, whom Hesiod describes as ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα (*Th.* 233). He is called γέρων, he says,

> οὔνεκα νημερτής τε καὶ ἤπιος, οὐδὲ θεμίστων
> λήθεται, ἀλλὰ δίκαια καὶ ἤπια δήνεα οἶδεν.
>
> (*Th.* 235–36)

While the comments seem to assume an association between age and wisdom,[24] nowhere in the human world does Hesiod credit old age with any of the excellences—wisdom, counsel, eloquence, civic-mindedness, justice, experience—that at least partially redeem old age in Homer and other literary contexts. In fragment 321 Hesiod succinctly age-grades the male excellences: ἔργα νέων, βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων, εὐχαὶ δὲ γερόντων—the young do, the mature advise, and the old pray. Here the function of wise counsel, which is honored in principle in Homer and other appraisals of old age, is appropriated to those in "middle age"; the prerogative of the elderly becomes that of prayer, with the recognition of their spiritual potency perhaps offset by the suggestion of their helplessness, a frequent theme in Hesiod.[25]

21. See Jennie Strauss Clay, "Immortal and Ageless Forever," *CJ* 77 (1982) 112–17, who observes that the formula is not a hendiadys: the gods are both deathless *and* timelessly frozen in the radiance of youth or maturity, effected by a preservative diet of nectar and ambrosia. Cf. also Preisshofen (supra n.3) 6–8.

22. Cf. *Th.* 277, 305, 949, 955; in the fragments see 23.12 and 24, 25.28, 229.8. At *Th.* 955 note the reference to the divinity of Heracles, whose agelessness is underscored by his winning of Ἥβη as bride.

23. Cf. *WD* 113–14, *Th.* 225, 604; other negative expressions appear at *WD* 331, 705.

24. Which may, however, be intended as a gloss not on Nereus' being called γέροντα but on the name Nereus itself; cf. M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford 1966) ad loc. Cf. also Preisshofen (supra n.3) 10–13.

25. If the fragment represents a παροιμία, we are probably to assume a balance among the three functions; such is in keeping with archaic thought in general, where prayer represents a form of action rather than passive resignation. Homer associates old age and prayer in the references at *Il.* 6.87, 113, 270, 287, but prayer is in no sense age-specific, and the prayers of the elderly appear no more efficacious than those of others.

Kirk (supra n.3) 125–26 and 134 characterizes Hesiod's attribution of wise counsel to the period of middle age as "perhaps an eccentric view" and as arising from the fact that in a state run by βασιλῆες there is not the same need for wise or aged counsel.

Hesiod sees in old age an intersection of natural and cultural evil, locating Γῆρας and its siblings among the offspring of Night:

μετὰ τὴν δ' Ἀπάτην τέκε καὶ Φιλότητα
Γῆρας τ' οὐλόμενην, καὶ Ἔριν τέκε καρτερόθυμον.

(224–25)

Old Age resembles those in its immediate conceptual neighborhood—Deceit, Passionate Affection, and Strife—in that each is an occasion of evil, a vehicle by which mortals come to harm in their social relationships and which leaves them open to abuse, ridicule, or defeat.[26] Ultimately descended from primal Void (Chaos), Old Age is of a lineage characterized by its sterility, abstractedness, and predominantly negative function in the human cosmos, a necessary though despicable aspect of human nature.

Later in the *Theogony* Hesiod develops the vulnerability of old age by relating it to another cultural problematic—woman—and the danger of attempting to avoid the punishment Zeus established for the sins of Prometheus.[27] Hesiod says of the man who would not marry:

ὀλοὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἵκηται
χήτει γηροκόμοιο, ὅ γ' οὐ βιότου ἐπιδευὴς
ζώει, ἀποφθιμένου δὲ διὰ ζωὴν δατέονται
χηρωσταί ·

(604–7)

If a man does not marry he fares better in the short run, because he does not have to care for a woman, who is viewed by Hesiod as an unproductive drain on the *oikos*. But in old age he fares worse because he has no son as γηρόκομος to render the θρεπτήρια that is his due. He lives in fear that at his death his kinsmen will divide up his possessions and his *oikos* will die along with him. Woman is viewed ambiguously, since although she is a κακόν she is necessary in preventing a greater evil, that of a childless old age. In the *Works and Days* the connection between these two kinds of evil is brought home in the vignette of the "bad wife," the perfect leech (δειπνολόχης, 704) who can "burn" her husband without fire and drive him to "raw" old age, that is, age him prematurely: εὖει ἄτερ δαλοῖο καὶ ὠμῷ γήραι δῶκεν (705).[28] Woman, the cultural equivalent of

26. On the offspring of Night and the inner structure and meaning of the catalogue, see C. Ramnous, *La Nuit et les enfants de la nuit dans la tradition grecque* (Paris 1959) 64–72, who groups old age and its three siblings under the common theme of ruin.

27. On the representation of women in the *Theogony*, see Patricia A. Marquardt, "Hesiod's Ambiguous View of Women," *CP* 77 (1982) 283–91, who speaks of Hesiod's "tendency to view universal ills, such as old age and death, in a feminine context." See also Linda S. Sussman, "Workers and Drones: Labor, Idleness and Gender Definition in Hesiod's Beehive," *Arethusa* 11 (1978) 27–41; Nicole Loraux, "Sur la Race des femmes et quelques—unes de ses tribus," ibid. 43–87; and Arthur (supra n.16) and "Cultural Strategies in Hesiod's *Theogony:* Law, Family, Society," *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 63–82.

28. Following West on the meaning of ὠμῷ (although the comparable phrase at *Od.* 15.357 seems capable of bearing quite the same meaning: Anticleia's death aged Laertes unnaturally).

fire, consumes a man's substance and hastens the onset of the natural evil of old age. As in the earliest reference to old age in the poem—αἶψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγηράσκουσιν (93 = *Od.* 19.360)—the reference suggests the coincidence of cultural and moral evil: man's natural demise is accelerated amid misfortunes of his own making.

The Hesiodic construction of old age is rooted in the social and economic situation of archaic Boeotia.[29] In an economy land-scarce and based on subsistence farming, poorer landowners must jealously guard such patrimony as they have. Hence the emphasis throughout the poem on self-reliance, frugality, and maximizing limited resources, and its inculcation of the virtues of aggressive individualism and competition. Such farmers must, moreover, find some guarantee for their well-being in old age when, as consumers and not producers, they become liabilities to the *oikos* (like the women they condemn for their laziness).[30] Economic survival requires caution and careful planning at every stage: one should marry at the right age and a woman of the right age (*WD* 695–99) and sustain the minimum family necessary to ensure the survival of the household, ideally an only son (μουνογενὴς δὲ πάις εἴη πατρώιον οἶκον / φερβέμεν, *WD* 376–77),[31] although more sons might also mean more workers and greater productivity (379–80). Marriage and children represent a long-term investment, a system of social security which one "pays into" in maturity by supporting the wife who will bear the children who will support one in old age when the system "pays back." Raising additional sons is costlier in the short run but will increase one's security and perhaps one's reimbursement in old age: γηραιὸς δὲ θάνοι ἕτερον παῖδ' ἐγκαταλείπων (*WD* 378).[32] The system is throughout fraught with danger. One might have only daughters (a further drain on the *oikos*) or one's sons might die before one's old age or even fail to render the filial support that is due. Given the preoccupation of the head of the family with the survival of the *oikos* and himself in old age, we can appreciate the particular vulnerability of elderly Boeotian men (not to mention the women) and the cultural anxiety about old age in general.

Let us now consider the way in which the races themselves are age-graded. The five races are described in terms of both the human condition and man's social relations. The Golden race, set in the paradisiacal reign of Cronus, is free from hard work and sorrow, for the earth freely proffers her gifts. The culture is defined in terms not of work but of pleasure: men delight in feasts (τέρποντ' ἐν

29. On the economics of the period in general, see Chester G. Starr in *CAH*² 3, part 3 (1982) 422–35, and M. I. Finley, *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece,* ed. B. D. Shaw and P. R. Saller (London 1981) passim. More detailed studies of Boeotian agriculture and the economics of Hesiodic thought include Marcel Detienne, *Crise agraire et attitude religieuse chez Hésiode,* Latomus 68 (1963); Arthur (supra n.16) 22–25; Oswyn Murray, *Early Greece* (London 1980) chaps. 3–4; and Sussman (supra n.27) 32–41.

30. Cf. Kirk (supra n.3) 134.

31. Not to mention that the *oikos* with just one son keeps clear of the kind of quarrels over inheritance in which Hesiod and Perses were embroiled.

32. Disagreeing with West (supra n.2), who reads the ἕτερον παῖδα as a grandson rather than a second son.

θαλίῃσι, 115) "far from all evils," an image which suggests not so much self-gratification as the civilized refinements of the banquet. Old age, from which they are free (οὐδέ τι δειλὸν / γῆρας ἐπῆν, 113–14), is presented primarily as a natural evil. They remain "ever the same in their feet and hands" (αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοῖοι, 114), that is, free from disfiguring old age,[33] which suggests that (if we are to understand this race as having been "born" at all) the aging process has been arrested in the period of maturity and short of the onset of physical old age. The absence of old age serves to compensate for the presence of death, which comes not after a long and painful old age but like sleep (θνῆσκον δ' ὥσθ' ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι, 116).

Members of the Golden race are clearly pictured in terms of adulthood, like the gods they resemble (ὥστε θεοί, 112; φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν, 120),[34] and while there is death—for the Greeks an irreducible of the human condition—there are no allusions to any other period of life, either childhood or old age, to sully the idyllic picture. Human perfection, to the Greek mind, is conceived not in terms of childhood but of maturity and its delight in the pleasures of the physical and social world. It is free from the hardships against which the mature male and head of the household must struggle; hence the description is achieved largely in terms of negatives and privatives that dissociate the race from such realities as κῆδος, πόνος, ὀιζύς, κακόν, φθόνος. To the extent that such perfection is defined in terms of maturity, the other periods of life—explicitly, old age—are already devalued in the schema, and the relative perfection of the Heroic race is anticipated.

By identifying a second race of a different metal πολὺ χειρότερον than the preceding (and it is only at this point that the reader recognizes that the sequence will involve a number of races), and like the one before neither physically nor intellectually (φυήν, νόημα, 129), the poet differentiates the races of Gold and Silver. Moreover, by locating it under the regime of Zeus rather than Cronus,[35] and by introducing women and implicitly the complications of gender and sexual-

33. Cf. Pietro Pucci, *Hesiod and the Language of Poetry* (Baltimore 1977) 84–85, who stresses "the theme of man's identity with his original form throughout his life . . . identical to the form he took as he sprang from the earth." On the condition of hands and feet as indices of age and suffering, cf. *Od.* 11.497 and 19.359.

34. As West (supra n.2) notes ad loc., this is the meaning of Hesiod's claim that gods and mortals ὁμόθεν γεγάασι, i.e., "that they started on the same terms." See also Vernant (supra n.2) 40–41, who seems mistaken in linking the races of Gold and Silver as representing what he simply calls "youth." The race of Silver, as I suggest below, is not about youth but about the childhood of the παῖς, which the Greeks distinguished from the young manhood (νεότης) which begins with the arrival of ἥβη. The Golden race is clearly regarded, like the Olympians themselves, as in maturity. While it is true that both races are exempt from old age, this hardly characterizes them both as youth in any useful sense of the term.

35. As West (supra n.2) notes ad loc., 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες normally suggests the Olympians, and is secured by the reference to Ζεὺς Κρονίδης in 138. The formula is used more loosely in 110 and is qualified with the reference to Cronus in the following line. Cf. Fontenrose (supra n.5) 11–12, who suggests that the transition from Gold to Silver is occasioned by the new rule of Zeus, which puts an end to the race of Gold and establishes a new order of work.

ity, he effects a further contrast with the men-only Golden race and suggests the move to a different model. The correspondence between the Silver race and childhood is strongly marked by depicting the race as one of children:

> ἀλλ' ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ
> ἐτρέφετ' ἀτάλλων, μέγα νήπιος, ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.
>
> (130–31)

The Silver race is one of protracted childhood and utter dependency. From the perspective of maturity, childhood is useless immaturity, with no positive value of its own. Hence for Hesiod the παῖς is νήπιος both in the literal sense of "childish" and in its derivative sense of foolish and unproductive (as Hesiod often abuses Perses).[36] Hesiod's concerns are economic as well as ethical, and the "hundred years" through which they are nurtured (ἐτρέφετο) is not the blissful prolongation of an idyllic childhood but a drain upon the family's resources until these members contribute their labor to the household. Hesiod sees these children as fatuous and unproductive and locates them with the women (παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ) together in the *oikos*. The Silver race actually follows their progress just beyond the arrival of ἥβη (young manhood)—cf. ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἄρ' ἡβήσαι τε καὶ ἥβης μέτρον ἵκοιτο (132)—and thus points up the developmental nature of the model. With the arrival of ἥβη their end is as abrupt as their childhood is long: they refuse to serve (θεραπεύειν, 135) the gods and offer them sacrifice as is θέμις (137); the folly and self-centeredness of childhood carry over into their young manhood. The end they meet in reciprocal violence is a function not of childhood per se but of the flicker of young manhood which these νήπιοι experience but cannot control. By showing the dire consequences upon manhood of prolonged childhood, Hesiod characterizes the inferiority of childhood by exaggerating its deficiencies and achieves a typical mythological justification of the normal span of childhood as neither too long or short but "just right."[37]

With the Silver race's coming into ἥβη, Hesiod has already intimated the succession of young manhood upon childhood, and the reciprocal violence that characterizes the demise of the Silver agers—ὕβριν γὰρ ἀτάσθαλον οὐκ ἐδύναντο / ἀλλήλων ἀπέχειν (134–35)—clearly anticipates the internecine warfare of the Bronze race. By associating the internal violence that concludes the adolescence of the Silver race with the fratricide that dooms the Bronze race, the poet underscores the problematical nature of νεότης in general and its potential for violence. In contrast with the Silver, the race of Bronze makes no reference to childhood or old age, this race instead being sprung ἐκ Μελιᾶν (145)—from the Meliai or ash-tree nymphs (cf. *Th.* 187).[38] If so, Hesiod may

36. Other instances of νήπιος are always in the latter sense: *WD* 286, 397, and 633 (of Perses); 40, 218, 456; and fragments 33a.28 and 61.

37. Cf. Kirk (supra n.5) 136: "The purpose might be to stress the absurdity of life, however long and free from suffering, if it includes no period of maturity."

38. Cf. West (supra n.2) ad loc.

be combining two associations: that in which nymphs and other beneficent female deities are regarded as κουροτρόφοι who protect and sometimes nurture boys in the wild until they reach ἥβη,[39] and the association of ash trees with the manufacture of spears, which is particularly appropriate to the destiny of these *kouroi.* The asexual nature of their origins and the lack of any reference to women or reproduction in the description (in contrast with the mothers of the Silver race and Helen in the Heroic) are doubly significant: first, as befitting a race of men who are themselves, by reason of their age grade and immaturity, not yet ὥριοι for marriage; second, as related to the frequent characterization of young manhood in puberty rituals and elsewhere as involving a rejection of the maternal ties of youth and their feminizing influence.[40]

The Bronze race is described as different from—though not necessarily inferior to—the Silver (οὐκ ἀργυρέῳ οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον, 144).[41] As was noted above, Hesiod distinguishes the young from the adult ἀνήρ not so much by his activities per se as by the degree of maturity and responsibility with which he executes them. This is reflected in the sequence by describing both the Bronze and the Heroic races in reference to a common activity, warfare, but by conceiving of it in two very different ways. The γένος . . . χάλκειον is characterized by its love of warfare and its *hybris*—οἷσιν Ἄρηος / ἔργ' ἔμελε στονόεντα καὶ ὕβριες (145–46)—and in both these attributions there is a significant link to the period of early manhood.[42] Just as already in Homer the κοῦρος signifies the young and vigorous warrior as opposed to the commanders and counselors,[43] so the *Iliad* epitomizes in Achilles the powerful and terrifying warrior and repeatedly distin-

39. Cf. the Okeanides at *Th.* 347, Hekate at *Th.* 450–52, Eirene at *WD* 228. That the preclassical meaning of κοῦρος is the youth who has just come into manhood is proved by Jane Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, Eng. 1912) 11–12, and Martin Nilsson, *Mycenaean-Minoan Religion and Its Survivals in Greek Religion* (Lund 1950) 547. Vernant (supra n.2) 32–34 suggests that, as in a number of myths, the Bronze race is born autochthonously (and therefore asexually) as young warriors.

40. For illustrations and very different interpretations of the exclusion of women from male initiatory rites, see Bruno Bettelheim, *Symbolic Wounds* (Glencoe, Ill. 1954) 117–19, 227–38; M. Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth,* trans. Willard Trask (New York 1958) 4–10; and T. Reik, *The Creation of Woman* (New York 1960) 123–24. On literary reflections of such ritual behavior, see, e.g., C. W. Eckert, "Initiatory Motifs in the Story of Telemachus," *CJ* 59 (1964) 50 and 52.

In Telemachus one sees the Homeric version of several of the Hesiodic motifs: of the παῖς whose childhood is protracted and who has not assumed any responsibility for the *oikos;* of the κοῦρος who comes of age physically (cf. his stringing of the bow), and as a warrior and defender of the *oikos* who still (e.g., in his leaving open of the door to the armory at *Od.* 22.154–56) falls somewhat short of the maturity of the older ἀνήρ.

41. Cf. Vernant (supra n.2) 23, who notes that there is nothing in the text (apart from the decrease in the value of the metals) to suggest that Hesiod means to characterize the Bronze race as inferior to the Silver. The point again justifies Vernant's general argument that the sequence involves not progressive degeneration but discrete stages that occur in a cyclic order.

42. In many cultures the mention of warfare would itself suggest the young men who are charged with the defense of the people. Cf. Gulliver (supra n.4) 157–58, who observes in many cultures a particular concern, because of their problematic relationship to the community, with the age grade of the adolescents and young men who provide the militant warrior grades.

43. Cf., e.g., *Il.* 4.321, 393; 5.807; 9.68, 86; 12.196. Hesiod refers to Peace as κουροτρόφος (228), in contrast to war, which here becomes by implication the destroyer of κοῦροι.

guishes the impulsiveness of the younger warriors from the maturity of the older ones.[44] Indeed, Gregory Nagy has argued that the description of the Bronze race may suggest Achilles in particular: their birth ἐκ Μελιᾶν (145) and Achilles' ashen spear with bronze tip; their βίη (148) and the hero's capacity for savage violence; the final residence of both in Hades.[45] Solon's elegiacs on the "ten ages" likewise characterize the fourth hebdomad, from age twenty-two to age twenty-eight, as that in which a man is at the peak of his physical strength (μέγ' ἄριστος ἰσχύν), the index of his ἀρετή or military prowess (19.7–8). And in archaic and classical Athens the achievement of manhood was identified with the time at which young men became warriors, as reflected in one's admission to one's phratry at the feast of the Apaturia and in the assumption of military activities by the ἔφηβος.[46] Hesiod describes the Bronze race, which is δεινόν τε καὶ ὄβριμον (145) as one of warriors and of enormous physical strength: μεγάλη δὲ βίη καὶ χεῖρες ἄαπτοι / ἐξ ὤμων ἐπέφυκεν ἐπὶ στιβαροῖσι μέλεσσι (148–49), suggesting their youthful nature.

Yet Hesiod condemns their indiscriminate indulgence in warfare and expression of manhood in destructive violence,[47] characterizing their obsessive warfare as ὕβρις and showing the consequences of such antisocial violence to be mutual destruction. Aristotle similarly characterizes νεότης as the period in which ὕβρις is most unrestrained: it is passionate, covetous of victory, and excessive in all regards, its wrongdoing the result not of κακουργία but of ὕβρις.[48] The single-mindedness (ἀδάμαντος . . . κρατερόφρονα θυμόν, 147) of the Bronze race is reflected in the negative and exclusive terms in which they are described: they eat no bread, have no names in life or death (νώνυμνοι, 154), use no metals but bronze, and do nothing but engage in warfare.

With the Bronze race Hesiod translates the immaturity of young manhood onto the grid of martial achievement and characterizes it in terms of a warrior culture manqué. With the race of Heroes (ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, 159) Hesiod suggests the superiority of the mature ἀνήρ, Aristotle's ἀκμή (*Rhet.* 2.14), by showing

44. Cf. 3.108–10, 20.407–12, 23.589–90, 602–4.

45. *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979) 156–60, 172–73, though Nagy's coordination of the Bronze and Heroic races as aspects of the epic tradition seems to me more successful than that of Gold and Silver as parallel expressions of heroic cult.

46. Cf. supra n.17.

47. By characterizing the kind of warfare that the Bronze race indulges in as the "deeds of Ares," the poet indicates their interest in only the destructive aspects of war; there is no reference to Ares in the description of the Heroes.

There may be a further link between youth and hybristic violence in the poet's description of Typhoeus at *Th.* 820–68, which represents a final resistance to the civilizing patriarchy of Zeus. The birth of Typhoeus after the Titanomachy, as well as the opposition between Typhoeus and the Titans in 820, characterizes the rebel as younger than Zeus, and his description as ὁπλότατον (821, i.e., most fit for ὅπλα—cf., e.g., *Il.* 3.108, 4.323, 9.58) links youthfulness with martial superiority. There are also a number of verbal echoes between the strength, physicality, and invincibility of Typhoeus and that of the Bronze race.

48. *Rhet.* 2.12.3–16. Cicero likewise distinguishes the *ferocitas iuvenum* from the *gravitas* of maturity (*De Sen.* 33).

their success in the same category, and thus establishes it as the best relative to the last four races.[49] The sequence thus underscores the high evaluation of maturity by representing it twice: first as Gold and placed at the head of the list; then as Heroes, where both their nonmetallic nature and the moral terms in which they are described mark them with distinction. This race is δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον (158) than Bronze, the only race not charged with *hybris* (cf. 134, 146, 191) and recognized as respecting δίκη, implying that in maturity one's self-restraint and moral faculties are sufficiently developed to resist resolving conflict by violence rather than law.[50] More important, in the references to Helen and Oedipus, Thebes and Troy, and the cycles of epic these different generations involve, the poet characterizes the reproductive success of the race and so locates them in the context of marriage and the family and the prerogatives of mature domestic life.

In a certain sense, the division of warriors into junior and senior grades (the anthropological parallels to which we have noted) is implicit in the epic tradition, in which Homeric warriors are age-graded, with an older tier (e.g., Agamemnon, Odysseus, Patroclus) distinguished from (and often at odds with) such younger and more impulsive warriors as Achilles and Diomedes.[51] This division is reinforced at the sexual level: the elder warriors are generally married, while the sexuality of the younger is limited to concubines.[52] At the tactical level, the younger warriors are often teamed with older experienced ones—Achilles with Patroclus, Diomedes with Odysseus or Nestor—on the assumption that the energies of youth will be guided by the company of someone wiser. Nestor recalls this very responsibility to Patroclus at *Iliad* 11.782–89—that he has failed to perform his function as elder in keeping Achilles' greater βίη under control by giving him "solid advice" (πυκινὸν ἔπος).

Commentators have noted the links between this race and that of Gold,[53]

49. My reading of the Heroes differs from that of Vernant (supra n.2), who sees in the Heroes a different version of the same age-group as that of Bronze. Kirk (supra n.3) 136 likewise attempts to link the Bronze and Heroic races in what he sees as a lack of justice and a sense of responsibility which "bedevils" them both. I see no evidence for such criticism of the Heroes in the text, which explicitly identifies them as more just and better; West (supra n.2) ad 161 also suggests that Hesiod presents the destiny of the Heroes in a more favorable light. Kurt Von Fritz, "Pandora, Prometheus, and the Myth of the Ages," *Rev. Rel.* 11 (1947) 233ff., appreciates the difference between the Bronze and Heroic races, but reads them as different perspectives on the legendary past.

50. On δίκη and ὕβρις respectively as "legal process" and "violence," see M. Gagarin, "*Dike* in the *Works and Days*," *CP* 68 (1973) 81–94. Solon likewise attributes to maturity (in the sixth hebdomad, ages thirty-six to forty-two) the peak of a man's intellectual powers and self-restraint from lawless behavior: τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ περὶ πάντα καταρτύεται νόος ἀνδρός, / οὐδ' ἔρδειν ἔθ' ὁμῶς ἔργ' ἀπάλαμνα θέλει (11–12).

51. Cf. Nash (supra n.3) 7.

52. Marital status is one expression of Achilles' conflict with Agamemnon: he rejects the latter's marriage offer, discusses his marriage prospects in Phthia at 9.393–94, and had apparently spoken of marrying Briseis (19.297–99). He *calls* Briseis his bride at 9.340, which serves precisely to underscore the difference.

53. See esp. Walcot (supra n.2) "Composition" 4–5 and *Hesiod and the Near East* 81–82, who sees in the similarity of the Isles of the Blessed to the Golden race evidence of ring composition that

which we suggested above is portrayed in terms of maturity: both live ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες (112, 170); the references to Cronus' rule over the Isles of the Blessed (169) recalls his reign during the Golden race; the vegetarian abundance in the afterlife of the Heroes (172–73) recalls the spontaneous generation of the earth in the Golden race. Where the Silver, Bronze, and Iron races are characterized by varieties of *hybris,* these heroes are godlike in their maturity and excellence, a θεῖον γένος (159), ἡμίθεοι (160). Whether or not the race of Heroes was a component of the original sequence of races, Hesiod here seizes upon the idealized treatment of man and war in the epic-heroic tradition. Far from being forced upon him, Hesiod finds in the nonmetallic race a means to distinguish the excellence of human maturity. While the Heroic race may be "anomalous" from the perspective of a model of metals of strictly decreasing value, it functions effectively as a symbol of the preeminence of maturity.

Some of the Heroes who die illustriously in battle are removed to the Isles of the Blessed, an afterlife distinguished from the anonymous and almost punitive destiny of the Bronze race. Unlike the warriors of Bronze, the heroes who die fighting do so not indiscriminately but purposefully—for the flocks of Oedipus or fair-haired Helen (163–65)—and the allusions to the epic traditions of Thebes and Troy associate the Heroes not with indiscriminate warfare but with organized expeditions and civilized life in general. Where the Bronze race eats no grain, it is implicit that the race of Heroes does: Zeus places them ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ (157), and in their afterlife τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν / τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα (172–73), which associates the Heroes with the stability of agriculture and the diversity of civilized life.[54] Zeus' release of Cronus and the Titans to rule them may also suggest the special merits of this race. The nature of their final destiny after the span of manhood implies that these heroes do not advance to old age but are frozen in the fullness of their lives—there is no mention of either childhood or old age in connection with them. The race of Heroes represents the relative perfection of the mature: their courage and prowess in battle, their settled lives in cities, the renown they leave behind.

That the Iron race, and by implication old age, represents the nadir of the sequence is implicit in Hesiod's categorical assertion that he would rather have been born any time but now (174–75), and its dismal character is underscored by its juxtaposition to the relative perfection of the ὄλβιοι ἥρωες. Hesiod describes the particular nature of this race by presenting us with two images of it: that of the Iron race "now" (νῦν, 176), when its evils are still compounded with some goods (179), and of a later time "when" (εὖτ' ἄν, 181) it is wholly bad, its evils

ends the traditional sequence at line 173. On the contrast between the description of Pandora's intent (ἐμήσατο κήδεα λυγρά, 95) with the Golden and Heroic races, see Pucci (supra n.33) 84–85, and cf. Querbach (supra n.2) 2–3.

54. Cf. Fontenrose (supra n.5) 9.

brought to fulfillment and unmitigated by good. By doing so he traces the race of Iron through, as it were, its death throes and extinction and thus, as he has with the Silver and Heroic, characterizes the corresponding age grade as a span of time. Vernant makes the point that the race of Iron is really double, and in marking the deterioration of the race in two distinct phases Hesiod allows us to see the race as a whole age in a rapid and dramatic way.

The correspondence between the γένος . . . σιδήρεον (176) and old age is implicit in the very selection of iron, which links the race to the physical degeneration of old age. While πολιός regularly describes the gray hair or beards of the elderly,[55] the epithet is also frequently applied to σίδηρος.[56] Hesiod plays upon both these uses in the reference to the "gray-templed babies" whose appearance will betoken the end of this race: εὖτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν (181). In πολιοκρόταφοι Hesiod combines the two senses of πολιός by implying that in the last days men at birth will be both completely *old* and completely *iron,* both physically disfigured and morally hardened, their gray temples betraying the steel-gray hearts within them. As the Iron race is a kind of old age, it adumbrates the end of the sequence as a whole; and when its own destruction is imminent, its members will show signs of their senescence from the beginning.

On the natural level the gray-templed babies act as an index of the evil character of old age. The combination of grayness and youth likens these newborn to the Graiae, whom Hesiod describes as καλλιπαρήους / ἐκ γενετῆς πολιὰς (*Th.* 270–71). Like the other offspring of Phorkys and Ceto, the Graiae are monsters, hybrids possessed at once of beauty and ugliness, youth and old age, and, like the πολιοκρόταφοι, gray from birth. In the monstrous we find the confounding of categories which are otherwise separate in nature, and this kind of confusion on the natural level has as its corollary the inversion of social categories that follows in the description: the behavior that normally distinguishes the treatment of friend from enemy, kin from nonkin, guest from nonguest, and so forth becomes similarly confounded. The gray-templed babies thus become a distinctive monstrum that will herald the imminent demise of the race.

In describing his society as the senescence of the race, the poet suggests an age that is morally at its nadir, exhausted and on the verge of collapse. Where each of the preceding races had—whether by reason of its virtue or of its *hybris*—avoided dread old age, for the Iron race everything is old. Apart from its physical resemblance to old age, the poet links the Iron race and old age thematically in his description of its ὕβρις. Unlike the Silver and Bronze races, where play and warfare correspond to the actual pastimes of childhood and young

55. Cf. e.g., *Il.* 22.74, 77, 24.516; *Od.* 4.317, 499. At *Il.* 8.518 Hector mobilizes the πολιοκροτάφους . . . γέροντας to assist in guarding Troy.

56. Cf. *Il.* 9.366, 23.261; *Od.* 21.3, 81, 24.168. That Hesiod speaks of μέλας . . . σίδηρος at 151 may be in part to reserve πολιός and its overtones for the Iron race.

manhood, Hesiod does not imply that the elderly themselves act insolently and abusively, but associates the race with old age by featuring acts of ὕβρις in which the elderly are victimized.[57] Children will dishonor (ἀτιμήσουσι, 185) their aged parents, "carping and criticizing them with rough words" (μέμψονται δ' ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποῖς βάζοντες ἔπεσσι, 186) and will deny them the θρεπτήρια (188) on which their survival depends. The treatment of the elderly reveals the character of this race and the kind of behavior that will warrant its destruction. Mistreatment of the elderly is to the Iron race what fratricidal warfare is to the Bronze and protracted childhood is to the Silver—evidence of its brand of moral depravity and the occasion of its doom.

The moral repulsiveness of these acts is signalled with expressions of outrage at their perpetrators: they are "pitiless, and heedless of the gods' vengeance" (σχέτλιοι, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν εἰδότες, 187), "men whose justice is in their fists" (χειροδίκαι, 189).[58] Hesiod's words anticipate his outrage later in the poem when he uses this kind of insolence as the climax of a catalogue of injustices:

> ὅς τε γονῆα γέροντα κακῷ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ
> νεικείῃ χαλεποῖσι καθαπτόμενος ἐπέεσσι·
> τῷ δ' ἦ τοι Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀγαίεται, ἐς δὲ τελευτὴν
> ἔργων ἀντ' ἀδίκων χαλεπὴν ἐπέθηκεν ἀμοιβήν.
>
> (331–34)

These crimes merit Zeus' special anger, who appropriately makes harsh reprisal for harsh words (χαλεποῖσι . . . χαλεπὴν). As Zeus works here at the individual level, so with the Iron race Zeus will visit collectively a fitting recompense for such crimes: those who mistreat the elderly shall themselves grow old prematurely. Unlike the Bronze race, which killed itself off in violence, Zeus himself will take the lead in destroying this race (180).

Particularly striking with the Iron race is the way in which Hesiod interrelates the natural evil of old age and the social evils that will accompany it. In 185 we are told that these Iron-agers will dishonor their parents "as they grow old quickly" (αἶψα . . . γηράσκοντας), suggesting that the natural process of aging is hastened when it is accompanied by insolence rather than respect (and as implied at 93). The poet's observation that the moral environment influences a man's natural decline intensifies the allusion to the "gray-templed babies" by depicting a society so corrupt that even the newborn are tainted by it, and in which evil is so abundant that its senescent effects are conspicuous from birth. As Yeats, in the "shape with lion body and the head of a man" slouching towards Bethlehem,

57. Hesiod might have developed the Iron race by characterizing it with some of the criticisms commonly made of old age—its garrulousness, nostalgia, and pessimism—but these are not the vices by which he would characterize his own times. Aristotle catalogues the deficiencies of old age in *Rhet.* 2.13.

58. χειροδίκαι, like δίκη δ' ἐν χερσί below (192), implies the rejection of legal process and the use of violence in dealing with conflict; cf. Gagarin (supra n.50) 90.

found in the monstrous an image that marked the end of one age (and not coincidentally the beginning of a second cycle of human culture) and expressed his own pessimism concerning modern civilization, so Hesiod finds in these πολιοκρόταφοι a succinct and a horrific image of the *eschata,* in which only the negative aspects of old age are represented and in which the deepest anxieties about it are realized. Here the elderly, who are socially vulnerable and whose economic survival is always precarious, suffer the loss of their livelihood and their dignity at the hands of their own children.

On a literary level, Hesiod's sequence provides an early parallel to the familiar "exercise"—from Solon's ten ages of man to Shakespeare's seven—in which the human life span is segmented and characterized and its excellences age-graded. In portraying the varieties of moral and social life in the categories of age, Hesiod suggests in schematic and elegant form the conceptual mechanisms by which his culture organizes experience: the assimilation of human activity to the natural order, its cyclical and seasonal character, a sense of time in relation to human life (βίος), and life itself as an orderly unfolding of different capacities and incapacities. In such a life-course model the races are welded together in a structure that respects their discrete nature and the striking differences in their value in the context of a unified whole, and that derives not from the demands of tradition or from an empty formalism but from the realities of life as they are experienced and perceived. We are struck by the conspicuous features of his model: its relative lack of appreciation of childhood, its recognition of the excellence of maturity or middle age over against the immaturity of young manhood as reiterated in the representation of the races of Gold and the Heroes, and its portrayal of old age largely in terms of its degeneration and vulnerability. As such, Hesiod's development of such a model is testimony not just to his creative abilities but to a cultural predisposition to view life in these terms, and in the absence of the kind of direct data we would like to have it provides some precious indirect evidence about the social realities and attitudes of archaic Boeotia.

The College of Wooster





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THE URINE AND THE VINE: ASTYAGES' DREAMS AT HERODOTUS 1.107–8

Ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης ὁ Κυαξάρεω παῖς τὴν βασιληίην. Καί οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὔνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην, τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. Ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν μάγων τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθών. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικὼς τὴν ὄψιν, ὁ δὲ Πέρσῃ διδοῖ τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὗρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἐόντα ἀγαθῆς, τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῷ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου.

Συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτεϊ εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν· ἐδόκεε [δέ] οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. Ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτοκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος τῶν μάγων οἱ ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου.

Astyages, son of Cyaxares, now inherited the throne. A daughter was born to him, whom he called Mandane; and Astyages dreamed that she urinated so much that the urine filled his city, then went on to flood all of Asia. He consulted the dream-experts among the magi, and was alarmed by the details which he heard from them. Later, when this Mandane was already old enough for marriage, he did not give her as wife to any of the Medes who were worthy of him, because he was fearful of the dream; instead he gave her to a Persian named Cambyses, who, he discovered, belonged to a good house and was mild in nature, but was still—he thought—far inferior to a Mede of even middling status.

In the first year of Mandane's marriage to Cambyses Astyages had another dream: he dreamed that a vine grew from the genitalia of this daughter, and spread over the whole of Asia. He again consulted the dream-experts on what he had seen, then sent for his daughter to come to him from the land of the Persians. By now she was pregnant. When she arrived he kept her under guard, planning to kill the product of her womb: for the dream-experts among the magi interpreted his dream as indicating that his daughter's offspring would take his place upon the throne.

In this paper I shall discuss the narrative logic of this passage, and its role within Herodotus' presentation of Cyrus' story. In passing, but only in passing, I shall graze a number of other issues: the origin (Greek or Oriental?) of these items; one point of historical truth (was the historical Cyrus Mandane's son, or an outsider?); and the ways we might reconstruct the symbolic suggestions of urination for Herodotus' audience.

I

First, the narrative logic. Here critics have generally been hard on Herodotus. The two dreams, it is claimed, represent a simple doublet.[1] The resulting narrative has also seemed to some to be inconsequential or inept: in Herodotus' account Astyages has no male heir (*ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου*, 1.109.3), so the notion of his daughter's offspring ruling all Asia or coming to the throne need not be threatening: and even if some threat were to be felt, what could be more senseless than to give Mandane in any sort

[1] W. Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seine Zeitgenossen* (Göttingen, 1921), p. 49, elaborated by H. Erbse, *Studien zum Verständnis Herodots* (Berlin and New York, 1992), pp. 34–5; cf. Asheri on 1.107, 'I due sogni... sono analoghi e trasmettano il medesimo messaggio'. *Contra*, K. Reinhardt, *Vermächtnis der Antike* (Göttingen, 1940), p. 149, arguing that both dreams are necessary to suggest the duality of Cyrus, both boon and curse. If the argument pursued below is correct, that duality is already suggested by the urination dream.

of marriage, least of all one to a foreigner?[2] Von Fritz inferred that the original version of the dream(s) suggested a threat from *outside* the regal house:[3] that, he thought, was the only plausible explanation of Astyages' alarm. For what it was worth, such was the version of Ctesias, *FGrH* 688 F 9.2, who represented the infant Cyrus as no relation of Astyages: this Ctesian version may well underlie Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 66.9, who makes Cyrus the son of a Mardian 'Argoste' rather than of Mandane.[4]

Yet there is one crucial difference between the first dream (urination) and the second (vine): the suggestions[5] of the second are much more *clear-cut* than the first.[6] The spreading tree in the second dream evidently portends a coming domination, here as in Sophocles' *Electra* (419–23) or in Xerxes' dream at 7.19.1:[7] this is especially appropriate in an Oriental dream, both because of the familiarity with such symbolism as portending success and salvation[8] and because of the frequency of the vine as an Achaemenid royal symbol.[9]

[2] Cf. esp. K. von Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* (Berlin, 1967), p. 286; D. Fehling, *Herodotus and his sources* (revised edition; tr. J. G. Howie [Liverpool, 1989]), p. 200 (who does make one crucial point clear: below, n. 28); J. A. S. Evans, *Herodotus, explorer of the past* (Princeton, 1991), p. 53; Erbse (n. 1), pp. 34–5. [3] Von Fritz (n. 2), pp. 286–7.

[4] But it is difficult to go much further in reconstructing Ctesias' account from Nicolaus. For instance, the graphic embellishment and the rationalization of supernatural details are both recurrent features of Nicolaus' narrative, and may well reflect his own technique. See M. Toher, *CA* 8 (1989), 159–72.

[5] By 'suggestions' I here mean the suggestions sensed by an ancient audience, culturally primed to interpret dreams as potentially (though not universally: → S. R. West, *CQ* 37 [1987], 264) predictive of the future. I am not here concerned with those felt by post-Freudian modern readers, primed as we are to interpret dreams as illuminating the *present* psyche of the dreamer. On this distinction cf. S. R. F. Price, in *Before Sexuality*, D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (edd.), (Princeton, 1990), pp. 365–88: Freud emphasized the point himself, e.g. *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900: J. Strachey [tr., ed.], [Harmondsworth, 1976]), pp. 59–61, 170; 'Five lectures on psycho-analysis', in *Two short accounts of Psycho-analysis* (Harmondsworth, 1962: first pubished 1910), p. 61. I therefore resist the temptation to toy with psychoanalytic interpretations. Here a father's preoccupation with his daughter's genitalia would evidently be a promising theme, but such modern decodings are likely to obscure the original audience response.—It is true that even in the Greek world dreams could be used to illustrate the dreamer's current state of health: cf. especially [Hipp.] περὶ διαίτης 4; G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, reason, and experience* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 43; S. M. Oberhelman, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987), 47–60, and *ANRW* ii.37.1 (1993), 121–56, esp. 127–36. But the interpretative register is on the whole substantially different (cf. also V. Langholf, *Medical theories in Hippocrates* [Berlin and New York, 1990], p. 246), and clearly unhelpful here: for instance a dream of a spring or cistern might point to a bladder disease, or a flood-dream might indicate an excess of bodily moisture (περὶ διαίτης 4.90 p. 656 L. = pp. 438–40 J.). Herodotus' Astyages has his problems, but the audience will not conceive them as being of this sort.

[6] Contrast R. Bichler, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 130, emphasizing the 'eindeutig' quality of both dreams. Even H. R. Immerwahr, *Form and thought in Herodotus* (APA Monographs 23, Cleveland, OH, 1966), p. 163, who is sensitive to the darker aspects of the urination dream, does not bring out its multivalence; nor does G. Devereux, *Dreams in Greek Tragedy: an Ethno-Psycho-Analytical Study* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1976), pp. 219–55, whose analysis is at once highly elaborate and highly reductionist.

[7] Dr Heyworth also points to Ov. *Fast.* 3.27–38, where the pregnant Silvia dreams of two palm-trees (Romulus and Remus), and her uncle Amulius' frustrated attempt to fell the greater of the two.

[8] Cf. the Old Testament parallels, emphasized by Devereux (n. 6), 229, and Bichler (n. 6), pp. 130–31: *Genesis* 40.9–13, *Ezekiel* 17, and the later *Daniel* 4. For detailed discussion of the first and last cases cf. E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im Alten Testament* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 73, Berlin, 1953), pp. 65–73, 113–22.

[9] Cf. Asheri on 1.107; P. Frisch, *Die Träume bei Herodot* (Meisenheim, 1968), p. 10.

The urination dream would be much harder to interpret. Here it will be useful to adduce evidence from other cultures, though it is important to be clear about the methodology. Of course we cannot assume that Herodotus' Greek audience would align with every nuance felt by a Hottentot or a Namaqua tribesman, but comparative material can still serve as a suggestive eye-opener; it can alert us to alternative possibilities, and in particular warn us against too hasty an inference from limited and western modern assumptions.[10] Naturally, the comparative material becomes more telling as it comes closer to the world with which Herodotus is dealing, and the most illuminating material will in fact be Assyrian; but even more distant parallels can be thought-provoking.

Both Greek and comparative material make it clear that urine, as a warm carrier of bodily life-juices, can suggest many things.[11] It can have positive associations with healing and fertility,[12] especially when, as here, a virgin's urine is concerned; but urine can also have a magical, apotropaic function, and this can in its turn lead into a gesture of symbolic magic, casting ill fortune on an enemy or simply articulating contempt.[13] This relates to a feature of pollution which several scholars have recently stressed, the way in which dirty, 'polluting' elements can in suitable circumstances cleanse as well as defile, can bring cures and benefits as well as disease and disaster.[14] It is understandable that a whole art of folk-urinomancy could develop, requiring an expert to read the signs and suggestions of a person's urine.

It is understandable too that a urination dream would be particularly hard to interpret. Closely similar dreams could bear totally divergent interpretations, ranging from the wholly propitious to the totally catastrophic. The range of symbolic suggestions is best illustrated by an Assyrian dream-book, containing material which

[10] This methodology provides a further reason (cf. n. 5) why I have passed over psychoanalytic explanations. The culturally specific features of such explanations are increasingly recognized: true, *any* decoding or symbolism will have such specific features, but it is precisely our modern assumptions which we should try to minimize or renuance—even if (of course) total escape is impossible.

[11] Cf. the fascinating collection of material in R. Muth, *Träger der Lebenskraft: Ausscheidungen des Organismus im Volksglauben der Antike* (Wien, 1956), and his briefer summary in *R-E* Spb. xi (1968) s.v. 'Urin', pp. 1292–303.

[12] Thus it was a Hottentot and Namaqua custom for a priest to urinate over a couple after marrying them, and a tradition in the Papuan Gulf for a chieftain to urinate into the mouth of a newly initiated warrior (Muth [n. 11], 21, and S. Donaldson in *Encyclopaedia of Homosexuality* (W. R. Dynes [ed.], 1990), pp. 1353–5). The well-known (and in part scientifically confirmed: Muth [n. 11], p. 19, etc) value of urine as a folk-remedy is reflected in the tale of the Pharaoh Pheros at 2.111.2–3: cf. A. B. Lloyd ad loc., F. D. Harvey in Dawson and Harvey, *BICS* 83 (1966), 94 n. 34, and H. von Staden, *Helios* 19 (1992), 7–30.

[13] Muth (n. 11), esp. pp. 18–22, 64–70, 129–43, 154–60. For the contemptuous suggestions of urination cf. the dreams discussed by Artemidorus 4.44. D. Fehling, *Ethologische Überlegungen auf dem Gebiet der Altertumskunde* (*Zetemata* 61, Munich, 1974), p. 34 collects further evidence.

[14] Cf. especially J.-P. Vernant, *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* (Janet Lloyd [tr.], Brighton and New Jersey, 1980), pp. 125–6; R. C. T. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983), 233–4. Von Staden (n. 12) brings out that this nexus of ideas is particularly strong when women, often constructed as 'dirty', are in point: thus faeces are prescribed in the Hippocratic corpus as a treatment for female diseases. The feminity both of Mandane and of 'Asia' may therefore be relevant; but the suggestions of urine admittedly seem less gender-specific than those of faeces (von Staden [n. 12], 11–12).

may well go back to the second millennium B.C.[15] In each case, the reference seems to be to a dreamed, rather than actual, act of urination:

If his urine [expands(?)] in front of (his) penis and [ ] the wall: [he will not have] sons.
If his urine ex[pands] in front of (his) penis and [ ] the wall, the street: he will h[ave] sons.
If his urine expands in front of his penis and f[ills(?) all] the streets: his property will be robb[ed] and given to the city [ ].
If his urine expands in front of (his) penis [and] he does obeisance in front of his urine: he will beget a son and he (i.e. the son) will be king....
If he sprinkles (himself) with his urine: his (sheep)-fold will expand.
If he sprinkles (himself) with his urine and wipes himself (clean): (the disease called) 'Hand of Ishtar'.
If he directs urine towards the sky, the son of this man whom he will (thereafter) beget will become important, (but) his (own) days will be short.
If he pours his (urine) into a river: his harvest will be bountiful.
If he pours his urine into a well: he will lose his property.
If he pours his urine into an irrigation-canal: Adad will flood his harvest.
If he pou[rs] his urine to his (personal) god [or to] his (personal) goddess: he will [find(?)] his lost property.

In Herodotus too there was more than one way of taking the dream. The urine *might* straightforwardly suggest Mandane's future offspring, as modern critics tend uncritically to assume: it is true that the urinary and genital aspects of the uro-genital tract are often assimilated to one another in myths and folklore, just as they are with those 'sons' of the Assyrian dream-book.[16] In that case Astyages' dream would simply presage a successful, conquering grandson, and an heirless grandfather might indeed have little to fear. Yet the urinary/genital assimilation is comparatively rare in Greek thought;[17] the darker, more negative suggestions of urine could also suggest to Herodotus' audience a soiled bodily product rather than an honourably produced son, hinting at a *distorted* succession.[18] It may be significant that one of the few Greek cases of urinary/genital assimilation uses the word οὐρεῖν ('urinate') in a story of Minos. His wife Pasiphae, infuriated by his sexual unfaithfulness, laid a curse upon

[15] A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Trans. Am. Philosoph. Society 46.3, Philadelphia, 1956): the quotation is from p. 265. Cf. J. Bottéro, *Ktèma* 7 (1982), 11–16; Asheri on 1.107. For more recent parallels cf. J. S. Lincoln, *The Dream in Primitive Cultures* (London, 1935), pp. 107–8: among the Ashanti a dream of falling into a latrine, or in China a dream of a lavatory, could be taken as a sign of good luck, 'you will get money'; but in many cultures similar dreams also signify both death or loss. If one searches for a rationalized explanation, Stephanie West points out to me that latrines have proved a fruitful source for medieval archaeologists: a user was unlikely to search for anything valuable dropped while in action. So where there is muck, there may genuinely also be brass.

[16] Or in the tale of the generous old woman who, on her death, transformed into a Brahman's urine as a way of giving birth to a hundred posthumous children: E. Chavannes, *Cinq cent contes et apologues: extraits du Tripitaka Chinois* (Paris, 1910–34) i.80–81: cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk Literature* (Copenhagen, 1955–8) T.512.2. In that case the urine was drunk by a doe, and the doe became pregnant: for two similar tales cf. Chavannes ii.283 and iii.233–4, in each of which a doe drinks a hermit's urine and becomes pregnant. The doe then typically begins the nurture of the human baby, who turns out to have miraculous qualities. There is a possibility, but no more, that a similar story-pattern underlies the Herodotean case, with human urine linked to the birth and animal-nurturing of a wonder-child. If so, that would imply a version in which the miraculous urination was real (though doubtless less spectacular), not merely dreamed.

[17] As Bichler (n. 6), 132 n. 30 remarks. Besides the Minos story to be discussed in a moment, Muth (n. 11), 154–60 and *R-E* Spb. xi 1300–303 mentions only the Boeotian myth of the parentage of Orion, where in one version three gods urinate into an animal hide: as Muth emphasizes, etymological speculation (*Οὐρίων* or *Οὐρείων* ~ οὐρεῖν) has here evidently played a part.

[18] Cf. Immerwahr (n. 6), 163, concentrating on urine as a pollutant. Herodotus was aware that the Persians thought of urine as unclean: cf. 1.133.3, 1.138.2 with the commentaries.

him, and the result was that after intercourse with other women Minos would οὐρεῖν 'snakes and scorpions and venomous millipedes' (Ant. Lib. 41.4–5).[19] The sexual function is again distorted, this time in a particularly uncomfortable way: οὐρεῖν would not be a natural way of imaging any normal part of the reproductive process.

The *flood* of urine might again be difficult to interpret. Once again, it could be straightforward, along the same lines as the spreading vine: an offspring[20] will overwhelm and dominate all Asia. This has something in common with the familiar[21] phenomenon of territorial urination: the urine marks out the family property. Still, folklore urine-floods rarely have these sorts of connotation, and this may alert us to wider possibilities. Particularly associated with female urination, such floods sometimes denote barriers and hindrances, though admittedly the (male) hero rarely finds them insuperable. There is an African story, for instance, of a traveller, Kombe Alhassu, finding his way into a giant's house, fleeing in terror and hiding in what he thinks is a cave—but in fact it is the vagina of the giantess, and he is soon evacuated to safety in a flood of urine.[22] More often, floods simply explain the origins of rivers or seas; as in the Melanesian tale of the old woman who always urinated in a giant leaf in her garden; one day two boys accidentally upturned it in their play—they were shooting at lizards—and that was the origin of the sea.[23] In Astyages' dream too there might be similar suggestions. The king's city (presumably Ecbatana) and then the land of Asia are turned into sea: that may hint at the theme of distorting nature which becomes so important in the later books.[24] And the darker suggestions of urination may again be relevant, indicating contempt or hostility for the city and land, and perhaps by extension for its current king.[25] This is not the sort of imagery that gently points to a peaceful inheritance.

[19] Simon Swain reminds me of the Athenian 'Ephebus', who in one spectacular orgasm produced a 'furry creature walking quickly with its many legs' (Plut. *Mor.* 733c). Plutarch tells this immediately after a similar urination tale, though that need not in itself mean an assimilation of orgasm to urination.

[20] Cf. the material collected by A. Dundes, *Journal of Psychoanalytic Anthropology* 9 (1986), 359–72 (reprinted in his collection *The Flood Myth* [Berkeley and London, 1988], pp. 151–65). Dundes argues that flood myths of the Noah-Deucalion type represent, via urinary/genital assimilation, a myth of male procreation without female assistance, with male urination mimicking the female breaking of the waters in childbirth. This emphasis would seem to ignore the greater frequency of *female* urination in such myths (below, nn. 22–3), as here.

[21] Most familiar to us from the embarrassing behaviour of domestic cats and dogs, but the phenomenon seems to have wider anthropological parallels and significance: cf. Muth (n. 11), p. 24; Donaldson (n. 12), p. 1354. The use of ithyphallic Herms to demarcate territory may be a related phenomenon (W. Burkert, *Structure and history in Greek mythology and ritual* [Berkeley etc, 1979], pp. 39–41, 45).

[22] L. Frobenius, *Atlantis* (Jena, 1921–8), vi.219: cf. some other instances among those listed by Stith Thompson (n. 16), A.933. Notice the confusion of vagina and urethra, on which see Devereux (n. 6), p. 228, and for classical Greece especially Lesley Ann Dean-Jones, *Women's bodies in Classical Greek Science* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 80–83, observing that Aristotle made the same mistake (*PA* 689a6–9). This confusion might aid the urinary/genital assimilation discussed above.

[23] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians: Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-lore* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 372–3: cf. P. Sébillot, *Le folk-lore de la France* (Paris, 1905), ii.327–8 for parallels in French folk-lore; Géza Róheim, *The Gates of the Dream* (New York, 1952), pp. 448–9 (= *The Flood Myth* [n. 20], pp. 152–3) for parallels from the New Hebrides, the Narrinyeri, and the Heiltsuk; and more generally Stith Thompson (n. 16) A.923.1, 933.2, 1012.2.

[24] I have discussed this 'land and sea' theme in *Georgica: Greek studies in honour of George Cawkwell* (M. A. Flower and M. Toher [eds.], *BICS* Supplement 58, 1991), pp. 136–9. Immerwahr (n. 6), p. 163 was not far astray in connecting this with the 'river-motif' which his book emphasized.

[25] G. Hoffmann, *La jeune fille, le pouvoir et la mort* (Paris, 1992), pp. 205–6.

The elusiveness of this first dream is important for making sense of Herodotus' narrative. It is understandable that Astyages should here refer such a dream to the experts, and that he should find their responses alarming: but, in view of the bemusing multivalence of the dream, it is also understandable that he would be reluctant to kill his daughter out of hand, or even—yet—to exclude the possibility of her having offspring, for 'offspring' was only one of the possible registers for interpreting the dream. Instead he distances her from the 'city' which was first threatened by the urine-flood, and gives her to an outsider to marry, the Persian Cambyses; a reader might presume that, even if 'offspring' turned out to be the correct interpretative register, any child's lack of status might still exclude the possibility of serious danger.[26] There is a certain parental halfheartedness about this, but a reader need not find it humanly implausible.

The enigmatic quality of the first dream also clarifies its narrative relationship to the second. Duplication of dreams in such a setting is anyway not implausible: the Old Testament and *Gilgamesh* both offer parallels to such double dreaming when so momentous an event is presaged.[27] But the second dream is not a mere repeat, for once again the increasing clarity is important. This time the suggestions are inescapable: Mandane's offspring will rule all Asia. Had this dream come first, an heirless Astyages might indeed have had nothing to fear, and could rejoice in the presaged glory of a grandson; the marriage to an outsider would in that case have been most inappropriate. But by now it is too late, for Mandane is already married to that outsider. It is that marriage, more than anything in the dream itself, that makes the prophecy such a disturbing one:[28] now any succession of Mandane's offspring to the throne could only, once again, be a distorted one. Hence the experts interpret this, not as suggesting that his grandson will inherit, but that he will 'rule *instead of* him' (1.108.2), a suggestion of violence and usurpation rather than natural inheritance. The time for half-measures has now passed, and Astyages turns to more murderous action.

II

Herodotus' narrative has turned out to be coherent after all. The two dreams do not simply repeat one another, and their order could not be reversed. The halfhearted response to the first is a natural reaction to its multivalence; then that first response, involving the marriage to the outsider, is a necessary premiss for the second, clearer dream to be taken as threatening.

We might still ask about Herodotus' own part in this. Is the coherence his own imposition, as he deftly finds room for two uncomfortably similar items? Can we

[26] Erbse (n. 1), 34 compares the marriage of Euripides' Electra to a peasant farmer, where Aegisthus and Clytemnestra could similarly hope that any offspring would be politically negligible. That comparison is more apt for Herodotus' presentation, with Cambyses as a middle-class quietist, than for any version which acknowledged Cambyses' royal status: cf. below. Devereux (n. 6), 223 suggests that Euripides is here borrowing from Herodotus.

[27] Oppenheim (n. 15), 208–9; Immerwahr (n. 6), 163 n. 39. Such serial dreaming is of course familiar in real life, and has attracted psychoanalytic attention: cf. Devereux (n. 6), p. 225, with further bibliography.

[28] Fehling (n. 2), p. 200 makes this important point clearly. (Justin 1.4.2–4 thus abbreviates incomprehensibly when he suppresses the first dream and represents the second as the inspiration for the marriage to Cambyses.) But John Moles may be right in putting to me that this second dream is also phallic, and intrudes some suggestive and disquieting blurring of male and female roles. The vagina produces the equivalent of a male member; its product is described by words (γεννώμενον, γόνος) more usually used of the male. If so, the challenging male-female play is another 'tragic' element to add to those discussed below.

detect anything about his adaptation of his original material? Or about the way in which he has made it serve the wider themes of his narrative?

These are not straightforward questions to address, and they touch on some of the most disputed questions of current Herodotean criticism; but some points can be made. Even if there are 'Greek' touches elsewhere in his Cyrus narrative,[29] there seems no reason to doubt that he is using genuinely Oriental material here: whatever might be thought of the rest of the comparative evidence, the Assyrian material confirms both the importance and the ambivalence of urination in Near Eastern dream-interpretation. Even the combination of the two dream-motifs *may* go back beyond Herodotus; the vine imagery would have been as clear-cut as the urination was ambivalent, for an Assyrian, a Median, or a Persian just as for a Greek; and either an Oriental or a Greek could have developed a story of a royal father finding such a dream about his daughter to be deeply disturbing, but not yet sufficiently disturbing to provoke murder or infanticide. And there certainly seems insufficient reason to follow von Fritz in inferring an original version with Cyrus as an outsider rather than a prince.[30] In terms of the story's imagery, we have seen that Astyages' growing alarm makes good sense in its own terms; and in terms of real history, it is perfectly plausible to think of Cyrus as the king's grandson.[31] Cambyses was a royal figure, the king of Anšan (though Herodotus obscures the fact—more on this below): he would be a thoroughly suitable husband for a Median princess.[32]

We are on surer ground in detecting some Herodotean touches in the detail of the narrative, in particular the way in which he makes the sequence more credible still. First, we are not told exactly what the experts advised after the first dream, only that Astyages 'was alarmed by the details which he heard from them': there is not yet any talk of the fear of Mandane's potential offspring. Had any such reading of the dream

[29] Cf. especially Fehling (n. 2), pp. 110–11, 198–9. The most notable Greek elements are the κύων ~ Κῦρος word-play at 1.122.3 and the 'Thyestes banquet' of 1.119–20: cf. Aly (n. 1), 50; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (P. Bing [tr.], Berkeley etc, 1983), pp. 108–9; Erbse (n. 1), p. 33. However, it is bad method to infer a Greek origin for the whole of the Cyrus narrative. It is almost inconceivable that Persian stories about Cyrus were *not* circulating (cf. D. L. Gera, *Xenophon's Cyropaedia: style, genre, and literary technique* [Oxford, 1993], pp. 16–17), and it is likely both (a) that Greek elements had already combined with Persian before Herodotus, and (b) that Herodotus' own filtering of any 'Persian' material continued the process of contamination, in particular streamlining to highlight elements which would be most familiar to a Greek audience. The *Märchenmotiven* of the exposure and salvation of a wonder-child have an international and cross-cultural background (cf. von Fritz [n. 2], 284–5), and it is rash to claim them either as Greek or as Oriental. Brian Lewis, *The Sargon Legend* (American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series 4, Cambridge, MA, 1980), pp. 262, 265 tentatively identifies a Mesopotamian or Western Asian origin for the wonder-child folktale; but (a) it is uncertain whether the quest for an Ur-form is methodologically sound, and perhaps we should think of polygenesis; and (b) even if Lewis is right, the folktale motifs will have spread from their place of origin at least a millennium before Cyrus.

[30] Cf. above, pp. 68–9.

[31] That version is rejected, without argument, by e.g. W. Hinz, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* vi.5 (1985) s.v. 'Kyros', 401, apparently followed by Bichler (n. 6), 134. It is accepted, equally without argument, by e.g. I. M. Diakonoff and M. Mallowan in *Cambridge History of Iran* ii (I. Gershevitch [ed.], 1985), 144 and 404. The most judicious comments are those of Rawlinson *ad loc.*

[32] Such a marriage would admittedly be less plausible if the historical Astyages genuinely had no male heir, as Herodotus claims, and if Mandane was the only daughter and hence, presumptively, wife or mother of the heir. But, immediately we accept the possibility that the story's details have been manipulated by Herodotus and/or his source, then it is just as likely that some other offspring of Astyages have slipped out of the tale. They would only complicate the story. Cf. Erbse (n. 1), p. 34.

been made more explicit (even as one of several interpretative possibilities), the risks Astyages was running by marrying her to anyone would have been more uncomfortably clear. Secondly, Cambyses is represented, not as the king that he was, but merely as 'belonging to a good house and mild in nature, but still—Astyages thought—far inferior to a Mede of even middling status'. This serves to make Astyages' half-measure a more plausible one, for a marriage to any sort of outside royalty would accentuate the continuing riskiness of the course.

We should also notice the ways in which this episode reflects characteristic concerns of Herodotus' narrative: even if the basic material was offered him by his sources, he has certainly made it his own. Take the recurring dream, for instance. The most telling parallel is within the History itself, the dream which visits Xerxes twice (7.12.2, 14.1) and then comes to Artabanus as well (7.17.1); then the further dream of Xerxes at 7.19.1.[33] There, as here, the point is not merely to emphasize the dreams' portentousness, but also to bring out the inexorability of the event portended. Xerxes, like Astyages, has already begun to try to avoid the unhappy events which the first dream threatened, but the returning dream underlines the hopelessness of any such attempt.

It is also a characteristic pattern of Herodotus' dream-stories to see a dreamer's responses turn out counter-productive, so that they bring on precisely the terrors which the dream portended.[34] Here too all Astyages' actions turn out to be precisely those necessary to make the dream come true.[35] And this is particularly telling at this point of the narrative: for it takes us back to Croesus, particularly the story of Atys and Adrastus (1.34–45). Croesus too has a dream, this time portending his son's death (1.34.1); Croesus too, there as elsewhere in his story, is intrigued and concerned by revelations of wisdom, but—whether they come from Solon, or in his dreams, or from Delphi—he finds them bewildering and unfathomable; Croesus too takes what seem to him sensible precautions, but his over-protectiveness turns out to be precisely the factor that destroys his son, with the chosen protector Adrastus throwing the fatal missile. There as here, an initial extreme caution goes on to give way to over-confidence, as each king is persuaded that his actions are sufficient to guard against the danger: Atys persuades his father that he cannot die of a spear-wound on a boar hunt (1.39), the seers assure Astyages that the threat from the young Cyrus has passed (1.120.5–6). Admittedly, Croesus is concerned to preserve his heir, while Astyages decides to destroy his, but the distinction is less crucial than it seems: for it is precisely Astyages' halfheartedness, his reluctance to take the hardest measures against his daughter, which directs his actions. The classic exposure-and-escape-of-the-wonder-child folktale presents a murderous, pitiless head of house, who finds the killing of a defenceless child or grandchild a sensible way of protecting his throne.[36] Astyages transforms the stereotype: he does what he can to be merciful, and it takes the clarity of the second dream to force him to decisive action.

This is not the last time that we shall see this trait in Astyages, for the same halfheartedness leads him to spare the adolescent Cyrus after his rediscovery, and to

[33] For discussion cf. Pelling (n. 24), pp. 130–31 and 139–40, with bibliography: add G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *G&R* 24 (1977), 143–5.

[34] This emerges clearly from Frisch (n. 9), though much of his treatment is superficial (cf. W. Marg's review, *Gnomon* 42 [1970], 515–17). The phenomenon of the 'self-fulfilling oracle' is evidently related.

[35] Including, a little later, the involvement of Harpagus. That is hard to explain realistically: why could not Astyages directly order a minion to carry out the execution, rather than involve the vizier (cf. Erbse [n. 1], 32–3)?

[36] Cf. the material collected by Brian Lewis (n. 29), summarized at his pp. 211–12.

rejoice (ἐχάρη, 1.121.1, in Herodotus an ominous word)[37] when the seers recommend this gentle course; but they also advise the king to send him away, hinting at some continuing unease. Thus Cyrus too is sent, like his mother Mandane before him, to the Persians (1.120.6–121.1), and the consequences are momentous. In each case the halfheartedness turns out worse for Astyages than any fullblooded response would have done: and this is not merely humanly credible, it is also tragic.

Tragedy too presents figures whose good intentions turn out deathly: one thinks of Deianeira. Tragedy deals with a divided οἶκος, and so does this: even Harpagus is presented as a blood-relative to the royal house (1.108.3, 109.3), and consequently Harpagus' part in the planned murder of the infant Cyrus and Astyages' murder of Harpagus' son both appear as internal familial crimes. The second in particular, with its 'Thyestes banquet', is particularly tragic in resonance.[38] The marriage of Mandane to Cambyses bears a further significance here. The definition of Cambyses as a social inferior is useful to the narrative logic, as we have seen; but the social mismatch of Cyrus' parents also preserves a further Herodotean pattern. The Lydian λόγος began with a similar mixed marriage, with Gyges marrying a royal woman who was by far his social superior: there too the resulting dynasty ran a self-destructive course, and the instrument of destruction was precisely this 'mule' Cyrus, 'born of mixed parentage, with a mother of better class and a father of worse' (1.91.5–6).[39] Such episodes also fit a further mythical schema, whereby a threatening or disastrous child often occupies an ambivalent position, at once central and marginal, at once inside and outside the royal house.[40] That too is familiar from tragedy: one only has to think, in their different ways, of Oedipus, Orestes, Polynices, and Hippolytus.

We have come some way from the simple smoothing of a few sentences of narrative, but we have also seen that unobtrusive deftness of technique is more than an end in itself. In a few strokes, Herodotus has presented a plausible picture of a concerned father, one who gropes for enigmatic truth, one who balances cautious self-protection with a reluctance to authorize bloody kin-killing; and the narrative has set his hopeless efforts against a background of cosmic inevitability. Herodotus has fitted this portrayal into a wider picture of a family at odds with itself, where affection and menace, boon and disaster, caution and over-confidence mingle with bewildering and devastating effect. There are many ways, indeed, in which Cyrus' story replays that of Croesus, in a subtly different register. The curse on the Lydian house was explicit: Croesus' punishment in the fifth generation is traced back to Gyges (1.13.2, 91.1). But it is possible to see the origins of Cyrus, the 'mule' who destroys Croesus, as

[37] Cf. the 'great pleasure' which Harpagus has just twice felt, in each case tragically deluded (1.119.1, 6). Elsewhere cf. Croesus at 1.54.1, 1.56.1: later e.g. Cambyses at 3.34.5, Polycrates at 3.42.2, 123.1; Xerxes at 7.37.3, 44, 9.49.1, 109.1: H. Bischoff, *Der Warner bei Herodot* (Diss. Marburg, 1932), p. 36 n. 1; C. C. Chiasson, *GRBS* 27 (1986), 249- → S. P. Flory *AJP* 99 (1978), 145–53, esp. 1 → D. Lateiner, *TAPA* 107 (1977), 173–82.

[38] As has often been observed: cf. especially H. Schwabl, *Gymn.* 76 (1969) 269 and n. 15; Fehling (n. 2), 110–11.

[39] As the ring of Croesus' story closes, that initial presumption of Gyges—his 'going astray', ἁμαρτάδα—is recalled a few sentences before this mention of the 'mule' Cyrus and the similar 'going astray' (ἁμαρτάδα again) which he inspired in Croesus (1.91.1 ~ 5–7). Both form part of Apollo's explication of the riddling divine will: the symmetrical beginning and end of the Lydian dynasty are simultaneously made clear.

[40] Cf. the case of Cypselus, as elucidated by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 17.11 (1988), p. 181 and n. 122 (= *Reading Greek culture* [Oxford, 1991], p. 266 and 282–3 n. 122). Stephanie West also reminds me of the versions that Apries' daughter was Cambyses' mother (3.2.1) and that Nectanebos was the real father of Alexander. An intersting variation, she observes, is Stalin as an illegitimate son of a Georgian prince (R. Conquest, *The Great Terror* [revised edn., 1990], p. 55): has the Georgian royal line here taken the place of the Romanovs?

intimating a subtler equivalent of the same theme. The two tales are even mutually related, in terms which themselves highlight questions of family: as Croesus' story neared its end, the family relationship of Astyages, Cyrus, and Croesus became relevant (1.73–4), with an earlier Thyestes-banquet playing its part (1.73.5–6). The Achaemenid monarchy, like the Lydian monarchy before it, begins with an unequal union and a familial crime: and Cyrus' successors will find themselves no less trapped by history and no less self-destructive than Croesus had been, though the registers of historical explanation will become even richer and more varied, and any 'curse on the royal house' will be even less cosmically straightforward. Much of the challenge to Herodotus' readers is the exploration of such recurrent patterns, and the attempt to disentangle what is constant and what is new; and our few sentences of narrative play their part, as readers sense the beginning of a new dynastic tragedy, one which will require the entire History to carry to its end.[41]

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HORSEPOWER AND DONKEYWORK: EQUIDS AND THE ANCIENT GREEK IMAGINATION

MARK GRIFFITH

χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων
—Simonides *PMG* 515

PART ONE

1. Introduction

As soon as I was old enough to eat grass, my mother used to go out to work in the daytime, and come back in the evening. There were six young colts in the meadow besides me; they were older than I was; some were nearly as large as grown-up horses. I used to run with them, and had great fun; we used to gallop all together round and round the field as hard as we could go. Sometimes we had rather rough play, for they would frequently bite and kick as well as gallop.

One day, when there was a good deal of kicking, my mother whinnied to me to come to her, and then she said: "I wish you to pay attention to what I am going to say to you. The colts who live here are very good colts, but they are cart-horse colts, and of course they have not learned manners. You have been well-bred and well-born; your father has a great name in these parts, and your grandfather won the cup two years at the Newmarket races; your grandmother had the sweetest temper of any horse I ever knew, and I think you have never seen me kick or bite. I hope you will grow up gentle and good, and never learn bad ways; do your work with a good will, lift your feet up well when you trot, and never kick or bite even in play. . . ." (Anna Sewell, *Black Beauty*, p. 10)

Black Beauty, a Victorian English novel presented as the autobiography of a horse, has been a national and international best seller ever since

This is the first part of a two-part article, which began as a Walsh Lecture delivered at the University of Chicago in January 2003. I am grateful to the Department of Classics for that invitation and for their comments. Versions (or parts) of the lecture were subsequently presented to audiences at the University of Washington, University of California, Berkeley, Scripps College, Dartmouth College, and the University of Oxford; again, I thank those audiences for many helpful observations. My thanks also go to Shadi Bartsch, the former editor of *Classical Philology*, to David Wray, the present editor, and to the editorial staff for agreeing to accommodate an oversized contribution of this kind together with its numerous illustrations; to Marcia DeVoe for her expert drawings; and to Sally and John Willbie for permission to reproduce photographs of animals from the studio of Sally Anne Thompson. In addition, I am indebted to the following for assistance, corrections, comments, and encouragement of one kind or another: Jock Anderson, Tim Doran, Mark Golden, Justina Gregory, Leslie Kurke, Anna Morpurgo Davies, Anand Pandian, Lauri Reitzammer, Daniel Sofaer, Alexei Yurchak.

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its first publication.[1] It comprises both a critique of contemporary methods of horse training and treatment and a *Bildungsroman* inculcating sound middle-class British values of hard work, fair dealing, and social stratification. The horses talk to each other and understand human conversation; they behave well or badly, and are rewarded or punished, fairly or unfairly. The human characters likewise range quite widely in social class and character, especially in the degree of sympathetic engagement they achieve with the protagonist; but in the end those who treat horses well always turn out to be good in other respects too. Thus in a kind of upstairs/downstairs narrative, horses are presented simultaneously as forming a social world of their own that allegorically reflects human society, and as nonhuman servants and companions who have to negotiate their way carefully through a world dominated by a superior species. Black Beauty himself grows up[2] and learns to exemplify the virtues of honest, resourceful endeavor within a basically fair-minded English social-economic system.

Although nineteenth-century England and Archaic/Classical Greece exhibit some important differences in their uses of and attitudes to animals—most notably, the growing industrialization and new methods of acquiring and applying knowledge (science and engineering) in Victorian Britain, and a resultant tendency to sentimentalize the world of "nature"[3]—nonetheless in many respects the similarities and continuities are strong. Thus Harriet Ritvo's remarks in the introduction to her study of English attitudes towards animals during this period are largely applicable to the ancient Greeks as well:

> Animals [were] integrated into many facets of English life, and as a result interactions with animals often reflected traditional understandings and deeply held convictions. Examining these interactions can clarify underlying and seldom-stated assumptions of English society, or it can identify areas of unexpected tension. . . . The very categories into which animals were divided often signaled important distinctions and oppositions. . . . As material animals were at the complete disposal of human beings, so rhetorical animals offered unusual opportunities for manipulation; their positions in the physical world and in the universe of discourse were mutually reinforcing. Their ubiquity made animals particularly available to the Victorians, either in the flesh or as something to talk about.[4]

1. Sewell 1877. The book went into scores of editions, including translations in every country of Europe and Latin America, and it has remained in print to this day.

2. Black Beauty is male, but there is no sex or marriage in this book, no mounting or birthing or foal care—this was 1877, after all; and although our hero has good female friends (notably the feisty mare Ginger), in retrospect we may conclude that he must have been gelded at some point (perhaps between chaps. 2 and 3).

3. "Once nature ceased to be a constant antagonist, it could be viewed with affection and even, as the scales tipped to the human side, with nostalgia. Thus sentimental attachment to both individual pets and the lower creation in general—a stock attribute of the Victorians—became widespread in the first half of the 19th C." (Ritvo 1987, 3); cf. Bodson 1983; and also Gorteman 1957.

4. Ritvo 1987, 4–5; and she goes on to remark that whereas humans can "rhetorically . . . restructure and recreate reality . . . , animals . . . never talk back." I do not mean to imply that nineteenth-century England was more similar to ancient Greece than other pre- or partially industrialized (nonpastoral) Western societies have been: Spain, Italy, France, even the United States doubtless could work just as well for the sake of comparison. Thus, e.g., Borneman (1998, 57–59) remarks on the "historical development of the American system of light-horse breed classification," which is markedly different from that of Continental Europe: "The animal world is classified according to the categories used for persons, a case of 'reverse totemism'. . . . Unlike the Europeans, Americans have more than twenty-six kinds of breed recognized nationally by the

In this article I investigate what the Greeks of the Archaic and Classical periods did with, and thought about, the horses, donkeys, and mules with which they spent so much of their time.[5] At the most basic and literal (positivistic) level, this means asking for what various functions, and through what techniques, they acquired, trained, employed—and did not employ—these animals. More interestingly perhaps, it means asking what kinds of practical and symbolic values and meanings the Greeks assigned to horses, donkeys, and mules (and other horselike creatures) in their social, economic, religious, and political activities and institutions, and how they represented them in their art and literature: that is to say, how did the Greeks imagine these creatures as looking, thinking, feeling, behaving, and signifying? What kinds of descriptions and explanations do we find, whether at the quasi-realistic level of narratives about famous warriors and their horses, farming manuals, anecdotes about actual donkeys and mules, "scientific" accounts of the anatomy, physiology, and behavior of the various equids, and so forth, or in the realms of what we today call "fiction," "mythology," "fantasy," or "folklore"? And what kinds of relationships did Greek men and women form, in practice or in their imaginations, with their various equine companions, co-workers, and servants?

Conversely, I propose to ask how the Greeks' experiences with, and observation of, these domesticated quadrupeds informed their understanding of human nature and society, of the processes (and limitations) of breeding and education, discipline and training, class and gender differentiation, sexual behavior, courtship, and procreation, leisure pursuits and division of labor—in short, of politics and morality. For, even if ἄνθρωπος is the most completely "political" of the animals, there are several distinctly political dimensions to ἵπποι, ὄνοι, and ἡμίονοι too.[6] And, as we shall see, ancient Greek ideologies and modes of performance at all social levels, and specifically their sense of men's and women's individual and collective identity and sexuality, were bound up very closely with equine behavior and symbols.

American Horse Show Association (AHSA), yet either esoteric or unknown internationally, that are deemed functional and/or meaningful for ends other than international performance sports. These ends include breed criteria of, for example, color . . . endurance . . . sprinting and cattle-herding . . . elegant, high-stepping action." Borneman goes on to demonstrate that these distinctions, reminiscent of the human "racial" categories of previous generations, tend to be closely associated with particular geographical, class, and ethnic groups within the United States (see, too, Haraway 2003, on dog ownership). Thus while it is true that equids have played a central role in human/animal relations in all of the above-mentioned societies, the particular relations between humans and (their) equids have varied quite significantly from one society to another. Some of the areas of similarity and difference will be pointed out in what follows.

5. I should confess that I am not myself an equestrian (I have ridden only one horse and one mule in my life, and have never sat on a donkey). But like Hesiod, whose limited sailing experience did not prevent him from instructing others about sailing (thanks to the expertise he had been given by his father and the Muses), I have benefited from the wisdom of others. Apart from my own father, G. T. Griffith, whose first publication (1936) was entitled *A Guide to the Classics* (*or How to Pick the Derby Winner*), I have also been fortunate to count among my colleagues at Berkeley J. K. Anderson, an unrivalled authority on ancient Greek horsemanship and a truly μουσικὸς ἀνήρ.

6. For modern examples of this, see especially Borneman 1998 (I am grateful to Anand Pandian and Alexei Yurchak for referring me to this work); see, too, e.g., Herbert [1859] 2000, for Victorian-era comparanda.

Some aspects of ancient Greek equids have been thoroughly studied by previous scholars, others barely at all; for not all equids are equal, when viewed from a human (even a scholarly) perspective. Horses and horsemanship inevitably tend to dominate both the visual and the literary records of Archaic and Classical Greece, and not surprisingly they have likewise been the object of numerous modern studies.[7] Donkeys are much less often mentioned or represented in our ancient sources (though they are never very far to seek or hard to find), and accordingly receive far less scholarly attention.[8] As for Greek mules, they have rarely been discussed at all, nor often even regarded as a category of their own, though they turn out (I shall argue, mainly in Part Two of this article) to be especially revealing of Greek mentalities and social processes.

I shall be considering a wide range of texts and documents, drawn as far as possible from Greek writers and artists of the eighth through the fourth centuries B.C.E., though inevitably I shall have to resort at times to later sources, even to Latin authors and institutions, for occasional clarification and supplementation, though I do not believe that Roman attitudes were by any means identical to those of the Greeks.[9] Unlike Ritvo, who in her study of nineteenth-century English society chose to eschew both mainstream art and literature, as well as animal fable, in favor of pamphlets, books, and journals on breeding, agriculture, veterinary medicine, natural history, etc.,[10] I shall use whatever I can find by way of ancient Greek sources, high and low, canonical and subliterary—including animal fables, late though these generally are in their extant forms. Fortunately, although so much Archaic and Classical Greek literature and art is lost to us, it can still be said of them, as of the nineteenth-century English, that "the animal-related discourse was both enormous and diverse. It described a wide range of interactions, which might be inspired by

7. At least three full-scale monographs in English on Classical Greek (mainly Athenian) cavalry have been published in English over the last twenty years: Bugh 1988; Spence 1993; Worley 1994. See too Delebecque 1951; Anderson 1961; Vigneron 1968; Greenhalgh 1973; Hyland 1990; and further references below (n. 28). By contrast, there has never been a book written about Greek donkeys, or even one whole article devoted specifically to Greek mules: only, e.g., the entries in Pauly's *RE* (Olck 1907) and the *Neue Pauly*, s.v. "Esel, Maultier" (for further references, see nn. 28, 100, and 144 below). In general, Roman mules have been better studied than Greek (see n. 9 below); and Roman veterinary medicine in particular (*mulomedicina*), including much material on donkeys and mules, has been well treated by Adams 1997.

8. Recent studies of Greek rural life and agricultural practices have not paid much attention to the central roles played by donkeys, mules, and oxen: their concern has largely been limited to the human laborers and/or to the crops themselves: so, e.g., Jameson 1988 (on animal husbandry in general, but mainly bovids and ovids); Sallares 1991 (on ecology); Hanson 1995 (on Greek agricultural practices and attitudes); Jones 2004 (on non-urban Athenians and their attitudes). Better are Moritz 1958 (on mills); Burford 1960; Bodson 1986; and the brief remarks (plus excellent bibliography) of Chandezon 2003. Isager and Skydsgaard 1992 give a useful, but short and unsystematic, introduction. For later (Graeco-Egyptian and Roman) periods, see Toynbee 1973, 185–97; Bagnall 1985; Nachtergael 1989.

9. It is particularly regrettable, of course, not to be able to draw more fully on such informative and fascinating works as Columella's *De Re Rustica* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*; but I shall refer to both of these selectively in what follows. Roman muleteers (*muliones*) are much more visible in Latin literature than their counterparts in Greek (for whom no specific term exists; only ὀνηλάτης ["donkey driver"]): *muliones* even could form *collegia* of their own. For Roman practices and attitudes involving mules in general, see especially Toynbee 1973, 185–92; Martin 1990; Adams 1993, 1997.

10. "Canonical art and literature have provided only occasional corroborative examples, the large literature of animal fable and fantasy, none at all" (Ritvo 1987, 4).

primary motives as disparate as sentiment (pet keeping), economics (animal husbandry) and curiosity (natural history)."[11]

2. ANIMALS IN CULTURE

In the modern industrialized and urbanized (i.e., nonagricultural, non-pastoral) societies of the United States and Northern Europe, few of us make use of or interact with the larger domesticated animals in our daily lives. Many inner-city dwellers never see a live cow, horse, or pig from one year to the next; and since the virtual disappearance of butcher shops from the United States, most Americans, however carnivorous they may be, are shocked and disconcerted if they ever have to see a whole dead mammal. Many are troubled by the sight even of individual limbs or organs (head, foot, tongue, tail, kidney, etc.) that might remind them that their food has come from a once living and sentient creature. But this disconnection and squeamishness are a fairly recent (twentieth-century) development. Most human societies over the last five thousand years or more have lived in close daily contact and interdependence with domesticated animals, and have relied heavily and constantly on equids, ovids, porcids, and bovids, in some combination or other, not only for milk, meat, rennet, hair, wool, hides, leather, grease, bone ornaments, and sacrificial victims, but also for plowing, heavy lifting and haulage, milling, mining, human transportation, warfare, and often many recreational activities as well.[12]

Before the invention of mechanical pumps, steam and internal combustion engines, electricity, and the use of fossil and nuclear fuels, domesticated animals (and slaves) provided most of the "brute force" required to build and maintain civilization. In days before coinage, too, evaluation in terms of livestock holdings was common.[13] Of course, the patterns of use and value assigned to the various domesticated animals are not always the same: local geography, climate, and social attitudes lead to considerable differences. In parts of Asia, Africa, and South America, for example, non-equid animals (water buffalo, camels, yaks, sled dogs, elephants, llamas, etc.) have often filled such roles. Even among the equids (horse, donkey, mule), the functions assigned to each within the labor force have varied considerably from one society to another. In Great Britain during the nineteenth century (as *Black Beauty* well demonstrates), a wide variety of horses of vastly differing sizes and capacities (shire horses, pit ponies, hacks, polo ponies, thoroughbreds, coach horses, cavalry chargers) existed to carry out most of the needed functions, from the most humdrum and laborious to the most elegant and glamorous; donkeys played a relatively minor role, and mules were rare,

11. Ibid.

12. See, in general, Zeuner 1963; Meadow and Uerpmann 1991 (also 1986); Clutton-Brock 1999. For Classical Greek animal husbandry and pastoral practices, see Whittaker 1988, especially the articles of Jameson and Hodkinson (though these focus much more on the edible animals than on equids); also Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 83–107; Chandezon 2003, with further references; for Homer and the Archaic period, see esp. Richter 1968.

13. Thus, for example, the respective worth of the armor of Diomedes and Glaucus is estimated in terms of oxen (100 versus 9, Hom. *Il.* 6.236 [ἑκατόμβοια ἐννεαβοίων]); cf. Varro *Ling.* 5.95 on *pecus/pecunia*; likewise English/American "chattels."

while the use of oxen as draft animals (widespread in the Early Modern period) had by then been largely discontinued.[14] But in continental Europe (e.g., Spain, Italy, Greece) of the same period, donkeys and mules continued to play a much more prominent role, and the range of horse types employed in any single community was correspondingly smaller. As for the United States, the conquest of North America by Europeans and the subsequent development of farms, ranches, and industrial businesses all over the country could never have been effected without horses and (especially) mules.[15] Likewise, before the invention of reliable motorized vehicles, no army of any size could conduct a prolonged campaign on land without a train of pack animals to carry its provisions and materials.[16]

Nowadays equids are of marginal economic, military, and social significance in the industrialized, digitalized West, even though in certain quarters they continue to command a devoted following. Yet the human need for animals, not merely for consumption as food, but for some kind of psychological support, companionship, or service, has certainly not evaporated. Pets (especially dogs and cats, but many other animal types too) are an integral component of most American and British families; and the sociology, economics, and psychology of pet ownership, breeding, training, showing, and companionship are complex and sometimes hotly contested. Apart from the (usually quite limited) practical duties that these pets may perform, they often in turn teach their owners—especially children, but adults too—important social skills, involving patience, trust, discipline, grooming, and affection, as well as playing a powerful role within the humans' imaginary world of desires, needs, and self-image.[17]

Stories, pictures, and models of animals also play their ideological part. This was so throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages, as animal fables were widely employed in elementary education:[18] and it is perhaps even more so today, if we consider the ubiquity of the various cuddly, provocative, or

14. For evolving English farming practices, see Perkins 1975; Ritvo 1987, with further references.

15. The clearing of land, transportation of goods and people, turning of machinery, and building of structures for habitation and manufacture, all required far more than merely human strength and endurance, and a high proportion of this energy was supplied by mules: see Riley 1867; Lamb 1963; Chew 1983; Brown and Christman 1991. But cowboys and their quarter horses tend to loom larger than mules and mule trains in the popular imagination concerning the pioneers and the "Wild West," for a number of ideological and entertainment-related reasons. For continuing American cultural and ethnic fetishes concerning the various types (breeds, categories) of horse, see especially Borneman 1998.

16. In World War I, over 350,000 Missouri-bred mules were sent to Europe to aid the British war effort, and mules were still being used quite extensively for military purposes during World War II, e.g., in Burma and Italy. Only with the development of reliable helicopters did mules become more or less obsolete for the support of troops in the field—and the obsolescence is not complete, as mules were deployed during the Korean War in difficult terrain by the U.S. army (Waller 1958), while from 1979 to 1989, American mules were supplied to Afghani resistance fighters to aid their struggle against the Russians. Donkeys also continue to be used in the Middle East by guerrillas for transporting rocket launchers.

17. See esp. Haraway 2003. The Greeks had no general word or concept of "pet" (no term quite like Latin *deliciae*), and they were generally far less sentimental about animals than modern Westerners are (Bodson 1983; cf. Gorteman 1957). Thus when a lover courted his beloved with the gift of a rabbit, fawn, or rooster, the expectation on both sides was that this delicacy would be eaten, not put in a cage and petted. Nonetheless, horses, as we shall see, clearly functioned somewhat in this capacity among the elite, and the term/name πῶλος ("colt/foal/filly") was often used as an endearment.

18. Quint. *Inst.* 1.9.2; cf. Marrou 1956, 173; Bonner 1977, 253–57.

exemplary animal characters who populate the world of cartoons, comics, children's books, theme parks, and animated movies—Mickey, Simba, "My Little Pony," Ninja Turtles, Garfield, Barney, Nemo, along with the characters of Winnie-the-Pooh, Sesame Street, and all the rest. Animals and animal-like companions play a vital role in our imaginary as well as our domestic lives, contributing in significant ways to our sense of who we are and what we aspire to be.[19]

On another cultural plane, such institutions as zoos, nature parks, and television's Discovery Channel work to configure animals as parts of an anthropocentric cosmos governed by certain "laws" ("Nature," "God's design," "the Great Chain of Being") and/or reflecting a particular dominant ideology ("the animal kingdom," "survival of the fittest," etc.),[20] in a more or less thinly disguised justification for the role of human beings (or one type of humans in particular) as representing the most "advanced" species on the evolutionary scale, and as holding the ultimate responsibility for "conserving" the planet for the benefit of those who hold similar aesthetic, political, and moral views to their own.

We should also include cars and trucks in any discussion of contemporary successors to ancient equids. A modern Westerner's relationship to his/her vehicle has much in common with pet ownership, and the patterns of meaning and value assigned to model of car, van, or truck, and to the owner's style of driving, are directly related to earlier habits of horse and mule training, riding, and driving, as we shall see. One's choice of vehicle involves issues not only of expense and practical utility (speed, fuel efficiency, seating capacity and payload), but also of "image" (appearance, athletic and sexual prowess) and social distinction (elegance, competitive expenditure, and taste).[21] An

19. Indeed, even at the more adult and overtly political levels, the American eagle and British bulldog (or previously, the royal lion) continue to symbolize the respective national images of freedom, persistence, violence, and dominance over others. I do not presume to comment on the role of pets and fantasy animals in other contemporary cultures, such as French, Italian, or Modern Greek. It may be that the British and Americans are peculiar in the degree of their psychological investment in pets—in which I, as author of this article, am also doubtless implicated.

20. See, e.g., Bewick 1824; and Ritvo 1987, 10–15, on nineteenth-century zoos and natural history museums: "Natural history elaborated a hierarchical vision of creation with humanity at its apex. . . . The creatures closest to humanity in the order of nature made these points most satisfactorily. . . . Quadrupeds were relatively easy to observe and to interact with . . . [and] the similarity between their structure and our own made them both more interesting than and inherently superior to other animals" (p. 15); cf. Borneman 1998, 57–61.

21. See, e.g., Flink 1988; McShane 1994, pp. 125–71, with pls. 7.6–7, 13. Every year, local automobile shows reiterate such associations. In the middle of writing this article, I came across a headline in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (announcing the opening of the San Jose Auto Show): "Does Your Car Scream 'DUD' or 'STUD'?," along with a large photograph of a red sports car. The article (by James Sullivan, 10 January 2004) continued with a mention of "A display of racy good looks, screaming performance and confident self-expression," and reference to Marshall McLuhan's remark from the 1960s, "Cars are an article of dress without which we feel uncertain, unclad, and incomplete." Now, as I complete the article, *Life* magazine presents an issue (21 October 2005) with an announcement of "the Sexiest Cars of 2006. A lot goes into creating a truly sexy car: looks, intelligence, confidence. And then there's that . . . certain something. Style! Speed! Station Wagon! etc." A *New York Times* article also (by Mark Landler, 6 June 2004, drawing from a study by Werner Hagslotz in *Men's Car*) reports with glee, "Forget about sex—auto lust may be deeper. . . . For a German [sc. man], the car is a unique symbol of identity. It's like a bottle of wine for a Frenchman." See also Bourdieu 1984, for further discussion of such manifestations of "taste" and social distinction.

individual's relationship (identification?) with his/her Mustang, Jaguar, or Ram ("built tough"), or even with the Greyhound Bus Company, says quite a bit about who s/he is and how s/he wants to be perceived; American popular culture has celebrated this relationship in innumerable songs of love, violence, and social aspiration.[22]

Among all these different animal (and mechanical) types, equids have occupied a special place within Western society over the centuries, by reason of their broad range of possible functions and their uniquely strong—yet historically shifting and culturally variable—relationship to their human owners and operators.[23] Thus we can point, not only to nineteenth- and twentieth-century England and the world of *Black Beauty*, but also to such perennial literary classics as Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, in which the horse (*Rocinante* = "Ex-nag") and donkey (*el jumento*, *el asno*, *el rucio* = "the donkey, the pale one," often misleadingly translated in English as a proper name, "Dapple") comically mirror their riders' respective codes of conduct (chivalrous knight and humble squire);[24] or to George Orwell's *Animal Farm,* which presents a horse (Boxer) and a donkey (Benjamin) as the two chief narrative focalizers for the disappointments and betrayals of the socialist farm revolution (it is the capture and death of Boxer, viewed partly through Benjamin's eyes and voice, that forms the emotional climax of the book).

In Archaic and Classical Greece, a high proportion of men and women of all social classes, both rural and urban, lived and worked closely with and alongside equids. Even though the actual breeding, raising, and breaking in of young horses and mules (and perhaps donkeys too, though we have almost no information about these) were often managed by professionals, just as elite families often sent their sons, and sometimes daughters too, outside the home to be schooled in the musical and gymnastic arts by professional teachers and expert chorus leaders,[25] many households kept one or more of these equids on the premises, interacted with them daily, and depended on them in their labors, on their travels, in warfare, and (in some cases) in their leisure

22. Chuck Berry's "Maybelline" (a Ford Thunderbird), Bruce Springsteen's "Pink Cadillac," and Prince's "Little Red Corvette" represent merely the tip of an almost limitless lyric iceberg (for earlier generations, trains were more prevalent: see, e.g., Marcus 1997, xiii–xiv).

23. Ritvo 1987, 17–120: "The most appreciated domestic animals were not the sheep . . . or even the ox. . . . Livelier animals that nonetheless acknowledged human superiority provided better models for human subordinates. Britons of all ranks were known for their love of horses. . . . Popular natural history writers routinely characterized the horse as 'noble,' and sometimes as nobler than the class of humans generally charged with its care" (p. 19). Bewick (1824, 3) is typical, remarking on "the grandeur of his [*sic*] stature, the elegance and proportion of his parts, the beautiful smoothness of his skin, the variety and gracefulness of his motions." For other ancient societies (Egyptian, Hittite, Indian, etc.), see Zeuner 1963, 318–37. On the perennially intimate (though less exalted) connections between donkeys (and/or mules) and humans, see esp. Dent 1972; Chew 1983; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999.

24. My thanks to Ignacio Navarrete for clarification of some of these points. More recently, another popular Spanish classic, the children's story by the poet Jimenez, *Plateo e yo* ("Plateo and I"), involves a boy and his mule—confirmation that Spanish culture tends to allow a larger and more positive role to the ass and its closest relative than does most of Northern Europe (I am grateful to Daniel Sofaer for this reference). The British BBC character Muffin the Mule (1946–54) never struck such a familiar chord.

25. For Greek schools and choruses during the Archaic and Classical periods, see esp. Marrou 1956; Calame 1997; Griffith 2001, with further references; and see Part Two of this article, passim.

and ceremonial activities too.[26] The verbal narratives and visual productions from this period provide innumerable representations of horses (and to a much lesser extent donkeys and mules too), performing their usual practical and social functions under human (or divine) supervision, and many such representations, as we shall see, compare and identify humans (or gods) explicitly or implicitly with (their) equids. Clearly, then, in addition to their practical service, these animals were found to be useful—indeed, almost inescapable—to think with, as symbols of human endeavor and achievement, as metaphors for human characteristics and behavior, and as fictional projections or displacements of human concerns and fantasies.[27]

3. Some Basic Facts (and FAQs)[28] about Ancient Greek Equids and Their Uses

We need not worry ourselves about the stages through which the 6-inch tall prehistoric mini-horse (*equus eohippus*) passed before emerging in the post-Pleistocene era (say, by 5000 B.C.E.) in the forms of the four main groups or branches of equids identified by modern zoologists, archaeologists, and

26. For numbers of horses and horsemen (ἱππεῖς) in Classical Athens, see esp. Davies 1984; Spence 1993. No reliable estimates of numbers of donkeys or mules seem to exist, or even to have been attempted (see, e.g., Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 87–88, 104–7; and n. 8 above)—in contrast to oxen, sheep, and pigs (for which see Jameson 1988; Hodkinson 1988; Chandezon 2003, with further references).

27. If space permitted, it would also be instructive to discuss such fantastical (and ubiquitous) creatures of the Greek imagination as centaurs (and onocentaurs), silens/satyrs, hippocamps, winged horses, seahorse-monsters (κήτη), and even Amazons—to say nothing of mounted Persians, Scythians, and Thracians, as represented on Athenian vases. All of these add distinctive further dimensions to the sense of what *hippo-* signified to the Greeks, and how close horses might and might not come to being human or divine (and vice versa). It would certainly be a mistake to omit consideration of such figures completely, and they will enter the discussion intermittently in what follows. Fortunately, several of these creatures have been well studied in recent years, often with the help of semiotic tools of structuralist analysis and especially in relation to ethnicity and gender. For example, on satyrs and silens, see Lissarrague 1990b; Hedreen 1992, 2004; Stewart 1997, 187–91, 200–202; Griffith 2002; on centaurs, e.g., du Bois 1982; Stewart 1997, 145–48, 171, 191–95; Padgett 2003; on Amazons, du Bois 1982; Tyrrell 1984; Stewart 1997, 118–21, 142–48, 196–99; on images of "Thracian/Scythian" horsemen in Athens, see Lissarrague 1990a; Tsiafakis 2000; and Part Two of this article.

28. "Frequently Asked Questions." Those readers who are already thoroughly familiar with modern scientific accounts of equids and with ancient Greek terms and practices concerning wild and domesticated horses and asses, should skim the following pages (pp. 193–205, 222–28), which constitute my best attempt to synthesize many different types and sources of evidence, without which the main arguments of the rest of my (two-part) article will not make much sense. I have relied especially on the following: For early equids in general: Zeuner 1963; Meadow and Uerpmann 1986, 1991; and esp. Groves 1986. For early use of domesticated animals and wheeled transportation: Zeuner 1963; Zarins 1978; Piggott 1983; Meadow and Uerpmann 1991 (esp. the article by Anthony); Bollweg and Nagel 1992; Crouwel 1992; Clutton-Brock 1999; Drews 2004. For the history and description of different types of horses, especially in relation to antiquity and the Greeks: Delebecque 1951; Anderson 1961, 1–39; Zeuner 1963, 299–324; Richter 1968; Greenhalgh 1973; Bongianni 1988, 12–13; Drews 1988, 74–135; 2004; Bugh 1988; Hyland 1990, 11–29; Clutton-Brock 1992; Dent 1993; Spence 1993; Worley 1994. For onagers and domesticated donkeys (both in general and in Greek art and culture): Olck 1907; Zeuner 1963, 367–83; Dent 1972; Rau 1982; Hoffman 1997; Davies 1990; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1998; Nagel et al. 1999; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999; Padgett 2000, 2003; Chandezon 2003, 105–8, 162–64, 410–14; Moehlman 2005. For mules: Riley 1867; Olck 1907; Lamb 1963; Richter 1968, 78–80; Dent 1972, 60–91; Toynbee 1973, 185–92; Chew 1983; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999; Fineberg (forthcoming). For the record, it may be observed that the scientific Greek term for "equid" was, in effect, τὰ λοφούροντα ("crest-tailed creatures," i.e., "animals with long-haired tails"), as distinct from τὰ μηρυκάζοντα ("the cud-chewing creatures"): see LSJ, s.vv.; and Chandezon 2003, 164.

prehistorians: zebras, onagers,[29] asses, and horses.[30] These were broadly separate, though overlapping, in their geographical spread: zebras occupied much of southern and central Africa; onagers of various different types seem to have ranged from Mongolia and India to Arabia, North Africa, and central Europe; three distinct types of asses occupied northern Africa and parts of the Near East; and wild horses of various kinds were distributed widely, though perhaps unevenly, throughout western and northern Europe. The extent to which geographical overlap and interbreeding between any of the four families may have occurred naturally (i.e., without human intervention) is not known, but much debated. It does not matter much for our purposes, though the possibility that onagers and wild horses, or wild horses and domesticated donkeys, may sometimes have interacted and interbred, and thus produced "wild mules," is not without significance and will be considered below.[31]

Zebra

Scientific name *equus zebra*, *equus grevyi*, *equus burchelli*. The Greek terms ἵππος τιγροειδής ("tiger-like horse") and ἱππότιγρις ("horse-tiger") are not found earlier than the first century C.E. (Dio Chrys. 75.14, 77.6), and there is no evidence that Archaic or Classical Greeks had any significant encounters with zebras. So they will not be considered at all in what follows.[32]

Onager

Scientific name *equus hemionus*; generally known (incorrectly) as "half-ass" or "hemione," or (correctly) as onager, kulan, kiang, or djiggetai. In Greek, ὄνος ἄγριος or ὄναγρος (Latin *onager*, *onagrus*, or *asinus agrestis*), that is, "wild ass." Longer eared than horses, but less so than asses; extremely fast running, and preferring to live in wide open spaces; hard to capture or train.[33] Around 2500 B.C.E. Sumerian art shows teams of onagers drawing large ceremonial chariots; the animals are controlled by means of a ring in

29. The issue, whether or not onagers (i.e., "true wild asses," sometimes confusingly labeled "hemiones" in scientific writing) should be considered a separate (fourth) family, distinct from domesticated asses (donkeys), has been much debated. By now a consensus seems to have been reached, however, that indeed modern donkeys are not descended from onagers: see, e.g., Zeuner 1963, 367–77; Groves 1986; Nagel et al. 1999; Clutton-Brock 1999, 116–18; and pp. 194–95 below.

30. For a general account of this evolution, see Zeuner 1963, 299–337, 367–83; Bongianni 1988, 12–13. For more detailed discussion of the archaeological and genetic evidence, Groves 1986; Nagel et al. 1999.

31. Zebras clearly did interbreed with onagers, and also with asses, especially the Nubian strain, from which most Mediterranean donkeys are apparently derived. Ancient Greek donkeys are regularly represented in art with distinct dark stripes on their legs and back (e.g., figs. 8, 9, 14): see further Zeuner 1963, 374–77; Groves 1974; also Patton 1998.

32. Under the Empire, the Romans occasionally used zebras for display or the arena (Toynbee 1973, 167, 286–87), but there is no evidence that they were ever domesticated.

33. Zeuner 1963, 367–73; Toynbee 1973, 192–93; Groves 1974, 1986; Nagel et al. 1999; Dean 2004; Moehlman 2005. The onager's reputation for being able to outrun a horse (e.g., Xen. *An.* 1.5.2) has been confirmed by modern observers (e.g., Groves 1986): over an extended distance, onagers can indeed maintain a faster pace, though thoroughbreds or quarter horses are quicker up to a mile or so. The Greeks knew of onagers in North Africa, the Levant, and Anatolia: cf. Varro *Rust.* 2.6.3; Plin. *HN* 8.69.174. But despite Verg. *G.* 3.409, onagers were never at home in Italy.

their nose and a jaw strap, a technique clearly derived from the use of oxen, and quite different from horse bit and bridle. It is unlikely that these onagers were truly domesticated; and other representations from this period in fact show the capture of onager foals by hunters.[34] After the domestication of horses and donkeys (which are much easier to train and control) in Mesopotamia and Anatolia early in the second millennium B.C.E., onagers were rarely captured and used for human purposes, though they continued to be hunted for their meat. (In most areas they were rendered extinct by the mid-twentieth century, through the use of firearms.)[35] But in antiquity they were still sometimes known to interbreed with domesticated or wild horses or donkeys; and some mule breeders specifically recommended the combination of male onager and she-ass, since the male progeny of such a union were regarded as ideal for propagating strong and fast mules from horse-mares.[36]

Horse

Terminology and origins. Scientific name *Equus caballus*. Greek ἵππος, Latin *equus*, and Sanskrit *aśvaḥ* all presumably derive from an Indo-European word **ekwos*, a linguistic fact that appears to reflect a strong cultural continuity too.[37] There is no feminine form in Greek: ἵππος (with masculine or feminine definite article) is used both for stallions and mares; likewise the same term πῶλος is used both for male and for female foals, colts, and fillies.[38] Additional Greek terms for horse are κέλης (used in Homer and Archaic-Classical contexts, of a solo horse ridden in a race or acrobatic competition, rather than driven in a team) and καβάλλης (scarcely found before the Roman period).[39]

Appearance and characteristics. Horses come in many sizes, shapes, and colors, and the Greeks knew of and used many different breeds, from various parts of Europe and North Africa.[40] In comparison to onagers and asses, all

34. See especially the scenes from the Standard of Ur (British Museum); further Zeuner 1963, 368–71, with illustrations; and cf. Arr. *Cyn*. 24.3; Ael. *NA* 14.10.

35. Xenophon (*An*. 1.5.2) remarks that onager meat is more delicate than venison; see too Lucian *Asin*. 39 (Macedonia); Plin. *HN* 8.68.170 (with intimations of Roman decadence); Porph. *Abst*. 1.14; Xen. *Cyr*. 2.4.20; Ael. *NA* 17.31. On the dwindling onager population in modern times, see Clutton-Brock 1999, 116–18; Dean 2004; Moehlman 2005, 89.

36. Plin. *HN* 8.69–70 (171–74); Columella *Rust.* 6.37; and see too Hauber 1984–86. Hellenistic and Roman processions did occasionally feature onagers drawing ceremonial vehicles: e.g., Ath. 5.200F; Cic. *Att*. 6.1.25; Aesop 318 Hausrath = 411 Perry. For full discussion of the multifarious (and not always consistent) ancient evidence about onagers in the Near East and Mediterranean areas, see Nagel et al. 1999.

37. Meillet and Vendryes 1968, 67–68; Ernout and Meillet 1949, s.v.; also Rittweger and Wölfflin 1892. It is unclear, however, whence and how the rough breathing appeared in Greek.

38. Etymologically, πῶλος is derived from the same I-E root as Latin *pullus* (= "chick"), and the term (as in English) could carry a slang sexual connotation. In contemporary English parlance, a horse is a "foal" until it is about one year old; then it is a "colt" or "filly" until it becomes fully mature ("stallion, mare"), around the age of four.

39. For κέλης, see LSJ s.v. As for Latin *caballus* (whence French *cheval*, English "cavalry, chivalry, etc."), see Rittweger and Wölfflin 1892; Robert 1939, 175–79; Adams 1997, 569–70; and *TLL*, s.v. *caballus*. Hesychius glosses Greek καβάλλης· ἐργάτης ἵππος (see n. 90 below). The word is first found in Greek literature at Plut. *On Not Borrowing* 2.828e, though occurring earlier in inscriptions. It may originally be Balkan or Anatolian.

40. Anderson 1961, 15–39.

horses have relatively short ears, and usually also longer necks and more copious manes and tails; and the Greeks were apparently much concerned to emphasize these features—as well as particularly small heads—in their breeding and their artistic representations. Modern breeds vary greatly in size (up to 17 hands or so = c. 170 cm at the withers); but Greek horses seem all to have been of medium or smallish height (rarely more than 13–14 hands = c. 130–140 cm), and of slim or medium build ("dolichomorphic" or "mesomorphic").[41] But while the range of sizes and builds was not great, ancient Greek horses, like modern ones, did come in a wide range of colors—reddish (φοῖνιξ, πυρρός), chestnut (ξανθός), darker brown (κυάνεος, μέλας), gray-white (λευκός), or dappled (βαλιός), and so forth.[42] The modern breeds that seem most to resemble ancient Greek horses (whether or not any of them are directly related in historical and genetic terms—a much-debated point) would seem to include the Sorraia (Portugal), Caspian (Iran), Skyros, Peneia (Peloponnese), and Pindos (Thessaly and Epirus) ponies (see figs. 1b–d).[43]

Horses may normally live 25 to 30 years or a little longer; but they are usually past their prime by 15, and not much used for activities emphasizing speed and agility past the age of 20.[44] Proverbially, an old horse was supposed to lose its former honor and live a miserable life of neglect;[45] and in later

41. See figs. 1a–d. For the ancient Greek preference (in contrast, e.g., to the Persians, Scythians, or Romans) for small heads, flowing manes, light build, speed, and elegance in their horses, rather than sturdiness, size, or sheer strength, see Anderson 1961, 15–39, and pp. 203–4 below. For Roman attitudes, by contrast, see Hyland 1990, 44–45. The "Nisaean" horses of the Persians were renowned for their extraordinary size and grand appearance (Hdt. 7.40); cf. Hyland 1990, 14–16, 41. Although scholars disagree as to whether or not there was an early (perhaps even prehistoric) West European horse of distinctively heavy build (brachymorphic), most believe not. In any case, there is no doubt that it is largely domestication (prime fodder and care) and selective breeding that have subsequently developed taller and in some cases bulkier horses, such as the English Shires and Clydesdales (fig. 1a), Belgian Percherons, and French Ardennes (all of which were first developed during the Middle Ages specifically as chargers for carrying heavily armored knights).

42. Anderson 1961, 16–17; Richter 1968, 72–73; Toynbee 1973, 177–81.

43. All of these are listed as "ponies" by Bongianni 1988, s.vv. (with illustrations); see figs. 1b–d; also Alifakiotis 2000. The Tarpan, which is thought by many to have been the "original" wild horse of central and eastern Europe, but has been extinct since 1887, was of similar type: see Groves 1986; Bongianni 1988, no. 115 and p. 14. (Selective breeding in Poland has revived a stock of semi-wild horses believed to preserve many of the traits of the extinct Tarpan.) It was believed until recently by many that Przewalski's Horse ("Mongolian" or "Asiatic wild horse," Bongianni 1988, no. 118 and p. 15) might be the ancestor of all modern domesticated horses (these horses too are extinct in the wild, but a few are maintained in captivity in Mongolia). It has been established however that Przewalski's horses have 66 chromosomes, whereas all other known breeds have 64; so this claim now seems implausible.

44. So, e.g., Arist. *Hist. an.* 576a26–31: "Most stallions live to about 18 or 20, some to 25 or 30 . . . ; mares generally to about 25, some even to 40." Aristotle remarks (576b2–3) that those that are taken care of individually live longer than those maintained in large stables (ἱπποφόρβια); and he notes that stallions occasionally live to almost 50. Pelagonius (chap. 1) states that horses may race successfully up to the age of 20; but Columella remarks that they begin to show signs of age after 10 years (6.29.5); see, too, Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 86–87; Bugh 1988, 68–70; Hyland 1990, 31–33. Bucephalas even in his late 20s continued to carry Alexander into battle; but Plutarch makes clear that this was unusual, and that Alexander "spared him" the routine daily labor of visiting and inspecting the troops, etc., and saved him exclusively for the battle charge itself (*Alex.* 32; cf. 6). Bucephalas died aged 30 (*Alex.* 61).

45. ἵππου γῆρας· ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν νεότητι εὐδοκιμησάντων, ἐν γήρᾳ δὲ ἀτιμαζομένων ("'The old age of a horse': [a proverb spoken] of those who were admired in their youth but are now dishonored in their old age," Apost. 9.7a, in Leutsch and Schneidewin [1839–51] 1958–65 [*CPG*]; cf. App. 3.29; Zen. 4.41); but contrast Soph. *El.* 25–27. A related proverb refers to a warhorse who grows too old and slow and is branded with the mark of retirement (τρυσίππιον) on its jaw (*CPG* Zen. 4.41, from Crates' *Samioi* frag. 33 K–A); see further *CPG* index, s.v. ἵππος. By contrast, as we shall see in Part Two, donkeys and (especially) mules are credited with continuing to be useful even into an advanced old age.

(Roman) times, at least, it appears that failed or badly behaved racers or old warhorses might be consigned to hard labor, for example, turning a mill.[46] In most societies and contexts, unless a male horse is to be kept specifically for breeding purposes (stud), it is usually gelded as a colt, since otherwise as an adult stallion it will tend to be extremely hard to control, especially when mares are present. Castration was routinely practised by the Greeks on oxen, sheep, and pigs (also donkeys and mules, as we shall see); but the evidence for Greeks gelding their horses is curiously sparse[47]—a fact to which we shall return in Part Two. It is consequently hard to determine how widely entire (uncut) stallions were used for the cavalry or chariot racing. Certainly, to judge from literary and documentary sources, teams of mares were highly regarded for racing purposes, perhaps because they were more controllable; yet vase-painters and sculptors frequently represent team horses as male. From the late fifth century onwards, colts and fillies (2 to 3 years old) were also used for chariot racing in a separate age-class.[48]

Horses are at their best when they can run freely, that is, on relatively flat terrain,[49] and the most famous horse-breeding and horse-training regions for the Greeks were generally those with the widest open spaces (Sparta, Argos, Thessaly, Macedonia, Sicily, North Africa). It is true that Xenophon, for example, does give detailed instructions about how to train a warhorse to deal with hilly and rough conditions (*Eq.* 8.1–2; cf. 3.7), but in general riders and military tacticians seem to have avoided such uses if possible. The difficulties of rough terrain were all the greater for horses in antiquity because neither metal shoes for their hooves nor stirrups for their riders had been invented.

As for their eating habits: a horse's diet (especially in ancient Greece) notoriously was expected to comprise lots of the best and most expensive "fodder" (Greek φερβ-/φορβ-), namely, barley, oats, spelt, melilot, hay, and so forth, and even wheat, celery, and parsley, in addition to plenty of fresh water and grass.[50] A horse produces a distinctive range of vocal sounds, from

46. *Anth. Pal.* 9.19, 20, 21; cf. Columella *Rust.* 6.37.1; Juv. 8.66–67; Apul. *Met.* 9.13; Moritz 1958, 100–102.

47. Xenophon does mention the option briefly (*Cyr.* 7.5.62); but it is rarely discussed in other Greek texts (and, e.g., Strabo (7.4.8) writes as if the practice found among the Scythians and Sarmatians, of gelding their horses to make them more tractable, was unusual). Many modern scholars believe, nonetheless, on the basis of comparative evidence, that the majority of adult male horses used for war and racing by the Greeks must have been geldings (see Vigneron 1968, 44; Spence 1993); *contra* Anderson 1961, 38; and Hyland 1990, 46–47, 80–82 (focusing primarily on the Roman period, including Varro (*Rust.* 2.7.15), who appears to take gelding of horses for granted). There were several different methods practiced for castration, involving tying off, crushing, or cutting off the testes, either of a juvenile animal or of a near-adult. In general, "cutting" a mature male results in an animal with more of the musculature and aggressive tendencies of an entire adult (stallion, boar, bull) than does castration of a juvenile: Toynbee 1973, 323–24 (cf. Columella *Rust.* 6.26, 6.19, on oxen); Adams 1993 (on mules). See further p. 231 below.

48. Similarly, numerous new age-classes were created for adolescent human athletes during this period: Golden 1998, 104–16, esp. 107.

49. As a Greek proverb states: "'Challenging a horse [to run] on the flat plain' [ἵππον εἰς πεδίον προκαλεῖσθαι] is equivalent to 'teaching a dolphin to swim'; the point is that a horse doesn't manage very well on rough terrain" (*CPG* Diogen. 1.65, Apost. 9.11; cf. Pl. *Tht.* 183d; and n. 139 below).

50. Anderson 1961, 92–94; Richter 1968, 71–72, with refs. Xenophon (*Eq.* 4.4) recommends two regular meals per day, using the same terms as were used by contemporary Athenians for human "breakfast" and "dinner" (ἄριστον, δεῖπνον); cf. Ar. *Eq.* 606; Poll. *Onom.* 1.183 (who notes the extravagant diet for the heroes' horses, including celery and clover, wheat and wine, mentioned in Hom. *Il.* 2.775–77, 8.188–89).

a "nicker" or "snort" to a "whinny, neigh," for all of which Greek generally employs the term φρυάσσομαι, φρύαγμα.[51]

A domesticated horse's most positive characteristics (from a human point of view) were/are its speed, docility, loyalty, and elegant appearance. On the negative side, horses tend to be fragile, expensive to maintain, often skittish and panicky,[52] and also sexually very excitable;[53] and in the case of the Greeks, they were not bred to be sturdy enough to carry or pull heavy loads. So, because horses were generally employed only for battle, racing, elite transportation, and display, rather than menial "work," they might be regarded by some as "lazy."[54]

History of domestication and uses. Domesticated horses and horse chariots seem to have been first brought into the Near East and Anatolia early in the second millennium, and among the Bronze Age civilizations of the Hittites, Trojans, Luvians, Lycians, Babylonians, and Egyptians, horses were of great military and cultural value.[55] In due course, horses were adopted by the "Mycenaean" Greeks as well (unless they brought them with them from elsewhere).[56] Further East, horses played a central role in early Indic and Iranian cultures: the Sanskrit Hymns of the *RgVeda* (probably dating in their present form from the eighth through the sixth centuries B.C.E., but in many

51. See LSJ and *TLG*, s.vv., and further below, nn. 103, 158; also Part Two (on the alleged musical talents of horses, and human choruses).

52. Greek hippodromes (except at Delphi) are said to have contained a special shrine to Poseidon Taraxippos ("Scarer-of-Horses"), at which offerings would be made to forestall such panic attacks: Dio Chrys. 32.76; Paus. 6.20.15, 19, 10.37.4; cf. Ar. *Eq.* 247 (Cleon as Taraxippostratos). As modern donkey authorities explain, asses, both wild and domesticated, have three alternative modes of responding to the threat of a predator (e.g., a lion or wolf): (1) to remain inconspicuous by blending into the landscape or hiding behind a tree, (2) to attack with hooves and teeth, or (3) to run away as fast as possible. By contrast, horses usually employ only the third method.

53. Aristotle remarks (*Hist. an.* 6.572a, 579b) that horses, both male and female, are the "most horny" (λαγνίστατον) of all animals except humans. Aelian specifies this particularly of mares (*NA* 4.11); and Aelian and Columella describe the frenzied behavior of mares when coming into heat, and the potent aphrodisiac effects of *hippomanes* on both horses and humans. At the same time, it is significant that in Greek visual art and high literature, horses—and centaurs (in striking contrast, as we shall see, to donkeys and mules—and satyrs)—are virtually never shown in a state of sexual arousal, so strong was the aesthetic and ethical prejudice in favor of the horse's nobility and quasi-heroic status. The sexual behavior and associations of the various equids (especially horses) will be discussed further in Part Two.

54. As Horace puts it (describing the paradoxical desire to attempt the opposite of one's assigned function and natural talents): *optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus* ("the ox desires a horse's trappings, the lazy horse desires to plow," *Epist.* 1.14.43). As noted above, however, it may not have been all that uncommon in practice for old and/or lower-quality horses to be put to work: see above, nn. 45 and 46. Certainly the Romans used draft horses quite extensively: Toynbee 1973, 175–76; Hyland 1990, 250–62.

55. During this period, the use of hundreds of chariots together in battles was apparently decisive in a number of major campaigns, notably for the Hittites, but scholars disagree about how they were deployed: in massed formation with spears (e.g., Drews 1988), or as fast transportation for archers and other warriors to and across the battlefield (e.g., Littauer and Crouwel 2002, 53–99). Cuneiform documents from the capital of the Hittite empire (Hattusa) describe elaborate training regimens for horses (diet, exercise, etc.): see Kammenhuber 1961; and also Bollweg and Nagel 1992. Many Babylonian and Assyrian relief-sculptures depict scenes of men hunting and shooting from horse-drawn chariots. Correspondence found in Amarna (Egypt) mentions gifts of expensive horses between fourteenth-century Egyptian and Hittite kings.

56. In the (sixteenth- to fifteenth-century) shaft graves at Mycenae, hunting and battle scenes involving chariots are conspicuous; and the Linear B tablets record many horses and chariots (and chariot repairs) at Pylos and Knossos. The surviving horse bones are remarkably small. See further Anderson 1961, 1–14; Drews 1988; Kosmetatou 1993; Reese 1995, with further references.

cases containing much older material) frequently extol horses and chariots;[57] likewise Herodotus' reports of Medo-Persian culture (in which horses were sacred to Ahura-Mazda and Mithras).[58] Horses were almost never sacrificed or eaten in Classical Greece, though traces of earlier funerary practices are found (especially in Cyprus);[59] but the religious mystique of the horse, reinforced by extensive ritual practices too,[60] seems to have persisted in many of the surrounding regions into and beyond the Archaic period.[61]

There is little evidence from Bronze Age Europe or Anatolia of riding on horseback. The horses available during that period seem to have been very small, and in any case there may not yet have existed satisfactory bridles to enable a rider to maintain good control.[62] During the "Geometric" period (ninth through eighth centuries B.C.E.) and in the Homeric poems, we find horses still being used primarily to draw chariots, though (as many scholars have observed) the poets and their audience no longer seem to understand how a chariot might be used in battle. In the *Iliad*, pairs of warriors operate together from a chariot, with one (the senior) hurling javelins before jumping

57. For discussion of horses and chariots in the *RgVeda* and *Upanishads* (esp. the *Katha Upanishad*), in association not only with gods and heroes, but also with salvation and immortality, sacrifice, the winds, and the human spirit, along with the possible connections with Archaic Greek poetry and ritual, see, e.g., Puhvel 1987; Nagy 1990, 238–50, 256–58; Caswell 1990; Jezik 1992; Watkins 2004 (focusing especially on horse sacrifices). The heroes of later Indic epics and romances (*Mahāvārata*, *Bhagavad-Gita*) regularly travel and fight on horseback, but this probably reflects a later cultural practice, since these poems appear to date in their present form from the third century B.C.E.

58. Hdt. 1.189.1, 7.40.2–4, 7.55.3; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.12; Hdt. 3.90.3, 7.54.2, 8.137.4–5; Pomeroy 1994, on Xen. *Oec.* 4.7.

59. The taboo against eating horses seems to have been introduced into Europe and the Near East during the second millennium B.C.E.: see Zeuner 1963, 327; Drews 2004, 10–30 (emphasizing the extent of horse eating in much of Eurasia up until then). In Greek literature there are isolated mentions of horses being thrown into the water as a sacrifice either to a river deity (Hom. *Il.* 21.130–32; Hdt. 7.113; Paus. 8.7.2) or to the sun (Festus *Gloss. Lat.*, p. 190 Lindsay); but these victims would obviously not be eaten. During the Bronze Age and early Geometric period horses (or sometimes donkeys) might be killed and buried with their deceased owners: Edmunds 1997; cf. Burkert 1983, 51–53, 69, 159–60; Kosmetatou 1993; Reese 1995; and for possible fourth-century Macedonian sequels, see Antikas and Alifakiotis 2002. The very rare and exceptional passages in which equids are mentioned as being sacrificed on dry land and/or eaten involve non-Greeks: Hyperboreans (Pind. *Pyth.* 10.34–36, a donkey sacrifice for Apollo), Scythians (Hdt. 4.61; Strabo 15.727), Massagetae (Hdt. 1.216), Parthians (Tac. *Ann.* 6.37), Persians (Hdt. 1.132–33); cf. too the *Equus October* of Rome (Polyb. 12.4b = Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 36; cf. Burkert 1983, 159–60, with further comparanda). Such references seem to confirm the rule that the Greeks of the Classical period would not voluntarily eat equids of any kind, except in the face of starvation (as, e.g., at Xen. *An.* 2.1.6). See further Richardson 1993 on Hom. *Il.* 21.130–32; also Plut. *De esu carm.* (implicitly, passim); Porph. *Abst.* 2.25; Olck 1907, 654; and Jameson 1988.

60. On possible "Indo-European" origins to horse rituals that may have persisted into Archaic Greece, see, e.g., Burkert 1983; Puhvel 1987, 269–76; Edmunds 1997 (with Ruth Palmer's appendices, both discussing burials of "horse and maiden"); Watkins 2004. On divine horses and the religious associations of heroes and their horses in the *Iliad*, see, e.g., Bowra 1952; Janko 1992, 45–46 (ad 13.23–31), 336–37 (ad 16.145–54); Edwards 1991, 104–10 (ad 17.426–82), 283–85 (ad 19.399–424); Schein 2002.

61. Herodotus of course stipulates that among the Iranians (Persians) of his own era, the only skills taught to boys between the ages of five and twenty were "to ride a horse, use bow and arrows, and tell the truth" (1.136); but contrast Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.3, and see Pomeroy 1994 on Xen. *Oec.* 4.7. Thracians, Macedonians, and Scythians appear to have been no less deeply equestrian; "Trojans" too in Greek mythology. (In Homer, Rhesus and Tros are among the most devoted horse owners that we encounter.)

62. Bridles and bits of a rudimentary kind are known from the early fourth millennium B.C.E. (Anthony 1991); but the snaffle and metal bit probably date from closer to 2000; see Clutton-Brock 1992; Drews 2004, 15–20, 83–98 (arguing that skilled horse-back riding did not develop anywhere on a large scale until after 1000 B.C.E.).

down to fight on foot, while his youthful companion serves as "charioteer" (ἡνίοχος), as in figure 5. Whether or not such tactics were based on any actual Bronze Age institution, such pairing of older and younger elite warriors certainly continued or came to be culturally and militarily significant in many parts of Greece throughout the Archaic and early Classical periods.[63] Horseback riders, however, are scarcely found at all in the epics (only in *Iliad* 10, for the night raid on Rhesus' horses), though we do find passing references to horseback acrobatics (κέλης, κελητίζειν: *Il.* 14.679; cf. *Od.* 5.371). Yet archaeological evidence reveals quite widespread use of cavalry (i.e., armed warriors mounted on horses) as the elite troops of Greek military activity already by the eighth or early seventh century.[64] In the Classical period, light chariots continued to be used for elegant transportation, racing, and ceremonial display, but not for military action, though Athenian vase-painters still liked to depict heroic scenes of hunting and combat involving horse-drawn chariots (as in fig. 5).

Horses and chariots loomed very large in the Archaic and Classical Greek imagination, to judge from the surviving art and literature. By far the lengthiest and most exciting contest in the funeral games for Patroclus is the chariot race (*Il.* 23.261–652); and from at least the early seventh century, equestrian events, mainly the four-horse chariot races (τέθριππον), and later the two-horse chariot race too (συνωρίς), as well as the solo horse race (κέλης), were prominent in all major athletic contests.[65] In the fourth century, races for chariots drawn by colts or fillies (πῶλοι, i.e., two- to three-year-olds) were also introduced, reflecting the growing tendency to introduce ever more subcategories and age-groupings for human events as well. Other equestrian competitions included javelin throwing or archery at targets from horseback (techniques especially favored by the Scythians and Persians), dressage and trotting in rhythm, and acrobatic feats involving jumping on and off moving chariots (ἀποβάτης).[66]

Hippotrophia (horse breeding, training, and riding) was recognized throughout Greece as perhaps the most precious and distinctive marker of wealth, brilliance, and style (or, in the eyes of the less aristocratically minded, of luxury, extravagance, and waste)—a marker that was still very

63. Bronze Age Hittite references to "charioteers" and "cup bearers" recall some of the Homeric pairings. In the Archaic Greek period, male pairings of adult and adolescent elite soldiers are ubiquitous—best attested in literary and visual culture for Sparta, Crete, Thera, Thebes, and Athens, often with a homoerotic as well as military aspect to them: e.g., Pl. *Symp.* passim; Xen. *Lac.* 2–6; Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 149 (apud Strabo 10.4.16–22), Plut. *Lyc.* 14–18, 22–24. Numerous inscriptions, plaques, and paintings point in the same direction: see further Brelich 1969; Kennell 1995. In general, on adolescent rites of institution involving *kouroi/korai*, military/athletic activity, courtship and marriage, individual/group training and self-presentation, and horses (real or imaginary), see Jeanmaire 1939; Brelich 1969; Calame 1997; Griffith 2001. I shall return in Part Two to discuss in detail the gender/sexual politics of horse taming and riding, and of yoked horse pairs and teams in relation to these institutions.

64. See, e.g., Greenhalgh 1973; Bugh 1988; Worley 1994, 21–58; Littauer and Crouwel 2002, 62–65.

65. See Kyle 1987; Crowther 1994; Golden 1998; Miller 2004. It was probably at this date too that the myth of Hippodameia and Pelops' chariot race became accepted as the *aition* for the founding of the Olympics.

66. Golden 1998, 39–45, 169–75; Miller 2004, 75–82, 138–39, 142–44; and see fig. 4.

much in evidence as late as the fourth century.[67] In several cities, the title for the class of wealthy citizens who monopolized political office, and who seem generally to have exercised economic control too, was *hippeis* ("knights").[68] In Athens, these *hippeis* were distinguished from the *zeugitai* (= those merely able to afford a "yoked" pair [ζεῦγος] of oxen or mules) and *thetes* (= the poor). Horses were often given individual names,[69] while *Hippo-* names for people were pervasive in upper-class contexts, and *hippo-* words in general (real, or specially coined for humorous or exaggerated effect) regularly connote "high, fancy, grand."[70]

In sum, it is no exaggeration to say that the Greeks of the Archaic and Classical periods were obsessed with horses. Images of horses, with or without riders or chariots, often highly stylized, with slim bodies, extra-long necks, and exaggerated manes and tails (e.g., figs. 2, 3, and 4), are found in extraordinary abundance, as dedicatory bronze or ceramic offerings, painted decorations on the finest vases, coins, sculpted reliefs on buildings, and free-standing statues. One cannot open a book on Archaic Greek art or visit a museum gallery of Greek artifacts without encountering horses at every turn. Thus, even in the era of "the rise of the polis" and the domination of hoplite warfare (c. 600–400 B.C.E.), horses and horsemen appear to be far more emblematic of Greek mentalities and fantasies of heroism than infantry warriors—perhaps because most of the visual art was produced for elites.[71] "The dominant themes in Attic Late Geometric are death, horses, and warfare,"[72] and this dominance of horse themes scarcely diminishes in the subsequent periods of Corinthian and Athenian black-figure vase-painting. Even in the mid-fifth century, when Periclean Athens wished to erect a monument to proclaim the full glory of the democratic polis, Phidias and the other designers of the Parthenon placed horses and horsemen in many of the most prominent positions of the design, not only among the divine figures of both the East and West Pediments, but also in the frieze that runs all around the building, which contains over 150 figures of horses (e.g., fig. 6a), with the animals shown standing, walking, rearing, and galloping, solo or in

67. Aristotle, for example, comments that *hippotrophia* usually goes hand in hand with oligarchical political tendencies (*Pol.* 4.1289b34–40, 6.1321a5–14; cf. frag. 603). See Pomeroy 1994 on Xen. *Oec.* 1.8 and 2.6.

68. In Sparta, *hippeus* was the official title for a full Spartiate, who had passed through the grueling series of qualifying tests contained in the famous ἀγωγή ("Course of Education"); see Kennell 1995. Although many of the terms cited by Plutarch (*Lyc.*) and others to describe Spartan age-groups and pedagogic rituals may in fact be of Hellenistic or even later origin, inscriptions confirm that *hippeus* was indeed the standard term for the Spartan elite in the sixth century.

69. In Homer, only Achilles' horses are named; but, e.g., Pindar and Bacchylides often name victorious racehorses. Throughout antiquity curse tablets designed to bring disaster to opposing chariot teams are plentiful, and several of these name the individual horses of the rival team; see too (for the Roman period) Toynbee 1973, 177–83.

70. See, e.g., Ar. *Ran.* 818–29, 929, 932–33; also Dover 1968, ad *Nub.* 1070.

71. Even the one extant sixth-century image of hoplites aligned in close formation, the Corinthian "Chigi Vase" so often cited and reproduced by modern scholars, contains on the panel immediately below a larger and equally striking scene of horse-riding hunters; see, e.g., Boardman 1998, fig. 178.

72. Ibid., 27.

teams of four, with an exuberance and elegance matched only by that of their youthful riders and drivers.[73]

Because horses were so expensive to maintain, and as a reflection of the growing importance and prestige of the hoplite infantry, a rival ideology of simple, pedestrian virtues eventually developed, asserting itself from time to time in opposition to the ideological dominance of the horse. In the "low" poetic forms, such as iambos and comedy, and the populist rhetoric of anti-oligarchic politicians, *hippotrophia* was often associated with excessive luxury, waste, and antidemocratic (or specifically pro-Spartan or pro-Persian) tendencies.[74] During the mid-fifth century in particular, the Athenian cavalry seems to have declined significantly in numbers for some years. But reforms were soon instituted that apparently picked up their numbers again and reemphasized their military importance;[75] and outside Athens (e.g., in Syracuse, Corinth, Cyrene, Thessaly) the iconographic emphasis on horses never slackened.[76]

Significantly, Greek *women* rarely rode horses, though goddesses and nymphs are sometimes represented riding sidesaddle on hippocamps, sea horses, or other exotic creatures (or they may drive horse-drawn chariots).[77] In the Greek mind, horse riding was essentially reserved for men. Thus the mounted Amazons and the female Scythian (Sauromatian) hunter-warriors mentioned by Herodotus (4.110–17) were especially disturbing for Greek sensibilities.[78]

73. For the tendency of the Athenians to "aristocratize" the demos and its achievements, in rhetoric and iconography alike, see esp. Loraux 1986; Stewart 1997, 75–85; Wohl 2002, 32–38; Stevenson 2003. On the prominence of horses and horsemen among the Elgin Marbles, see esp. Cook 1997; Stevenson 2003; and Part Two of this article. Elsewhere on the Acropolis, during the later sixth century several huge, brightly-painted marble statues of horsemen were prominently dedicated: see Acropolis Museum 2000. Xenophon's testimony is eloquent as to the high value still accorded in the fourth century (at least in some quarters) to "chivalrous" values and elite horsemanship, a set of skills that was shared by "Homeric" Greek aristocrats, Persian nobility, and Macedonian royalty alike: thus Philip and Alexander were quite characteristic of their Macedonian heritage, as well as strongly reminiscent of Homeric ideology, in their devotion to horses and horsemanship; see, e.g., Antikas and Alifakiotis 2002.

74. So "horsey" vocabulary could become a kind of mockery (e.g., Ar. *Nub.*, *Ran.*; see n. 70 above), just as extravagant expenditure on equestrian activities in certain political or forensic contexts (especially in Athens) could be criticized as a mark of undemocratic attitudes: see Part Two.

75. Bugh (1988) estimates that the number of registered Athenian *hippeis* dwindled to as low as 300 in the mid-fifth century but came back up to c. 1000 by the end of the fifth century.

76. For the (predominantly horsey) coins of Corinth, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Syracuse, see the plates of Kraay 1976 (nos. 220–61, 373–405, 481–513, 799–820, respectively). For a fairly random but nonetheless representative sampling of painted and carved representations of horses from all over Greece c. 800–400 B.C.E., see, e.g., Boardman 1985, 1996, and 1998; Hurwit 1985; Richter and Hall 1936. The slimmest and most stylized representations tend to come in the Geometric period, notably with the Athenian "Dipylon" vases (e.g., Boardman 1996, figs. 18, 19; 1998, figs. 45, 59, 69, 70; Hurwit 1985, fig. 49) and the ubiquitous dedications of bronze figurines at Olympia and elsewhere (see fig. 2).

77. See esp. *LIMC*, s.vv. "Thetis," "Nereids," "Selene/Astra," etc. Sidesaddles were also quite commonly used by old or disabled men, or low-class laborers, from Minoan times throughout antiquity, for riding mules and donkeys: see fig. 9, and *LIMC*, s.v. "Hephaistos"; further Brommer 1978; Hoffmann 1997; Padgett 2000; Fineberg forthcoming; and Part Two. In Greece nowadays, men and boys as well as women sometimes ride ponies sidesaddle: see, e.g., Bongianni 1988, no. 162 (a Peloponnesian peasant riding a Peneian pony).

78. On the horse-riding Amazons, ps.-Lysias remarks (2.4–5), "Of old, the Amazons, daughters of Ares, dwelling by the river Thermodon, . . . were the first to mount horses. . . . They were accounted as men for their courage, rather than as women for their sex"; see, further, du Bois 1982; Stewart 1997, 169–70, 191–97. Archaeologists have confirmed the existence of nomadic societies in parts of Scythia during this period

Horses were for war, for hunting, for play, for show. Rarely were they used to do *work*. Thus, while Aesop's *Fables* include a few stories in which an old, beaten-down, thoroughbred horse has fallen on hard times and is reduced to turning the mill or carrying burdens,[79] more characteristically the *Fables* tell of a horse refusing scornfully and snobbishly to share a burden with a donkey, or being reserved instead for special occasions (especially battle).[80] There were both practical and ideological reasons for this reluctance to subject horses to hard labor. Not only were Greek horses small and lightly built, but the harnesses developed by the Greeks were not well designed to allow horses to pull heavy loads behind them, since the chest straps stretched across their wind pipes and interfered with their breathing (as, e.g., in fig. 5; see too fig. 13).[81] Greek riders were also in the habit of training their horses to carry their heads very high (e.g., fig. 6b), which would still further have limited their ability to pull heavy weights or even to exert themselves to the fullest in other ways, since such a posture likewise constricted their windpipe and impaired movement. As for carrying a pack (σάγος, σάγμα, κανθήλια), a horse's back is not usually so flat as a mule's or donkey's; horses are also less sure-footed and resilient, and less tolerant of extreme heat, as well as requiring more (and better) food and water.[82]

But these practical considerations may have been less important than the ideological. Some of the obstacles to using horses for draft and as pack animals could have been reduced by selective breeding and technological innovation, had the Greeks been so motivated. But even while the horses used throughout the Mediterranean areas clearly increased somewhat in size—not only in height, but in some regions in bulk as well—between the Bronze Age and the Classical period, the Greeks preferred to keep theirs light, elegant, and fast, and thus unsuitable for heavy work.[83] This was not mere accident,

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that contained numerous female equestrian hunters and warriors. So what Herodotus and Lysias saw as a peculiar contradiction of proper standards of gendered behavior (women riding horses) was accepted as quite normal among some of their northern neighbors.

79. So Babrius 29 = Aesop 318 Perry; cf. Perotti's app. 21 in Perry 1965, and Aesop 549, 565, 571 Perry. For a rare reference in the Classical period to horses being used like oxen and donkeys as draft animals (in this case, for the relatively light work of threshing with their hooves), see Xen. *Oec*. 18.3–4.

80. E.g., Babrius 83 = Aesop 319 Perry.

81. See too, e.g., Anderson 1961, pl. 19; Vigneron 1968, pls. 46–54; Miller 2004, fig. 162. The same problem hampered mules and donkeys too, but to a lesser extent, since both these breeds tend to carry their necks at a lower angle, closer to the horizontal (see fig. 12b). In the case of oxen, which were capable of pulling the heaviest loads of all, the yokes and harnesses were less restrictive of their breathing.

82. See below, pp. 225–26, 233–37, for the use of donkeys and mules for haulage and transportation. Opinions seem to differ about whether a mule is or is not actually stronger than a horse, pound for pound, at pulling or carrying loads. Lamb (1963, 27–28), states that no mule has been proven to be stronger than the largest draft horses. But a mule's greater resistance to disease is well proven: during World War I, for example, "the ratio of illness in horses to illness in mules was about six to one" (ibid. 28), one major reason being the mules' thicker skin, since skin diseases are a major cause of disability and/or death in draft animals.

83. Anderson 1961, 2–3, 31–33, 42–43, with pls. 14a, 19; and pp. 195–96 above, on Greek horse types. By contrast, the Persians bred and used quite tall and relatively massive horses (e.g., Anderson 1961, pls. 8, 13b, 39; cf. Hyland 1990, 13–16, 44–45), while the Scythians and Gauls also developed stockier and tougher types of pony than the Greeks (Hyland 1990, 20–23). The increasing number of races for teams of "colts" (πῶλοι) in the later fifth and fourth centuries further promoted the spectacle of lighter and leggier horses at the Greek circuit games.

oversight, or ignorance. The Greeks paid great attention to horse breeding,[84] and could certainly have developed something more like the British cart horse or Welsh pit pony, if this had been a high priority for them. But they appear to have done the opposite—as it were, breeding their horses to be sports cars rather than tractors or pickup trucks, and leaving the business of heavy-duty labor and comfortable transportation to their other equids.

For the heaviest dragging and carting, oxen, usually yoked in pairs, were generally employed, as they had been for millennia throughout the Near East and Europe.[85] Oxen are very strong, but very slow: an ox-drawn vehicle rarely exceeds two mph. For less hefty haulage, mules or donkeys, which were nimbler and faster than oxen, could be harnessed to draw light or medium-sized wagons (figs. 11a–b, 12a–b), or to carry packs with burdens of up to 150–200 pounds for a donkey (fig. 8), or up to 250 pounds for a large mule.[86] The only wheeled vehicles normally pulled by Greek horses were two-wheeled chariots and light carriages designed for human occupation and display, not heavy portage.[87] Likewise for plowing, either oxen or mules were commonly used, not horses.[88]

It is clear, then, that just as in human society certain kinds of menial and mercantile labor were regarded as unsuitable for a free man,[89] so too hard work was felt to be inappropriate and degrading for a true horse.[90] The ideological pressure to breed and train horses that would be "naturally" suited only for noble functions, and to refrain from developing sturdy working-horses, was a cultural preference, not a biological given or practical necessity. This

84. See, e.g., Pl. *Resp*. 5.460e (cf. 1.335b, 3.375a–c, *Euthphr.* 13a, *Grg*. 516a); Alcm. 1 (quoted in Part Two); Soph. *El*. 698–708; and on Greek horse-breeding techniques in general, see Hörnschemeyer 1929; Hoppe 1938; Richter 1968. But Anderson (1961, 38–39) points out that the Greek practice of letting breeding-mares spend their time outdoors in more or less unsupervised herds must have rendered them somewhat available to attentions from unknown (even wild) stallions, which would have limited the effectiveness of any breeder's attempt to be selective in choice of breeding stock.

85. Illustrations of ox teams plowing, pulling a country cart, or even pushing a mill, are not uncommon; and we may recall, e.g., the story of Cleobis and Biton (Hdt. 1.31). For discussion of the extensive use of oxen (as well as asses) in ancient Near Eastern societies, see Nielsen 1953; Zeuner 1963. On the seventeenth-through-eighteenth-century English transition from oxen to horses for agricultural uses, see n. 14 above; on the nineteenth-century transition in the United States from oxen to mules, see Lamb 1963, 26–29.

86. U.S. army instructions for pack mules in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century specified 200 to 220 lb. as a reasonable load for regular long-distance journeys: Engel 1978; Riley 1867. Donkeys, being on average somewhat smaller, might normally carry c. 100 to 200 pounds; see n. 114 below.

87. In Roman times, especially in the later Empire for the *Cursus Publicus*, horses were more frequently employed for draft than they were in Classical Greece: Toynbee 1973, 175–76; Hyland 1990, 250–62. But mule teams continued to be widely used too. As far as I can determine, the Greeks did not often use large mule teams (more than four animals) harnessed together, such as were regularly employed by the Romans (and later, in the United States: see Riley 1867, with illustrations). Alexander's body was conveyed in a hearse drawn by sixty-four mules, harnessed in sixteen teams of four, with each wearing a gold crown, jewels, and a golden bell hanging from its neck (Diod. Sic. 18.27.5; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 6.1.50–54); see too n. 170 below.

88. See nn. 184 and 185 below, on mules in Hesiod and Theognis, and on Homeric recommendations for plowing. Jameson (1988) writes as if almost all draft work, including plowing, was performed by oxen; but his neglect of mules seems unjustified.

89. For this essential differentiation between "free, liberal" activities and "debased, illiberal, laboring, working-class, servile" ones (βάναυσος, ἀνελεύθερος, φορτικός, πονηρός, Latin *illiberalis)*, see Arist. *Pol.* passim; Cic. *Off*. 1.51; and further Johnstone 1994; Griffith 2001.

90. Hence the well-known proverb of one who finds himself unaccustomedly forced to accept a menial occupation, ἀφ' ἵππων εἰς ὄνους ("from the horses to the donkeys," i.e., from the boardroom to the factory floor, or the gutter). As we noted, indeed (n. 39 above), a separate term, καβάλλης, came to be used for a "working horse," i.e., a debased, low-class horse, one that is doing the kind of work usually assigned to donkeys.

preference was accompanied by an elaborate set of customs and prejudices concerning the cosmetic presentation, harnessing, schooling, and other characteristics of the *relationship* between horse and human (including various kinds of complicated "gender trouble"), to which we shall return in Part Two of this article. But first we need to complete our preliminary survey of the Greek equine world, by taking a look at the lower end of the social spectrum, that occupied by the donkey and the mule.

Donkey (Ass, Burro, Moke)[91]

Terminology and origins. Scientific name *equus hydruntinus*, or *equus asinus asinus*. The standard Greek word ὄνος,[92] perhaps cognate with Latin *asinus*, *asellus* (whence French *âne*, English "ass," German *Esel*) is not Indo-European, but apparently derived ultimately from Sumerian *anse*, which evolved also into old Semitic *anah* (whence perhaps Biblical Hebrew *hamor*, Arabic *hamar*), Armenian *es*, Old Irish *asal*. Thus etymology confirms that the word—and the animal—was established throughout the Mediterranean, Levantine, and Anatolian regions long before Indo-European horse users arrived.[93] A male donkey is properly termed in English a "jack," a female a "jennet" (more colloquially, "jenny"). In Greek there is no separate word nor a feminine form: ὄνος covers all.[94] The domesticated donkey is believed to be descended from one of the three separate species of early North African ass that have been distinguished by environmental archaeologists: Nubian, Somalian, and a third type, now extinct. Of these, it appears to be the Nubian type that gave rise to the European donkey.[95]

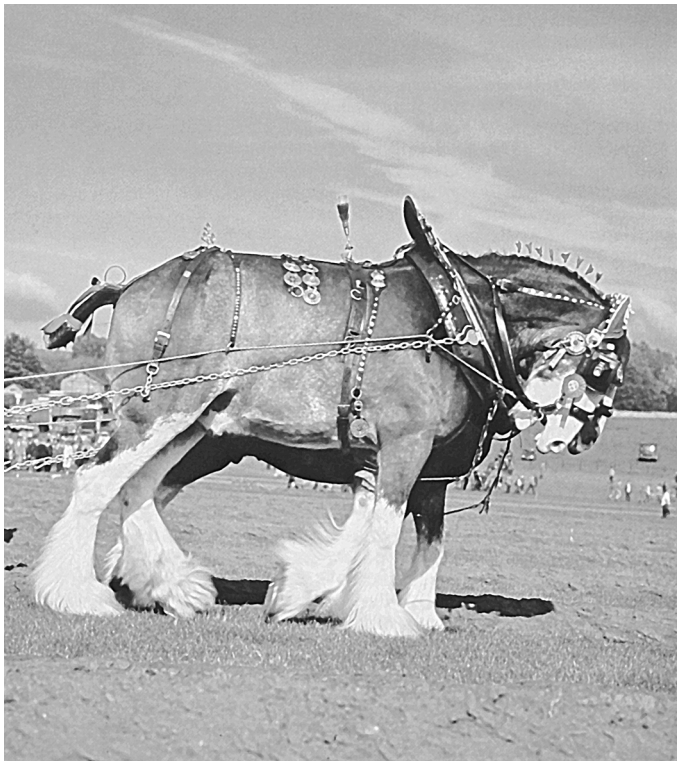
91. The English/American terms "ass, burro, moke, jackass" all refer to the same animal as "donkey," a term which itself is possibly derived from **donnequin/* = "dun-kie," i.e., "little-gray-brown-colored one": Dent 1972, 11–15. Because the term "ass" has a number of distracting associations (especially in America), in this paper I shall mostly refer to "donkeys" instead.

92. The term κανθήλιος (lit., "pannier-using one," from κανθήλια = "baskets, panniers") is also sometimes used of a pack ass (e.g., Ar. *Lys*. 290; Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.11; Pl. *Symp*. 221e; hence Latin *cantherius*)—equivalent, as it were, to American "pickup" or "flatbed" (sc. truck). Hesychius and Pollux cite also the terms βρικός (apparently Cyrenean), and κίλλος or κίλλαι (perhaps meaning "gray"), all of which are glossed with ὄνος. But these terms are otherwise unattested.

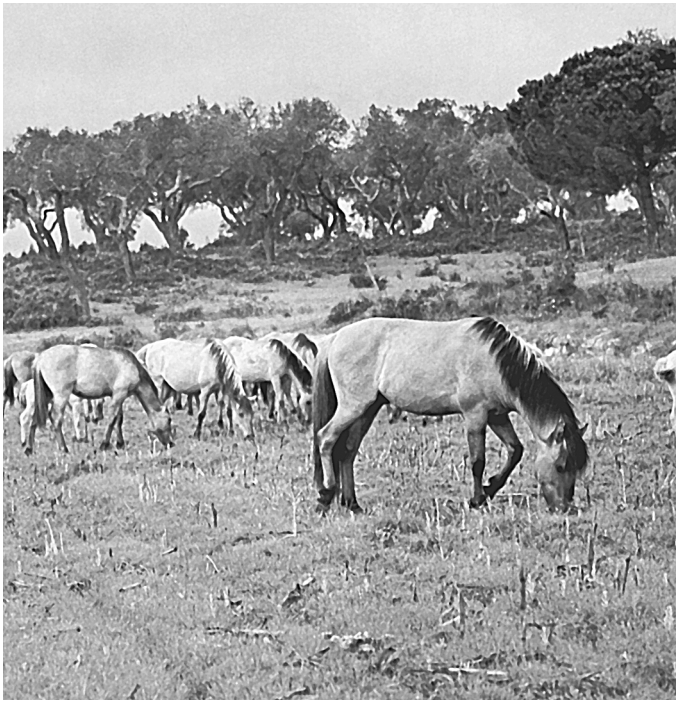
93. For the etymology, see esp. Ernout and Meillet 1949, s.v. *asinus*; Dent 1972, 11–15; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1998. Those who like to emphasize the "Indo-European" (and Western or Northern) heritage of our Greek cultural ancestors have accordingly delighted in the fact that the noble horse enjoys this linguistic pedigree whereas the lowly ("Asiatic") ass does not. (Thus Ernout and Meillet remark, "Tandis que le 'cheval' est par excellence l'animal du chef indo-européen, l''âne' est anatolien, méditerranéen." Meillet and Vendryes (1968, 18) include *onos/asinus* with other well-known phenomena, such as οἶνος/*vinum*, and -νθος, -σσος endings, as surviving examples of the language of (sc. pre-Greek) "Aegean civilization." For the theory that ὄνος and μύλη, the Greek terms for the two stones of a mill (e.g., Ar. *Vesp.* 616, and cf. Latin *mola*), are in fact derived from the words for "donkey" and "mule," see Moritz 1958, 2–6, 10–12, and p. 218 n. C; and n. 145 below. But when Greek does begin to use μούλη, μουλάριον to mean "mule" (a usage that continues into Modern Greek μουλάρι), it is always with the omicron, so the word is obviously a late borrowing from Latin *mūla*; see further n. 145 below.

94. In England, a confusing habit has arisen over the years of referring to a female donkey (she-ass) as a "hinny," which is the term properly used of the hybrid product of a horse-stallion and donkey-jennet (i.e., the reverse of a "mule"); see below, n. 148. (The Loeb translator of Columella also has the distracting habit of referring to donkey jacks as "stallions.")

95. It is likely that other breeds of ass and onager have also intermingled with this "original" strain during the course of history. It is also not entirely clear whether or not the Near Eastern onager (so-called true wild ass or hemiones) was itself derived from the North African ass or represents instead a separate breed altogether: see Nagel et al. 1999, and pp. 194–95 above; for the relationship of the zebra to the ass, see p. 194 and nn. 29–31 above.



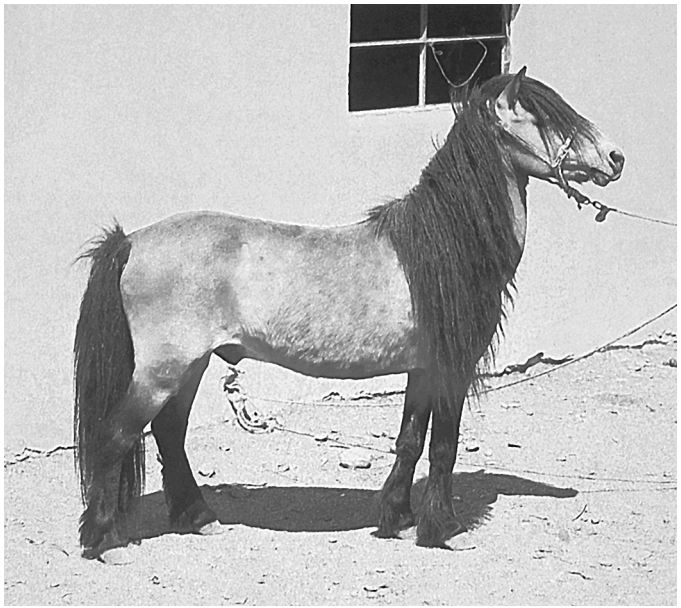
1a—Team of Clydesdales (Britain) at work: height 16–17 hands (1.65–1.80 m).



1b—Sorraia ponies (Portugal and Spain); height 12.2–13 hands (1.24–1.35 m).



1c—Caspian pony (Iran); height 9.2–11.2 hands (0.96–1.16 m).



1d—Skyros pony (Greece); height 9.1–11 hands (0.94–1.15 m).

Fig. 1.—Some modern horse breeds.
Photographs by Sally Anne Thompson Animal Photography, courtesy of Sally Anne Thompson and R. T. Willbie.

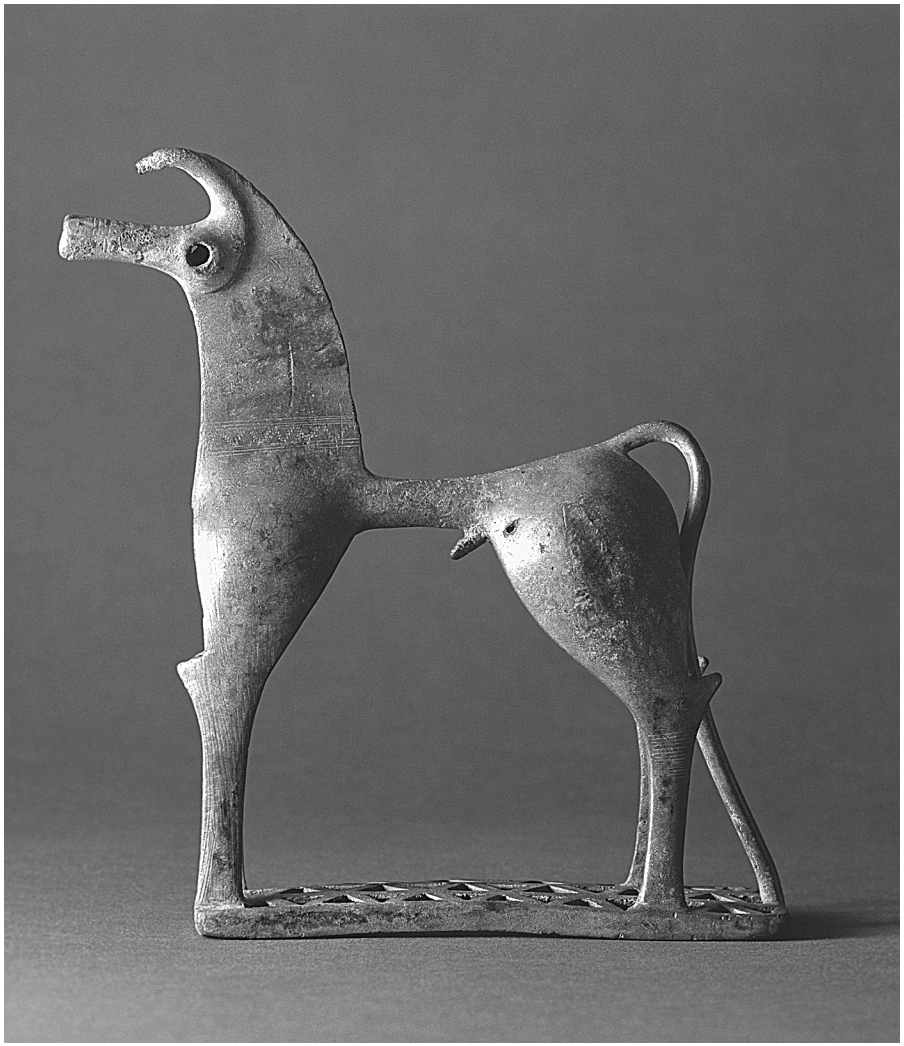
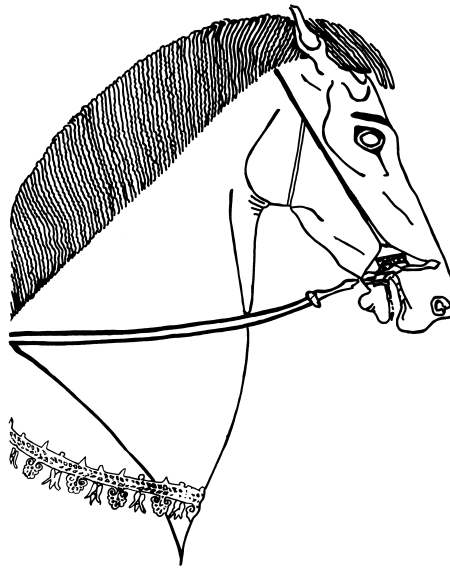
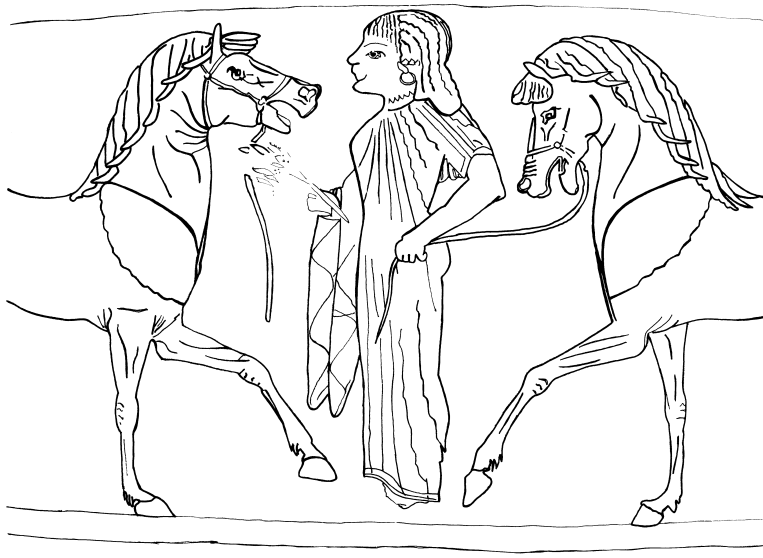


Fig. 2.—Stylized bronze figurine (Corinthian, c. 730 B.C.E., probably from Olympia). Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin (inv. no. 31317). Photograph: Ingrid Geske.
Courtesy of Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.



3a—Detail of black-figure amphora by Exekias in the Vatican Museums (*ABV* 145, 13; mid- to late-sixth century). Drawing by Marcia DeVoe.



3b—Detail of mid-sixth-century Greek vase from Caere (Etruria) (Louvre E699; *CVA France* 14, pl. 613.1). Drawing by Marcia DeVoe.

Fig. 3.—The elegance and allure of equine coiffure.

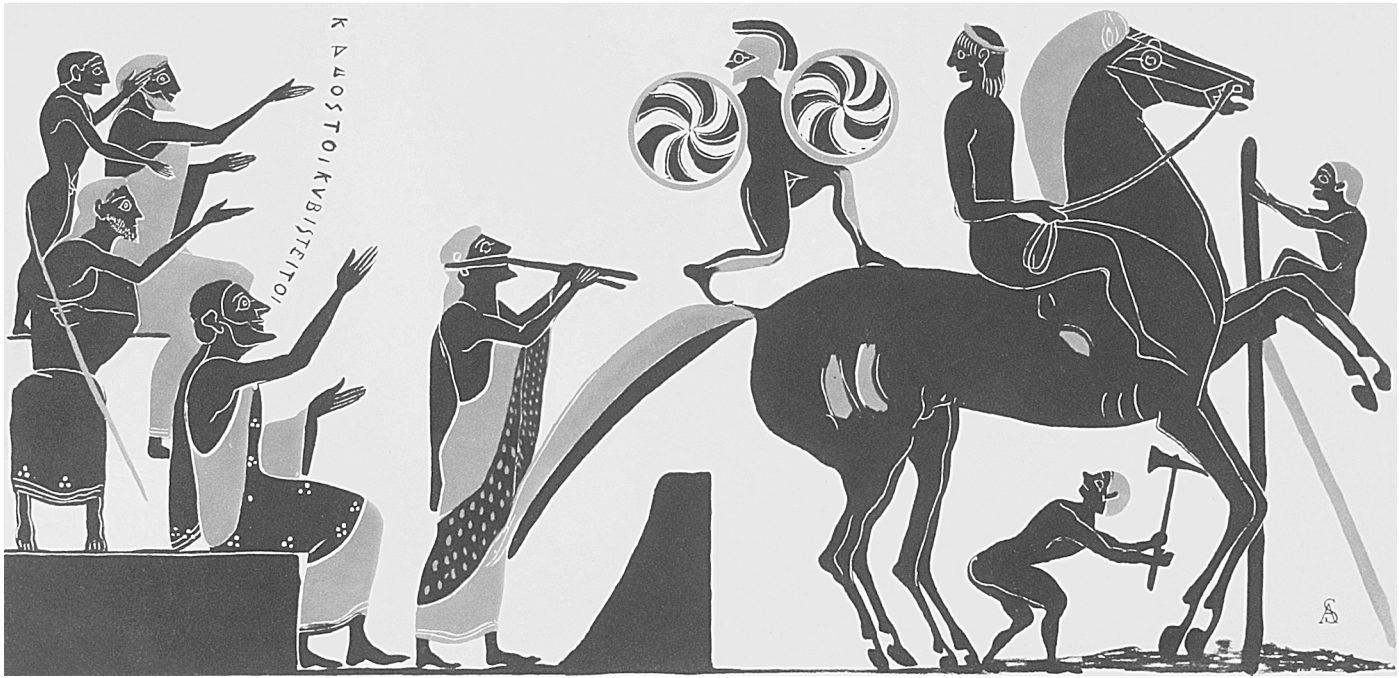


Fig. 4.—Musicians, acrobats, and horses. Attic black-figure amphora (mid-sixth century), in the Louvre. Drawing from A. Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros* (Paris, 1875) pl. 57.

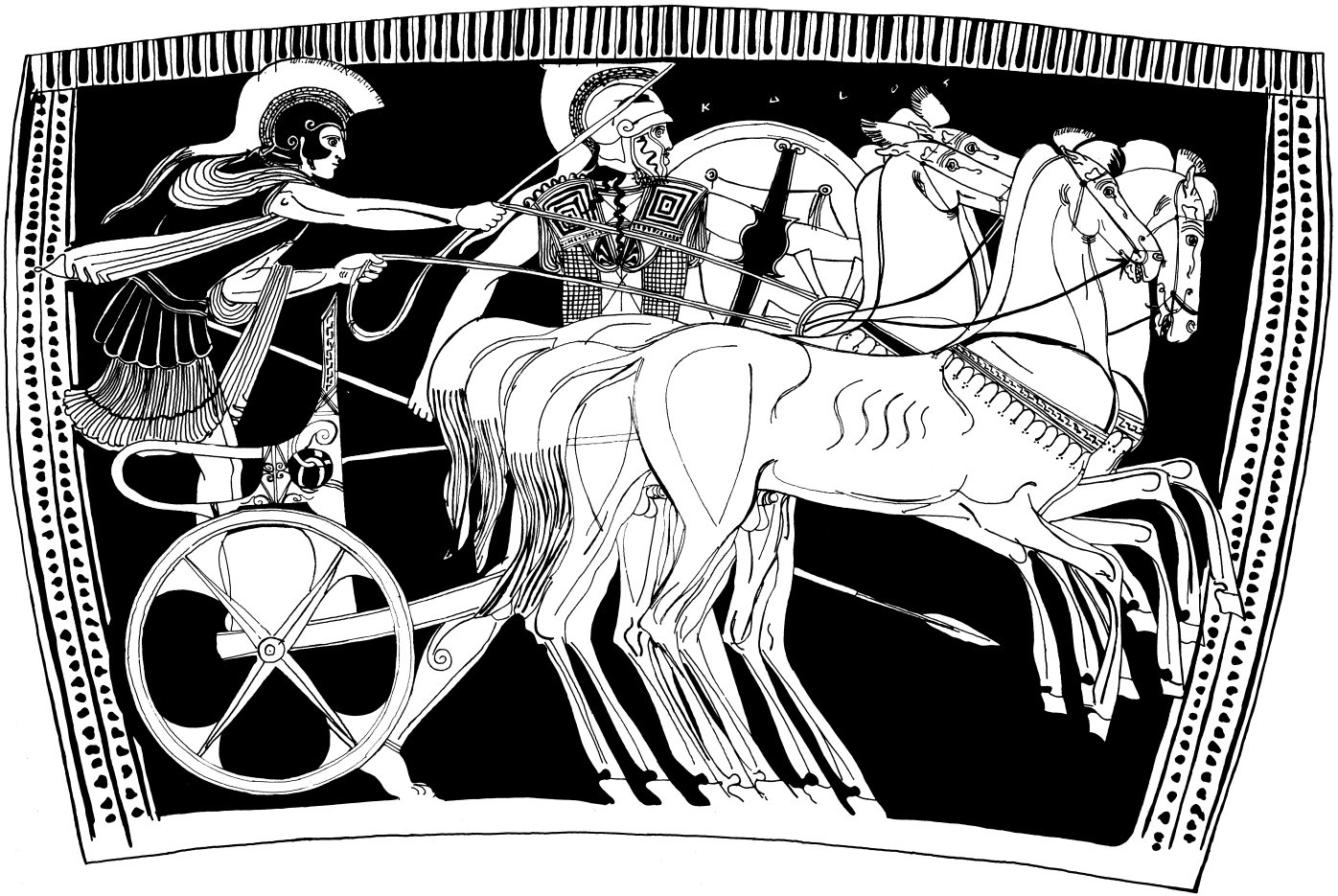
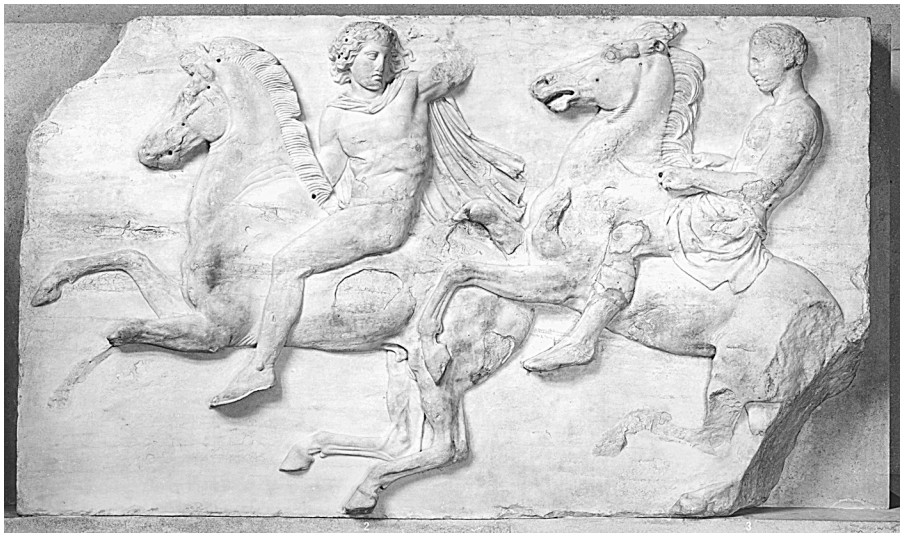


Fig. 5.—Pair of warriors with four-horse chariot (*tethrippon*). Late-sixth-century Attic red-figure column-crater by the Painter of Bologna 228, in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (29.131.7; *ARV* 511, 4). Drawing by Marcia DeVoe.

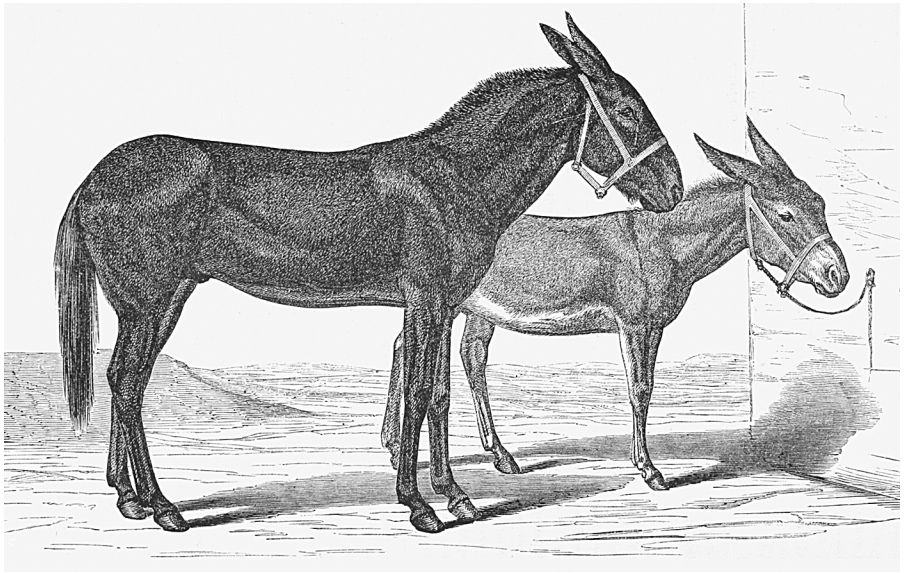


6a—Riders at the Panathenaic procession. West end of Parthenon frieze, slab II (c. 440 B.C.E.). Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum.

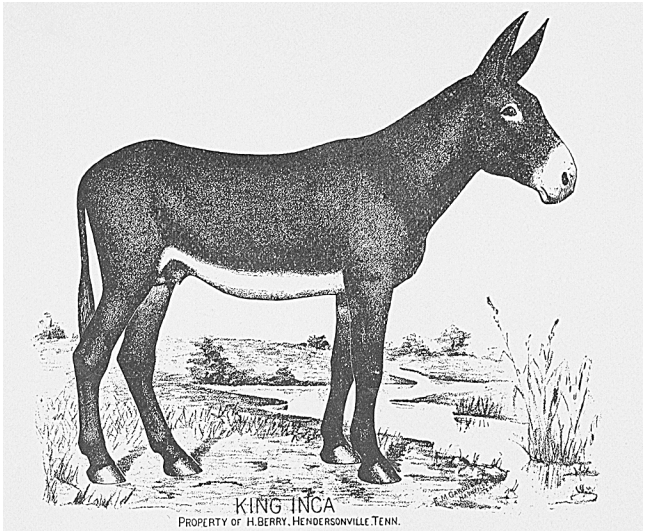


6b—Young rider wearing Thracian boots and cloak (over a Greek *chiton*), plus traveling hat (*petasos*). Interior of late-sixth-century Attic red-figure cup by Euphronius (Munich inv. VAS 2620: *ARV* 16, 17). Photograph from Anderson 1961, pl. 18b. (Cup was at that time more heavily restored than it is now.) Courtesy of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

Fig. 6.—Equestrian styles in democratic Athens.



7a—A small donkey (c. 10 hands) stands next to a large Andalusian mule (14–15 hands). Engraving from *Cassell's Popular Natural History*, vol. 1 (1859), 229.



7b—A Majorca "mammoth" donkey-jack (c. 15–16 hands). Engraving from Knight 1902, 94.

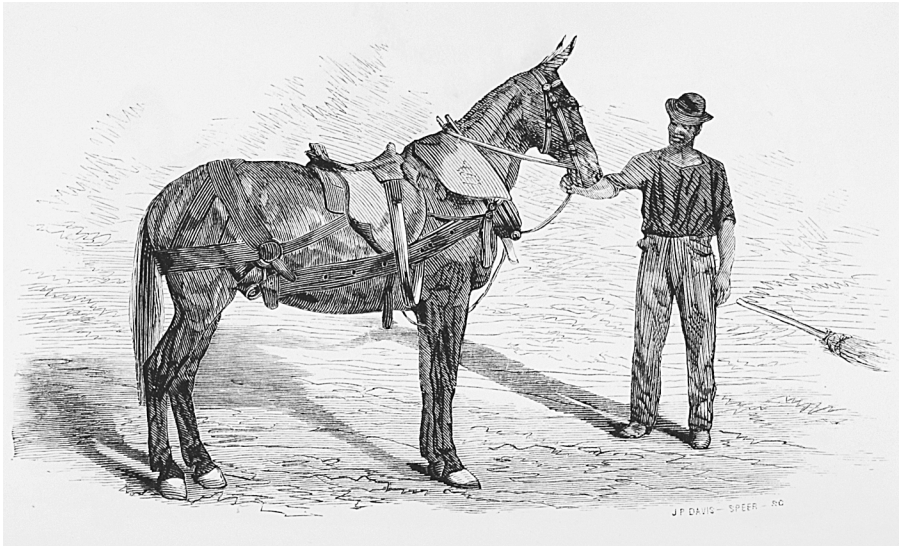
Fig. 7.—Some modern donkey (and mule) types and sizes.



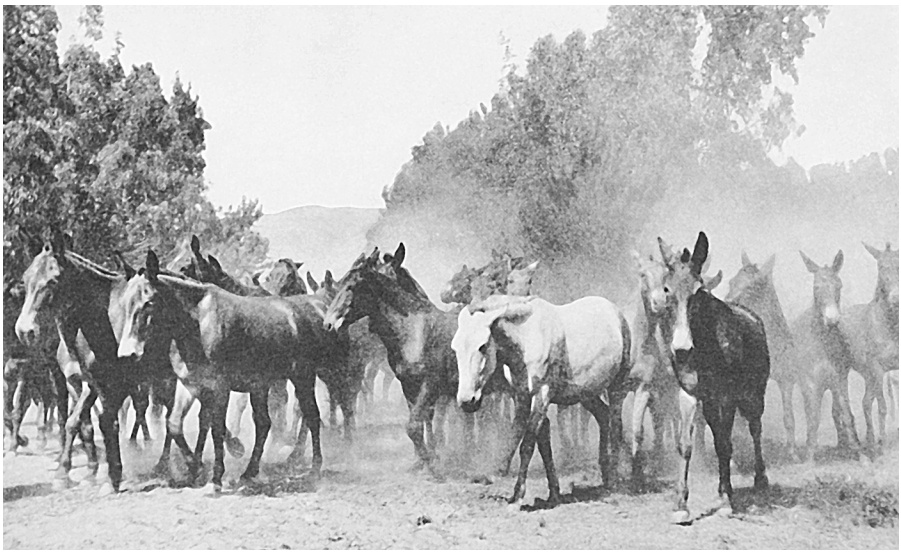
Fig. 8.—Donkey with wooden-framed pack saddle, harnessed with halter but no bit. Attic red-figure drinking cup (*kylix*) by the Antiphon Painter (*ARV* 337, 26; c. 480 B.C.E.), found in Italy, said to be from Orvieto, Etruria; now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (James Fund, and Museum Purchase with funds donated by contribution, 10.199). Photograph © 2006 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 9.—Man (slave?) in Scythian cap and trousers, carrying an ax and sitting sidesaddle on a donkey. Attic red-figure *oenochoe* (early fifth century) in the British Museum (PS 194436, VASE 1912.7–9.1); attributed to the Painter of the Brussels *Oenochoae* (*ARV* 775, 1). Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum.

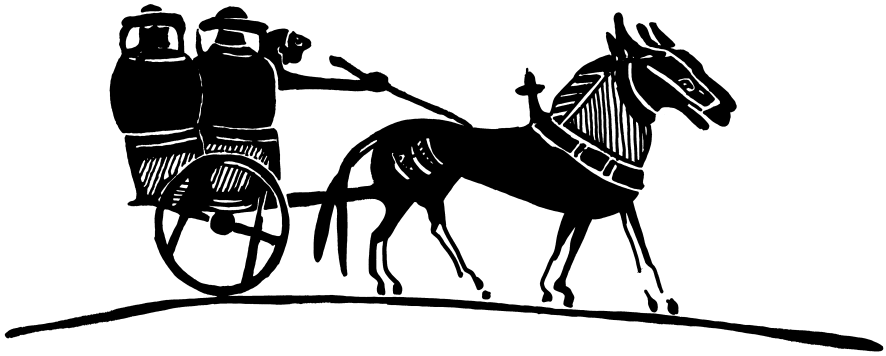


10a—An American mule, ready for work. Engraving in Riley 1867, pl. 8.

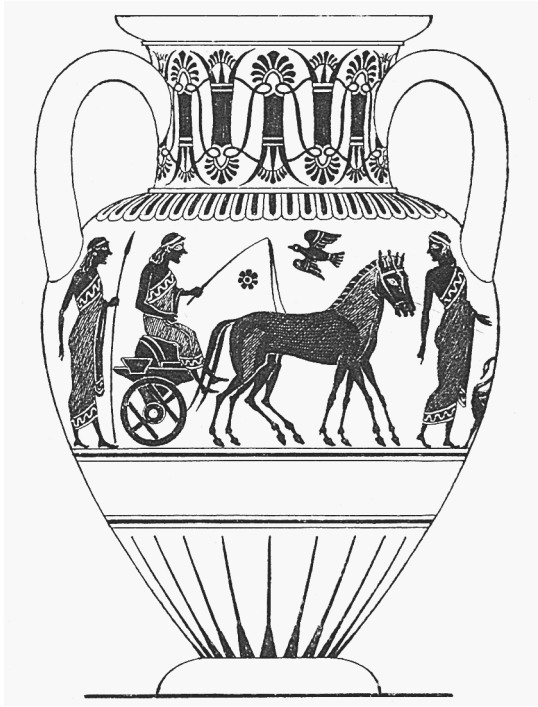


10b—An American mule market, c. 1920. Photograph by H. G. Ponting, from W. H. Harding, *The Horses of the World* (Washington, D.C., 1923), 96.

Fig. 10.—Mules can look more like donkeys, or more like horses.

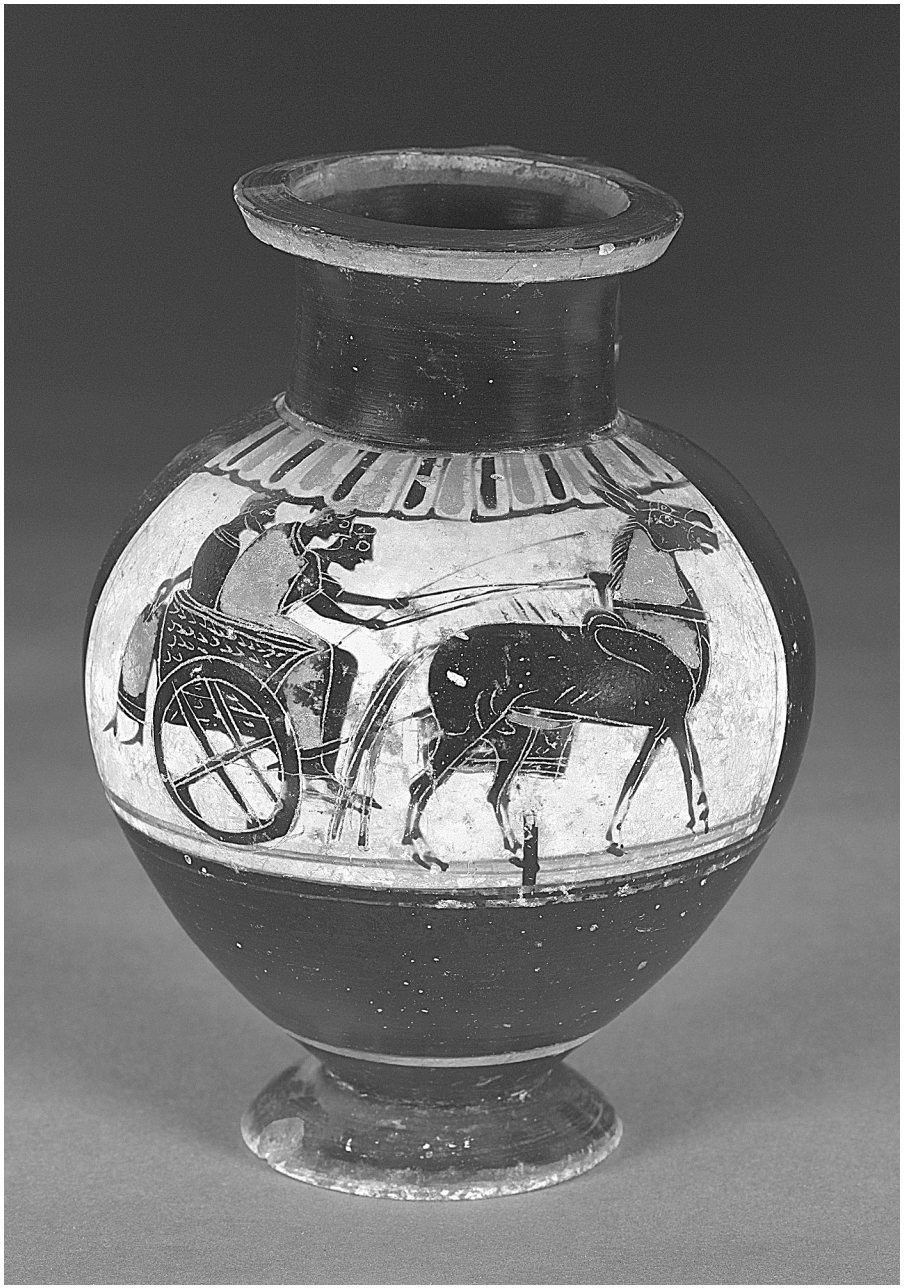


11a—A mule team draws a small wagon containing two large amphorae. No reins are used. Attic sixth-century black-figure cup in the Louvre (F 77). Drawing by Marcia DeVoe.

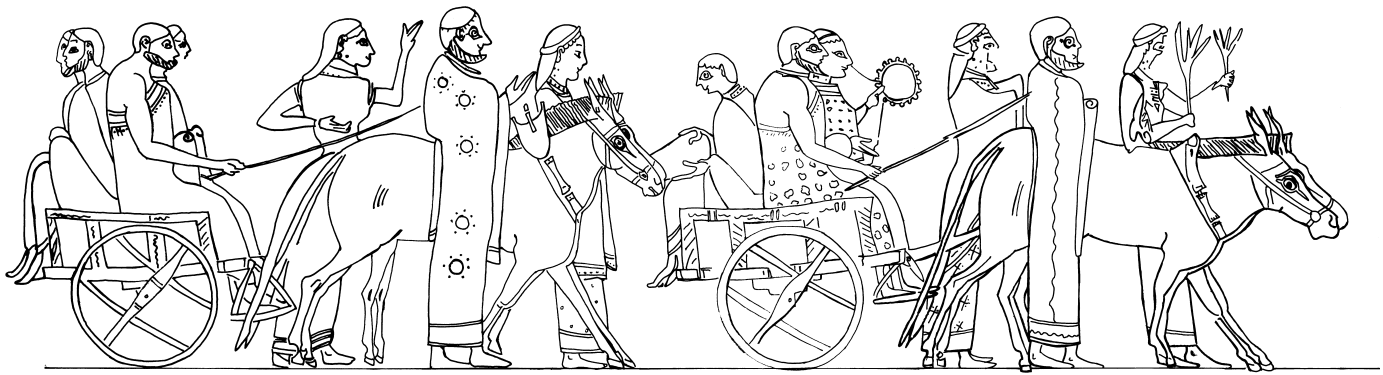


11b—A pair of mules draws a well-dressed old man on a light wagon. Again, no reins are visible. Sixth-century Chalcidean amphora found in S. Italy; now in the British Museum (B 17). Drawing from Henry Moses, *A Collection of Antique Vases* (London, 1814), pl. 4.

Fig. 11.—The versatility of the Greek mule cart (*apene*).



12a—Three stylish men travel in a mule-drawn wagon, using both reins and stick. Attic black-figure *oenochoe* (*ABV* 90, 4; sixth century; British Museum XXVI B [42], VASE B 485). Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum.



12b—A traditional Athenian wedding procession. Late-sixth-century Attic black-figure *lekythos* by the Amasis Painter, in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (56.11.1). Drawing by Marcia DeVoe.

Fig. 12.—Traveling in style by mule cart.

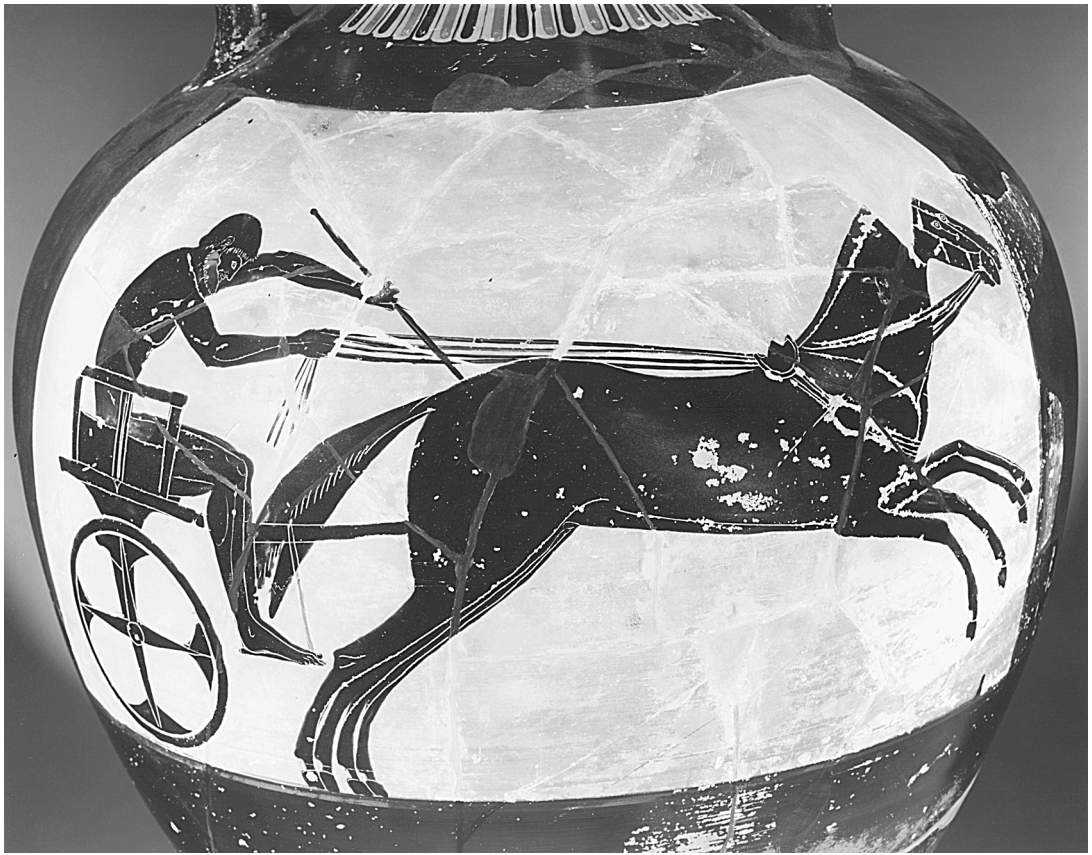


Fig. 13.—A racing team of mules at the Panathenaic Games. Late-sixth-century black-figure amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (*ABV* 405; early fifth century), in the British Museum (1837.6–9.75, VASE B 131). Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 14.—Breeding a high-class mule. Attic red-figure drinking cup (*phiale*) attributed to Euergides (Heidelberg, Antikenmuseum Inv. 74.1; late sixth century). Courtesy of the Antikenmuseum des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg. Photograph: Hubert Vögele.

Appearance and characteristics. Modern donkeys can vary greatly in size, just as horses do, up to 16 or 17 hands (see figs. 7a and 7b); but ancient Greek sources give the impression that their donkeys, like most most modern ones, were smaller than their horses (so presumably c. 9–12 hands) and of rather stockier build.[96] This impression may in part, however, be the result of an artistic convention of representation, in accordance with the donkey's "low" and comic associations, just as ordinary human beings are conventionally represented by painters and sculptors as being smaller than heroes or gods, and slaves as smaller than free men.[97]

Donkeys are somewhat longer-lived than horses on average, and frequently remain active beyond thirty or even forty years old. Like horses, donkeys are fully mature by their fourth year, and capable of sexual activity by the age of two;[98] but working donkey-jacks (i.e., those that are not reserved specifically for breeding) are usually gelded as colts, for the same reasons as horse-stallions. Domesticated donkeys, left to their own devices, generally prefer to have sexual relations with other donkeys; but under the right circumstances, they can happily and successfully mate with horses (wild or domesticated), or with onagers, as ancient breeders and authors were well aware; and the resultant hybrids were highly valued in ancient Greece.[99]

Donkeys in general look somewhat similar to onagers, though with longer ears.[100] In comparison with a horse, a donkey's mane is stubby, its ears long, its neck rather short, its back straight, and its tail thin and stringy, with a distinctive tassel at the end. The Mediterranean donkey's coat is usually

96. The range of possible sizes is in fact as great for donkeys as it is for horses and ponies (see figs. 7a-b, 14; and cf. Lamb 1963, 4–11; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999; also further discussion at p. 231 below). But the Greeks apparently were not acquainted with any large ass-breeds, such as the modern Poitou or Mammoth Jack. Jacks of this latter breed (probably the product of selective breeding in captivity during the early modern period, rather than a distinct local strain in the wild) were imported into the United States from Majorca and Spain during the eighteenth century (primarily at the instigation of George Washington) for the purpose of breeding bigger and stronger mules: see Riley 1867; Lamb 1963, 4–11. Although the Greeks and Romans did favor the selection and feeding-up of relatively large and handsome donkey-jacks for mule breeding (see fig. 14; and Columella *Rust.* 6.36.3, 37.5–7), on the whole they seem to have preferred to keep their working donkeys (like their slaves) shorter and less impressive-looking than their horses/elites. (It is no surprise that we find a diminutive form ὀνίδιον, for "little donkey," but no equivalent for ἵππος.) Skimpy diet and overwork in both cases would, of course, help to maintain such a distinction of scale, and "tallness" (μέγεθος) was always a positive attribute in assessing human beauty. It is noticeable that the space allotted to the donkey in most Roman mills was quite small: Moritz 1958, 53–102.

97. See further below, on the differences between imagined and real donkeys and mules. Archilochus (frag. 43 W) indicates that the genitals of a donkey were regarded as being especially enormous; but again, there may be an element of low-comic exaggeration in this; see p. 224 below.

98. Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.23.577a18–577b6; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999.

99. The fullest and best-informed Classical texts on this whole subject are Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.577a–578a; and Columella *Rust.* 6.36–37. We shall return to this topic in Part Two. For modern recommendations and explanations, see Riley 1867; Lamb 1963; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999.

100. For Greek descriptions of donkeys and their behavior, see esp. Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.577a18–577b19; and see further Olck 1907; Moritz 1958; Richter 1968; Dent 1972; Toynbee 1973, 193–97; Davies 1990. For donkeys in Greek visual art, see esp. Brommer 1937, 1978; Hoffmann 1983, 1997; Davies 1990; Padgett 2000. In general, however, it must be admitted that we are told relatively little in our ancient sources about the appearance of Greek or Roman donkeys, in contrast to the plethora of information about, and descriptions of, their horses.

grayish and/or brownish,[101] often with a lighter-colored muzzle and a dark stripe along the back; sometimes there are also dark stripes across the lower legs and/or a stripe down the front quarters (see figs. 8, 9, 14).[102]

A donkey's voice is a loud "bray" or "hee-haw": the Greek *mot juste* is ὀγκάομαι, ὀγκηθμός ("honk")—very different from a horse's various nickerings and whinneyings (φρύαγμα).[103] Different too, normally, is their diet, which is rough, dry, and spare, often including thistles, straw, weeds, and the like. What this means, of course, is not that a donkey prefers such food to barley or fresh grass, but that, unlike a horse, it is capable of remaining healthy and working quite efficiently on rough fare. Greek and Latin proverbs and anecdotes—as well as the recommendations of mule breeders—reveal clearly enough that a donkey, if given half a chance, relishes the opportunity to eat like a horse, and will grow to be bigger and more sexually potent if so fed.[104] A donkey's need for water is much smaller than a horse's; and its general willingness and capacity to keep going—and working—despite deprivation, exhaustion, and discomfort are usually greater.[105] Thus the donkey's reputation for being bad-tempered and "stiff-necked," like its reputation for being impervious to blows, needs to be taken with a pinch of salt.

In terms of their behavior (again, primarily from a human perspective), on the positive side, donkeys are sure-footed and neat-stepping (e.g., in vineyards, or between rows of cereal crops, thanks in part to their smaller hoofs as compared to a horse); strong for their size, affectionate, long-suffering, circumspect, adaptable, and determined. On the negative side, they cannot run as fast as horses, and their gait at higher speeds is less comfortable for a human rider; they have a reputation for being stubborn, feisty, and independent minded; proverbially they are also said to be stupid (though objective modern observers generally credit donkeys and mules with more resourcefulness and

101. Light brown, black, gray/white and even piebald donkeys are found in some parts of the world, and large white ones in particular ("Damascus Ass") have been highly esteemed both in the Near East and in Renaissance and nineteenth-century Europe; see Nielson 1953; Dent 1972, 37–41, 127–31 (with illustration, p. 130). But the Greeks do not appear to have been interested in such variation—another indication of their choice to keep donkeys as unglamorous as possible.

102. The dark stripe along the back (e.g., figs. 8, 9, 14) seems to be derived from the Nubian branch of the ass family; but the stripes sometimes evident on the legs (e.g., figs 8, 9) may come from the (now extinct) North African branch: see Zeuner 1963, 377; Groves 1974; Patton 1998.

103. See, e.g., Arist. *Hist. an.* 609a33; Ael. *NA* 5.50; Lucian *Asin.* 15 (and n. 51 above on the horse's φρύαγμα). The ass's bray is frequently contrasted/opposed to the cicada's chirrup (e.g., Aesop 184 Perry; Callim. *Aet.* frag. 1.29–35; Columella *Rust.* 7.1.1). For the notorious (imagined) unmusicality of donkeys (ὄνος λύρας), see Gregory 2005; and further discussion in Part Two. In empirical fact, donkeys are no less, and no more, capable than horses of responding to human music.

104. ὄνος εἰς ἄχυρα (*CPG* Diogen. 6.91; Apost. 12.78; also Philemon frag. 158 K–A); see too the proverbs discussed pp. 227–28 and n. 156 below (on preparation of donkey-jacks for mule breeding). A donkey's willingness to put up with the meanest stuff to eat is mentioned by Varro *Rust.* 2.8.2; and Columella *Rust.*, and is reflected in such terms as ὀνῖτις (a special kind of cabbage? or oregano?), and Italian *spino d'asino* (= thistle). As we noted above (n. 59), donkeys were not themselves normally eaten or sacrificed by Greeks; but see Burkert 1983, Rau 1982, Watkins 2004, for related non-Greek practices (esp. Indic).

105. Again, see the proverbs cited on p. 228. But unlike a horse, a donkey (or mule) will not allow itself to be run to death: when it is incapable of proceeding further (or perceives a fatal danger close at hand) it will stop and refuse to budge, however hard you may beat or cajole it. Hence the reputation for stubbornness, and the proverb "a hungry donkey doesn't care about the stick" (quoted below, p. 228; cf. n. 137).

"horse sense" than horses).[106] Greek visual art frequently shows male donkeys in a state of sexual arousal; and narratives about sexually aggressive and/or hybristic asinine behavior are common.[107] But as we shall see, these need to be assessed in the light of generic and ideological bias, for most of the "scientific" Greek and Roman authors who write about horses and donkeys seem in fact to find the horse (especially the mare) to be significantly more sexually obsessed and neurotic than the donkey—partly, no doubt, because so much better fed.[108]

History of domestication and uses. By at least the end of the third millennium, domesticated donkeys were in quite widespread use in the Near East, and they had certainly reached mainland Greece (perhaps via Anatolia and Armenia) by the mid-second millennium, since mention is made of *o-no* in the Linear B records from Pylos.[109] Throughout these regions (and North Africa too, before the arrival of the camel), donkeys were used for almost all kinds of work—carrying, pulling, transporting things and people; also as guard animals for flocks, helping shepherds keep away foxes, wolves, and snakes.[110]

In Archaic and Classical Greece, donkeys were ubiquitous. Even though our primarily elite sources provide far fewer mentions or images of donkeys or asslike creatures (e.g., onocentaurs) than of horses and horselike creatures (such as centaurs, silens, hippocamps, and sea horses), nonetheless we have sufficient evidence, literary, archaeological, and iconographic, to confirm the extensive use of donkeys in almost all areas of Greek economic production.[111] Donkeys were used in the fields and for conveyance to and from markets,

106. See the Greek and Latin proverbs and insults quoted below (p. 227) for "asinine" stupidity; contrast Hutchins and Hutchins 1999, passim, and Gregory 2005.

107. See Hoffmann 1983 and 1997; Lissarrague 1990b; Padgett 2000; Hedreen 1992 (all with frequent comparison between donkeys and satyrs); further p. 227 below. Narratives of an ass's prodigious sexual appetite and energies, already familiar to Archilochus (frag. 43 W), culminate of course in Lucius' fantastic transformation, as narrated by Lucian and Apuleius. By contrast, as we noted above, Greek artists virtually never show horses—or even centaurs—in a state of sexual arousal.

108. See Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.22.575b31–32; Ael. *NA* 4.6, 4.11; Columella *Rust.* 6.27. This issue will be discussed further in Part Two. Gourmandizing and overindulgence (κόρος), and luxurious lifestyle in general (τρυφή), are often associated by Archaic Greek poets with uncontrolled sexual aggression (ὕβρις) in the human, as well as the animal, realm. So it is pretty clear, for example, that whereas in ideological terms wealthy male citizens liked to think of themselves and their heroic ancestors as the most sexually continent and well-behaved of all human beings, in practice they tended to be the most self-assertive, licentious, and sexually active element within the whole polis—far more so than slaves or the lower classes, whose more meager diet and debilitating work regimen (as well as their legal status) gave them less leisure or energy for sexual activity. As for the sexual energy and appetite of women from wealthy families, this was a great source of anxiety to Greek men; and here too their attitude to "horses" (and mules) gives us some clues about their attempts to come to terms with that anxiety, as we shall see in Part Two.

109. The tablet (Ventris and Chadwick *Docs.* 210–11, KN Ca 895) records 4 horse-stallions, 5 mares, an unknown number of horse-foals, 3 donkey-jennets, 4 donkey-jacks, and 2 donkey-foals; cf. Richter 1968, 77.

110. Donkeys are more effective than dogs for guarding flocks in several respects: not only are donkeys gregarious and inclined to make friends with the flocks (sheep, goats, calves, etc.), but they can share the same pasture and sleep out with them at night. Donkeys also live much longer than dogs. Horses, however, are useless for such duties, since they panic too easily and are less capable of repelling a marauder with their teeth and hooves; see, e.g., Babrius 122 = Aesop 187 Perry, Aesop 638 Perry; further Hutchins and Hutchins 1999, 258–61, for instructions (and anecdotes) on the training of donkeys (preferably jennies) for flock tending.

111. For the Greeks' uses of donkeys (and mules), see esp. Olck 1907; Richter 1968; Burford Cooper 1977–78; Bodson 1986; Isager and Skydsgaard 1992; Chandezon 2003 (and for the modern period, Dent 1972, 127–66; Clutton-Brock 1992; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999); for the ancient Greek iconographic record, see Hoffmann 1983 and 1997; Davies 1990; Padgett 2000 (all emphasizing the comic and/or Dionysiac).

carrying baskets of crops and produce (olives, grapes,[112] nuts, vegetables and fruit, coal, salt, etc.); at quarries and building sites to haul rock, timber, and other materials; on journeys to carry provisions, clothing, and bedding; also, in later periods at least, in mills to turn the heavy mill-stones hour after hour for the production of baking-flour.[113] Along with mules and oxen, donkeys thus made up most of the brute labor force required (together with boats) for domestic and mercantile production and transportation. Without them there would have been no food for the table or fuel for the fire; nor would the workshops, markets, and retail stores have been able to conduct their business.

In the realm of transportation, donkeys were used routinely to convey people for practical purposes, at a measured pace[114]—whether individuals sitting on the donkey's back or groups riding in small carts and wagons (fig. 12b).[115] When a donkey was ridden, a sidesaddle was often employed, especially for women, the elderly, laborers, or the infirm (e.g., fig. 9), a practice that has continued to the present day in parts of Greece.[116] Often, it seems, no bridle or bit was employed, but the animal was controlled by halter and stick.[117] The relationship between donkey and rider or driver was not glamorized like that between man and horse, and donkeys never seem to be given individual names;[118] nor was any effort made to train them to race or perform tricks. And whereas in several countries of the Near East special white asses were bred for use in ceremonial contexts (especially as a preferred mount for kings and nobility, e.g., in Egypt, Assyria, and Israel),[119] this was never attempted or desired by the Greeks, who mostly preferred their

112. The close connection of donkeys with Dionysus was thus based, not merely on the low-physical and comic associations of Dionysiac celebration, but also on the integral role played by donkeys in the tending and harvesting of grapes; cf. Marconi 1931–32. Horses and oxen were unsuitable (too clumsy) for such delicate and precious work.

113. For descriptions and illustrations of Greek and Roman donkeys on treadmills, or plodding their circular course round a pair of millstones, see Moritz 1958, 10–17, 74–102; cf. too Apul. *Met*. 9.12–13. But Moritz (1958, 1–78), followed by Isager and Skydsgaard (1992), argues that the use of equids to turn rotary mills for grinding flour was introduced only relatively late, perhaps the second century B.C.E.

114. Donkeys do not gallop as horses do; nor do they cover the ground quite as steadily and efficiently as mules: but they are much speedier than oxen over short-to-medium distances, and can travel long distances with a small person or moderate-sized pack (100–160 lb.) on their back. According to a British government manual of 1915 (U.K. HMSO 1915). "His pace is slow, compared with a mule, and his load is only 100 lb. against 160 lb. [U.S. manuals, by contrast, stipulate 200–220 lb. for mules], but they demand comparatively little attention and small rations. . . . Their pace [i.e., on a routine march] is two and a half miles an hour." The specifications of the donkeys in question were relatively small, c. 9–11 hands, apparently similar to those of most working ancient (and modern) Greek donkeys.

115. In the late-sixth-century black-figure lekythos of a wedding procession by the Amasis Painter (fig. 12b), the pair of animals pulling the first cart seem to be donkeys, while the second pair are mules. See Crouwel 1992, 25; and n. 171 below.

116. See n. 77 above.

117. See Anderson 1961, 42–43, and pl. 7; Toynbee 1973, 190; see further n. 166 below and discussion in Part Two.

118. Likewise Greek names or epithets formed from the *ono-* root were rare and quite low-class: Onagros, Oneatai, Onokolos, Onoskeleai, etc.; see Olck 1907, 651 and schol. Ar. *Ran*. 295. By contrast, the Romans liked asinine names: Asella, Asellio, Asellius, Asinius, Asina, etc. (Augustus even owned a named donkey, Nikon.) But Lucius after his transformation is never addressed by name, either in Lucian or in Apuleius.

119. On the White Damascus (or "Egyptian") Ass, see Nielsen 1953; Dent 1972, 35–41, 127–31; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999, 17. On the use of ceremonial mules in the Near East, see n. 183 below.

donkeys to be (or at least to be imagined as being) quite unprepossessing—small, ugly, cheap, and as sharply distinguished as possible from horses.[120]

As for the possible religious significance of donkeys in Classical Greece, this is a complicated and difficult matter to assess. In various parts of the Near East, the ass played a prominent role in religious cult and symbolism throughout antiquity (not least, of course, in early Christianity).[121] There is some evidence that Mycenaean Greeks celebrated donkeys in cult;[122] but there is little sign of this in the Archaic and Classical periods,[123] though later, certainly, the donkey's close connection with Dionysus allowed it to merge with various other traditions of an "Ass-King" and/or donkey-headed divinity, to produce the fantastic possibilities we witness, for example, in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* or the famous graffito of a crucified donkey-headed man on the Palatine.[124] In any case, these eschatological and soteriological issues will not be central to the concerns of this paper.[125]

Not surprisingly, given their unglamorous range of occupations, donkeys receive relatively little mention in high Greek literature. We find only one reference to a donkey in Homer (*Il.* 11.556–62), a simile in which the reluctantly retreating Ajax is compared to a donkey that has broken its tether and trespassed onto farmland to eat forbidden crops, and is being beaten ineffectually by boys with sticks.[126] Curiously, Hesiod's poems make no mention of donkeys at all, though mules are prominent, as we shall see. Tragedy likewise contains only the rarest reference to donkeys.[127] In Aristophanes, however, as one might expect, donkeys show up somewhat more frequently; and the opening scene of *Frogs* contains a series of self-consciously corny donkey/slave jokes that presumably have a long tradition behind them.[128]

120. The cost of donkeys is rarely attested in ancient Greek sources (itself a telling fact); but in Ptolemaic Egypt donkeys are listed at 10 drachmas, calves at 80, and horses at up to 800: Nachtergael 1989, p. 325, n. 3; cf. Bagnall 1985. (Mules, by contrast, tend to be quite expensive; see p. 239 below.)

121. See esp. Adolf 1950; further references in Davies 1990; and see n. 134 below.

122. Cook 1894; cf. Watkins 2004, with further references.

123. Some scholars have taken Xanthias' remark at Ar. *Ran.* 159 (ἐγὼ γοῦν ὄνος ἄγω μυστήρια) as referring to a special status of "donkey" for initiates at the Eleusinian Mysteries: see, e.g., Davies 1990, n. 16, with further refs. But it seems more likely that this is merely a proverbial complaint ("I, like a donkey, just get to carry the bags [sc. for those who are getting initiated]"), as in other passages of comedy (Com. Fr. Adesp. no. 67 in Page, *GLP*); cf. Men. *Dys*. 550–51 (with Sandbach's n.); further, Keuls 1970.

124. See, e.g., Hanfmann 1979, with further references.

125. See further Adolf 1950; Nielsen 1953; Keuls 1970; Bodson 1983; Davies 1990. The "Asiatic" (Semitic) associations of much of this material have perhaps contributed to its relative neglect by classicists, who tend to share the "Indo-European" reverence for the horse instead (p. 205 and n. 37 above).

126. The passage is adduced by paroemiographers to exemplify the proverb that "a hungry donkey doesn't care about the stick" (ὄνος πεινῶν οὐ φροντίζει ῥοπάλου, e.g., *CPG*, Apost. 12.75). Richter (1968, 77) suggests that we are to understand Homer's simile as describing a wild ass (captured to be a breeding jack) that has escaped and invaded the fields in sexual pursuit of mares: this would indeed add to the emotional temperature of the scene, though it seems unnecessary and improbable as an explanation of what is described in the text.

127. There is not a single reference to donkeys in the surviving plays. We find just one occurrence in the fragments of Aeschylus (frag. 189a Radt = 194 Nauck, where the reference is either to breeding from horses and asses [= mules?], or to vehicles drawn by horses and asses); two in Sophocles (frag. 363 in a satyr play; frag. 876 in an unknown play, mentioning an "overfed and rambunctious female ass"); and one in Euripides, again a satyr play (*Autolycus* frag. 283), referring to "coal-basket-carrying asses."

128. Ar. *Ran.* 27: οὔκουν τὸ βάρος τοῦθ' ὃ σὺ φέρεις οὔνος φέρει; ("Isn't the donkey carrying this burden that you are carrying?"), 29 πῶς γὰρ φέρεις, ὅς γ' αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἑτέρου φέρει; ("So how can you be carrying [it], when you yourself are the one being carried?"), with K. J. Dover's nn. In all, there are sixteen references to donkeys in the surviving plays and fragments of Aristophanes; see further Taillardat 1965.

In the visual arts, donkeys are often shown doing menial and/or "low-comic" work, or relaxing and cavorting in Dionysiac contexts of eating, drinking, and pursuit of sexual gratification, frequently in the company of satyrs.[129] In the numerous representations on vase paintings of the Return of Hephaestus to Olympus, both Hephaestus and Dionysus usually ride on an ὄνος, though not infrequently Hephaestus rides a ἡμίονος instead.[130] Often one or both of them are shown sitting sidesaddle, to signify either their physical incapacity (Hephaestus' lameness, Dionysus' effeminacy), or their drunkenness, or their "lower-class" status and affiliations—or perhaps all of these at once (e.g., fig. 9).[131] Sometimes Hephaestus holds his own reins; on other occasions someone else (usually Dionysus) walks ahead and leads Hephaestus' animal by the halter, and no reins or bit are visible.

Greek proverbs involving donkeys are numerous, and mostly quite predictable in their tenor.[132] Donkeys are losers (ὄνος κάθου),[133] greedy (ὄνου γνάθος), not worth bothering about (ὄνου σκιά), not worth using fine soap on (ὄνου κεφαλὴν μὴ πλύνειν νίτρῳ), unmusical (ὄνος λύρας)[134] and incapable of appreciating literature (ὄνῳ τις ἔλεγε μῦθον), so stupid as to require not instruction but only blows (ὄνος πληγῶν ἄξιος),[135] at home among the lowest of the low (ὄνος ἐν πιθήκοις), intrusive and inclined to poke their noses into things (ὄνου παρακύψεως), inclined to aspire to higher things than they deserve (ὄνος ἵππον μιμούμενος, ὄνος ἐν μύροις), or even to try to be closer buddies with humans than they should (ὄνος τὰ Μελιταῖα).[136] In a few cases, a more pragmatic, or even sympathetic note is struck, as if the donkey is not so much blamed for its imperfection as recognized, even pitied, for its raw deal in life: ὄνος ἄγει μυστήρια ("it's the donkey who has to carry all the stuff [for everyone else] on the way to the mysteries"); ὄνος ὕεται ("a donkey is being rained-on," i.e., whereas others might give up and turn back, a donkey just keeps on going, regardless); ὄνος ἐν μελίσσαις ("a donkey in a hornet's nest,"

129. See esp. Hoffmann 1997; Davies 1990 (with copious illustrations and further references), Lissarrague 1990b; Padgett 2000; Hedreen 2004.

130. See *LIMC*, s.v. "Hephaistos"; Brommer 1937, 1978; Fineberg forthcoming. Very few other male figures (except satyrs) are represented in art sitting on a donkey or mule—though the ax-carrying Scythian of *ARV* 775, 1 (fig. 9 = BM 1912.7–9.1) is an enigmatic exception.

131. See Fineberg forthcoming, for a fuller discussion and ample selection of images. The range of iconographic possibilities (Hephaestus sitting sidesaddle or normally; on a donkey or on a mule; holding the animal's reins himself or being led by Dionysus or a satyr; the animal ithyphallic or not; etc.) is thus remarkably large; see further Part Two (where Hephaestus' two appearances on the François Vase will be discussed in detail).

132. See *CPG*, vols. 1 and 2, index to both vols., s.v. ὄνος. Altogether I count about 25 separate entries there (several of them overlap with one another); see too Olck 1907, 646–47 (and for Latin specimens, Otto 1890; *TLL*, s.v. *asinus*).

133. In a children's ball game, the winner is "king" (*basileus*), while the loser (lit., "the one who misses" [or "drops the ball"?] = ὁ ἁμαρτών, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀεὶ ἁμαρτάνῃ) is a "donkey" and has to "sit down" and do what he is told: *CPG* Apost. 12.83b; cf. schol. Pl. *Tht.* 146a, with Eust. 1601.42 ad *Od*. 8.376.

134. E.g., Aesop in Perotti's app. 14 and 542 Perry 1965; [Plut.] *Conv. sept. sap.* 5. Variations include ὄνος ἀκροᾶται σάλπιγγος (Eupolis, apud Photius), ὄνος πρὸς αὐλόν (*Suda*), and Hor. *Epist*. 2.1.200 *narrare . . . asello fabellam surdo*. For discussion of the possible origins of the "ass and lyre" in an early Greek misunderstanding/adaptation of Near-Eastern depictions of divine donkeys playing harps or lyres, see Adolf 1950; and for the alleged "musicality" of Greek horses in contrast to donkeys, see Part Two.

135. Cf. Cic. *Pis*. 30, 73.

136. This refers to a donkey's attempt to emulate his master's pet dog (Μελιταῖον κυνίδιον) by jumping up on him to show his affection: also found as Babrius 129 (and Aesop 91 Perry).

i.e., the poor creature's having a hard time); ὄνος πεινῶν οὐ φροντίζει ῥοπάλου ("a hungry donkey doesn't care about being beaten").[137] In just a couple of cases, proverbs actually suggest approval, or at least the acknowledgment that a donkey may enjoy good fortune and human gratitude, once in a while: ὄνος εἰς ἄχυρα ("a donkey in chaff/bran/hay!," i.e., "as happy as a pig in clover"),[138] or Menander's ὄνου χρείαν ἐλέγχει τραχύτης ὁδοῦ ("The roughness of the road proves a donkey's true worth").[139] In general, however, the prevailing tenor of these proverbs is one of condescension and disapproval: donkeys are inferiors, incapable of higher culture, and deserving only of the roughest treatment. The perspective is overwhelmingly that of a horse lover.[140]

Donkey vs. Horse: A Familiar Cultural Binary

The deeply entrenched cultural binary between the "high-class" horse and the "low-class" donkey that is presented in all these media of representation is obvious enough, and in many respects it persists today. The horse is tall and elegant, long-haired, luxurious, refined, militarily spectacular and respected, distinctively named, finely adorned, expensive to keep, and fastidious in its diet, voice, and activities—and thus "noble" (and "Indo-European").[141] The donkey is rough, cheap, coarse, noncombatant, hardworking (but sometimes recalcitrant), low-maintenance, anonymous, and thus "ignoble, asinine," even "slavish" (and "Asiatic").[142] The differences seem as objectively real and natural (god-given) as those separating a free man from a slave (in Greek terms) or a "higher" animal from a "lower" one (on our own modern scale of zoological and ecological value).[143] Of course, not all actual donkey users

137. For this, *CPG* Apost. 12.75a refers to Hom. *Il.* 11.558–62 (discussed above, p. 226), where the same point is made by a scholiast.

138. This is said "of people who have unexpectedly encountered good fortune," *CPG* Diogen. 6.91.

139. *CPG* Apost. 12.87a, attributed there to Menander, and explained "Misfortunes separate out those who are true friends." A telling contrast is found in the proverb about horses who are only happy when running on flat and easy terrain (Apost. 9.11, quoted in n. 49 above).

140. By contrast, the Aesopic fables, with their lower-class bias and more pragmatic perspective, tend to highlight the donkey's greater common sense and lack of pretension, in contrast to the horse's arrogance, expensive habits, and disdain for others. See Part Two; and for the proverbial mule, p. 233 and n. 162 below. For discussion of the politics and poetics of the Aesopic tradition, see Perry 1965, xxxv–xlvi; Kurke forthcoming.

141. For the notion of the "noble" horse, and its status as man's closest and most respected animal "companion/servant," see Bewick 1824; Richter 1968, 70–76; Ritvo 1987, 18–21 (quoted n. 23 above). In Islamic culture, the Koran refers to the horse—but also the donkey and mule!—as a gift from God ("He has given you horses, mules, and donkeys, which you may ride or put on show," Surah 16, lines 8–9); and the supreme rank assigned to "Arab" stock in thoroughbred circles has interestingly complicated the anti-Semitic and nationalistic strands in modern Western (esp. English) equine ideology.

142. Recent studies have illustrated well the suitability of the donkey for representation by Greek artists as the "comic" or "Dionysiac" antithesis to civic decorum, i.e., as the "Other" to conventionally accepted cultural norms: see esp. Hoffmann 1983 and 1997; Padgett 2000. For a sharp rejoinder to some of Hoffmann's claims, however, see Davies (1990), who points out (with explicitly anti-Structuralist scorn) the overlap between many of the donkey's symbolic functions and those associated with the ram (not an especially comic, low, or Dionysiac figure); Davies also emphasizes the donkey's religious associations (see nn. 121, 122 above). But Davies (like Padgett 2000) unfortunately ignores completely the distinction betweeen mules and donkeys.

143. The promotional materials and reviews quoted on the web site for the enormously successful touring show *Cavalia* (http://www.cavalia.net/index.htm) likewise include many florid phrases (Simpson 2004): "*Cavalia* . . . is like a dream: beautiful white horses, music, Lord of the Rings-style costumes, and people flying all over the place . . . a leap into entertainment that embodies a deeply satisfying instinct, the love of man for horse. Here, the horses run free, they play and perform, they have an eye-to-eye relationship with

(and not all lower-class Greeks in general) necessarily conformed consistently to this simple dichotomy (as I shall argue in what follows). For, while this binary was obviously useful—indeed, almost inescapable—to think with, and served to reinforce all kinds of prejudices and practices within Greek (human) society, especially concerning gender, ethnicity, and class, at the same time, by erecting an imaginary barrier between two equine species that in fact have always had a great deal in common, it tended to contradict—often quite blatantly—the biological and/or social-cultural realities of Greek life. That is to say, like many such cultural binaries, the distinction that was so sharply and pervasively drawn between horse and donkey, and the mental and institutional barriers that were constructed within Greek society to separate one from the other (like the distinctions and barriers separating free from slave, or male from female), turn out on critical inspection to be largely arbitrary and in several respects to be contradicted by the empirical facts. The biggest contradiction, and the largest crack in the barrier separating horse from donkey, presents itself in the form of the mule.

Mule (Donkey + Horse)

Within the high/low binary of horse and ass, so neat and convenient, so natural-seeming as it was—and still is—for so many areas of social activity and fictional narrative, the mule, half-horse and half-donkey (ἡμίονος), occupies an interesting middle position. Modern readers and scholars often seem to regard mules and donkeys as being more or less interchangeable, an undifferentiated mass of low-class nonhorses. But if one pays attention to the uses, breeding, and status of ancient mules, some distinctive and instructive differences quickly emerge. These differences are not entirely straightforward or clear-cut, however. In conventionally structuralist terms, one might wish to see the mule as "mediating" in some way between the two cultural extremes of "noble" horse and "slavish" donkey. And indeed the mule is found to occupy in some respects a middle ground, with its sphere of operations overlapping both with that of the horse at one end of the spectrum and that of the donkey at the other, thus neither too extravagantly "aristocratic" nor too crudely "banausic" or "servile." Yet, as we shall see, the origins, status, and several of the uses of the mule tend to throw our neat binary into quite peculiar and illuminating kinds of confusion. Indeed, mules turn out to be perhaps the most complicated and interesting element in the whole system of equine semiotics.

First, some practical facts (FAQs) about mules: terminology and origins.[144] There is evidence for mule breeding and use by the mid-second millennium

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their trainers. And if the show is magical, it is also deeply moving. Spending two hours in the presence of these magnificent creatures (32 of them), watching them running at full gallop, chasing each other, nuzzling a human or lying on their backs, wriggling . . . feels profoundly satisfying. If only all dreams could be this wonderful!" By contrast, the promotional language used on the web site for the well-known annual "Mule Days" at Bishop, California (http://www.muledays.org/index.php), relies heavily on tongue-in-cheek humor and an acknowledged inferiority complex vis-à-vis the horse.

144. See esp. Riley 1867; Knight 1902; Olck 1907; Lamb 1963; Richter 1968, 76–80; Dent 1972, 60–91, 159–64; Toynbee 1973, 185–92; Adams 1993; Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1998; Hutchins and Hutchins

B.C.E. (e.g., among the Hittites), and references in the Bible are fairly frequent; but (as with the donkey) there was apparently no Indo-European word for "mule." Classical Greek has two completely different words for the cross between horse and donkey: ἡμίονος ("half-donkey") or ο(ὐ)ρεύς ("mountain animal"?). These terms are used interchangeably.[145] Although mules may occasionally occur in the wild through the interbreeding of horses and wild asses, almost all mules throughout history have in fact been bred under human supervision from a domesticated donkey-jack and horse-mare, or, less frequently, from a horse-stallion and a donkey-jennet.[146] The product of the latter combination, which is properly termed a "hinny" (Greek γίννος/ἴννος, Latin

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1999. Again, I apologize to those readers who are already fully familiar with these basic facts. But it is clear from my reading, and from conversations with colleagues over the last couple of years, that a good deal of uncertainty and confusion about mules exists in the minds of many classicists (as it did in mine when I began this project); and even some of the more authoritative-seeming modern studies of ancient Greek practices and attitudes often fail to make accurate or sufficient distinction between donkeys and mules, or even to treat "mule" as a category of its own at all.

145. The true etymology of ὀρεύς (Ionic οὐρεύς) is not known. But it is clear that the terms ἡμίονος and ὀρεύς do not, and never did, refer to different animals (though scholars have occasionally claimed this), since authors from Homer to Aristotle shift back and forth quite comfortably from one to the other within the same passage. As for the *mul-* root that generated Latin *mulus/mula* (whence French *mulet/mule*, German *Maultier*, *Maulesel*, and English "mule") as well as Greek μούλη, the word was said by Greek grammarians to come from μύκλος ὄνος (μύκλος/μύκλα/μύκλοι = "striped" or ?"lewd": so Hesychius, s.v.; cf. Archil. frag. 270 W; Lycoph. 771, 816; *P Teb* 409.7); but this seems merely fanciful. Others have wished to connect the root with the family of words that includes Latin *molo*, *mola* ("grind, mill") and Greek μύλη = "mill, millstone," since by the fifth century μύλη and ὄνος were used to denote the upper and lower stones of a flour mill (as in Ar. *Vesp.* 648; cf. Pl. *Hp. mai.* 292d: λίθος μυλίας); see further Moritz (1958, 2–6), who observes, however, that early Greek (including Homeric) usage of μύλη, μύλαξ appears to refer to a hand-operated mill or millstone, not a rotary mill worked by animals. Most historical linguists now regard the root of Latin *mulus/mula* as a pre-Indo-European **mul-*, presumably Asiatic in origin (like that of ὄνος, see n. 93 above): e.g., Ernout and Meillet 1949, s.v. (though Meillet and Vendryes (1968, 67) appear to accept Hesychius' association with μύκλος). If so, it is an odd coincidence, but nothing more, that μύλη, μύλαξ, as well as ὄνος, happened to mean "millstone" in Greek. So later Greek presumably adopted μούλη, μουλάριον (from Latin *mula*), whence Modern Greek μουλάρι (used alongside ἡμίονος). Yet the appellation *mul-* in Greek in connection with mules seems to be quite old, since a sixth-century black-figure funeral plaque in Berlin by Exekias (*ABV* 146, 22; cf. Stewart 1997, 11; Boardman 1974, fig. 105.2) depicts two mules with their slave groom (a racing team? and/or perhaps the pair of animals used to draw the hearse?) and adds the words ΦΑΛΙΟΣ and ΜΥΛΙΟΣ, along with another name, mostly missing but ending in -ΙΣ. It appears to be the groom who is labeled "Mulios." (In addition, a well-dressed woman labeled ΣΙΜΕ stands behind the groom.) A horse with the name Phalios was also painted by Exekias. φαλιός ("white faced") is an adjective used of a bull by Callimachus (frag. 383.16 Pf = frag. 58 Asper); cf. Hesychius, *s.v.* But Mulios is not otherwise attested as a Greek name (though Mullos is found in Attica as a man's name). In Latin, the feminine form *mula*, rather than masculine *mulus*, by the late Republic had become the normal "unmarked" form: see Toynbee 1973, 185; Adams (1993), who argues that this was probably the result of the favoring of female mules (mollies) for drawing elite wagons and carriages (*raeda*, *esseda*, *carruca*, etc.), rather than the more sluggish castrated males (which would instead carry packs [= *mulus clitellarius*, or *mulus dorsarius*]). Classical Greek shows no sign of this linguistic oddity (except that μούλη, rather than *μοῦλος, was adopted in late Greek); but cf. pp. 234–35, 240–41, and n. 154 below, for the characteristics of mollies vs. mules in Homer. For discussion of mules in general (and the various possibilities of horse/ass combination) by Roman authors, see esp. Varro *Ling.* 9.28, *Rust.* 2.8.1, 6; Columella *Rust.* 6.37.3; Plin. *HN* 8.172; Paul. Fest. p. 33 (*TLL* VIII cols. 1619–21); and for Latin terminology, see further Hanson and Sijpesteijn 1991; Adams 1993.

146. "Wild mules" are mentioned in *Gilgamesh*, and according to some interpreters, in the Bible (Gen. 36:24—but "hot springs" is an alternative rendering of the Hebrew); also occasionally in Classical authors (e.g., Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.580b1–6, specifying Syrophoenicia; Theophrastus (apud Plin. *HN* 8.69.173) specifying Cappadocia). In Hom. *Il.* 2.852 the Enetoi are mentioned as "the origin of the race of wild mules" (ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων; cf. 24.278, with scholia to both passages; also Anacreon *PMG* 377). But, as Aristotle remarks, these are presumably some other species (probably onagers or wild horses); see further Nagel et al. 1999.

ginnus/hinnus),[147] is generally indistinguishable from a mule in looks and characteristics, though hinnies tend to be a little smaller and less sturdy.[148] It is the jack/mare combination that is generally preferred, both because the resultant progeny (mule) tends to be bigger and stronger and because stallions are generally harder to manage than jacks. Mules can be male or female ("molly"); the same word (ἡμίονος) is used for both in Greek.[149]

Appearance and characteristics. As a combination of horse and donkey, a mule can resemble either or both, to a greater or lesser degree (see figs. 10a and 10b, 13). Some mules are hard to distinguish from horses, others are extremely donkeylike. In general, however, a mule's ears are mid-sized; its tail, without being quite so full as a horse's, is more flowing than a donkey's and has no tassel on the end; and mules do not usually have a very full mane. Like many hybrids, mules tend to grow up to be bigger than their parents; and it is likely that the Greeks (like the Americans) selected larger than average donkey-jacks to breed with (as in fig. 14; cf. fig. 7b), in order to produce big and strong mules.[150] Mules live on average longer than horses, regularly attaining thirty to forty or more years; Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 6.577b28) even reported one eighty-year-old mule from Athens.[151] Both male and female mules are by nature as sexually active as other equines; but they are sterile.[152] Consequently male mules are almost always gelded when young, to make them easier to control (cf. Hes. *Op.* 791).[153] If gelded as foals, male mules

147. Another Latin term for γίννος/ἴννος, according to Isidore (*Etym.* 12.1.60), was *burdo* (a word possibly of Celtic origin), whence Greek βουρδών; see *TLL* II, col. 2248; Hanson and Sijpesteijn 1991. But Adams (1993, 55–62) shows that in fact *burdo* is sometimes used (e.g., by the veterinarian Pelagonius) to refer to a male mule and not a hinny; and he suggests that once *mula* had become the usual, unmarked Latin term for "mule" of either sex (n. 145 above), *burdo* was adopted as a term to refer specifically to a male mule. For γίννος, see also Louis 1957.

148. Unfortunately, the British (e.g., Dent 1972) sometimes use the term "jennet" instead of "hinny" to refer to this stallion/female donkey hybrid; see n. 94 above.

149. Here too, however, modern translators sometimes confuse the issue with inaccurate renditions: e.g., "jenny" (Lattimore's translation at Hom. *Il.* 23.654–55). For Latin *mula* vs. *mulus*, see n. 145 above; also n. 147 (on *burdo*).

150. See n. 96 above. As far as can be determined, Greek mules did not specialize in the more delicate activities required of donkeys (e.g., stepping amidst crop rows and vineyards), but were valued more for their ability to do heavier work, including tasks often assigned to oxen, such as plowing, carrying large loads, and hauling tree trunks or wagons, often in teams. So greater size was an asset.

151. This passage will be discussed further in Part Two. The story—and the mule's age—is repeated by Ael. (*NA* 6.49); Plut. *De soll. an.* 970b, *Cat. Mai.* 5.539a–b; and Plin. *HN* 8.69.175. Modern authorities give thirty to fifty years as the normal life expectancy for a well-kept mule, e.g., Lamb 1963.

152. The reason for mules' sterility (unknown until the twentieth century) is the fact that they have an uneven number of chromosomes (63)—the result of the combination of horse (64) and donkey (62). But of course no ancient authors knew this, and they were generally very puzzled by the sterility of a creature produced by such highly-sexed parents (see n. 53 above). Stories of female mules becoming pregnant and successfully giving birth are not uncommon in antiquity (usually presented as a miraculous and/or disastrous portent—as at Hdt. 3.153), but we may doubt the reliability of these accounts. Indeed, this was often quoted as a proverbial impossibility (Hdt. 3.151): ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσιν ("when mules produce a foal . . . !" = "when hell freezes over"). It is not particularly rare, in fact, for a molly to conceive; but almost always the fetus is aborted before term. For some modern instances of successful births, conducted under laboratory conditions, see Hyland (1990, 35–37), who writes of fourteen recorded cases in the United States. Most of the supposed cases of mules foaling that are cited by ancient Greek and Roman sources (e.g., Columella *Rust.* 6.37.3, citing earlier authorities) almost certainly, as Aristotle observes, involved onagers (or feral asses) or other equid species: see n. 146 above.

153. See n. 47 above (on gelding of horses and oxen), and Adams 1993, 1997; Hoppe 1933, 1938, 1445–46, with further references.

generally grow up to be more placid and sluggish than (unaltered) females, and it is noticeable (especially in the Roman period) that mollies tend to be preferred for drawing vehicles, males for carrying packs and plowing.[154] Mule breeding was an important profession in antiquity, developing in Roman times into a huge industry; and although we may doubt whether many Classical Greek breeders approached the scale and level of sophistication outlined by Columella,[155] care was certainly taken to select the most suitable size and body types for the jack and mare.[156] In any case, it is striking that Columella, in ranking the value of all the different breeding types among horses, places mule-breeding mares second only to racing stock (*Rust.* 6.27.1):

> tripartite dividitur: est generosa materies, quae circo sacrisque certaminibus equos praebet; est mularis, quae pretio fetus sui comparatur generoso; est et vulgaris, quae mediocres feminas maresque progenerat.
>
> There are three basic classes [of horse]. There is the noble stock, which provides horses for the circus and sacred games; then there is the mule-breeding stock, which in the price commanded by its offspring is a match for the noble stock; and then there is the common stock, which produces ordinary mares and horses.

It appears too that such specialized concerns about breeding, as well as the upkeep of healthy working animals, were the main driving force behind the development of Greek and Roman veterinary medicine, which was known among the Greeks as "horse medicine" (ἱππιατρική) but among the Romans as "mule medicine" (*mulomedicina*).[157]

The voice of a mule varies from one animal to the next—but is quite distinct from that of a donkey. In Greek, the same terms used for a horse's nickering, whinnying, or neighing (φρύαγμα) can be used of mules as well (but never of donkeys).[158] Unlike donkeys, which remain universally anonymous in Greek art and literature alike, mules were occasionally given personal names—though not so frequently as horses, of course, and their names were apparently less hi-falutin.[159] The diet of a mule (not unexpectedly) might vary greatly, depending on the means and attitude of the owner and the uses to

154. Adams 1993 (see n. 145 above). From Archaic Greece, we may compare Hom. *Od.* 6.66–74, 81–84 (discussed below; a team of mollies used for human transportation) with *Il.* 17.742–47 (also discussed below; a pair of male mules dragging a tree trunk); cf. pp. 240–41 below.

155. Columella describes a special structure into which a mare could be led in order to facilitate a jack's activity (*Rust.* 6.37.10); see Lytle 2003 (and cf. Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.576b25–27, describing an elderly horse-stallion at Opous that required assistance to mount mares). Although many Greek horse breeders apparently let their mares graze at large in the fields, with the chosen stallion(s) mixing among them relatively freely—a method that made it hard to guarantee that no interloper (wild horse or ass; or a different stallion) might gain access to the mares from time to time—in the case of mule breeding it appears that individual mares and jacks were brought together for more carefully supervised union (as in fig. 14). For the Roman mule industry in general, see Burford 1960; Toynbee 1973, 185–91; Martin 1990.

156. See, e.g., the texts collected in *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum* 2.228–31, 321–22; Varro *Rust.* 2.6; Columella *Rust.* 6.36–37; Plin. *HN* 8.171.

157. See Hoppe 1938, 1943; Adams 1997.

158. Hesychius, s.v. φρυάσσω; and cf. Babrius 62 = Aesop 285 Hausrath; ps.-Plut. 150a (discussed in Part Two). In Latin, *hinnus* ("hinny") was said to be so called because its voice was similar to a horse's "whinny" (*hinnitus*): Columella *Rust.* 6.37.5.

159. Apart from Exekias' named pair, Phalios ("White Face") and [. . .] is (n. 145 above), see Toynbee 1973.

which the mule is being put.[160] In general, however, a mule, like a donkey, can subsist and work effectively on significantly less water and on a less copious or choice supply of fodder than a horse. No more than donkeys or horses were mules themselves eaten or sacrificed by the Greeks.

Uses of mules. In its employment too, this hybrid equid combined the qualities and attributes of both parents. Almost every service to humans that horses or donkeys (or even oxen) could perform, mules could and did perform as well—except (in the case of the Greeks) carrying riders in battle or pulling chariots in elite displays.[161] In general, mules are less skittish than horses, more even-tempered and patient, sturdier, and more sure-footed on rough terrain. As compared with donkeys, they tend to be bigger, faster, and stronger,[162] as well as often being more elegant-looking in the eyes of those who prefer horses. Because they were (and are) so versatile and could be used in such a wide range of activities, spanning agriculture, manufacture, transportation, travel, ceremony, and war, in the service of rich and poor alike, mules were very extensively used and highly valued in ancient Greek society from the time of Homer and Hesiod through into Late Antiquity, just as they were elsewhere in the Near East.[163] Their longevity also meant that they often enjoyed unusually prolonged companionship with one another and with their human owners, to a degree that no other domesticated animal could match: thus they might qualify (better than, e.g., a dog) for the role of "man's best friend," at least if that man was a farmer, craftsman, or merchant. In the Roman period, professional mule dealers and muleteers (*muliones*) rented out mule teams on a large scale.[164] There is little evidence for this in Classical Greece, however (and no term equivalent to *mulio*); so it appears that individuals (small-farmers, craftsmen, retailers, merchants, elite landowners) and their families were more likely to purchase their own mules and keep them (as Hesiod recommends for oxen, *Op.* 436–38, cf. 46, 606–7). Yet despite this close and prolonged contact, the fact that a mule's assignments included both menial (donkeylike) tasks and more elegant and socially respected (horsey) activities, meant that its status and ideological associations were curiously varied and complex.

One common, distinctive, and sometimes rather distinguished, use for mules was to draw a two- or (rarely) four-wheeled wagon or carriage (ἀπήνη; see

160. See Aesop 263 Perry = 204 Hausrath, quoted n. 162 below. Modern handbooks recommend feeding a working mule not much less than a horse, for optimal performance (e.g., Lamb 1963, 27–29, with further references); but it is agreed by all authorities that a poorly nourished mule can work much better than a poorly nourished horse.

161. In some Near Eastern societies, however, mules were used for both these functions: see, e.g., Dent 1972, 60–91; Nielsen 1953; and the Koranic passage quoted in n. 141 above.

162. One Aesopic fable (263 Perry = 204 Hausrath) narrates the teaming of a donkey and mule together (apparently not a common occurrence) to carry packs: the donkey at first complains that the mule is unfairly being given twice as much food while carrying an equal-sized load; but soon the mule's superior performance turns out to justify this privilege, as the donkey is unable to keep up, and the mule ends up carrying both loads.

163. On the prices for mules in Bronze Age Hittite society, see n. 183 below. There does not appear to be reliable evidence about their presence in Mycenaean or Minoan society, however.

164. See Toynbee 1973, 185–91; Martin 1990. Nero allegedly traveled with over 1000 mule teams, shod in special silver slippers (Suet. *Ner.* 30.3). See too n. 87 above.

figs. 11a–b, 12a–b).[165] The mules (usually a pair) were yoked to the wagon pole by means of a harness strapped around their shoulders, similar to that of a horse team for a chariot. Sometimes, it appears (as with an ox cart), no bit was used for the mules' mouths, and sometimes no reins either: the animals were controlled by tapping them on the side with a two-pronged stick or whip (as in figs. 11a and 11b; also 12b?)[166] and/or someone would walk alongside, holding one of them by the halter (as in fig. 12b and many depictions of the Return of Hephaestus; see further Part Two). On other occasions (including those involving speedier or more complicated manoeuvers, such as racing), bit and bridle were used of the same kind as for horse-drawn chariots (figs. 12a, 13).

Such mule wagons are mentioned on several occasions in the Homeric poems as a preferred means of transportation for high-status goods or people. So, in the *Odyssey*, Nausicaa, who is clearly concerned to look her best as she undertakes her laundry journey in Book 6, makes a polite request for parental permission to use the mule cart (*Od.* 6.56–59, 66–74, 81–84):

ἡ δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι στᾶσα φίλον πατέρα προσέειπε·
"Πάππα φίλ', οὐκ ἂν δή μοι ἐφοπλίσσειας ἀπήνην
ὑψηλὴν εὔκυκλον, ἵνα κλυτὰ εἵματ' ἄγωμαι
ἐς ποταμὸν πλυνέουσα. . . ."
. . . . . .
ὣς ἔφατ'· αἴδετο γὰρ θαλερὸν γάμον ἐξονομῆναι
πατρὶ φίλῳ· ὁ δὲ πάντα νόει καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ·
"οὔτε τοι ἡμιόνων φθονέω, τέκος, οὔτε τευ ἄλλου.
ἔρχευ· ἀτάρ τοι δμῶες ἐφοπλίσσουσιν ἀπήνην
ὑψηλὴν εὔκυκλον, ὑπερτερίῃ ἀραρυῖαν."
ὣς εἰπὼν δμώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο, τοὶ δ' ἐπίθοντο.
οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐκτὸς ἄμαξαν ἐΰτροχον ἡμιονείην
ὅπλεον ἡμιόνους θ' ὕπαγον ζεῦξάν θ' ὑπ' ἀπήνῃ·
κούρη δ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο φέρεν ἐσθῆτα φαεινήν.
. . . . . .
ἡ δ' ἔλαβεν μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα,
μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν· καναχὴ δ' ἦν ἡμιόνοιϊν·
αἱ δ' ἄμοτον τανύοντο, φέρον δ' ἐσθῆτα καὶ αὐτήν,
οὐκ οἶην· ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι.

She went up close to him and softly said:
"My dear Papà, could you not send the mule cart
around for me—the gig with pretty wheels?

165. See Lorimer 1903; Crouwel 1992, 75–98, with pls. 17–28, 34; Oakley and Sinos 1993; Kratzmüller 1993. The term ἀπήνη sometimes overlaps with ἅμαξα (as in Hom. *Od.* 6.56–74, quoted below), though its primary meaning appears to be "mule cart"; see p. 236. The word *a-pe-ne-wo* is found in Linear B documents; see Kratzmüller 1993, 82–83, with further references.

166. For description of the harness and bridle (without bit), see Anderson 1961, 42–45, with pls. 11a (a pair of Elamite mules pulling a cart, controlled by a stick, without reins) and 11b (sixth-century Boeotian vase-painting of a mule cart, again with pair of mules without bit or bridle, controlled by a two-pronged whip). Likewise the pack ass in Anderson's pl. 7 (= fig. 8 here) has only a halter, no bit; the reins are fastened to a nose band under its chin; cf. fig. 9; see too Dent 1972, 60, who shows a smart Assyrian mule team (eighth century B.C.E.) drawing a heavy wagon, with reins but no bit. See too Crouwel 1992, 91–92, 94–98 and pls. 21:1, 27:3, 28:3, 4, 34:1. The "double goad" is frequently mentioned in Greek literature: e.g., Soph. *OT* 809: διπλᾶ κέντρα.

I must take all our things and get them washed at the river pools. . . ."
. . . . . .
She had no word to say of her own wedding,
though her keen father saw her blush. Said he:
"No mules would I deny you, child, nor anything.
Go along, now; the grooms will bring your gig
with pretty wheels and the cargo box upon it."
He spoke to the stablemen, who soon brought round
the cart, low-wheeled and nimble;
harnessed the mules, and backed them in the traces.
Meanwhile the girl fetched all the radiant apparel
to bundle in the polished wagon box.
. . . . . .
Nausicaa took the reins and raised her whip,
lashing the pair of mollies. What jingling! What a clatter!
Off they went in a ground-covering trot,
carrying her and the laundry, while the rest of the maids walked alongside.

(Trans. R. Fitzgerald, adapted)

So the princess sits in the cart with the fine clothes, while her attendants walk behind or alongside (cf. figs. 11b, 12b). Likewise, on the return journey back to town, she drives the mules "briskly" (*Od*. 6.317 ὦκα), yet at a measured enough pace that Odysseus and the maids walking behind can keep up (*Od*. 6.316–20):

ὡς ἄρα φωνήσασ' ἴμασεν μάστιγι φαεινῇ
ἡμιόνους· αἱ δ' ὦκα λίπον ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα.
αἱ δ' εὖ μὲν τρώχων, εὖ δὲ πλίσσοντο πόδεσσιν.
ἡ δὲ μάλ' ἡνιόχευεν, ὅπως ἅμ' ἑποίατο πεζοὶ
ἀμφίπολοί τ' Ὀδυσεύς τε· νόῳ δ' ἐπέβαλλεν ἱμάσθλην.

So she spoke, and raised her glistening whip,
lashing the team into a run; they left the river behind;
the mollies trotted nicely, and nicely they crossed their legs back and forth,
while she reined them in skillfully, and spared the lash,
so that the maids and Odysseus could follow along on foot.

(Trans. R. Fitzgerald, adapted)

The same type of mule-drawn vehicle is used for the more mundane work of gathering wood for Patroclus' funeral pyre (*Il*. 23.110–26), and for King Priam's nocturnal trip to fetch the corpse of Hector from Achilles (*Il.* 24.265–80, 322–29, 349–57, 440–71, 689–720).[167] In Pindar (*Pyth*. 4.93–95), King Pelias is driving a "polished mule cart" when he encounters Jason; and in Sappho's lyric account of the marriage of Hector and Andromache, the women

167. Priam drives a chariot drawn by his own favorite horses, while Idaeus drives a mule wagon that will carry the body of Hector: the narrative takes care throughout to distinguish both sets of animals and drivers, but also to emphasize their close collaboration. In an Athenian black-figure amphora in Boston (MFA 1979.618; ascribed to the Painter of Munich 1393; c. 550–535 B.C.E.), the culture-hero Icarius is shown conveying several amphoras of wine on a fine two-wheeled mule cart, on his way to present them as a novel gift to his Attic neighbors. A man is leading the mule(s?) by the bridle; no reins or whip can be seen (but the vase is damaged). The mule has a fine, horselike head, but is also very ithyphallic.

of Troy and daughters of Priam board elegant mule wagons (σάτιναι), while the royal sons travel on horse-drawn chariots (ἅρματα).[168] In fifth-century tragedy, the word ἀπήνη is used very flexibly, to include horse-drawn chariots (also the Trojan Horse, and even a ship), and the indeterminate heroic coloring of tragic discourse contributes further to this vagueness. But in at least a couple of cases (Soph. *OT* 753, 802–3, Laius' journey from Thebes to Delphi; Eur. *IA* 147, 615–18, Clytemnestra and Iphigenia traveling from Argos to the Greek camp at Aulis) the expression "colt-drawn vehicle" (πωλικῆς ἀπήνης, πωλικῶν ζύγων) is used most probably as an elevated term for a mule cart.[169]

Outside of high literature, mule carts appear to have provided the means of transportation for many different social contexts, including Athenian weddings and funerals, as numerous illustrations and literary descriptions show.[170] A small but finely detailed black-figure lekythos by the Amasis Painter (fig. 12b) shows what appears to be a middle-class country wedding procession, with the bride, bridegroom, and best man riding in one wagon drawn by a pair of well-turned-out donkeys, while the next group of friends or relatives follows in an equally smart mule cart.[171] There is nothing comic or low-class about this scene, and the mules and donkeys are well behaved (nonithyphallic) and trim. It is true that in many representations of wedding processions, real or mythological, painted on vases (especially the wedding of Peleus and Thetis), the divine or heroic couple are shown in a horse-drawn chariot (as, e.g., in the François vase); but this seems to be an iconographical convention adopted to emphasize the exalted status of the pair, rather than a realistic representation of actual current practice.[172]

168. αὖτικ' Ἰλίαδαι σατίναις ὑπ' ἐυτρόχοις / ἄγον αἰμιόνοις, ἐπέβαινε δὲ παῖς ὄχλος / γυναίκων τ' ἅμα παρθενίκαν . . . / χῶρις δ' αὖ Περάμοιο θύγατρες . . . · / ἵπποις δ' ἄνδρες ὕπαγαν ὑπ' ἅρματα . . . ἠίθεοι . . . κτλ. (Sappho frag. 44.13–19 V.); see too Eur. *IA* 147, 618 (Iphigenia's transportation to Aulis, supposedly to be married), [Hes.] *Sc.* 272–74, etc. For σάτιναι, see too *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 13; Anacreon *PMG* 388.10; Eur. *Hel.* 1311.

169. The term πῶλος ("young colt") is quite flexible in Greek, and not restricted to horses: we even find the expression πωλικὸν ζεῦγος βοῶν in the fifth-to-fourth-century comic playwright Alcaeus (frag. 169 K–A). If the two tragic passages do, in fact, mean a horse-drawn vehicle (wagon or chariot), however, this may be another example of the tendency to represent heroic and divine characters as traveling by means not normally employed by "real" people in the fifth century: see n. 172 below (on wedding scenes in Athenian vase-painting).

170. For wedding processions, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, 26–35, with further references and illustrations. An especially fine depiction of a funeral scene with a pair of mules comes from Exekias (ABV 146, 22; see n. 145 above); another example is Crouwel 1992, pl. 25 (Attic black-figure band-cup: Louvre F77). On the huge team of lavishly ornamented mules used at Alexander's funeral, see n. 87 above. For accounts and illustrations of American mule trains, which sometimes pulled cargoes of fifty tons and more over the Rockies—and down the other side, the more dangerous part of the operation—see Riley 1867; Chew 1983. In 1968, Martin Luther King Jr's coffin was borne on a wagon drawn by a mule team.

171. Some scholars have identified both pairs of animals here as mules (which admittedly are specified much more commonly than donkeys as drawing a bridal ἀπήνη): but the pale muzzles of the front pair of animals, thinner tails, different shape of their eyes, and lower angle of their necks, all seem to indicate that they are intended as donkeys; see also von Bothmer 1985, 182–84; Crouwel 1992, p. 25, with pls. 38–39; and n. 115 above.

172. See Oakley and Sinos 1993, 30: "If the usual vehicle for the wedding procession was the cart [sc. ἀπήνη], then why do black-figure vases of the wedding normally depict the bride and groom riding in a chariot? The reason must be the symbolic value of the chariot [and, I would add, the horses], the normal vehicle of gods and heroes. Not only wedding scenes but also scenes of warriors departing for battle almost invariably use the chariot—which has no place on actual battlefields of the sixth century B.C.E.—in order to impart a heroic flavor to the scene of the wedding or the departing warrior." See too Stevenson 2003 (on the horses of the Parthenon Frieze).

In general, a chariot would rarely carry more than two people; and they would normally be standing as they drove. A mule cart (or donkey cart) could carry four or more people, if necessary, sitting quite comfortably—a greatly preferable way to travel long distances, unless one were in a big hurry or very eager to show off. Mules would be a little faster than donkeys, and could draw a heavier load with less effort; they would also usually look somewhat classier, because more horsey. The mule-drawn ἀπήνη (or σάτιναι) was thus indisputably the preferred means of comfortable and cost-effective transportation for most kinds of occasion, at all levels of society. The balance between rough practicality and smooth elegance (should we translate ἀπήνη as "cart," or "wagon," or "carriage"? Is it a pickup truck, or a sedan, or a minibus, even occasionally a limo?) could vary considerably. Certainly the mule cart in which the young men in figure 12a are riding, and the one driven by the well-dressed and dignified older man in figure 11b, look quite stylish, though not flashy, and the animals are sleek and well proportioned.

A striking confirmation of the capacity for mules and mule teams to encroach upon even the most exclusive arenas of aristocratic competition and equine display is the creation in c. 500 B.C.E. of a new category at the Olympic games for mule-cart racing (ἀπήνη).[173] In this event, a yoked pair of mules pulled a light, two-wheeled wagon (fig. 13) in which the driver sat, wearing an ordinary short *chiton* (unlike the driver of the horse-drawn συνωρίς or τέθριππον, who stood, dressed in a long *xystis*).[174] The Olympic ἀπήνη event was continued for some fifty years. The reasons both for its introduction and for its abolition in 444 are disputed among historians of athletics.[175] Some ancient authorities report that aristocratic prejudice disapproved of the ignoble associations of mules, and succeeded in eliminating the event. Whether or not this is true, it looks as if support for it came primarily from the "new" elites of Sicily and from Athens under the tyranny and the new democracy; coins from Zancle and Rhegium depict racing mule teams (a local statement, it seems, to differentiate them from the horse-dominated Syracusans), and ἀπήνη races were apparently part of the Panathenaic games from the mid-sixth century onwards.[176] So in figure 13 (a black-figure Panathenaic amphora attributed to [or "very close to"] the Kleophrades Painter), the pair of racing animals are certainly mules, although they look quite horsey.[177] It may be that upwardly-mobile tyrants and/or pro-democratic elites were

173. See Paus. 5.9; Kratzmüller 1993; Golden 1998, 40–43; Miller 2004, 80; and cf. Pindar's victory ode (*Ol.* 5) for Psaumis, with scholia; also Simon. *PMG* 515 (the epigraph to this article, to which I shall return in Part Two).

174. Illustrations of racing charioteers are numerous: most notably, the "Delphi Charioteer" (Boardman 1985, ill. 34); also, e.g., Anderson 1961, pl. 16; Vigneron 1973, pl. 48a, 48b, 49c; cf. 42d, 47a, 47d; Miller 2004, figs. 144–50, 154–55, 168, 229.

175. Suggestions have included local politics, divisions in the "international" tastes and preferences around the rest of Greece, and discomfort about elevating these particular animals to an inappropriately high level: see Golden 1998, 40–43.

176. For good illustrations of racing mule-teams on silver tetradrachms of the early fifth century from Zancle (Messana) and Rhegium, see Kraay 1976, pl. 45, nos. 772, 773, 781 (with discussion pp. 213–14); they were presumably minted by the tyrant Anaxilas, victor in the Olympic mule-car event in 484 or 480 B.C.E.; cf. too Arist. frag. 578R. On the Panathenaic ἀπήνη event, see Kyle 1987; Kratzmüller 1993.

177. The tell-tale ears are missing, and some scholars (but not, e.g., Beazley) have identified these as horses. This painting (London B 131 = *ABV* 405, 4 = *CV* pl. 1, 2b) is very similar to another, also found at Vulci and now in the British Museum (London B 132 = *ABV* 405, 5 "restored" = *CV* pl. 1, 3b), on which

more comfortable recognizing the value and talents of the more practical mule and mule cart, and were less perturbed by issues of miscegenation and social mobility than their older-fashioned rivals at Sparta and other bastions of equestrian tradition.[178] Certainly, the economic expenditure (and sheer waste) involved in maintaining a mule team would be considerably smaller, since the mules—unlike horses—would presumably have a productive working life between races.

In this context we may also consider figure 14 (from an Athenian red-figure drinking-cup attributed by Roland Hampe to the Euergides Painter, c. 515 B.C.E.). The cup presents a unique combination of scenes, including this one in which an elite young man is presenting his mare to be mounted by a large and rather elegant (though appropriately ithyphallic) donkey. The suggestion that the youth is breeding a racing mule for his own use is attractive;[179] this would explain the unusual artistic choice to represent a donkey and a (female) horse as being of more or less equivalent stature, attractiveness, and dignity—a choice consistent with the realities of elite stock-breeding and sport, it might be said, but not with customary Greek snobbery and equine ideology. We may note further that of the two other scenes on this cup, one depicts a pair of young dancers-in-armor accompanied by an aulete, and (inside the cup) the other shows an attractive nude youth practicing sympotic ἀσκωλιασμός ("riding the wine-skin"). Both scenes seem to promote an ethos of leisured sophistication and play; they are not low or comic. In any case, for whatever reasons, the high period of mule-cart racing seems to have been confined to the late sixth and early fifth centuries; after the 440s, only horse events were recognized in the circuit games.[180]

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the ears—quite small!—are preserved. In both paintings the mane is very scant, and the tail of B 131 (our fig. 13) is thinner than what we would expect of a horse. (B 132's tail is missing.) Most recent experts have agreed that these must in fact be mules: e.g., Kratzmüller 1993; Miller 2004. More puzzling, however, is a third surviving Panathenaic amphora (from a much earlier date, probably c. 560 B.C.E.), which depicts a seated driver with a team of extremely horselike animals (London B 130 from Athens [the "Burgon Group"] = *ABV* 89, 1 = *CV* pl. 1, 1b; see too Crouwel 1992, pl. 23, 1a and b). This is described by Beazley as a *synoris* (not an *apene*), i.e., a horse-drawn chariot, and many others have agreed. But Crouwel (1992, 92, 95–96), followed by Kratzmüller (1993), has pointed out that this artist has in any case betrayed some uncertainty of technique and conception, in that the driver is shown holding in one hand a charioteer's long whip, in the other a muleteer's short goad, leaving no hand free to hold the reins. In light of this confusion, it is probably best to conclude that this too is intended as a mule-drawn *apene*. (There are no other depictions of a car with seated driver whose animal team looks nearly so horselike as this.) In general, though, as we noted above, mules can look very much like horses, and racing mules would presumably have tended to be those of a speedier and taller type. (As Dent [1972, 80–81], remarks: "It is possible to breed the hybrid counterpart of every type of horse"; and the animals represented on the Sicilian coins mentioned in the previous note are not sharply differentiated in build and appearance from the horse teams shown pulling chariots on other mintings of this period.) It is of course a modern as well as an ancient tendency to see "horse" whenever an equid is found engaging in elite and/or graceful activity. We may note that in the case of Exekias' elegant pair of mules (n. 145 above), the faces and slim (nonstriped) front legs look very horsey; only the longer ears assert an asinine component.

178. These issues will be discussed more fully in Part Two.

179. So Hampe (1978, 109–12, with several additional illustrations); he notes also the Euergides Painter's fondness for horses—and for a certain "Hipparchus"—in general. On the Euergides Painter, see further Beazley, *ARV* 87–96. A comparable painting of two donkeys mating is to be seen on a vase in Munich (no. 36 in Marcadé 1965); but in that scene there is no human presence, and the vase is much less sophisticated altogether.

180. Instead, the fourth century witnessed an increasing number of events for young horses, and also for younger age-groups of human competitors—perhaps a swing back towards more traditionally aristocratic categories and standards: see Golden 1998, 104–41.

Along with these relatively prestigious and leisure-oriented activities, and all the unglamorous "donkeywork" that mules shared with asses and oxen, armies generally required pack mules—often scores or hundreds of them—any time they traveled far on campaign, from the Achaeans at Troy to Alexander's conquering expeditions throughout Asia.[181] Of course, these same animals, when not employed for immediate military purposes, were also available (unlike horses) for agriculture, industry, and manufacture instead, and were thus of continuing, year-round practical use.

Because mules took considerable human effort, skill, and time to produce and train, and were so versatile, long-lived, and "enduring,"[182] they were highly valued, in Greece as elsewhere.[183] The second prize for the chariot race, the most prestigious event of the funeral games for Patroclus, is a "six-year-old unbroken mare, carrying a mule-foal within her" (*Il.* 23.261–70, esp. 265–66), which is apparently worth well over two talents of gold (since that is the value of the fourth prize); and the first prize for the boxing match (*Il.* 23.654–55) is "an unbroken, hard-working six-year-old female mule, which is the hardest (kind) to tame." Homer in fact remarks in passing that (female) mules are actually better than oxen for plowing (*Il.* 10.352–53),[184] and the elite perspectives of Theognidean and Solonian elegy confirm that ownership of mules is a good index of a man's prosperity and status in the Archaic period.[185] In all these passages, mules clearly stand much closer to horses than to donkeys on the equine spectrum: indeed Theognis 996 is explicit, . . . ὅσσον ὄνων κρέσσονες ἡμίονοι ("how much better mules are than donkeys").

It should come as no surprise, therefore, to find that mules are central to Hesiod's agricultural planning in the *Works and Days*. This is of course an especially precious text for what it says about middle-of-the-road Greek attitudes and practices of the Archaic period. Horses and horsemen are almost entirely missing from the poem (as are hoplites, for that matter), mainly because horses do nothing to help provide an agrarian farmer's "livelihood"

181. E.g., Hom. *Il.* 1.50; see Anderson 1961, 42 (and pl. 5b, Assyrian pack mules); Engel 1978; Toynbee 1973, 191–92 (and illustration no. 92); Dent 1972, 79–84 (with illustrations on pp. 80, 82, 83); see too n. 16 above, and Riley 1867; Waller 1958; Chew 1983, for details of the role played by mules in the U.S. military.

182. The standard epithet for a mule in hexameter poetry is ταλαεργός (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 23.654, *Od.* 4.636; Hes. *Op.* 46).

183. The Hittite "Laws" of the fifteenth century B.C.E. record the value of a horse at 20 shekels, a sheep at 1, an ox at 12, and a mule at 40. In many parts of the Near East, including Assyrian contexts of war and ceremony and the world of the Hebrew Bible, mules were highly honorific mounts, for dignitaries and warriors alike; cf. Dent 1972, 60–67. Although Deuteronomic Law forbade the breeding of mules by Jews, that did not prevent their use: for example, a (female) mule plays a key symbolic role in Solomon's rise to the throne of Israel (1 Kings 1:38–39): "So Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet . . . went down and caused Solomon to ride on King David's mule, and brought him to Gihon. There Zadok the priest took the oil from the tent and anointed Solomon. Then they blew the trumpet and all the people said, 'Long live King Solomon!' " This elevated status for mules (and jennets too) in public ceremonies continued into the early modern period, especially for Christian clerics such as Cardinal Wolsey and, e.g., the Medici depicted in Benozzo Gozzoli's "Adoration of the Magi": see Dent 1972, 70–80 (with illustrations); Adams 1993.

184. These lines provoked considerable ancient commentary: why are mules better? One scholiastic answer (ad loc.), often repeated, was that while an ox team can dig a deeper furrow and is therefore good for the first plowing of new land, mules are more efficient for all subsequent plowings (this is implied too by, e.g., Columella *Rust.* 6.37.11); see further Richter (1968, 77–80), who refers also to Soph. *Ant.* 341 ἱππείῳ γένει πολεύων (as implying that mules, "offspring of horses," are exemplary for good plowing).

185. Thgn. 719–21 = Solon frag. 24 W; Thgn. 996, 1201.

(βίος), and are instead an expensive waste. Horses are mentioned in fact just once in the *Works and Days* (815–16), a passing remark in the section on *Days* that links the yoking of horses, oxen, and mules to the launching of ships, a notorious object of Hesiodic suspicion. Instead, in the poem's recommended—and fairly detailed—economy, it is oxen and mules that are repeatedly mentioned as the chief and most necessary coproducers of prosperity.[186]

The first reference to mules in the poem comes right at the beginnning of Hesiod's practical moralizing (*Op.* 46), as "the works/products of your oxen and hard-working mules" (ἔργα βοῶν . . . καὶ ἡμιόνων ταλαεργῶν) are more or less completely identified with the farmer's net output. Later, Hesiod's recommendations about storing food and litter for the mules and oxen (605–7) seem to give these animals at least as high a priority as the single female slave (and later, the wife; cf. 795–97). For, while Hesiod prefers on the whole to hire day laborers for busy times of the year so that you can "send them off homeless" (ἀοίκους) in the off-peak periods (*Op.* 600–602), he keeps the mules around year-long: like the dog (604–5), they are indispensable parts of the family, whom one needs to maintain even during the idle months of winter. Eventually (past the age of thirty), a man should marry—and thus acquire another permanent co-worker and eventually a son as well; but it is worth remembering that a mule, once acquired at (presumably) the age of three or four, might well live and work another thirty or forty years, and would thus often be a man's longest-term companion. An ox or dog, by contrast, would rarely be of use for more than ten years or so; and neither of them could supply nearly such a wide range of services. Furthermore, an ox, like a sheep, goat, or pig, would normally end up being eaten, and was therefore viewed throughout its life as a potential sacrificial victim and source of gastronomic pleasure, a fact that distinguishes all such creatures quite sharply from the equids.

To conclude this section on the "profile" of the Greek mule (and Part One of this article), we may focus on a unique but paradigmatic passage from the *Iliad*—the sole occasion in the epic on which mules are the subject of a simile. In Book 17, as the body of Patroclus is being rescued from the thick of the fighting and the two Ajaxes are beating off the continuing Trojan attacks, Menelaus and Meriones, a pair of the Achaeans' staunchest—but not their most brilliant—warriors, lift up the hero's corpse and bear it off the battlefield (*Il.* 17.742–47):

οἱ δ'ὥς θ' ἡμίονοι κρατερὸν μένος ἀμφιβαλόντες
ἕλκωσ' ἐξ ὄρεος κατὰ παιπαλόεσσαν ἀταρπὸν
ἢ δοκὸν ἠὲ δόρυ μέγα νήϊον· ἐν δέ τε θυμὸς
τείρεθ' ὁμοῦ καμάτῳ τε καὶ ἱδρῷ σπευδόντεσσιν·

186. For good discussion of agricultural practices of this period, mainly as reflected in the Homeric epics, see Richter 1968; also West's commentary on Hesiod's *Works and Days* (1978) and the extensive references in Chandezon 2003, 429–47. But most discussions of Hesiod's farming completely ignore the animals: e.g., Marsilio 2000.

ὣς οἵ γ' ἐμμεμαῶτε νέκυν φέρον. αὐτὰρ ὄπισθεν
Αἴαντ' ἰσχανέτην . . .

But they, as mules that have put the on-drive of strength upon them
drag down from the high ground along a steep stony trail either
a beam or some big timber for a ship, and the heart in them
wearies under the hard work and sweat of their urgent endeavor;
so these two, straining, carried the dead man away, and behind them
the two Aiantes held off [the Trojans] . . .

(Trans. R. Lattimore)

It is characteristic that the mules (here males, perhaps a little heftier and slower than the mollies that draw Nausicaa's wagon) not only work as a pair, in contrast to the solo donkey to which Ajax was compared earlier (*Il.* 11.556–62, discussed above) and to the galloping horse of the repeated simile at *Il.* 6.503–14, 15.263–68 (which will be discussed in Part Two), but are also distinguished for "combining their mighty strength" (κρατερὸν μένος ἀμφιβαλόντες), and for the "spirit" (θυμός), "effort and sweat" (καμάτῳ τε καὶ ἱδρῷ) of their "urgent endeavor" (σπευδόντεσσιν) in a constructive cause. Operating as a pair (dual ἐμμεμαῶτε, 746), they apparently need no driver or master to direct or compel them, but work steadily on their own. No other animal can offer quite this combination of sturdy, reliable, and resourceful qualities in support of the labors of war and peace.[187]

This concludes Part One of the article. In Part Two, I shall examine more closely both the "gender trouble" surrounding the noble horse in the Greek imagination (especially in the areas of cosmetics, harnessing, training, and riding/driving teams or individual mounts) and the "class struggles" and prejudices that frequently attend Greek discussions and representations of mules and mule breeding.

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187. Is it too fanciful to suggest further that Menelaus' social/heroic rank in relation to Helen, the archhippic bride of brides, equates him, despite his wealth and fine "chestnut" (ξανθός) hair, rather with a donkey or mule—and thus renders him comparable to Hephaestus, the unexpected bridegroom of Aphrodite (on whom, and whose mule mount, we shall have more to say in Part Two of this article)?

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HORSEPOWER AND DONKEYWORK: EQUIDS AND THE ANCIENT GREEK IMAGINATION

MARK GRIFFITH

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

IN THE FIRST PART OF this article,[1] I provided a general survey of the historical and zoological facts concerning horses, donkeys, and mules in Archaic and Classical Greece, and sketched the different roles that were generally assigned to each. I noted the sharp cultural distinction that was maintained between the "noble" horse and "servile" donkey, both in the actual uses to which each was put and in literary and visual representations of them, and I observed that these corresponded in many respects to the distinctions between "free" (or aristocratic) and "slave" (or lower-class, banausic) in human society. Within this cultural binary, which was based in part on actual, natural differences between the two species, but also to a large degree on arbitrary preferences and prejudices, mules were—not surprisingly—found to occupy an intermediate position, ranging as they did in both appearance and uses from thoroughly donkeylike laborers to elite, horselike, conveyances and even *apene* racers. Indispensable and highly valued for their versatility, endurance, and longevity, yet always kept separate from the most prestigious activities that were exclusively reserved for horses (most notably, cavalry action, ceremonial riding, and chariot racing), they did not fit comfortably into any obvious cultural niche (though modern scholars have tended on the whole to lump them together with donkeys and disregard their distinctive and important differences).

Up to this point, I have been accepting, more or less at face value, the ancient Greek structural division between the equids (noble horse vs. servile ass)—a division that is still quite widely held in the modern West, it seems—while granting to the mule, in a provisional kind of way at least, the convenient intermediate place "between" them. But so far from constituting a comfortable "middle class" or "golden mean" that might tidily reconcile opposites and provide a zone of practical and imaginary normality to which

1. This is Part Two of a two-part article, of which Part One appeared in the previous issue of *CP* (vol. 101, no. 3: [July 2006]: 185–246). Please note that the numbering of the article's figures continues from Part One to Part Two; references in Part Two to figures 1 to 14 are to figures to be found in Part One of the article; figure 15 can be found in Part Two, on p. 349 below. See in general also Chandezon 2005.

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ordinary Greeks could relate, this equine middle term turns out instead, as we shall see, to be in many respects quite awkward and unsettled. Or, to be more precise, a disparity (discrepancy) can be seen between the physical, practical realities of what mules actually did, on the one hand, and the ideological position assigned to them, on the other. That is to say, if mules did indeed constitute a middle (equine) class, the Greeks apparently were not comfortable thinking of them as such. Furthermore, the mystique of the noble horse itself turns out, on closer inspection, to be invested with several curious contradictions and ambivalences that both result from, and contribute further to, a striking pattern of gender and class confusion that is, I suggest, highly revealing of Greek social attitudes and institutions.

The reasons for this confusion, this awkwardness and discrepancy, lie in three main areas, which combine in various important ways to complicate the relations of power, sex/gender, and class that are implicit in the simple binary structures of equine signification that I have outlined so far: (1) the cosmetics of equine presentation and display, in relation to human cosmetics and human gender and class distinctions; (2) the means of control exercised by humans over their various equids, that is, the nature and terminology of ancient Greek harnesses and the associated styles of training, riding, and driving, with all their (heavily, but confusingly, gendered) resemblances to human processes of education, homosocial bonding, courtship, and marital relations; and (3) the peculiar origin, nature and characteristics of mules. And within this third area (the nature of mules) itself, there seem to be two distinct dimensions: on the one hand, the facts of equine (sexual and reproductive) life, that is, the recurring need for sexual union between "high-class" mares and "low-class" donkey-jacks, a dynamic that raised for the Greeks the deeply repressed, and usually unmentionable, specter of human miscegenation between male slaves and free citizen women; and on the other hand, the ancient Greek reluctance to consider most kinds of "work" as anything but demeaning, whether for a free man or for a noble equid.

1. COSMETICS: HAIR, GROOMING, DISPLAY

The processes of training, adorning, and publicly presenting a high-quality horse ("grooming" and "dressage"), whether for ceremonial, military, or recreational purposes, had much in common with those applied to upper-class human beings, especially the young.[2] First and foremost, the long hairs of the horse's mane and tail received minute and conspicuous attention: they were combed constantly, and might be braided, clipped into patterns, arranged in pom-poms, or decorated with bows, bells, or ribbons, oiled, and even perfumed (see figs. 3a, 3b, and 6b). When allowed to flow unchecked, the glory of these long, silky locks floating in the breeze—sometimes clutched between the fingers of the rider—was extremely sexy (see fig. 6a). The same terms are

2. On Greek *paideia* (both male and female), especially "herds" of adolescent boys and girls, choruses, self-presentation, and military training in the Archaic and early Classical period, see esp. Jeanmaire 1939; Brelich 1969; Lonsdale 1993; Kennell 1995; Calame 1997; Schnapp 1997; Naerebout 1997; Stehle 1997; Griffith 2001.

used for the hair of horses' manes as for human tresses (χαίτη and its derivatives; ἔθειρα; θρίξ; κόμη, κομάω); no other animal hair except lions' manes seems to be so designated. Epithets specifying a horse's fine hair are common:[3] and likewise innumerable representations of women and goddesses in Archaic literature and art, from the elaborate sculpted *korai* to the descriptions of heroic and divine characters in epic and lyric poetry, focus on their carefully arranged and decorated tresses, as well as the necklaces, ribbons, crowns, veils, and perfumes, that are placed on, in, and around them. Sometimes, indeed, artists combined human and equine coiffures in striking juxtaposition (as in fig. 3b), as if to underline the similarity—and desirability—of both.[4]

In an archetypal scene of sexual seduction in the *Iliad*, Hera in "deceiving" Zeus relies as much on the appeal of her hair as on the special accoutrements she has borrowed from Aphrodite and Athena (14.175–79):[5]

τῷ ῥ' ἥ γε χρόα καλὸν ἀλειψαμένη ἰδὲ χαίτας
πεξαμένη χερσὶ πλοκάμους ἔπλεξε φαεινοὺς
καλοὺς ἀμβροσίους ἐκ κράατος ἀθανάτοιο.
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀμβρόσιον ἑανὸν ἕσαθ', ὅν οἱ Ἀθήνη
ἔξυσ' ἀσκήσασα, τίθει δ' ἐνὶ δαίδαλα πολλά·

When with this she had anointed her delicate body
and combed her hair, next with her hands she arranged the shining
and lovely and ambrosial curls along her immortal
head, and dressed in an ambrosial robe that Athene
had made her carefully, smooth, and with many figures upon it.

(Trans. R. Lattimore)

Equally focused on hair, too, is the praise uttered by Alcman's chorus of young women (*Partheneion* 1, *PMG* 1.45–101), and the analogy—even identity—between human and equine beauty is explicit, as the maidens describe themselves as running like racehorses of various breeds, apparently competing in both speed and beauty against a rival Spartan chorus of "Pleiads" (Alc. *PMG* 1.50–59):

. . . ἦ οὐχ ὁρῆις; ὁ μὲν κέλης
Ἐνητικός· ἁ δὲ χαίτα
τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιᾶς
Ἀγησιχόρας ἐπανθεῖ

3. See, e.g., Richter 1968, 72 for Homeric epithets (εὔθριξ, καλλίθριξ, ὄθριξ, κυανοχαίτης). Conversely, when the horses of Achilles mourn the death of Patroclus, their ἡνίοχος, who used to wash and anoint their manes (23.280–82), they bow their heads to the ground, weep tears, and droop their manes in the dirt (17.437–40 χαίτη, 457 χαιτάων), like Achilles himself (18.23–24; also Laertes at *Od*. 24.316–17); see Edwards 1991, ad loc.

4. For good further examples, see, e.g., Anderson 1961, pls. 14, 15, 17, 23, plus 22b (a pair of horses with parasols attached to their harness, and female[?] driver with elaborate hair and head covering: *ARV* 678, 15); Vigneron 1973, pls. 19, 20, 25, 28f, 32c, 34; Boardman 1974, figs 46, 47, 83, 114; 1996, ills. 38, 39, 45, 53, 59–61, 69–77; or virtually any book on Archaic Greek sculpture or vase-painting. Sometimes elegant wings add to the effect: see, e.g., *LIMC*, s.v. "Pegasos."

5. On this scene, and Hera's preparations, see Janko 1992, ad loc. For the hairstyles and ornamentation of Archaic statues of *kouroi* and *korai*, see, e.g., Boardman 1996, 83–94.

χρυσὸς [ὠ]ς ἀκήρατος·
τό τ' ἀργύριον πρόσωπον,
διαφάδαν τί τοι λέγω;
Ἀγησιχόρα μὲν αὖτα·
ἁ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδὼ τὸ ϝεῖδος
ἵππος Ἰβηνῷ Κολαξαῖος δραμήται·

Why, don't you see? The race-horse is Venetic;
but the hair of my cousin Hagesichora has the bloom of undefiled gold,
and her silver face—why do I tell you openly?
This is Hagesichora here; and the second in beauty after Agido
will run like a Colaxaean horse against an Ibenian.

(Trans. D. A. Campbell)[6]

Thus for aristocratic women and finely bred horses alike, the hair on their heads and necks was their crowning glory, an ostentatious sexual symbol, artfully and proudly displayed to all, yet untouchable except by their authorized husband/rider (figs. 6a and b) or their specially designated "maids/grooms."[7]

Such female luxuriance could also be the object of male suspicion, however, or of more particular ethnic or class antagonism, just as *hippotrophia* itself and other ostentatious displays of elegance might be resented in contexts of increasing conflict over the distribution of wealth and the proper indices of civic worth.[8] Hellenic (or "democratic") simplicity and manliness came increasingly to be contrasted with "Asiatic" (or aristocratic) luxury and effeminacy as the fifth century progressed; even as early as the seventh and sixth centuries we find criticisms of horsiness being expressed by discontented representatives of the less privileged. Thus in Semonides' misogynistic iambics about the types of women supposedly born from different animals (frag. 7 W), we find an unsubtle description of the woman conceived from a "delicate, fine-haired mare" (ἵππος ἁβρὴ χαιτέεσσα), one who eschews all

6. Further references to the young girls' hair occur at 70 (κόμαι) and 101 (ξανθαὶ κομίσκαι). On this passage (and the conventions of girls' self-presentation and the *partheneion* in general) see esp. Calame 1997; Stehle 1997.

7. Well-born women in Homer, and unmarried women in Classical Athens, normally kept their heads covered except in the presence of their husband or kin; see, e.g., Janko 1992, on *Il*. 14.184. The raising of the head covering (κρήδεμνον) by the bridegroom at the completion of the marriage ceremony was a climactic gesture; and in general, direct access to a woman's hair (on any part of her body) tended to be an extremely intimate moment: cf. Archil. 196a.53 W; Hedreen 2006. And just as Helen has her prized Laconian Nurse who travels everywhere with her and serves as her special confidante (*Il*. 3.386–89; at 387 the nurse is called εἰροκόμῳ = "wool dresser"), so too a horse is entrusted to a groom (ἱπποκόμος = lit. "horse minder," or "horse-hairdresser"?) who alone knows his/her most intimate secrets (cf. Hdt. 3. 85–88, 6.68; also n. 104 below; and for the "horsiness" of Homer's Helen, see Alden 2000, and Part One, n. 187). The Greek grammarians seem to have misinterpreted the regular term for "horse minder" [ἱππο- + *κόμος, from κομέω = "tend"] as coming from ἵππος + κόμαι, κομάω, i.e., the one who combs and curries the "long horsehair" of the mane (like Patroclus at *Il*. 23.280–82; see n. 3 above).

8. For the equation of "luxury/effeminacy" and "Asia", see esp. Hall 1989; Stewart 1997; 182–202. But see too Kurke 1992; Miller 1997; Neer 2002, 19–23, for reminders that in certain Greek elite circles, Lydian and Persian opulence and style continued to be admired and emulated. Likewise, the "soft," "effeminate," and "Asian" (Phrygian) aspects of Dionysus are vigorously criticized—yet admired—by individual characters in the tragedies of Aeschylus (*Edonians*), Euripides (*Bacchae*), and Aristophanes (*Frogs*); and in the end, his essentially Greek nature (and original status as a Theban, son of Zeus) is always reasserted, even as his costume and hairstyle remain as luxurious as ever. On the long-haired, dainty-stepping Paris/Alexandros (a Trojan/Phrygian, yet also a heroic warrior), see further below, p. 313.

kinds of work and instead spends her whole time bathing, combing her hair, and (perhaps) even compelling her husband to have sex with her (Sem. frag. 7.57–70 W):[9]

τὴν δ' ἵππος ἁβρὴ χαιτέεσσ' ἐγείνατο,
ἣ δούλι' ἔργα καὶ δύην περιτρέπει,
κοὔτ' ἂν μύλης ψαύσειεν, οὔτε κόσκινον
ἄρειεν, οὔτε κόπρον ἐξ οἴκου βάλοι,
οὔτε πρὸς ἰπνὸν ἀσβόλην ἀλεομένη
ἵζοιτ'. ἀνάγκῃ δ' ἄνδρα ποιεῖται φίλον·
λοῦται δὲ πάσης ἡμέρης ἄπο ῥύπον
δίς, ἄλλοτε τρίς, καὶ μύροις ἀλείφεται,
αἰεὶ δὲ χαίτην ἐκτενισμένην φορεῖ
βαθεῖαν, ἀνθέμοισιν ἐσκιασμένην.
καλὸν μὲν ὦν θέημα τοιαύτη γυνὴ
ἄλλοισι, τῷ δ' ἔχοντι γίνεται κακόν,
ἢν μή τις ἢ τύραννος ἢ σκηπτοῦχος ᾖ
ὅστις τοιούτοις θυμὸν ἀγλαΐζεται.

Another a dainty, long-maned mare engendered.
She pushes servile tasks and trouble onto others
and she wouldn't touch a millstone, lift a sieve,
throw dung out of the house, or sit by the oven since she avoids soot.
And she forces a man to be her lover.
Twice every day, sometimes three times,
she washes the dirt off her and anoints herself with scents,
and she always wears her hair combed out and long, shaded with flowers.
Such a woman is a beautiful sight
to others, but for the man who has her as wife she is a plague,
unless he is some tyrant or scepter bearer
whose heart delights in such things.

(Trans. D. E. Gerber)

Nonetheless, even if by the standards of nonaristocratic critics such as Hesiod or Semonides—or, later, of fifth-century Athenian democrats—such cosmetic luxuriance was deeply suspect, there were few, it seems, who were entirely immune to its allure, and it continued to function as a potent signifier of wealth, power, and sexual desirability throughout antiquity. The gendered and ethnic implications of elaborate cosmetics and coiffure were in any case far from simple or straightforward. Long, beautiful hair was by no means restricted to females; nor could luxuriousness and elegant style in general be unilaterally stigmatized as "foreign." After all, colts no less than fillies were admired for their flowing manes and tails; and some of the most "masculine"

9. Line 62 has been taken in two quite different ways by modern interpreters: (i) "She renders her husband familiar with [φίλον] necessity [= hardship, poverty]," sc. because she wastes all his resources, or (ii) "She makes her husband her own [φίλον] by compulsion," sc. because she is sexually insatiable. Both interpretations can be supported from Hesiod's *Works and Days* ((i) 90–95, 373–75; (ii) 65–66, 582–88) and from many other passages of Greek literature—and both also suit the characterization of this woman as a pampered but sex-mad "mare." For the alleged sexual appetite of mares, see esp. Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.575b21–32, 576b20–577a15 (discussed below).

of the elite warriors in Homeric epic, as well as the notoriously tough—and quintessentially Hellenic—Spartiates, were likewise renowned for their long tresses.[10] For ephebes all over Greece (and even earlier, in Bronze Age Crete and Thera) their hair was a vital component of their preparation for manhood.[11] Braided, perfumed hair flowing down the neck and shoulders[12] and often highlighted by crowns, earrings, or other jewelry, was a mark of super-elite "Anacreontic" Athenians of the late sixth century; fine hair also characterized the finest seventh- and sixth-century marble and bronze statues of *kouroi*, as well as Apollo, Dionysus, and the innumerable pretty boys and leisured adolescent *eromenoi* depicted on vases and celebrated in song all over Greece. Thus, for example, representations of Ganymede as he is pursued by Zeus almost invariably emphasize his luxurious hair;[13] and both boys and men could expect to be especially admired—or rebuked, according to the context and the observer—for their coiffure and hair ornaments, along with additional features of male cosmetics and "grooming," such as shaving, depilation, garlands, and ribbons, all of which were also vital to the stylish turnout of a fine riding horse or team.[14]

10. Thus, e.g., in the *Iliad*, Achilles and Menelaus are both conspicuously ξανθός, Poseidon is formulaically κυανοχαίτης (like the stallion at *Il.* 20.224), and all the Achaeans are "long-haired" (κάρη κομοῶντες Ἀχαιοί). Among the Spartans, Leonidas' three hundred at Thermopylae comb their hair in ritual preparation for death (Hdt. 7.208; cf. 1.82.8); and see, e.g., Dover 1989, 78–79. In light of this aristocratic fascination with human and equine hair/manes, it is curious to note the coincidence of nomenclature (but not of gender) stretching over two hundred years, between the famous racehorse **Pherenicus**, victor in the Olympic *keles* race in 476 (and repeatedly elsewhere), who is described by Bacchylides as "tawny-haired colt, running like the wind" (ξανθότριχα μὲν Φερένικον . . . πῶλον ἀελλοδρόμαν, 5.37–39), and Queen **Berenice** of Ptolemaic Egypt, whose stolen lock of hair (*Coma Berenices*) was so extensively celebrated in poems for centuries to come. In other passages of Bacchylides too, daughters and horses are described in very similar language, as virtual extensions of a male self: 3.1–14, 23–29, 34–35, 58–62, 69, 92–96. On the associations of horses—and also winds—with human desire, sexuality, and even immortality, see, e.g., Nagy 1990, 223–62; and n. 78 below.

11. Ancient (and some modern) etymologists derived the standard word for "young man" (κοῦρος) or "young woman" (κόρη, κούρη) from κείρω = "clip, shear"; Greek adolescent initiation rites normally entailed dedication of locks of hair (e.g., to a river): see further Jeanmaire 1939, 257–90, 307–24; Calame 1997, 106–7, with further references; also Leach 1958. Elaborate hairstyles for both boys and girls (cornrows, mohawks, Horus locks, etc.) were a prominent marker of Bronze Age Minoan age-group distinctions: Koehl 1986; Davis 1986.

12. αὐχήν, δε(ι)ρή are terms used both of humans and of horses; and they often carry strong erotic implications; see Loraux 1987, 50–53.

13. See *LIMC*, s.v. "Ganymedes." See also, e.g., *ARV* 206, 124 (bell-crater by the Berlin Painter = Boardman 1975, fig. 150); *ARV* 553, 39 (amphora by the Pan Painter = Boardman 1975, fig. 339); Boardman 1996, fig. 127 (terracotta group of Zeus carrying Ganymede, from Olympia).

14. For hair curling, shaving, and depilation, see, e.g., Ar. *Thesm.* 1–276 (esp. 191–92, 236–39), 582–89; Dio Chrys. 33.63; Dover 1989, 71, 142–45; Gleason 1995, 62–76; Hubbard 2003, index, s.vv. "depilation," "hair." (Among the Romans, see Sen. *Ep.* 114.14, etc.) For the wearing of garlands and ribbons (esp. in connection with ceremonies and athletics), see, e.g., Gardiner 1978; Miller 2004, index, s.v. "victory tokens," with figs. 208, 211. As the focus in male education shifted increasingly to verbal performance and oratory, much of the language and imagery of cosmetics and ornamentation, including "hair curling," "smoothness/depilation," "beard," etc., came to be transferred to rhetorical and literary style: e.g., Cic. *Orat.* 23, 78; Tac. *Dial.* 26 (*calamistri*); Gleason 1995, passim. The semiotics of "fine" vs. "coarse," "rough" vs. "smooth," "hard" vs. "soft," were always subject to redefinition, both in oratorical style and in personal grooming: one man's "beauty" (then as now) might be another man's "effeminacy" or "decadence." When Pericles proudly asserts (Thuc. 2.40): "we love beauty . . . without being soft" (φιλοκαλοῦμεν . . . ἄνευ μαλακίας), he, as a typical arbiter of taste and political correctness, is staking out for the Athenians a middle ground between boors (e.g., Spartans or Boeotians) and decadents (e.g., Persians or Milesians).

In the *Iliad*, we twice find a simile comparing a warrior to a galloping horse (6.503–14; cf. 15.263–70):

Οὐδὲ Πάρις δήθυνεν ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι δόμοισιν,
ἀλλ' ὅ γ', ἐπεὶ κατέδυ κλυτὰ τεύχεα ποικίλα χαλκῷ,
σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πεποιθώς.
ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο
κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐηφι πεποιθὼς
ῥίμφα ἑ γοῦνα φέρει μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων·
ὣς υἱὸς Πριάμοιο Πάρις κατὰ Περγάμου ἄκρης
τεύχεσι παμφαίνων ὥς τ' ἠλέκτωρ ἐβεβήκει
καγχαλόων, ταχέες δὲ πόδες φέρον·

But Paris in turn did not linger long in his high house,
But when he had put on his glorious armour with bronze elaborate
He ran in the confidence of his quick feet through the city.
As when some stalled horse who has been corn-fed at the manger
Breaking free of his rope gallops over the plain in thunder
To his accustomed bathing place in a sweet-running river
And in the pride of his strength holds high his head, and the mane floats
Over his shoulders; sure of his glorious strength, the quick knees
Carry him to the loved places and the pasture of horses;
So from uttermost Pergamos came Paris, the son of
Priam, shining in all his armour of war as the sun shines,
Laughing aloud, and his quick feet carried him.

(Trans. R. Lattimore)

The first time this simile is used, it applies to Paris, the second time to Hector. It is hard to determine whether the description is meant to be unequivocally positive on both occasions: given Paris' mixed reputation as a warrior/pretty boy in the epic, there may be a hint of excessive sexual energy and luxuriance present, though this would hardly suit Hector in Book 15.[15] But certainly in both cases the sexual potency and attractiveness of the hair are prominent; and in the context of Archaic Greek horse pasturage and breeding practices, it is natural to suppose that the reason that this stallion has been chained-up at the stall (506–7) would be in order to prevent him from mixing with the mares and young colts and fillies that would be roaming free together by the "sweet-running river" (508) and in "the open pastures" (512).[16] Thus in the simile the long-haired, long-striding warrior's lust for battle is implicitly equated with the stallion's desire, not only for the river and open fields, but also for

15. In the famous scene between Hector and his family in Book 6, it is his helmet "with nodding horse-hair plume" (λόφον ἱππιοχαίτην, 6.469) that disturbs his baby son; only when this is removed can Hector resume his natural role as father and husband, rather than warrior.

16. On this customary technique for keeping stallions separate from mares and foals, see Anderson 1961, 42; Richter 1968; cf. Columella *Rust.* 6.27.8–9 (and 6.37 for donkey-jacks to be used for mule breeding). Compare too the language of Creon at Soph. *Ant.* 578–79, for females "roaming at large" (ἀνειμένας).

access to his mares, and Paris' (or even Hector's) exuberance signals a male energy that is both highly attractive and also liable to get easily out of control and generate disaster.[17]

Certainly there is no mistaking Archilochus' disapproval of such tall, horse-like types (frag. 114 W):

> οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλιγμένον
> οὐδὲ βοστρύχοισι γαῦρον οὐδ' ὑπεξυρημένον,
> ἀλλά μοι σμικρός τις εἴη καὶ περὶ κνήμας ἰδεῖν
> ῥοικός, ἀσφαλέως βεβηκὼς ποσσί, καρδίης πλέως.
>
> I have no liking for a general who is tall, walks with a swaggering gait,[18] takes pride in his curls,[19] and is partly shaven. Let mine be one who is short, has a bent look about the shins, stands firmly on his feet and is full of courage. (Trans. D. E. Gerber)

Clearly he prefers someone with coarser, more closely cropped hair, a little stockier, and shorter legged. Are we to think of a different breed of horse? Or does the iambic poet have in mind something more mulish, a companion who is unpretentious and sure footed, perhaps even donkeylike in gait and attitude?[20] The shortness of a donkey's coat, and the futility of attempting to obtain "donkey hair" by clipping, were proverbial (ὄνου πόκους ζητεῖς), since donkeys have little mane and only thin, stringy tails.[21] Such comic-iambic approval of, even identification with, the donkey at the expense of the horse is later found also in the Aesopic tradition (e.g., 357 Perry = 328 Hausrath; Babrius 7 = Aesop 181 Perry), and this appears to be another area in which Archilochus invokes the "lower" aspects of a warrior in the Odyssean mold, in contradistinction to the more flamboyant brilliance of the Iliadic chieftains. (Odysseus is the only major hero in the *Iliad* who is never involved in chariot riding: indeed, his involvement with "horses" in Homer is quite peculiar.)[22]

17. As often with Homeric similes, a curious reversal is also effected, in this case one that complicates the gendered use of social space. Conventionally, in the human sphere of the *oikos*, it was the male who was expected to roam abroad while the female stayed under supervision at home around the hearth; but in the simile (and in the real world of domesticated equids), it is the male who is tethered inside while the females roam free. We should recognize all the more forcibly too the significance of those many wistful references in Greek literature to mother animals and their foals/heifers, enjoying the fleeting freedoms of the wild under the protection of Artemis, virgin huntress and Mistress of Animals, until the moment when the young daughter will be captured, "broken in," and subjected to the marital "yoke." See, e.g., Anac. *PMG* 417, quoted below, and Soph. *Trach*. passim (Deianeira, Iole), with the discussion of Wohl 1998, 46–56.

18. πλίσσομαι is elsewhere used of the graceful movements of Nausicaa's (female) mules (Hom. *Od*. 6.318, quoted in Part One).

19. γαῦρος is a standard term for the "proud, prancing" manner of a young horse or heifer, e.g., Theocr. 11.21; Plut. *Pel*. 22. See too Ael. *NA* 2.10, quoted below.

20. Or perhaps Archilochus has in mind an ox, with its "shambling gait" (Homeric εἰλίπους)?

21. "You're looking for donkey wool!" (Zen. 5.38 in Leutsch and Schneidewin 1839–51 (*CPG*); cf. Diogen. 6.99). The proverb is found as early as Ar. *Ran*. 186 (εἰς ὄνου πόκας). In another version (ὄνον κείρεις ["you are trimming a donkey!"]), the use of κείρω specifically reminds us of the origins of adolescent hairstylings (κοῦρος/κόρη), see n. 11 above. Horsehair, by contrast, was available in large quantities, for fishing lines, wigs, and several other kinds of more or less precious hardware. Horses' manes, like men's and women's hair, were sometimes clipped short as a sign of mourning (Eur. *Alc*. 428–29; Hdt. 9.24; cf. Eur. *El*. 107–10, 184, quoted pp. 316–17 below).

22. "The Homeric poems never describe Odysseus as owning a horse or driving into battle in a chariot," (Haft 1990, 54); in the *Odyssey*, Ithaca is specifically said to be unsuited to horses (4.605–08). Yet in the Doloneia (*Il*. 10), Odysseus actually rides a horse (the only time this occurs in the Homeric epics), and in the

Human hairstyles and horse's manes are brought into especially close combination in the luxurious plumes that nodded as a "crest" (*lophos*) atop the helmets of both cavalry and infantry soldiers and above the nude bodies of numerous heroic male figures represented on relief sculptures and vase-paintings—a prime symbol, along with the circular hoplite shield, of masculine style and military brilliance (see fig. 5). The horsehair plumes of these helmets blend valor with exuberance, horsiness with humanity, while also, it might be said, combining "masculine" assertiveness with tactile "feminine" luxuriance.[23] And whereas the free-flowing mane/hair of a galloping or rearing horse and rider (e.g., fig. 6a) suggests unchecked adolescent vigor and sexual allure, the symmetrically clipped plumes of the helmets, like some of the more meticulously arranged manes favored in this period (figs. 2, 3a, 4), make a cosmetic statement that seems scrupulously disciplined, almost austere.[24]

There is a curious tradition, recorded not only among Greek (pseudo-) scientific writers, but also in the tragedians, concerning the vanity and self-image of mares, especially with regard to their manes.[25] It was widely believed that in order for a mare to condescend to let a donkey-jack mount her and thus procreate a mule, it was necessary for her owner first to hack off her mane and show her (in a mirror, or in water) that her beauty had been ruined; otherwise, she would be too proud (Ael. *NA* 2.10, 11.18):

> Ἔστι μὲν τὴν ἄλλως ὁ ἵππος γαῦρον· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ τάχος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ αὐχένος τὸ ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἡ τῶν σκελῶν ὑγρότης καὶ ἡ τῶν ὁπλῶν κροῦσις ἐς φρύαγμα καὶ τῦφον ἀνάγει· μάλιστα δὲ κομῶσα ἵππος ἁβρότατόν τέ ἐστι καὶ θρυπτικώτατον. ἀτιμάζει γοῦν ἀναβῆναι τοὺς ὄνους αὐτήν, ἵππῳ δὲ γαμουμένη ἥδεται, καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἀξιοῖ τῶν μεγίστων. ὅπερ οὖν συνειδότες οἱ βουλόμενοι ἡμιόνους σφίσι γενέσθαι, ἀποθρίσαντες τῆς ἵππου τὴν χαίτην εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, εἶτα μέντοι τοὺς ὄνους ἐπάγουσιν· ἡ δὲ ὑπομένει τὸν ἄδοξον ἤδη γαμέτην, πρῶτον αἰδουμένη. . . .
>
> . . . θήλειαν δὲ ἵππον ἐς ἀφροδίσια λυττήσασαν πάνυ σφόδρα παῦσαι ῥᾳδίως ἔστιν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει, εἴ τις αὐτῆς ἀποκείρειε τὰς κατὰ τοῦ τένοντος τρίχας· αἰδεῖται γάρ, καὶ οὐκ ἀτακτεῖ, καὶ παύεται τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τοῦ σκιρτήματος τοῦ πολλοῦ, κατηφήσασα ἐπὶ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ. τοῦτό τοι καὶ Σοφοκλῆς αἰνίττεται ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ τῷ δράματι· πεποίηται δέ οἱ αὕτη λέγουσα, καὶ ἃ λέγει ταῦτά ἐστιν

Odyssey, the fame of his role in planning the Wooden Horse has spread far and wide: see further Mitchell-Boyask 2006. The hero of the *Odyssey* also has moments when he behaves in a quite vulgar way with animals: in particular, his ruse of clinging to the underside of a ram in escaping from Polyphemus has been likened to the gross antics of satyrs with donkeys on Attic vase-paintings (Davies 1990). For similarities between the figures of Archilochus and (Homer's) Odysseus in general, see Seidensticker 1977. Even the tradition of Archilochus' own "hybrid" parentage may be relevant here for his rejection of conventionally "thoroughbred" appearance and behavior and his self-representation as violator of Neoboule's "fair-haired" sister (ξανθῆς, frag. 256a.53 W).

23. The technical term for a helmet's "plume base", τρυφάλεια, may or may not truly be connected etymologically with τρυφή = "luxury"; but the association was certainly audible.

24. Again, we may recall the associations between κοῦρος/κόρη and κείρω (above, nn. 11, 21); and see too n. 15 (on Hector and Astyanax). Euphronius' "Death of Sarpedon" (calyx crater in New York, Met. Mus. 1972. 11.10; see e.g. Boardman 1975, frontispiece and fig. 22) is but one of many striking further examples of the combination of luxuriance and discipline in the presentation of a naked man's hair; and here too the smoothly curved horse-hair crests of Sleep and Death are conspicuous, balancing and containing the more flamboyant flow of tresses from the heads of Hermes and the fallen hero.

25. Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.572b7–10; Plut. *Amat.* 9.754a; Ael. *NA* 2.10, 11.18; Poll. 1.217 (1.68.16 Bethe); Soph. *Tyro* frag. 659; Xen. *Eq.* 5.8; etc.

"κόμης δὲ πένθος λαγχάνω πώλου δίκην,
ἥτις συναρπασθεῖσα βουκόλων ὕπο
μάνδραις ἐν ἱππείαισιν ἀγρίᾳ χερὶ
θέρος θερισθῇ ξανθὸν αὐχένων ἄπο,
σπασθεῖσα δ' ἐν λειμῶνι ποταμίων ποτῶν
ἴδῃ σκιᾶς εἴδωλον ἀνταυγὲς τύπῳ
κουραῖς ἀτίμως διατετιλμένης φόβην.
φεῦ, κἂν ἀνοικτίρμων τις οἰκτείρειέ νιν
πτήσσουσαν αἰσχύνῃσιν, οἷα μαίνεται
πενθοῦσα καὶ κλαίουσα τὴν πάρος φόβην."

The Horse is generally speaking a proud creature, the reason being that his size, his speed, his tall neck, the suppleness of his limbs, and the clang of his hooves make him insolent and vain. But it is chiefly a Mare with a long mane that is so full of airs and graces. For instance, she scorns to be covered by an ass, but is glad to mate with a horse, regarding herself as only fit for the greatest [of her kind]. Accordingly those who wish to have mules born, knowing this characteristic, clip the Mare's mane in a haphazard fashion anyhow, and then put asses to her. Though ashamed at first, she admits her present ignoble mate. . . .
. . . And when a mare shows an altogether frenzied desire to go ahorsing it is easy to arrest her, according to Aristotle [*Hist. an.* 572b7], if one clips the mane on her neck. For she feels shame and is no longer skittish and drops her wantonness and her constant frisking and is downcast at her disgrace. And Sophocles, you remember, in his drama of *Tyro* hints at this. Tyro is represented as speaking, and this is what she says [Soph. frag. 659]:
"But it is my lot to grieve for my hair, even as a filly which seized by neatherds in the stables has had the yellow harvest reaped from her neck with ruthless hand; and haled to the meadow to drink of the stream, beholds the mirrored image of her reflexion with the hair cropped beneath the shears to her dishonor. Alas! even a pitiless heart would pity her, cowering in her shame, to see how wild are her grief and her tears for her lost hair."[26]
(Trans. A. F. Scholfield)

Such harping on the mare's pride in her delicate and luxurious beauty, and on the disgrace of admitting a lower-class mate to mount and impregnate her, clearly reflects a deeply felt social anxiety about the despoliation or defloration of aristocratic elegance and the radical awkwardness and shame of mixing classes or breeds.[27] And the most conspicuous symbol of this pride—and disgrace—is hair. We find the same combination of symbols and circumstances again in Euripides' *Electra*, where the princess has been married off by Aegisthus to a low-class laborer (ἐργάτης, αὐτουργός), in

26. Aristotle states (*Hist. an.* 6.572b8–9): αἱ μὲν οὖν ἵπποι ὅταν ἀποκείρωνται, ἀποπαύονται τῆς ὁρμῆς μᾶλλον καὶ γίγνονται κατηφέστεραι. ("When mares have their manes shorn, their eagerness tends to slacken off and they take on a somewhat hangdog appearance" [trans. A. L. Peck].) Interestingly, several ancient and modern mule manuals describe the opposite anxiety, i.e., the need to render the mare similar in appearance to a donkey so that the jack won't feel alienated from her and unable or unwilling to perform his procreative duty (see n. 91 below; and Chandezon 2005, 207–8).

27. We may recall too the mismatched parents of Pheidippides in Ar. *Nub.* 39–125, 795–800 (esp. 800 ἐξ εὐπτέρων), as well as several passages about mules in Herodotus to which we shall return below. Another dimension of this anxiety about mares being made available to jacks instead of stallions is revealed by Aristotle's (quite inaccurate) assertion that donkey sperm will "overpower" horse sperm (*Hist. an.* 6.577a14–15), discussed below.

order to prevent her bearing royal children; so when we (along with Orestes) first see her, short-haired and dirty (108 ἐν κεκαρμένῳ κάρᾳ, 184 πιναρὰν κόμαν), she is carrying water from the well, a menial, donkeylike, task that leads Orestes to assume that she is indeed a "slave" (107 πρόσπολόν τινα, 110 δούλης γυναικός).

Not only hairstyles, but almost every detail of the appearance and deportment of a man's mount or team of horses, like the κόσμος and εὐεξία of his wife, son, or daughter,[28] was carefully shaped and evaluated, since these were all perceived as public expressions of his own worth, taste, and style, and of his whole family's too. Similar vocabulary (and mythology) is applied to the schooling of horses as to that of the "herds" of elite children and adolescents that were trained in gymnastic exercises, dance, athletic/military manoeuvers, and races.[29] Diet, coordination of team formation, and, especially, musical responsiveness and elegance received close attention. For horses too, like these youthful humans, were thought to be distinctively "musical" in ways that donkeys and mules were not. Not only the war trumpet, but also more hedonistic instruments such as the syrinx and auloi were said to have a strong and beneficial effect on horses and to play a role in their training and deportment (Plut. *On the Cleverness of Animals* 961d–e):

> Ἡδονῆς δὲ τῇ μὲν δι' ὤτων ὄνομα κήλησίς ἐστι τῇ δὲ δι' ὀμμάτων γοητεία· χρῶνται δ' ἑκατέραις ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία. κηλοῦνται μὲν γὰρ ἔλαφοι καὶ ἵπποι σύριγξι καὶ αὐλοῖς. . . .
>
> Now pleasure that is received through the ears is a means of enchantment, while that which comes through the eyes is a kind of magic: they use both kinds against animals. For deer and horses are bewitched by pipes and flutes. . . . (Trans. B. Perrin)

(Plut. *Whether Animals Have Reason* 992a–b):

> ἐῶ γὰρ ἰχνεύειν σκύλακας καὶ βαδίζειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ πώλους μελετῶντας καὶ κόρακας διαλέγεσθαι καὶ κύνας ἅλλεσθαι διὰ τροχῶν περιφερομένων. ἵπποι δὲ καὶ βόες ἐν θεάτροις κατακλίσεις καὶ χορείας καὶ στάσεις παραβόλους καὶ κινήσεις οὐδ' ἀνθρώποις πάνυ ῥᾳδίας ἀκριβοῦσιν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι.
>
> I say nothing of puppies that are trained as hunters, or colts schooled to keep time in their gait, or crows that are taught to talk, or dogs, to jump through revolving hoops. In the theatres, horses and steers go through an exact routine in which they lie down or dance or hold a precarious pose or perform movements not at all easy even for men. (Trans. W. C. Helmbold)

If horses (and deer!) are "enchanted" (κηλοῦνται) by the same musical instruments as most affect human audiences (see too fig. 4), they must indeed

28. Or of the chorus group or ephebic "herd" under his supervision, if he was a χορηγός, χοροδιδάσκαλος, or κοσμητής: see Calame 1997, 43–73, 208–44; Marrou 1956, 19–23, 102–11; Wilson 2001.

29. Calame 1997, 187–202; cf. Stehle 1997, 22–25, 71–79, 85–88, 262–88; Kennell 1995. For the adolescent "herds" (ἀγέλαι) and their "leaders" (χορηγοί, βοαγοί, κτλ), see n. 2 above and n. 78 below. Notable too is the language used of the "frolicking, swaggering, prancing, sauntering, frisking" movements and postures characteristic both of young horses and of upper-class adolescents, which were regarded as being especially evocative of sexuality and exuberant energy (see LSJ, s.vv. γαῦρος, σαῦλος, ἁβρός, σκαίρω, σκιρτάω, χλιδή, τρυφή, and their derivatives). Several of these terms are also frequently applied to Athenian satyr choruses (played by young citizen men); see Griffith 2002, 223–24.

have souls whose harmonious disposition resembles ours especially closely.[30] And if colts can be taught to "step in rhythm" (βαδίζειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ), then their affinity to the soldiers and choreut-athletes who ride them is thereby confirmed.[31] Indeed, this imagined musical proficiency of horses gives added resonance to the notion of the "chariot" of the Muses, along with the associations between *harma* ("chariot") and *harmonia* ("harmony") and the "roads of song" that are mentioned so frequently in Greek accounts of poetic inspiration.[32] As I noted earlier, the sounds of a horse neighing and snorting (φρυάσσω, φρύαγμα, κτλ.) were also regarded as attractive, even exciting; and the combination of these sounds with the jingle of harness and bells might be vividly described in contexts of battle and adventure.[33] By contrast, the donkey was proverbial for its unmusicality: "A donkey [is at a loss when it hears/sees] a lyre" (ὄνος λύραν).[34] Or, as another Aesopic Fable narrates, a donkey once wanted to sing like a cicada, and accordingly adopted the cicada's diet—nothing but pure dewdrops—with the result that he wasted away and died.[35] Through such proverbial and fabular reinforcement, the central "truth"

30. See too Vigneron 1968, 210–16 (including Roman burlesques with performing donkeys—not a Greek phenomenon: Apul. *Met*. 10.17, 11.8). The well-known sixth-century black-figure scene of a comic chorus of "knights" (*ABV* 297, 17 = Boardman 1974, fig. 137) includes an aulete, so presumably the horse-choreuts would dance in concert with their "riders." Satyrs and silens too are extremely musical. Pliny repeats the claim that horses are especially close to humans in their intellectual and musical abilities: *docilitas tanta est ut universus Sybaritani exercitus equitatus ad symphoniae cantum saltatione quadam moveri solitus inveniatur* ("Their docility/receptivity is so great that we learn that the entire cavalry of the army of Sybaris was accustomed to perform a kind of ballet to the music of a band," *HN* 8.65.157). See further Part One, n. 134.

31. Some modern equestrians continue to insist that horses do indeed respond positively to rhythm and music, and that circus ponies are not merely trained to watch for visual signals but actually follow the music and appreciate it; similar hoopla surrounds horse shows such as *Cavalia* (see Part One, n. 143). On the other side, French donkey owners and breeders insist, in contrast to the ancient Greeks, that their animals too have a musical ear; for they sing them special aphrodisiac songs (*le lalandage*) to get them into the mood for generating mules (according to A. L. Hagedoorn's *Animal Breeding* [1939, cited by Dent 1972, 83–84]). In a recent experiment (in preparation for delivering a paper on Ancient Greek donkeys at a conference in Hydra, October 2005 [See Gregory forthcoming]), Professor Justina Gregory played selections of Mozart and the Beatles to a cluster of horses and a cluster of donkeys on a farm in Vermont. The horses remained completely unaffected by any of the music; the donkeys were unimpressed by the Beatles, but showed signs of enjoying Mozart. I am grateful to Professor Gregory for this report.

32. Several of these equine images are shared with Indic and other Indo-European cultures; see Bowra 1952, 157–70; Nagy 1990, 238–50, 256–58; Janko 1992; Edwards 1991 (on Hom. *Il*. 17.426–58, 19.397–423, etc.), with further references. One particularly striking passage in Greek tradition is the description by Parmenides (B 1 DK) of the initiatory journey of a *kouros* in a chariot drawn by mares and escorted by the daughters of Helios, as "the axle emits the sound of a syrinx" (ἄξων . . . ἴει σύριγγος ἀυτήν . . . , B 1.6); cf. Mourelatos 1970; Jezik 1992; Kingsley 1999, 49–54, 71–76, 116–29, 246.

33. E.g. Aesch. *Sept*. 122–23, 151–55, 203–7, 245, 475–76; Soph. *El*. 713–19. For φρύαγμα and the voices of horses, donkeys, and mules, see Part One, and n. 104 below; see also Chandezon 2005, n. 4, on βρώμησις.

34. See Adolf 1950; Vogel 1973. The story is most completely narrated in a Latin version (Aesop 542 Perry = Perrotti's Appendix 14): *ASINUS AD LYRAM* (*Quomodo ingenia saepe calamitate intercidant*): *Asinus iacentem vidit in prato lyram; / accessit et temptavit chordas ungula. / sonuere tactae. "Bella res mehercules / male cessit" inquit "artis quia sum nescius. / si reperisset aliquis hanc prudentior, / divinis aures oblectasset cantibus." / Sic saepe ingenia calamitate intercidunt.* ("THE ASS AND THE LYRE [How genius is often lost through the accidents of fortune]: An ass saw a lyre lying in the meadow. He went up to it and tried the strings with his hoof; they sounded at his touch. 'A pretty thing, on my faith,' said he, 'but it has ended in failure, because I am ignorant of the art. If only someone of greater skill had found this, he might have charmed all ears with notes divine.' Thus men of genius are often lost to fame through the accidents of fortune" [trans. B. E. Perry].)

35. Aesop 184 Perry = 195 Hausrath, a Fable adapted in due course, it seems, by Callimachus in the Prologue to his *Aetia* (frag. 1.29–35 Pf.)—immediately after Apollo instructs the poet to "drive [his] chariot (27 ἐλᾶν δίφρον) along a new course," rather than follow the "broad highway" along which the (presumably mule-drawn) "wagons trundle" (25 ἅμαξαι πατέουσιν).

of elite aesthetics was maintained, that "donkeys" (i.e., the lower classes) are by nature completely *amousoi*, unable to dance or sing, uneducable, and therefore fit only to work and serve their betters.[36]

The sexual and gender implications of all these cosmetic and pedagogical homologies between humans and equids are pervasive, clearly, but far from straightforward to decipher or to map onto any simple binary grid of human masculinity and femininity. Insofar as a handsome young man and a beautiful young woman can each (as we have seen) be thought to resemble a sleek, well-groomed colt or filly—and in most respects colts and fillies are hard to distinguish, apart from their sexual organs—then they cannot be as sharply differentiated from one another as the familiar cultural binaries might assert.[37] Certainly both boys and girls seem to have appeared equally desirable for pursuit, capture, "taming," and teaching/training by a potential "partner" or "rider," for elite Greek males of this period seem normally to have been attracted to teenagers of either sex.[38]

In the visual arts, men and women were conventionally represented in quite different styles during the Archaic and Classical periods. Sometimes male flesh was shown as darker (light brown, versus the females' white), and in general, Greek artists liked to show young male human bodies displaying as much smooth, hairless, lightly muscled flesh as possible (often enhanced, as we have noted, with locks of hair, ribbons, armor, or various other accoutrements); female bodies, if of elite or divine status, were normally represented fully dressed, often with elaborate folds, pleats, and veils.[39] Horses' bodies are generally represented in painting or sculpture as having surfaces that are flat and sleek, that is, "nude" like the heroic human flesh of the vase-painters, not furry or fuzzy—in contrast, for example, to goats or sheep[40]—though the

36. In Plato's *Laws* (Book 7), it is claimed that those who cannot sing and dance (ἀχόρευτοι) are "uneducated" (ἀπαίδευτοι); cf. Lonsdale 1993, esp. 21–43; Stehle 1997, 26–29; Naerebout 1997. If space permitted, there might be more to say here about Midas (of the ass's ears), about Silenus (the horse-tailed associate of Dionysus and occasional sage), and about poor Marsyas, along with other equine or semi-equine types whose long furry ears and animalistic tastes eventually betray their lack of Apollinian/chivalrous musicality. In each case there is a strand of musical-intellectual rivalry, mixed with class antagonism, that threatens to become seriously disruptive. As Persius complains, *Auriculas asini quis non habet?* (*Sat.* 1.121; contrast Persius *Prologue* 1–3 *fonte . . . caballino*, etc.). See too Adolf 1950; Deonna 1956, for the religious and magical associations of asses' ears.

37. We may note too that the same word—πῶλος—is used in Greek both of a "colt" and of a "filly," just as the same word—παῖς—is used of "boy" and "girl" (though παιδικά is reserved for boys): see n. 38 in Part One.

38. Girls seem normally to have been courted (or seduced, or raped) and married off between the ages of 13 and 17 (see, e.g., Xen. *Oec*. 7–10, with Pomeroy's commentary [1995]; Cantarella 2002, 40–41; also Calame 1997). On the customary age(s) for male homoerotic relationships (likewise, it seems, roughly twelve to sixteen or seventeen for the "junior" partner), see Plut. *Lyc*. 17; Xen. *Lac.* 2; Pl. *Symp*.; see also, e.g., Dover 1989; Griffith 2001, 61–66; Cantarella 2002, 36–48. (The usual ages for female homoerotic relationships are impossible to determine from the available evidence.) On Greek "bisexuality" in general, see Cantarella 2002, passim.

39. Only in the case of low-class women, or those working in the sex industry (or occasionally, those engaged in special rituals, such as the girls' races at Brauron, Sparta, or the Olympic Heraia), would the female body normally be depicted naked before the fourth century B.C.E.: see, e.g., Stewart 1997, 24–42, 97–129. The phenomenon of male nudity in Greek art, even in contexts in which (in "real life") armor or other clothing must certainly have been worn, has been usefully analyzed by Bonfante (1989: "nudity as costume").

40. The same is sometimes, but not always, true of donkeys and of silens in vase-paintings; see Hedreen 1992. For an admiring description of a horse's body, including "the beautiful smoothness of his skin," see

artists, as we have seen, would also often include ornate manes, tails, and decorations, comparable to the hair and ornaments of a Ganymede, athletic victor, or *kouros*/Apollo.

Idealized "heroic" horsemen in art are often represented nude, or almost so, even though in "real life" they would normally have been more completely clothed. This nudity exaggerates the aura of aristocratic style, and often of sexual desirability as well, that is already associated with hippic display. So what happens when such heroic and lordly images are employed under the Athenian democracy, in a city where elite equestrianism is no longer so unequivocally admired and coveted as it still was in, for example, Sparta, Thessaly, or Sicily, to say nothing of Macedonia, Scythia, Thrace, or Persia? Of course, many Athenian elites possessed large estates in Thrace and elsewhere, in which they could continue to behave—and ride—as virtual kings; in some cases they continued proudly to assert their identity as *hippeis* even within Attica (as, e.g., Xenophon was still cheerfully doing in the fourth century). But they then ran the risk of being perceived, rightly or wrongly, as "Laconizers" or "Medizers" or worse.

The Parthenon Frieze is perhaps the most celebrated of all sculptural monuments to have survived from Classical Athens. Designed and executed during the heyday of the democracy (c. 445–430 B.C.E.) by Pheidias and his colleagues, it depicts a procession of Athens' finest, 165 young horsemen with their horses and chariots, arrayed in a glorious profusion of poses and costumes.[41] Many are nude or nearly nude, most are beardless, and none are old or ugly (see fig. 6a). It is striking indeed that, even at a period when hoplites and rowers were recognized (e.g., by Aeschylus in *The Persians*, or by Herodotus and Thucydides in their *Histories*) as providing the backbone of the city's military might, and "the masses" (*demos, plethos, polloi*) were properly regarded as the dominant and sovereign political body, horses and horsemen continued to play such a central role in the city's self-image. It is no less striking that these horsemen were so consistently imagined as being adolescents. Thus the democracy, through its official art program, fantasized and "aristocratized" itself in the image of sexy adolescent elites—and of horses too.[42] Highly eroticized, yet entirely chaste, this frieze celebrates a

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Bewick 1824, 3 (quoted further in Part One, n. 23). Human beings who are represented with hairy bodies in Greek art are almost invariably foreigners or ogres; Dover (1989, 73–81) discusses the Greek preference for smooth adolescent bodies. The ugliest satyrs/silens in Athenian art are also usually the hairiest.

41. On the Parthenon Frieze, see esp. Boardman 1996, 143–50; Cook 1997; Neils 2001; Stevenson 2003 (all with excellent illustrations). See also Stewart 1997, 75–85, 245, with further references.

42. Just as Alcman's Spartan maidens are fantasized as being (like) horses too (*PMG* 1; pp. 309–10 above). For the "aristocratizing" tendencies of the fifth-century Athenians' self-image, see Loraux 1986; Stevenson 2003. On the composition (numbers, age) of Athenian *hippeis* in the fifth century, see Davies 1984; Spence 1993: by the mid-fifth century, the membership of the cavalry class probably averaged no more than 1,000 to 2,000, out of a citizen population of some 100,000 (i.e., 1 to 2 percent, or perhaps 3 to 4 percent of able-bodied citizen males). Spence argues that in fact the numbers of active cavalry members (as distinct from those economically eligible) were disproportionately dominated by adolescents and men under thirty-five, who would be readier for the rigors of cavalry training and horse upkeep than older men, in which case the Parthenon Frieze may not be so "fantastical." Most other scholars believe, however, that the ages were more evenly spread out. On any reckoning, the 1,000 to 2,000 must have included a high proportion of mature bearded men (i.e., older than seventeen).

combination of youthful human and equine energy that is intensely male, half-wild, half-trained, the epitome of "freedom" and heroic-erotic decorum.

What are the gender dynamics of this array of gorgeous adolescent horsemen, hair flowing in the wind, bodies twisting and turning to display themselves and their horses at all angles to the gaze of passersby?[43] Their "heroic nudity" might be said to confirm the proud and assertive masculinity of the riders. But at the same time, these handsome young (beardless) men are also presented as objects to be admired by spectators at large, and thus implicitly as objects of male desire.[44] What about their horses? These too strike the viewer as being proudly male, not only because most of them are shown with visible genitalia, but also because their mirroring of their riders' movements and appearance implicitly assimilates them to the same gender. Yet they are also "feminized" somewhat by their resplendent manes and tails, their delicate legs, and of course their position of subjection to their riders (a point to which we will return shortly).

At the other end of the cosmetic spectrum, an equally distinctive image of Athenian elite equestrianism presents a handsome young man (fig. 6b) riding in a resplendent "Thracian" cloak (*chlamys*) and traveling hat (*petasos*) on a finely turned-out horse. (Such figures are usually represented without beards, though occasionally the rider is bearded.) Given that gaudily dressed equestrians were strongly associated (at least in Athens, after 490 B.C.E.) with Persians (and also Amazons), and that the ideal of male Athenian identity was normally constituted in visual art either by youthful nudity or by various exemplars of hoplite/heroic/athletic/musical vigor (or often by some combination of both), we may ask what kind of gendered or ethnic identity is projected by these Attic paintings. The outfit of cloak and traveling hat was apparently standard for Athenian ephebes; yet the dress code for Athenian citizens at this period was generally very sober and egalitarian.[45] How manly, masterful, and Greek—or how effeminate, soft, and Asian—was such an image in the eyes of contemporary Athenians? (And which Athenians were looking? Were these purely for private, elite viewing, within the context of the symposium? Or were such images designed also to make an impression on a broader viewing public?) Where does class difference, or inter-Greek-polis rivalry, fit in the semiotics of such scenes? For, as we noted earlier, even as *hippotrophia* provided in many respects a passport to aesthetic and social acceptability among the elite, an international ticket to ride, it also tended to be an incentive, especially in democratic Athens, to lower-class resentment or even ridicule for its extravagance, ostentation, and frivolity—and perhaps its foreignness too.[46] That these young men, and their horses

43. In its original location, the frieze was not in fact very easily visible: Neils 2001; Stevenson 2003, 233–38. But its general character, and the presence of the numerous horses and horsemen, must have been well known to all Athenians.

44. See Stevenson 2003, 242–53.

45. Miller 2004, p. 138 with fig. 222; Geddes 1987.

46. See Neer 2002, 146–49, for the class dynamics of the Dokimasia Painter's representation of cavalry registration in Athens; also Lissarrague 1990a, 224–29. On the elaborate costumes (trousers, or multi-colored cloaks; special cap or hood) and emphasis on horses (and bow and arrow) of the Persian/Thracian/Scythian,

also, are presented as idealized supermodels of elite beauty, achievement, and desirability, seems beyond question; but it is less easy to determine what effect the elements of luxury and foreignness, even of decadence, in their depiction have on the observer. Do these very elements perhaps even add to the appeal of the image?[47]

In both of these cases (Parthenon frieze and "Thracian" rider), these ideologically and erotically charged images of horses not only add stature (literal and figurative) to the human figures, but also inject an interesting dynamic of horse-human domination and submission that contains a peculiarly mixed message. It is to this relationship, and its gendered and sexual dynamics, that I turn next.

2. HARNESSES AND BITS, YOKES AND PAIRS, LOVE AND MARRIAGE

Like their neighbors and rivals (Thracians, Scythians, Persians, and others), the Greeks had no stirrups and did not normally use saddles for riding.[48] So a Greek rider sat directly on his horse's back,[49] either bareback or on a thin cloth, gripping its body with his thighs, knees, and heels (see figs. 4, 6a, and 6b)—a very intimate and direct kind of contact. Greek harnesses, bridles, and bits, however, were not so radically different from ours.[50] The basic principle, that the animal's tender nose should be pressured by the leather straps of a bridle, and/or that its soft gums and tongue should be

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even Amazonian, "Other" in Athenian art, often contrasted with a more properly "Greek" preference for hoplite armor (shield, helmet, and spear), and/or "heroic" male nudity, see, e.g., Hall 1989; Lissarrague 1990a; Stewart 1997. One of the surviving "Thracian horseman" vases (*ARV* 163, 8, illustrated, e.g., in Murray 1995, fig. 6[b]) carries the subscription ΜΙΛΤΙΑΔΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, and this family (the Philaedae, which included the fifth-century general and three-time Olympic chariot victor Cimon) was famous for its Thracian estates and "international" connections.

47. See Kurke 1992; Miller 1997; Stewart 1997, 75–85; Griffith 1998, 36–39, 44–52. As Andrew Stewart remarks: "The frieze artfully presents the Athenian demos as a brilliant yet wholly democratic elite that, having reached the absolute summit of human potential, collectively embodies human subjectivity at its fullest and most resonant. . . . 'Youthening' [J. D. Beazley's term] had a long history in Athenian art. . . . It goes back to the sixth-century kouroi . . . but is by no means restricted to them. . . . The key to understanding this phenomenon is the fact that for the 'ideal' Athenian spectator—the mature citizen male—any image of a beardless youth would not only evoke all the hope and energy of 'life's jewelled springtime' [Pericles' phrase] but potentially awaken his homoerotic desire as well. . . . This incipient homoerotic relationship between spectator and youthened demos is intensified by the frieze's remarkable imbalance between naked youths and clothed ones, and by the figures' smooth, rippling flesh, softly undulating drapery, and supple, rhythmical movement. . . ." (Stewart 1997, 79–82). I think we should add to this the additional ingredient of the horses' bodies combining with those of (often nude) adolescent youths, which significantly increases the spectators' erotic excitement.

48. As noted in Part One, the only saddles they knew were either for resting packs on, like a roof rack or pillion, or for riding sidesaddle (usually on a mule or donkey), a configuration that was chiefly designed for women (see e.g. *LIMC*, s.vv. "Nereid," "Thetis," often on sea horses, sea monsters, or hippocamps; also "Europa" on a bull), or for laborers (e.g., the Scythian ax carrier of fig. 9), or for old and disabled men (e.g., Hephaestus, or the drunken Dionysus, passim).

49. As noted previously, unlike Early Modern Europe, or the American West, ancient Greece regarded horseback riding as exclusively a male activity, the sinister exception that proves this rule being the Amazons (and neighboring Scythians); cf. Part One, n. 78. Owning teams of horses was a different matter: so, e.g., Cynisca of Sparta, sister of Agesilaus, twice won Olympic four–horse chariot victories, in 396 and 392 B.C.E. (Paus. 3.8.1; cf. Golden 1998, 133–34); and goddesses at least could be imagined as driving a chariot team, in Homer and on Archaic vases.

50. See Anderson 1961, pp. 40–88, with pls. 32–39; Vigneron 1968, pp. 51–79 with plates. Bits for horses seem to have first been introduced as early as 4000 B.C.E.: see Anthony 1991, 265–67; Drews 2004, with further references.

afflicted by the insertion of a metal bit into the mouth, is still employed by most equestrians today. To nonequestrians, this sounds cruel—worse than human corsets and starched collars, almost like bound feet—and of course, the use of whip, and even spurs, adds still further to the intrinsic connotations of torment, slavery, and punishment. But the degree of cruelty can vary greatly, depending on the type of bit and harness, and on the style of training and disciplining that is used. Equestrians—and most nonequestrians—apparently regard the "breaking in" and disciplining of a horse (like that of youths in an old-style prep school or Marine boot camp) as an extended process that is of mutual benefit, leading in the end to the greater happiness, as well as efficiency, of both rider and mount.[51]

Greek bits were often extremely harsh. They may well have caused much of the foam and blood that are often described in literary texts as coming from a high-spirited horse's mouth; and such bits surely facilitated the widespread fashion of making horses hold their heads higher than was either comfortable or efficient (see e.g. figs. 4 and 6b).[52] Here again, as with human chorus members, shield dancers, or brides, appearance ("bearing"—ἕξις, τάξις, εὐεξία, εὐκοσμία, εὐανδρία) was often valued more highly than comfort or practicality.[53] Indeed, the amount of energy and concern devoted by Xenophon (normally a humane and moderate enough man, it seems, and a considerate rider) to encouraging and enforcing such a carriage of the horse's head, along with "high-schooling" (getting the horse to rear up on its hind legs in a controlled way, for impressive, though useless, effect, as in figs. 4 and 6a), is quite remarkable.[54] As with human pupils, the challenge of developing a "brilliant horse" (λαμπρὸς ἵππος), he says, requires a combination of natural talent and beauty, expert instruction, and much hard work and practice (Xen. *Eq*. 11.1, 3, 8–9):

> ἢν δέ τις ἄρα βουληθῇ καὶ πομπικῷ καὶ μετεώρῳ καὶ λαμπρῷ ἵππῳ χρήσασθαι, οὐ μάλα μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκ παντὸς ἵππου γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μεγαλόφρονα καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὔρωστον. . . . ἢν οὖν τις ὑποτιθέντος αὐτοῦ ἀνακρούῃ τῷ χαλινῷ, ὀκλάζει μὲν τὰ ὀπίσθια ἐν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις, αἴρει δὲ τὸ πρόσθεν σῶμα, ὥστε τοῖς ἐξ ἐναντίας φαίνεσθαι τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅταν ταῦτα ποιῇ διδόναι αὐτῷ τὸν χαλινόν,

51. The techniques of breaking and schooling horses (and donkeys and mules) appear to have changed relatively little over the centuries (apart from the introduction of saddle and stirrups). Cf., e.g., Xen. *Eq*. passim, and Anderson 1961, 98–127, 159–60; Hyland 1990, 45–48. Cf. also Herbert [1859] 2000; Riley 1867; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999; Romer 2000, 72–76. One of Anna Sewell's purposes in writing *Black Beauty* was to expose and criticize the harsh techniques employed in nineteenth-century England (esp. the use of a "leading rein"); see Sewell 1877, quoted in Part One.

52. On ancient bits (including Persian, Scythian, and Celtic, as well as Classical Greek), see Anderson 1961, pp. 44–63, with pls. 18b, 19–22, 27–28, 32–39. For representations of horses' heads held abnormally and uncomfortably high, see, e.g., Anderson 1961, pls. 18b, 21a; Boardman 1974, figs 91, 145.2.

53. On the musical, choreographical, and stylish aspects of hoplite and athletic training, geared to produce good looks as well as strength, speed, and military efficiency, see, e.g., Golden 1998, 23–28 (including discussion of the πυρρίχη and group competitions in εὐανδρία); Griffith 2001; Miller 2004; also Winkler 1990; Ceccarelli 1998; and Griffith 2002 on satyr choruses, where Athenian citizens dressed up as half-horses performed especially vigorous dances. For girls' choruses and their resemblance to racehorses, see esp. Alcman's *Partheneion* (discussed above).

54. In general, Xenophon (*Eq*. 10–11) recommends a combination of pain (the use of an especially sharp bit in the early stages of training) and rewards (encouraging a male horse to behave "naturally," i.e., to move the way it does when displaying its charms in front of other horses and mares; and refraining from the use of spur, whip, or excessive pulling on the reins); see Anderson 1961, 122–27, 174–76; also Hyland 1990, 45–48.

ὅπως τὰ κάλλιστα ἵππου ἑκόντα ποιῆσαι δοκῇ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν. . . . ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων δὴ ἱππαζόμενοι ἵππων καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες γράφονται, καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ καλῶς χρώμενοι αὐτοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς φαίνονται. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μετεωρίζων ἑαυτὸν ἵππος σφόδρα ἀγαστόν, ὡς πάντων τῶν ὁρώντων καὶ νέων καὶ γεραιτέρων τὰ ὄμματα κατέχειν. οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὔτε ἀπολείπει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀπαγορεύει θεώμενος, ἔστ᾽ ἄν περ ἐπιδεικνύηται τὴν λαμπρότητα.

If you want to train a horse for parade, for "high-school" work and for brilliancy, it is certainly not every horse that can develop the necessary qualities. You must have one naturally endowed with great-heartedness of spirit and strength of body. . . . When he brings [his hind legs] under him, pull him up with the bit. He will then bend his hind legs on his hocks and lift his fore-hand, so that those straight in front of him can see his belly and sexual parts. And when he does this you must give him rein, so that to the beholders he may appear to be doing of his own free will the finest actions proper to a horse. . . . Such are the horses upon which gods and heroes are depicted riding, and men who manage them well will present a magnificent appearance. And indeed a horse raising itself into the air is a thing so admirable that it captures the eyes of all beholders, both young and old. At least nobody stops watching or grows tired of the spectacle, as long as he continues to show off his brilliance. (Trans. J. K. Anderson, slightly adapted)[55]

A rider and his horse were partners in a peculiarly close relationship. With his legs wrapped around the animal's body, his hands touching its neck and sometimes holding on to its hair (mane), while also tugging intermittently on a hard bar inserted into its mouth, the rider was performing an activity that in some respects resembled driving a car or motorcycle, but in others was more like sexual intercourse. Like a car or motorcycle, a horse or team of horses is far stronger and faster than the human rider or driver, and if properly directed—with just a quick dab on the gas pedal or brakes, or a deft flick of the steering wheel—can provide an exhilarating, superhuman surge of power as a virtual extension of the rider/driver's own potency and will. But, unlike a motorcycle or car, and more like a sexual partner, the horse has feelings and a mind of its own, and responds not just mechanically to the promptings and programmed directions of the rider (reins, voice, hands, knees, heels, goad, whip, etc.) but also out of its own experience, anticipation, desires, and (often most importantly) its previously learned sense of trust in its rider. Indeed, the mutual affection and loyalty of horse and rider/driver are fabled, in antiquity as in the present—for example, Achilles and his team (especially Xanthus . . .), Hippolytus and his team, Alexander and Bucephalas, Mezentius and Rhaebus—to a degree only metaphorically imputed to any actual automobile.

Many of the same expressions used in Greek of taming, harnessing, and yoking a young animal were also applied to the sexual "subjugation" of a young girl (παρθένος) to make her into a "woman" and/or "wife" (γυνή).[56]

55. A little later (*Eq.* 11.12), Xenophon also mentions the "orderly and disciplined" appearance of parading horses (εὐσχημονέστατοι), and their "intense snorting" (ἀθρόον φρύαγμα), further assimilating their training to that of a well-choreographed and rehearsed chorus.

56. The standard term in poetry for a "wife" is δάμαρ (lit. "tamed one," from δαμάζω); conversely ἀδμής, ἄδμητος = "untamed/unmarried". The notion of the "conjugal yoke" is pervasive in Greek as in Latin (ζυγός*/iugum* > *coniunx* etc.): thus a wife is σύζυγος, a bride νεόζυγος, a virgin (male or female) is ἄζυξ. See esp. Calame 1997, 238–43, with further references (including a nice discussion of *Hippo-lytos* and *Hippo-lyte*). For the erotic associations of πῶλος (masc. and fem.), cognate with Latin *pullus* ("chick"), see Part One, p. 195.

Indeed, such terminology seems scarcely to have been felt to be figurative, whether used to describe the initial "breaking in" of an inexperienced (virgin) bride, or an expert lover's masterful control in conducting his/her eager or reluctant partner around the "course" (or "battlefield") of an exciting love affair.[57] The notion of applying, for example, bit and bridle (χαλινός, στόμιον), reins (ἡνίαι), or yoke (ζυγόν, ζεῦγος), and thus "riding" or "driving" a sexual partner by means of a combination of physical and psychological domination, was utterly familiar as a metaphor for the respective roles of man and wife (or concubine, or homoerotic partner). Such imagery could even be extended to include such terms as θρῴσκω ("mounting"), ἐπεμβαίνω ("leaping-on, getting-on-top"), and κελητίζω ("riding the solo-horse"). Yet at the same time we should remember that most of the actual breaking in and training of horses was done by professionals: few owners would take the time and trouble (or possess the necessary expertise) to do this for themselves. It also appears to be the case that the best jockeys and charioteers, who drove the victorious racers at the circuit games, were generally hired professionals or expert slaves, not the owners themselves.[58] Thus horse owners would be aware (whether or not this awareness affected, consciously or unconsciously, their relationship with their boyfriend or bride) that their own close relationship with their trusted mount(s) was shared by—and had been anticipated by—a man of inferior status. Horse trainers, jockeys, charioteers, and grooms (like lady's maids and nurses) thus enjoyed a curiously intimate and knowing partnership with their elite patrons and masters.

Anacreon devotes one whole (very famous) poem to developing the conceit of sexual seduction as equine breaking in and "subjugation" (Anacreon *PMG* 417, cited by Heraclitus in *Homeric Allegories*):

καὶ μὴν ὁ Τήιος Ἀνακρέων ἑταιρικὸν φρόνημα καὶ σοβαρᾶς γυναικὸς ὑπερηφανίαν ὀνειδίζων τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ σκιρτῶντα νοῦν ὡς ἵππον ἠλληγόρησεν οὕτω λέγων·

πῶλε Θρηκίη, τί δή με
λοξὸν ὄμμασι βλέπουσα
νηλέως φεύγεις, δοκεῖς δέ
μ᾽ οὐδὲν εἰδέναι σοφόν;
ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι
τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι,
ἡνίας δ᾽ ἔχων στρέφοιμί
σ᾽ ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου·

57. Thus, e.g., Anacreon can complain that Eros or a young boyfriend "rides, drives" him (ἡνιοχεύεις, *PMG* 360.4; cf. too *PMG* 380, with Himerius' accompanying comments), just as elsewhere he likens Eros' violent assault to that of a boxer (*PMG* 396). For equestrian language in general used to describe sexual activity, see Henderson 1975, 164–66; Kurke 1999, 184–87.

58. See Nicholson (2003), who suggests that the reason why aristocratic victors preferred that their drivers almost never be mentioned in poems or inscriptions (whereas charioteers in myth are not so rigorously excluded) was not because these horse owners were embarrassed about not demonstrating equestrian skill in their own person (as most scholars have argued), but because mention of the commodified relationship between employer and employee would spoil the aristocratic flavor of the whole enterprise. (Pindar's *Py.* 5, for Arcesilas IV of Cyrene in the chariot race of 462, exceptionally celebrates, at considerable length, Carrhotus, the brave and brilliant driver: the reason this exception is made appears to be that he was a relative of Arcesilas, not an employee.) It would be consistent with this anxiety that the charioteer's personal intimacy with the team of animals would also be acceptable and appropriate if he were a social equal and relative or *xenos*, but not so if he were a hired technician or slave (as, e.g., at Pl. *Lysis* 208a–c, referring to both horse and mule teams).

νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκεαι
κοὖφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις, 10
δεξιὸν γὰρ ἱπποπείρην
οὐκ ἔχεις ἐπεμβάτην.

Moreover Anacreon of Teos, abusing the meretricious spirit and arrogance of a haughty woman, used the "allegory" of a horse to describe her frisky disposition:
"Thracian filly, why do you look at me from the corner of your eye and flee stubbornly from me, supposing that I have no skill? Let me tell you, I could neatly put the bridle on you and with the reins in my hand wheel you round the turnpost of the racecourse; instead, you graze in the meadows and frisk and frolic [lit. 'play like a child'] lightly, since you have no skilled horseman to ride you." (Trans. D. A. Campbell)

As usual, the male "rider" here assumes that he is (or should be) in control of the "mount," for the ultimate benefit of both; but an element of paradox and excitement is added as he acknowledges the possibility that she might prefer to remain independent of him, and he fantasizes about her freedom to keep on "playing" (παίζεις, 10), implicitly with her friends and/or mother, in the open meadows (like the Sorraia ponies depicted in fig. 1b).[59] Occasionally, the temporary modification of conventional power relationships between senior and junior sexual partner can be taken further, though only in contexts of courtesans and/or homoerotic courtship, not of marriage: thus the man may enjoy the exquisite reversal of allowing a courtesan (or boy) to take the initiative, turn the tables, and be "on top," in the prized sexual position of "horsey" (κελητίζω).[60] Thus the erotic associations between horseback riding and human sexual relations were pervasive.

Despite this quasi-erotic aura surrounding the man-horse partnership, and despite the extensive equestrian imagery of human sexual relations, Greek visual culture virtually never represents horses—any more than human heroes—in a state of sexual arousal, even though Aristotle states that "horses, both male and female, are the horniest [λαγνίστατον] of all creatures, after humans" (i.e., implicitly even more so than donkeys).[61] By contrast, donkeys in art are more often than not represented ithyphallically (as are satyrs—but, remarkably, not centaurs, despite their notoriously hybristic behavior in myth), as a signifier of their "low" and uncontrolled nature. In real life, the horses that were ridden or driven in teams might be colts, fillies, mares, or stallions (rarely would a team be mixed, for obvious reasons); the

59. See n. 17 above on the Homeric simile (Paris/Hector). Whether the "filly's" resistance is to be taken as a sign of "arrogance" (ὑπερηφανία) and "stubborn cruelty" (νηλέως), characteristic of a proud courtesan (ἑταιρικὸν φρόνημα), as Heraclitus asserts in quoting this poem (thus, e.g., Kurke 2001, 183–84), or of her innocent attachment to the joys of youth, is left unclear: nor can we determine whether the point of her "Thracian" ethnicity is that she is of noncitizen family, that is, probably a slave, or simply that Thracian horses are of good quality. Perhaps both. If the courtesan scenario is to be imagined, then the "filly's" prancing and playing could possibly be taken as a case of intense female sexual fever (cf. Columella, *Rust.* 6.27 on *hippomanes*, *rabies* . . . *amore inani* . . . etc., and cf. 6.35; Verg. *G.* 3.266, 269–75).

60. See esp. Henderson 1975, Stewart 1997, 164, 256, with further references.

61. λαγνίστατον δὲ καὶ τῶν θηλειῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρρένων μετ᾽ ἄνθρωπον ἵππος ἐστίν (*Hist. an.* 6.575b30–31). Previously (6.572a8) Aristotle makes a similar remark about mares in particular: τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν ὁρμητικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν συνδυασμὸν μάλιστα μὲν ἵππος, ἔπειτα βοῦς ("In eagerness for sexual intercourse, of all female animals the mare comes first; next, the cow" [trans. A. L. Peck]).

literary and documentary sources indicate that teams of mares were in fact used quite extensively. But painters and sculptors generally preferred to depict male horses, again, presumably, as an implicit assertion of the animals' nobility and power.

Stallions over the age of four to five, if kept entire (not castrated), are hard to manage, and in most societies male horses that are not intended for breeding purposes are usually gelded when young. Since a ratio of one breeding stallion for every ten mares is recommended in our ancient sources, this would presumably mean that up to 90 percent of Greek colts would be gelded before reaching maturity. Curiously, however, it has proven impossible to determine the extent to which the Greeks did in fact castrate their horses. Modern scholars are divided on this question.[62] It is certainly noticeable that, whereas the literary sources show no reticence or compunction about recommending castration for donkeys and mules (as for pigs, cattle, and sheep), the subject is hardly ever mentioned in any of the (numerous) discussions of horse breeding and training. This silence is taken by some to imply that the Greeks did not in fact castrate their colts, but let them all grow into stallions and remain entire throughout their working life, however difficult they may have been to control as a result. (This equine "self-mastery" and readiness to accept human discipline and restraint would of course contribute all the more to the horse's perceived nobility.) Alternatively, the silence of our Greek sources may reflect a refusal to confront a sore topic better left unmentioned, namely, the fact that an animal with which aristocratic men identified so closely, and whose training reflected in so many ways that of a young man, should have to suffer such an indignity and such permanent damage to its sexuality.[63] It seems in any case that quite a high proportion of the prime racehorses and chariot teams in ancient Greece comprised either mares or colts (i.e., two- to three-year-olds), a preference that may have served at least in part to circumvent the problem, even though it also contributed further to the ambiguities already inherent in the gendered identity of these sexy animals in relation to their male drivers and riders.[64]

Although, as we have seen, the sexually-tinged bond between rider and horse(s) is so marked, and equestrian language is so widely used of erotic activities among human partners, references to actual interspecies love affairs between horse and human (attempted or consummated, homo- or heterosexual) are very rare in antiquity, rarer than episodes involving a bull and a woman, for example.[65] The most conspicuous exceptions are two

62. See Part One, p. 197, esp. n. 47. But Hyland (1990, 47–48, 80–82) argues strongly that Roman (and more recently, e.g., Arab) societies have been successful in training large numbers of cavalry, racing, and draft stallions without resorting to castration.

63. In general, too, the Greeks seem to have been less comfortable with the notion of human eunuchs than were many of their Near Eastern neighbors: see, e.g., Gleason 1995, 6, 46–47; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 1:164–66, 2:209–11; Hubbard 2003, 6–7.

64. See fig. 5 (red-figure depiction of two warriors with their four-horse chariot, by the Painter of Bologna 228 = *ARV* 511, 4), and discussion of it p. 334 below.

65. For interspecies erotic relations in general, see, e.g., Plut. *Whether Animals Have Reason* 990f; Ael. *NA* 15.14 (apes that desire women); on stallions and maidens in particular, see Edmunds 1997. Much later, Pliny (*HN* 8.64.154) mentions that Semiramis was said to have fallen in love with her horse and

anecdotes from Aelian (admittedly a late source, but one who regularly mines Classical authors for his material), both of which strikingly underline the close (imagined) affinity between human and equine forms of courtship and "chivalry." The first (6. 44), in the course of a discussion of reciprocal care, attention, and love between model owners and their steeds (including such expressions as κηδεμονίας, ἀμείβεται, εὐεργέτην, φιλίᾳ, κτλ), is the story of Socles the Athenian, an exceptionally fine and handsome (καλός) youth, who purchased a horse that was no less beautiful (ὡραῖον) than he, but also "mightily amorous and, as it were, more discriminating than the other horses" (ἐρωτικὸν δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ οἷον σοφώτερον ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππους). The horse fell passionately in love with its master, "snorted and neighed" (ἐφρυάττετο) when he petted it, obeyed him perfectly when ridden, and "looked languishingly" (ὑγρὸν ἑώρα) at him when he was near. But as the horse showed increasing signs of being about to make improper advances, and people were gossiping, Socles sold the horse "because/as if it were a licentious lover" (ὡς ἐραστὴν ἀκόλαστον). Aelian's narrative seems to compliment the horse on its good taste in noticing Socles' beauty; indeed their erotic affair, it seems, was initially decorous and even somewhat mutual, similar to that between any human *erastes/eromenos* pair. But it went a little too far. The conclusion of the story confirms the essential nobility of the lovesick horse, however: it starved itself to death, being unable to bear separation from the handsome object of its desire.

The second anecdote, attributed by Aelian (4. 8) to Eudemus, tells of a young groom who fell in love with the beautiful mare he was taking care of ("the most beautiful of the whole herd, as if she were a beautiful young lass [μείρακος], lovelier than all the others in the neighborhood"); despite his best efforts, he proved unable to restrain himself and eventually had intercourse with her. The mare's foal (male, and "itself also very handsome and noble" [πῶλον καὶ τοῦτον καλόν]) witnessed this bestial act, and was so disgusted and enraged to see its mother "being tyrannized (τυραννουμένης) by their master" that it jumped on the groom and killed him, even returning later to desecrate his grave. The moral and social implications of the story are multiple: not only do we recognize that a man might "fall in love" (ἐρασθῆναι)

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married it. (Centaurs, of course, are generally a law/lawlessness unto themselves in their pursuit of human women: see p. 326 above. But the "good centaurs", Chiron and Pholus, are frequently imagined as having close homosocial/pederastic relationships with their young hero-students—Heracles, Jason, Achilles, et al.; see *LIMC*, s.v. "Chiron.") For bulls and women, see, e.g., Pasiphae, Europa, and note the expression ἀταύρωτος at Aesch. *Ag*. 245. In the contemporary world, a cursory exploration (mainly via the web browser Google) reveals two main kinds of horse/human erotica or pornography: on the one hand, there are numerous web sites featuring young women having sexual intercourse (real, or simulated) with stallions; but there is also another particular sexual fetish which consists of women dressed in leather and behaving like ponies, while their male "riders/drivers" look on and/or "mount" them. (I am grateful to Tim Doran for alerting me to the existence of this cultural phenomenon.) In both cases, I would surmise that the chief audience is male. It appears that these modern kinds of "bestial" erotica differ from ancient Greek attitudes and fantasies about horses in at least three main respects: (a) young men are not imagined as "ponies," only young women (unless there are gay web sites that I did not encounter); (b) these practices and images enact or simulate more literally what in Greek culture was more figurative or metaphorical; (c) these modern practices are regarded and presented as decidedly kinky, whereas ancient Greek fantasies about equines were more mainstream.

with a horse,[66] but we are reminded that noble young males are entitled to protect the honor of their females, even if this means violent retribution against a tyrannical-despotic superior (as in the celebrated case of Aristogiton and Harmodius). The story also suggests that horses might in some cases live up to a nobler and more chivalrous code of conduct than humans, as well as confirming that only males can be expected to participate actively in such high-level games of erotic advance, conquest, rejection, or vengeance: the notion that the mare might have protected her own honor by taking retaliatory action herself appears to have been out of the question.

In the scenarios and clichés of sexualized "taming" and "riding," as in the anecdotes of consuming erotic passion, it is always horses, real or imaginary, that are involved with humans, never donkeys or mules.[67] None of the other equids could be imagined as participating in such an intimate partnership, it appears. The implication obviously is that only horses are imagined to possess the beautiful appearance, and the quasi-human qualities of responsiveness, loyalty, and self-control, to make them fitting mates in such a conjugal pairing. Yet as a matter of fact, both donkeys and mules can be trained to respond to a bit and bridle, and to a rider's or driver's commands, no less sensitively than horses: they can be ridden solo or can pull wagons in racing teams.[68] But few donkey owners or mule owners seem to have any interest in such display; and most horse owners, even nowadays, are reluctant to acknowledge such capabilities in the lower equids, preferring to think that only the noble horse can be sufficiently well-attuned to human wishes or will have a mouth or spirit sufficiently delicate and sensitive to react to the "good hands" of a sophisticated rider. This prejudice seems to have been true of the Greeks too. Although individual riders certainly did often sit on a mule

66. Anthropologists and historians have determined that actual bestiality (sexual intercourse between human and animal) is in fact relatively widespread, occurring mainly in rural areas and performed for the most part by men on female animals; see also now (with reference to Apuleius and ancient Roman culture) Lytle 2003, and n. 70 below.

67. Sex acts with donkeys (as also with goats or fawns) are not infrequently performed or attempted by satyrs on Greek vases: see esp. Lissarrague 1990b; Davies 1990; Padgett 2000; Hedreen 2006. But there are no donkey-human love affairs in Classical Greek: Lucius (and Bottom) come later. An Aesopic fable (Babrius 129 = Aesop 91 Perry) tells of a donkey that was jealous of his master's pet dog (κυνίδιον), because it "enjoyed playing gracefully" (ἔχαιρε παῖζον εὐρύθμως) with the master and was allowed to sit in his lap, in the "utmost luxury" (ἁβρότητι σὺν πάσῃ), while he himself had to labor without any such comforts. So the donkey tried to emulate the dog's behavior, jumping up on the master as he was eating his evening meal and trying to kiss him. But he broke all the furniture, scared his master, and ended up being beaten to death by the servants.

68. They can even, if it is so desired by their owners, learn to jump fences and do tricks like show horses or circus ponies: see, e.g., Hutchins and Hutchins 1999 (or the website of "Mule Days" at Bishop, California: http://www.muledays.org). Donkeys cannot run nearly so fast as horses, of course, though mules are not much slower; both mules and donkeys tend to need more reminders to keep going, as they are less inclined than horses to exert themselves just for the joy of running or the excitement of competing with others. (You cannot persuade a mule to run itself to death or to persist in an obviously painful and pointless task, as you can a horse—hence the former's reputation for "stubbornness.") But impartial observers generally credit donkeys and mules with a greater capacity to learn complicated tasks than horses. So, for example: "It may be well, for a moment, to dwell on the sagacity of this animal. We often talk of the ass as the stupidest of the browsers of the field; yet, if any one shuts up a donkey in the same enclosure with half-a-dozen horses of the finest blood, and the party escape, it is always the donkey that has led the way: it is he alone that has penetrated the secret of the bolt and latch. . . ." (along with further examples, including donkeys as cow herders and as operators of well-bucket mechanisms: *Cassell's Popular Natural History* 1865, 226).

or donkey,[69] and mules and mule teams were much used and valued, as we have seen, nowhere do we find any description of the relationship between mule or donkey and human rider that is remotely comparable to that between a horseman and his mount. Nor is any of the abundant sexual imagery involving the taming, breaking in, and riding of horses ever extended to include mules or donkeys except in moments of gross parody and low comedy.[70]

To judge from the surviving visual representations, working donkeys and mules in ancient Greece, as in many other parts of the ancient and modern world, were usually controlled, not by means of bridle, snaffle, and bit, but simply with halter and stick (see figs. 8, 9, 11a and 11b, 12a). In such an arrangement, whether or not a harness and/or yoke was employed around the animal's shoulders and neck, nothing was inserted into its mouth. The owner might walk beside the pack- or draft animal, leading it by a halter, or might perch on the pack itself; or else he or she might sit on the cart behind, giving direction by tapping the animal on its side or back with a long stick or whip (figs. 11a and 11b, 12b).[71] Such techniques of control are qualitatively different—less personal and intimate—than the contact maintained with a horse via its tongue, lips, and cheeks, or via the pressure applied to its side and back by a rider's heels, knees, thighs, and buttocks.[72]

In both literal and metaphorical terms, the donkey's "carrot and stick" provide a much less ethically engaging system of management than the personal, reciprocal interactions of horse riding and chariot racing, whose techniques of training and collaboration have produced an extensive language for mutual (human and equine) desires, values, and incentives:[73] "giving free rein" (to natural vigor and talent), "spurring" (someone on to greater achievement), "curbing" (impetuous tendencies), "holding (one's) head up high," "putting (one's) best foot forward", and so forth.[74] So whereas your horse, like

69. As noted above, male riders are seldom depicted sitting on a donkey or mule on Corinthian or Athenian vases, except for Dionysus or Hephaestus. The ax-carrying Scythian who sits sidesaddle on a donkey, Hephaestus-like, in *ARV* 775, 1 (fig. 9), is an exception that proves the rule.

70. Apuleius'/Lucian's *Golden Ass*/*Metamorphosis* is the obvious place to turn for this. Here we may note the contrast between the horselike Photis with her luxurious hair, and the ugly (nameless) ass into which Lucius is turned, a contrast that reaches its climax in the sexual encounter between Lucius and the "fine and wealthy lady" of Corinth (*matrona quaedam pollens et opulens*, *Met*. 10. 19–22), on which see now Lytle 2003; see also Davies 1990; Padgett 2000, 2003.

71. See further Lorimer 1903; Anderson 1961, 66–67, 112; and the well-known sixth-century Boeotian silhouette cup (BM B 80 = Anderson pl. 11b; Boardman 1998, pl. 450; Dent 1972, 64); also Part One, pp. 234–35. The same techniques, which were widespread throughout the Near East as well, were (and still are) also employed for working oxen.

72. Again, it should be emphasized that this is not because donkeys (if properly trained) cannot be ridden or driven the way fine horses are (i.e., by means of reins and bit); it is only that their owners and trainers have rarely attempted this, for reasons that seem to have at least as much to do with imagined differences between the characters ("natures") of these two types of animal as with practical utility. Modern mules are in fact almost always ridden or driven with bridles and bits (as is Hephaestus' mount in fig. 15 below). See Hutchins and Hutchins 1999 for directions concerning harnesses for donkeys and mules.

73. Nonetheless, the fact that mule-cart racing involved harnessing and driving mules in just the same way as horses in a chariot only goes to show how arbitrary the distinction between species really was: see fig. 13.

74. From the equestrian's point of view, the oral and aural communications between horse and rider/driver (clicks of the tongue, cries of "woagh!" and "giddy-up!", and monitoring of the horse's nickering and snorting) seem likewise to be important for confirming their bond of personal trust, affection, and interdependency. Compare Haraway 2003, on modern dog training and "obedience classes."

your son or daughter, or bride, or lover, was (is) expected to be obedient yet spirited, docile yet proud, and in perfectly reciprocal harmony with you, its "master"—a relationship that was technologically demanding, and often painful, for both parties, though at the same time productive of substantial honor, mutual trust, and emotion[75]—by contrast, ancient Greek donkeys and mules, while doubtless they were liable to be more savagely and persistently mistreated (beaten, underfed, overloaded, etc.) than pure-bred horses, nonetheless enjoyed certain significant exemptions and freedoms. Indeed, paradoxically it might be said that a well-trained and well-treated donkey or mule (especially a mule, because it was so much more expensive and versatile) might expect to live much longer, since a horse once past twenty years old would be no longer of much use to anyone and would rarely be kept at pasture, whereas even a thirty- or forty-year-old donkey or mule could continue to do useful work; it might also enjoy in certain respects a more comfortable (less orally constricted and constrained, less aggressively competitive, and less cloyingly dependent) relationship with its driver/rider.[76]

The linguistic and physical symmetries and asymmetries involved in equine "yokings," "drivings/trainings," and "pairings" suggest analogies and correspondences, not only to conventional notions of "the marriage yoke/bond" between husband and wife (noted above), but also to the idealized relationships amongst adolescent boys and amongst adolescent girls too that the Greeks liked to foster within the educational institutions of συσσίτιον, χορός, and γυμνάσιον.[77] Here, in addition to an adult "supervisor" (σωφρονιστής), "arranger" (κοσμητής), or "chorus master" (χοροδιδάσκαλος), who was responsible for training and directing the young human "colts" and "steers" under his charge, it was also customary (at least in several parts of Greece) for one of the adolescents to act as a kind of "team leader," "ox leader," or "herd driver" (χορηγός, βουαγός, ἀγελάτης, κτλ.) for the rest of the "troop, herd" (ἀγέλη) of "companions, age-mates" (ἑταῖροι, ὁμήλικες).[78] As for the

75. For the notion of a "technology" for constructing gender and maintaining and naturalizing a more or less arbitrary set of sexual, emotional, and social relations, see De Lauretis 1987, 1–30; also Bourdieu 1990, 54–97, 271–83.

76. I do not wish to sentimentalize the Greeks' attitude to these—or any of their—animals. Certainly many donkeys, like many human slaves, were beaten, underfed, and overworked on a more or less regular basis. (See Part One; and, e.g., Apuleius *Met*. 9.12–13; Moritz 1958, 74–102.) In one Aesopic fable, however (Phaedrus 1.15 = Aesop 476 Perry), a donkey in wartime decides not to help his master flee the approach of the enemy, arguing that, even if he is captured, his new owner can't make his life any harder: after all, he can only carry one load at a time. Such unsentimental and calculating assessment of the bond between owner/driver/rider and animal (as between master and slave) would be quite out of place in the discourse surrounding the horse. It is likely too, I think, that a good number of horses, once past the age when they were viable for racing or cavalry activities, were in fact sold off to dealers who may have put them to work of a more menial kind, or killed them for their hair, skin, etc. If we bear in mind the wide range of uses to which donkeys and (especially) mules were put, their longevity, and the relatively high cost of purchasing a new mule, then we may conclude that in some cases at least, loyalties between mule and master may well have run quite deep in antiquity, as they often have done in the modern United States: see Waller 1958 for examples.

77. See esp. Jeanmaire 1939; Brelich 1969; Calame 1997; Griffith 2001.

78. On the terminology ("herds," "leaders," "trainers," etc.) used for these adolescent groups, see above, nn. 2, 28, 29. Some ethnologists (arguing in some cases for Indo-European origins to Archaic Greek male homoerotic institutions) have suggested that the Greek words for "breathing, blowing" (πνέω, πνεῦμα, κτλ.), often found in association with notions of intelligence, emotional fire, and poetic or martial inspiration

young teammates themselves, even as they were expected to be loyal and devoted to one another as "equals" (ὁμοῖοι), they were also encouraged to pair off amongst themselves into romantic/erotic couples. Such formalized pairings were highly prized (in some quarters at least) as the key to elite education and virtue. Thus each boy or girl was simultaneously a reliable, well-trained member of a devoted team of companions, and a dominant or subordinate partner in a more intimate and unique pairing—a relationship that might bring with it some anxiety surrounding the subordination and implicit feminization of the "junior" partner, in antiquity as in the modern era.[79]

In the gymnasium, chorus, and military mess hall, two slightly different kinds of homosocial partnership seem to have been fostered: one "vertical" (between "senior" and "junior," "teacher" and "student"), the other "horizontal" (between age-mates). Both types found resonances in the hippic relationships we have already discussed, and the constraints on the young objects of training (human adolescents and colts/fillies alike) were similar: they needed to learn to be obedient and disciplined, while still preserving a free and noble spirit; they had to be willing, dependable servants of others (their teacher or leader: their rider or driver) and yet also trusty and self-reliant comrades to their peers, as well as being potential leaders of others in due course. These institutionalized sets of relationships brought with them a remarkably complex set of expectations concerning the performance of appropriate gender roles, as modern scholars have amply documented.[80] Not only was there the problem on the erotic front of monitoring and regulating the "correct" responses of the beloved to the attention of her/his admirer(s)—notoriously a matter of much concern and tactful negotiation—, but there was a larger issue concerning the degrees of independence as against subordination that were to be inculcated in the future citizens (or lords and rulers) of the community. Young boys, as well as girls and wives (and horses),

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(like Latin *spiritus, anima*), are directly related, on the one hand, to the Spartan (and Theran, i.e., Dorian) term used for male-male sexual penetration (εἴσπνηλος, εἰσπνήλας, cf. LSJ, s.v.), and on the other, to "wind, storm blasts" (πνοή, ἄελλα, θύελλα, ἄνεμος, κτλ.). Several of these terms are associated in turn with horses, which are frequently described in moments of high poetry as "wind-swift" and "storm footed," "snorting" excitedly, and producing "foam" from their mouths (ἀφρός, cf. Hes. *Theog*. 190–98), while being themselves in some special cases the progeny of Wind gods (e.g., Zephyrus and Podarge; Boreas; Harpies?)—or (in the case of mares) as being susceptible to impregnation by the wind (Verg. *G*. 3.266–75: . . . *equarum* . . . *exceptantque leves auras, et saepe sine ullis / coniugiis vento gravidae (mirabile dictu)* . . .; Columella *Rust*. 6.27.4–7, etc.). At Theoc. *Id*. 12.10–15, the passionately homoerotic lover prays "that the Erotes may breath equally on both of us . . . ," so that they shall be "sung about by all . . . one as εἴσπνηλος . . . the other as ἀίτης . . . in an equal yoke" (ἴσῳ ζύγῳ). See further, e.g., Nagy 1990, 238–58; Janko 1992, 336–37 (on *Il*. 16.149–50); Onians 1951, 53–59, 115–22, 168–73 (on breath, soul, and wind); Puhvel 1987; Edmunds 1997 (on Indo-European horse rituals); Bethe 1907 (on Dorian pederasty); also Herdt 1999 (on twentieth-century Melanesian male initiation rituals, with further anthropological references). I myself doubt that any fully coherent system of Greek beliefs or ritual practices can be extracted from this flurry of associations: but the connections are intriguing.

79. Dover 1989; Foucault 1985; Halperin 1990; Hubbard 1998, 2003; Davidson 2001.

80. The scope and inclusiveness of these "equal and free" subjects could vary, of course. The renowned "equals, fellows" (ὅμοιοι) of Theban or Spartan oligarchical society formed a much smaller proportion of the whole population than did the democratic citizens who enjoyed "equality-before-the-law" (ἰσονομία) in Athens. But the Athenian ἱππεῖς (and perhaps the ἐφηβεῖα there too, if this existed as an institution before the fourth century) tried hard to be as exclusive as the Spartan ὅμοιοι, and sometimes succeeded. See further Griffith 2001, 48–59.

must behave modestly and "keep quiet," not "kick against the traces/goad" (πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν) or be "too free with their mouth" (ἐλευθεροστομεῖν), even while displaying themselves as attractively as possible and competing with one another for athletic, musical, military, and romantic/marital prizes. A good-looking and high-spirited boy must not "yield" too quickly or allow himself to be "broken in" too completely: he must retain the capacity to perform as a soldier and athlete and to exercise his "licence to speak" (παρρησία) as an "equal" and a "trusty companion" among his age-mates and future fellow citizens.

As for horses, teams almost always comprised either pairs (συνωρίς) or fours (τέθριππον); for while threesomes (a yoked pair, plus single trace horse) were not uncommon in Near Eastern societies, they were not popular with the Greeks. (At least, they rarely show up in literature or visual art.) These homosocial pairings of horses mirrored closely the prevalent human social arrangement. Each pair of horses was supposed to be as well matched as possible, with the "yoke-mates" (σύζυγοι, ζύγιοι, ὁμόζυγες, κτλ.) chosen for compatible age, size, strength, speed, and looks.[81] Such pairs and quartets are frequently encountered in visual representations; indeed, we often find just a single body drawn or painted, so that it is only the multiplicity of legs that indicates the presence of two or more animals, and the linguistic and visual vocabularies alike imply symmetry, equality, and interdependency. On the other hand, just as the human marriage yoke, and likewise the most widely approved models of homoerotic love, were normally imagined as forming an unequal partnership, in which the husband's (or *erastes*') greater physical strength and mental-political independence and assertiveness were complemented by the wife's (or *eromenos*') more delicate and reserved natural capabilities, so too we often find a similar (slight, but unmistakable) asymmetry within the equine pairings of a chariot team. Here, not only were all the horses (whether male or female, youthful or full-grown) subject to the domination of a (male) driver,[82] but within each equine pair one, the right-hand animal (δεξιός), was expected to be somewhat faster and stronger than the other, since the right-hand (outside) horse always had to cover more ground and work harder,[83] while in a team of four, the "trace horse" (σειραφόρος) or "out-runner" (παρήορος) on the extreme right was not even harnessed under the yoke with the others but ran free, attached only by the "traces" and responsible for setting the team's pace round all the turns: this had to be the most dependable horse of all.

81. See esp. Calame 1997, 240–44 on σύζυγος and related terms; also, e.g., Eur. *Tro*. 669–70. For discussion and illustration of three-horse chariot teams (τρίζυξ, usually metaphorical in Classical Greek, as, e.g., at Eur. *Hel*. 357; but often literal in Latin = *triga*), esp. in Assyrian and Etruscan contexts, see Vigneron 1968, 117–21 with pl. 46. Early Greek examples are Hom. *Il*. 8.80–87, 16.145–54 (in both cases involving the killing of the trace horse and resultant confusion for the remaining pair); also *Od*. 4.590. In practical terms, there seems no good reason why teams of three should not have been regularly used: the preference for two or four appears to be purely cultural. Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks (*Ant. Rom.* 7.73.2) that some old Roman rituals continued to use three-horse chariots.

82. The normal term for "driving" a team of horses (ἐλαύνειν) was also often used of the dominant role in sexual intercourse, though sometimes with a nautical, rather than equestrian, flavor: Henderson 1975, 162.

83. Greek hippodromes, like modern athletic tracks, always required the competitors to race counterclockwise. See Gardiner 1978; Miller 2004.

Athenian black-figure vase painters often liked to depict four-horse chariot teams from the front, with the middle two animals shown closely paired together, even rubbing noses, while each of the outside horses interacts instead with a human attendant or charioteer. Apart from the aesthetic symmetries and pictorial challenges (foreshortening) that such conventional arrangement presents, the viewer is thus given the impression that within the team of four—itself a well-matched unit controlled by a single authoritative human or divine driver—one particularly tightly-knit pair is accompanied by two more independent (more experienced, slightly senior?) companions. These variations and subgroupings within the team seem to mirror those of a human chorus or pedagogical troup.[84]

Sometimes the isomorphism between equine and human teams is more pronounced, as in the scene of a *tethrippon* and two warriors depicted in figure 5 (this time depicted from the side, on a red-figure column crater by the Painter of Bologna 228). Not only do the texture and configuration of the two warriors' plumes strikingly resemble the horses' manes, but the eyes and eyebrows of the horses in turn mirror those of the humans. The horses' bodies are arranged too so as to make up two distinct pairs, not merely an undifferentiated quartet.[85] Just as the charioteer is marked out as being clearly junior in age and status to his spear-wielding companion, so too within each pair of horses the necks are raised at unequal angles—while still in close relation to one another—in a manner that suggests a slight but appreciable difference of authority and dominance. It is notable, too, that (unusually) the genitals of both the horses closest to the viewer are visible.[86] The effect, I suggest, is to mirror the close male bond between the human pair, in the tradition of Theseus and Pirithous, Heracles and Iolaus, or Harmodius and Aristogiton, two loyal and devoted companions of whom one is significantly

84. On the function of the "trace horse," and its relationship to the chariot team, see Janko 1992, on *Il.* 16.152–54, 470–75. For σειραφόρος applied to a human "comrade, ally, buddy," see Aesch. *Ag.* 842, 1640–41, with Fraenkel 1950, ad loc. For typical "front-on" depictions of four-horse chariot teams, see, e.g., Boardman 1974, figs. 54 (*ABV* 85, 1), 75 (*ABV* 124, 16), 92 (*ABV* 315, 3), 190 (*ABV* 267, 20).

85. For the manes and horse-hair plumes, see p. 315 and nn. 15, 24 above. A single display case at the Museum of Fine Art in Boston presents two further (fairly typical) examples of such closely, yet not exactly, paired images of (male) human and equine companions. A two-handled red-figure pelike painted by Euphronius (MFA 1973.88) shows a pair of youths jumping acrobatically (i.e., presumably dancing) to an aulos player. Both have lovely hair; they are closely synchronized and symmetrical in their leaps; but one is a little taller and has slightly more prominent genitals than the other. In the adjacent vase in this cabinet, a red-figure column krater by Myson (MFA 1973.572), two youths are walking their horses, one behind the other. Each wears a similar traveling hat (petasos). The one on the left, who wears a decorated chiton, is slightly taller than his companion, who is nude. The smaller youth looks back at his friend, who walks close behind. Likewise, the left-hand youth's horse is very slightly taller than the other one, which, again, is being approached from the rear. Both horses have their manes arranged in fine, matching hair-dos, and the genitals of both horses are visible. In each case, this is a matched pair of buddies, certainly; but also, perhaps, a relationship is implied of (slightly) senior and junior, stronger and weaker, pursuer and pursued, lover and beloved. That is how most Greek "pairs" were supposed to operate.

86. Usually, whether one, two, or four horses of a team are represented, only one set of genitals is painted, and the other horses' bodies are arranged so that this detail is not included. Only rarely, if ever (as far as I can see), are mares specifically painted; i.e., by artistic convention, though not in equestrian fact, horses and horse teams are typically male. Of course, the absence of visible genitals in a painting may sometimes mean only that the painter did not choose to represent a penis, not that the horse is supposed specifically to be female; it is not always possible to determine which.

senior to the other.[87] The pairs and "yokings" can thus involve a multiplicity of different relationships: a man and his wife or girlfriend; a man and his young companion; a man and his (pair of) horse(s); a boy (or girl) and his/her teacher or trainer or buddy; a team of colts, or fillies, and their driver. Each of these relationships has analogies to the others, but involves key differences also, in the balance of power and gender-dynamics that have to be negotiated and maintained. In combination—and most elite Greek adolescents and their horses were involved in more than one of these relationships, often in several at once—they present a highly complex set of variations on Cahn and Heusen's hackneyed refrain: "Love and marriage, love and marriage—go together like a horse and carriage."

One final complication to this system of horse-team husbandry and erotic power relations: we frequently find horses (especially matched chariot teams) being exchanged between elite males as the highest-status gifts, equivalent to—or even more precious than—daughters in marriage. For example, it is striking that after Zeus has abducted long-haired young Ganymede to be his wine-pouring boyfriend on Olympus, he placates (buys off with ἄποινα) the offended parent with a gift of "high-stepping horses" (*Il*. 20.232–35), an episode that is explained in greater detail in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, including language that mingles human and hippic quite strikingly (202–3, 207–12, 215–17):

ἦ τοι μὲν ξανθὸν Γανυμήδεα μητίετα Ζεὺς
ἥρπασεν ὃν διὰ κάλλος . . .
Τρῶα δὲ πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχε φρένας, οὐδέ τι ᾔδει
ὅππη οἱ φίλον υἱὸν ἀνήρπασε θέσπις ἄελλα·
τὸν δὴ ἔπειτα γόασκε διαμπερὲς ἤματα πάντα.
καί μιν Ζεὺς ἐλέησε, δίδου δέ οἱ υἷος ἄποινα
ἵππους ἀρσίποδας, τοί τ᾽ ἀθανάτους φορέουσι.
τούς οἱ δῶρον ἔδωκεν ἔχειν·. . . .
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ Ζηνὸς ὅ γ᾽ ἔκλυεν ἀγγελιάων
οὐκέτ᾽ ἔπειτα γόασκε, γεγήθει δὲ φρένας ἔνδον,
γηθόσυνος δ᾽ ἵπποισιν ἀελλοπόδεσσιν ὀχεῖτο.

Verily wise Zeus carried off golden-haired Ganymedes because of his beauty. . . . But grief that could not be soothed filled the heart of Tros; for he knew not whither the heaven-sent whirlwind had caught up his dear son, so that he mourned him always, unceasingly, until Zeus pitied him and gave him high-stepping horses such as carry the immortals as recompense for his son. These he gave him as a gift. . . . So when Tros heard these tidings from Zeus, he no longer kept mourning but rejoiced in his heart and rode joyfully with his storm-footed horses. (Trans. H. G. Evelyn-White)

87. For further examples of significantly unequal pairings of human "horse teams", we may consider the chorus of girls in Alcman's *Partheneion*, Agido and Hagesichora (quoted above), or the struggling chariot team of the soul in Plato's *Phaedrus*. Notable too is the unequal, yet intensely loyal and comradely, association of Achilles' horse team in the *Iliad*, one of them mortal, the other two divine, including Xanthus ("Chestnut"), Achilles' virtual alter ego and confidant. (See further Schein 2002; Mitchell-Boyask 2006.) Patroclus and Achilles themselves are a loving pair, but not perfectly matched—complementary rather than identical, though virtual soul mates; they will each be killed by another unequal pair (mortal aided by immortal: Hector and Apollo; Paris and Apollo).

The abduction of a son or daughter is thus more than offset, it appears, by the gain of a divine team of horses and a permanent family connection with the noblest family on heaven or earth.[88]

3. MULES, AND THE (RE)PRODUCTIVE FACTS OF EQUINE LIFE

At last we come back to mules, which provide in several respects the deepest and most revealing—though not always the most obvious—source of equine confusion and instability in the Greek imagination. In this final section, I shall focus on the production, productivity, and contested signification of these half-asses, half-horses, in light of (a) their mixed parentage (and concomitant sterility), and (b) their versatility and intermediate, or uncertain, class status. As we noted in Part One of this article, given their ubiquitous performance of highly valued yet mostly nonelite and nonwarlike functions within Greek society, mules occupied a social and economic role that was both indispensable and yet oddly indeterminate. They were used for all kinds of practical purposes, ranging from the roughest donkeywork to quite elegant transportation and even athletic competition; and while there is plenty of evidence to show that they were (tacitly, for the most part) recognized as being both valuable and dependable, there are also numerous telltale indications that Greek authors and artists experienced mixed feelings, or even outright discomfort, when they stopped to think about the nature and origins of this peculiar hybrid. Thus even while mules were in many respects man's best (and longest-lived) friend, there were multiple reasons why he generally found it difficult to acknowledge this fact.

(a) Breeding, and the Problems of Miscegenation

The production of a mule requires animal husbandry of a peculiar kind, in as much as two species that would not normally be much inclined to mate with one another have to be manipulated by human intervention and management into performing the simple (natural) act of copulation, and this process has to be repeated over and over, generation after generation, since the hybrid product itself is incapable of reproducing. Nature cannot be left to take its course, or the breed of mules would cease to exist. This is social engineering of an unusually blatant kind, since the purpose of such breeding is solely and self-evidently to benefit human beings: there can be no pretence of improving a bloodline or creating a superior stock for posterity. So even though in practice (i.e., in terms of day-to-day management of stallions or jacks and mares and the conduct of the mating sessions themselves) the difference between selective breeding of thoroughbred horses and the breeding of mules was not very great[89]—to the point that the same veterinary profession known

88. Likewise, Rhesus' superb Thracian horses are the object of universal desire among both Greeks and Trojans (literally, "to kill for . . .").

89. The chapters on horse breeding and mule breeding in, e.g., Columella *Rust.* 6.27, 36–37, do not describe radically different operations. See further Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.22–24.575b21–578a7 (a chapter each on the breeding of horses, asses, and mules), *Gen. an.* 2.746b13–749a7 (on the sterility of mules).

in Greek as "horse-medicine" (ἱππιατρική) was known instead in Roman society as "mule-medicine" (*mulomedicina*)[90]—nonetheless the psychological and ideological implications seem to have been rather different. We have already noted some passages in high literature and drama that showed an uncomfortable awareness of the analogies between a mare's sexual union with a donkey and an upper-class woman's with a lower-class man or slave; and a reading of the scientific and didactic literature confirms that indeed conscious and unconscious anxieties about the implications of mule breeding ran deep.

Thus Aristotle, in addition to commenting on the need to overcome a proud mare's (alleged) distaste for being mounted by a donkey,[91] spends several paragraphs in both his *Historia animalium* and *De generatione animalium* discussing the genetics of mules, critiquing the theories of his predecessors (notably Empedocles and Democritus) about the reasons for a mule's sterility, and making peculiar assertions of his own about the relative heat and strength of a horse's and a donkey's seed:[92] for he asserts that, if a donkey copulates with a mare after that mare has already conceived from a stallion, the jack's seed will "ruin, destroy" (διαφθείρει) that of the stallion (so that the mare does not give birth), whereas the reverse will never happen (i.e., a jack's seed will not be spoilt by a stallion's subsequent sexual activity, *Gen. an.* 2.748a33–35, and again at *Hist. an.* 6.22.577a 13–15). The reason that he gives is the (alleged) colder temperature of the donkey's seed; but it is hard not to conclude that other anxieties are (perhaps subliminally) at work here, concerning the relative potency and viability of lower-class and upper-class human seed. (If your wife is not conceiving and giving birth, perhaps it is because someone

90. See Oder and Hoppe 1924–27; Hoppe 1933, 1938; Adams 1997. In both cases, veterinary science flourished and justified itself primarily because of the strong economic incentive to produce plenty of healthy foals (of each kind). Health care for the other animals followed (a long way behind) in the wake of equine genetics and obstetrics, which seems to have been a lucrative and indispensable (if not very high-class) profession. One gets the impression that horse/mule doctors in fact did a somewhat better job than human doctors of helping their patients stay well and produce healthy offspring.

91. Columella (who presumably spent much more time than Aristotle actually observing farm animals, rather than speculating on the possible explanations for their constitution, appearance, and alleged behavior) agrees with most modern mule breeders that in fact the more common problem is persuading a donkey-jack to mount a mare (rather than the reverse). So he recommends (*Rust.* 6.37.8–10) that a male donkey foal be suckled by a mare and grow up around horses, to make sure that he will be comfortable having sexual intercourse with mares in the future; he also recommends the use of jenny "teasers" to prepare a breeding-jack for intercourse, if he is sluggish in his performance (6.36.3–4). Columella remarks that female mules are generally more agile than male (so better, e.g., for drawing carriages, but less good for carrying packs, 6.37.11), and discusses possible methods for increasing the chances of producing males or females (e.g., Democritus' method of tying up one or other testicle of the jack, 6.28). On the growing preference (especially under the Roman Empire) for female mules rather than male for the higher-status activities, see Part One, n. 145; also Homer *Od.* 6.66–84 (mollies) vs. *Il.* 17.742–47 (male mules), both quoted in Part One.

92. Aristotle's own explanation for the sterility of mules is itself quite confusing and incoherent (*Gen. an.* 2.746b13–749a7), though he can hardly be blamed for not knowing about the chromosome discrepancy, a discovery that was not made until the twentieth century. Aristotle does deserve credit for realizing that (i) female mules do sometimes conceive, but then invariably fail to bring their pregnancy to term, which shows that their sterility is not due to an inability to receive male seed (as, e.g., Empedocles had claimed); (ii) those Syrophoenician male and female "mules" that were reported as successfully breeding and giving birth were in fact not mules but animals "of a similar but quite different species" (ἔστι τὸ γένος ὅμοιον μὲν ἕτερον δέ), i.e., perhaps onagers, or what are known by modern scientists as "half-asses" or "hemiones": see Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.24.577b23–25 (in contrast to, e.g., Varro [*Rust.* 2.1.27]; Columella [*Rust.* 6.37.3], both of whom believe those [certainly erroneous] stories of actual mule conception).

else has been kicking in your stall and "destroying" your seed . . . ?)[93] And even apart from Aristotle, Columella, and the other quasi-scientific analysts of mule production and constitution, a brief survey of Classical Greek literature and visual culture quickly reveals the depth of their ambivalence, even embarrassment, about this multifarious and versatile half-breed.

We should begin by revisiting Hesiod's *Works and Days*, a prime source for Greek agricultural practices, popular superstitions, and moral attitudes during the Archaic period and beyond. As we saw in Part One, Hesiod pays considerable attention to mules (but none at all to donkeys). From the outset, he takes it for granted that at least one mule, along with an ox or two, will form the long-term basis of a farmer's labor force;[94] but in the later stages of the poem there is a more elaborate pattern of organizational and chronological details concerning mules that calls for closer examination.[95] In designating lucky and unlucky days for various activities and enterprises (*Op*. 774–79, 790–801), Hesiod designates the 1st, 4th, and 7th as sacred while the 8th and 9th are good for human work (*Op*. 774–79):

ἑνδεκάτη δὲ δυωδεκάτη τ', ἄμφω γε μὲν ἐσθλαί,
ἠμὲν ὄις πείκειν ἠδ' εὔφρονα καρπὸν ἀμᾶσθαι·
ἡ δὲ δυωδεκάτη τῆς ἑνδεκάτης μέγ' ἀμείνων·
τῇ γάρ τοι νεῖ νήματ' ἀερσιπότητος ἀράχνης
ἧματος ἐκ πλείου, ὅτε τ' ἴδρις σωρὸν ἀμᾶται·
τῇ δ' ἱστὸν στήσαιτο γυνὴ προβάλοιτό τε ἔργον.

Also the eleventh and twelfth are both excellent, alike for shearing sheep and for reaping the kindly fruits; but the twelfth is much better than the eleventh, for on it the airy-swinging spider spins its web in full day, and then the Wise One, gathers her pile. On that day a woman should set up her loom and get forward with her work. (Trans. H. G. Evelyn-White)

Then, a few lines later, he is discussing the best days for gelding animals (*Op*. 785–86, 790–91):

οὐδὲ μὲν ἡ πρώτη ἕκτη κούρῃ γε γενέσθαι
ἄρμενος, ἀλλ' ἐρίφους τάμνειν καὶ πώεα μήλων . . .
. . . . . .
Μηνὸς δ' ὀγδοάτῃ κάπρον καὶ βοῦν ἐρίμυκον
ταμνέμεν, οὐρῆας δὲ δυωδεκάτῃ ταλαεργούς.

93. As often in Greek scientific writing (and Aristotle in particular), the cultural implications and assumptions concerning "heat" and "seed" (and "breath") are large and arbitrary. Thus Aristotle, even as he remarks that both donkeys and horses have generally low-temperature seed (which explains why they produce only one foal at a time and find impregnation relatively difficult), is also committed to the view that horses are warmer (and therefore implicitly more "masculine") than donkeys. Perhaps this helps him to arrive at his recommendation for producing large female mules (apparently the ideal, *Gen. an.* 2.748b20; likewise Columella), since these might be expected to inherit from their mothers some of the "masculine" qualities required for hard physical work as well as some of the "agility" noted by Columella (n. 91 above).

94. *Op*. 42–46; also Thgn. 719–25 (= Solon 24.1–7), 993–96; see Part One, pp. 239–40.

95. Admittedly this segment of the Hesiodic text (*The Days*) has come under repeated fire over the years from modern scholars, both for its authenticity and for its (lack of) semiotic value and/or coherence. But for my purposes, all that matters is that by the fifth century at least, the passage, whatever its origin or poetic worth, came to be accepted as "Hesiodic" and as belonging in this general context. I shall refer to the author (implied or actual) of the lines as "Hesiod," without thereby taking any position as to his identity or date.

> Nor is the "first-sixth" a fit day for a girl to be born, but a kindly one for gelding kids and sheep. . . . On the eighth of the month geld the boar and loud-bellowing bull, but [geld the] hard-working mules on the twelfth. . . . (Trans. H. G. Evelyn-White)

Why a different day for mules? And why the 12th in particular? Perhaps because mules resemble "spiders, ants, and reliable weaving women" (*Op*. 776–79, quoted above) in their productivity and economic function. Certainly the fact that mules, unlike kids and sheep (or pigs or cattle), will not end up being eaten, would be sufficient reason to put them in a separate category; and a day that is good for female weavers (i.e. slave-women, perhaps a wife too) would suit these "hard-working" (ταλαεργούς) domestic equids as well.[96]

Oddly enough, Plutarch in his commentary on these passages of *Works and Days* is also concerned to answer the question, why mules need to be gelded separately on this particular day.[97] His answer is quite different from the one I have suggested, but it is fascinating nonetheless: he says that the 12th day is just on the borderline between the moon's waxing and waning, and mules are especially closely connected to the moon (Plut. frag. 107 [*Comm. on Hes. "Op." 791*]):

> Τὰς ἡμιόνους οἰκειοῦσι τῇ σελήνῃ· διὸ καί τινες αὐτήν φασιν ἐφ' ἡμιόνων ὀχεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἵππος ἡλιακόν ἐστι ζῷον ὡς εὔδρομον, ὁ δ' ὄνος χθόνιον ὡς Τυφῶνι φίλον καὶ συνουσιαστικόν· ἡ δὲ σελήνη μέση ἀμφοῖν, γῆς μὲν ἔχουσα τὸ σκοτίζεσθαι, ἡλίου δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον εἰληχέναι φῶς. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ᾠκείωται πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ ἡμίονος.
>
> They associate [female] mules with the moon; hence some say that she rides in a mule cart.[98] The reason is that the horse is a solar animal, as being a swift runner, whereas the donkey belongs to the earth, as being dear to Typhon and given to copulation; the moon, however, is intermediate between sun and earth, having the earth's characteristic of being darkened, and the sun's of having its own light; so there is a natural association between the moon and the [female] mule. (Trans. F. H. Sandbach)

96. In practice, a farmer like Hesiod would perhaps rarely be the one to castrate his own mule (especially since he does not appear to own a donkey or mare in the first place); he would instead, like most farmers and millers before and since, buy a young adult mule, either female or already gelded, i.e. already at least three to four years old, broken in and trained to take the harness and yoke: see Adams 1997; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999, 31, 111–12, 115, 162, 192. Small farmers cannot always have had easy access to a veterinarian or specialist, however, and must often have castrated their own young animals (piglets, lambs, kids, calves). Perhaps mules, because of their value as well as their peculiar process of breeding, were reserved for more expert surgery. Detailed description of the best techniques for gelding oxen (no different, essentially, from the techniques used for equids) are given by Columella (*Rust*. 6.26); see also Part One, n. 47. On the (non-)eating of equids by the Greeks, see Part One, n. 59.

97. Plutarch's commentary was substantially, though imperfectly, preserved via Proclus, and thence incorporated into the surviving *scholia vetera* to Hesiod: see Sandbach 1969.

98. Normally ἐπί + genitive referring to an animal after ὀχεῖσθαι would be taken to mean "ride on," and it may be that Plutarch means "riding [sidesaddle] on a mule" (as, e.g., Thetis does on a sea creature; see n. 48 above). But in that case the plural (ἡμιόνων) would be strange; so perhaps Sandbach is right to take this as implying a mule-drawn cart (*apene*). Selene's choice of a mule is repeated in Paus. 5.11.8 and Nonnus 7.244–47. I have not been able to find any pictures of Selene on or with mules, however. (Is it relevant that Selene has no children, and a mule is sterile?) Dan Sofaer points out to me that elsewhere Plutarch goes on at some length about the absurd functions of donkeys in the worship of Isis and Osiris (*De Is. et Os*. 351f).

Here the in-between status of mules is treated as critical: if horses belong to the sun and donkeys to the earth (because oversexed),[99] then the mule (especially the female mule) is naturally the appropriate animal to convey ("belong to," ᾠκείωται) the "in-between" heavenly body/divinity, and thus to occupy a higher status than the more mundane farm animals.

These suggested calendrical significances may seem a little far-fetched. But there is a further connection between mules, women, and work that is drawn by Hesiod in connection with the 4th and 14th days of the month (Hes. *Op*. 794–801):

> Ἐσθλὴ δ' ἀνδρογόνος δεκάτη, κούρῃ δέ τε τετρὰς
> μέσση· τῇ δέ τε μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἕλικας βοῦς
> καὶ κύνα καρχαρόδοντα καὶ οὐρῆας ταλαεργοὺς
> πρηΰνειν ἐπὶ χεῖρα τιθείς· πεφύλαξο δὲ θυμῷ
> τετράδ' ἀλεύασθαι φθίνοντός θ' ἱσταμένου τε
> ἄλγε' ἅ θυμοβορεῖ· μάλα γὰρ τετελεσμένον ἦμαρ.
> Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθαι οἶκον ἄκοιτιν
> οἰωνοὺς κρίνας οἳ ἐπ' ἔργματι τούτῳ ἄριστοι.
>
> . . . The tenth is favourable for a male to be born; but for a girl, the fourth day of the mid-month. On that day begin to tame sheep and shambling, horned oxen, and the sharp-fanged dog and hardy mules to the touch of the hand. But take care to avoid troubles which eat out the heart on the fourth of the beginning and ending of the month; it is a day very fraught with fate. On the fourth of the month bring home your bride, but choose the omens which are best for this business. (Trans. H. G. Evelyn-White)

All these "4th days" are indeed full of anxieties and contradictions. But it is surely significant that bearing female children, taming mules "to/with the hand" (ἐπὶ χεῖρα τιθείς), and bringing a bride home (ἄγεσθαι οἶκον ἄκοιτιν)—a ceremony that conventionally involves placing "hand on wrist" (χεὶρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ) and a ride to the bridegroom's house in a mule cart (fig. 12b, and Part One, p. 236)—are all thought of as properly taking place on one or other of these "4th days." Indeed, these are mentioned in almost the same breath, thus seeming to reinforce the ambiguous potential both for "good works" (801 ἔργματι, cf. 796 ταλαεργούς) and for fateful "troubles, pains" (799 ἄλγεα) that surrounds the arrival of new females into the *oikos*. Just as the poem's first mention of economic self-sufficiency and productivity (βίον, *Op*. 42) equates this with "the works of oxen and of hard-working mules" (ἔργα βοῶν . . . καὶ ἡμιόνων ταλαεργῶν, *Op*. 46), and then immediately goes on to warn of the deceptive dangers of Pandora (*Op*. 47–105), so in the closing prescriptions of the *Days* we find mules interwoven oddly but insistently into the works and perils of girls, women, weavers, and wives.

Moving higher up the social scale, one celebrated example of the discomfort felt about the mule's mixed origins is found in the victory ode of Simonides composed for Anaxilas of Rhegium (*PMG* 515) that is cited by

99. Cf. the Indic and Iranian references listed above (n. 32) and in Part One, nn. 60–61; also Parmenides and the chariot of the Heliades; likewise Hyperion, Phaethon, etc. Possibly Plutarch also intends a "chthonian" religious association for the donkey (see Adolf 1950; Keuls 1970; and Part One nn. 121–25).

Aristotle as an example of positive rhetorical "spin." Simonides (always a good bellwether for Greek anxieties about class, economics, and musical-poetic decorum) is reputed to have balked at composing an epinician poem in honor of a mule-cart victory (*apene*) at the Olympics, both because the event was too déclassé and because the fee offered him was too low (Arist. *Rh*. 3.2.1405b = Simonides *PMG* 515):

> καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὅτε μὲν ἐδίδου μισθὸν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ ὁ νικήσας τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν οὐκ ἤθελε ποιεῖν ὡς δυσχεραίνων εἰς ἡμιόνους ποιεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἱκανὸν ἔδωκεν ἐποίησε
>
> "χαιρέτ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων."
>
> καίτοι καὶ τῶν ὄνων θυγατέρες ἦσαν.
>
> When the victor in the mule-race offered Simonides only a small fee, he refused to compose a poem, since he took a poor view of writing in honour of mules. But on being given an adequate fee he wrote,
>
> "Greetings, daughters of storm-footed horses!"
>
> Yet they were daughters of the asses also. (Trans. D. A. Campbell)

The whole anecdote is probably apocryphal; as far as we can tell, entrants in the *apene* race during the fifty years of its existence were just as aristocratic and high-paying as those for any other circuit events;[100] and we may doubt that Simonides cared at all about the pedigree of the animals involved.[101] But once again we find mules awkwardly straddling the thin line that separates the middle class from the elite—a line that can be made to appear uncrossable, until the price is made right. And it is especially appropriate that it should be Simonides, the notoriously mercenary producer of poems for cash, who is credited with finding exactly the right phrases to make these less-than-noble (but indisputably victorious) parvenus acceptable in higher society and with posterity.[102]

100. Golden 1998, 40–43; Miller 2004, 80; but see Part One, pp. 237-38 above, where it is suggested that "new" monarchs (esp. Western tyrants, apart from the Syracusans) and democratic-leaning Athenian elites may have been more enthusiastic about the *apene* event than were the old horse-loving families of Sparta, Thessaly, etc.

101. Pindar (or pseudo-Pindar) shows no compunction about praising Psaumis for his *apene* victory in *Ol*. 5; and in *Ol*. 6.22–26, he waxes effusive about the noble qualities of the (once again, female) mule team and their driver, even punning on the "leadership" qualities of the mollies in relation to his patron's name (**Hagesias** of Syracuse): ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεῦξον ἤ/δη μοι σθένος ἡμιόνων / ἅι τάχος, ὄφρα κελεύθῳ τ' ἐν καθαρᾷ / βάσομεν ὄκχον, ἵκωμαί τε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν / καὶ γένος. κεῖναι γὰρ ἐξ ἀλ/λᾶν ὁδὸν ἀγεμονεῦσαι / ταύταν ἐπίστανται, στεφάνους ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ / ἐπεὶ δέξαντο. χρὴ τοίνυν πύλας ὕ/μνων ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς. . . . ("O Phintis, come yoke at once the strong mules for me, as quickly as possible, so that we may drive our chariot [sic: better, perhaps, "carriage"] on a clear path and I may come to his family's very lineage, because those mules beyond all others know how to lead the way [ἀγεμονεῦσαι] on that road, for they won crowns at Olympia. Therefore we must throw open for them the gates of song. . . ." [trans. W. H. Race].)

102. For the tradition that Simonides was a shameless lover of money, willing to prostitute his art for cash (an accusation similarly leveled against the sophists by Plato's Socrates and others), see the testimonia collected in Campbell 1991. But in general, aristocracies usually learn before long to accept the legitimacy of money, despite initial resistance. Thus "even ancient and deep-rooted monarchies conceded that money was now as useful a criterion of nobility as blue blood" (Hobsbawm 1987, 171, describing late-nineteenth-century Europe); and this was as true of Archaic Greece as of anywhere else, though the process was delicate (see Kurke 2001, 41–129, esp. 56–57 on Simonides; Nicholson 2003). In this case, the poet's artful use of the genitive case (ἵππων) leaves open the respective gender of the mules' horse- and ass-parents, while the epithet "wind-footed" (ἀελλοπόδων) also perhaps hints at the story of Boreas (another Northerner) and his prodigious equine procreation through the mares/daughters of the Athenian king Erichthonius.

Anxiety about mixed equine origins shows up several times in Herodotus, who of all Greek authors seems the most interested in mules—as we might have expected, given his narrative's fascination with social mobility, crossing of boundaries, interactions between different cultures, and the impermanence of all human constructions (to say nothing of his own parentage: his mother Greek, his father Carian). There are over twenty references to mules in the *Histories* (along with almost thirty references to donkeys, and somewhat over two hundred references to horses, cavalry, etc.).[103] Three of the most important and successful kings in Herodotus' narrative come to power by means of, or in the context of, an equine paradox. The first of these involves Cyrus of Persia, who is the subject of the oracle that announces to Croesus that his Empire will only fall "when a mule sits on the throne of the Medes . . ." (1.55). Cyrus' mother was a daughter of Astyages, King of Media, while his father was a Persian—an aristocrat, but of inferior ethnicity as things were at that time (1.91). The ambitious "mule" shows himself soon enough to be truly regal and a born leader, both as a child and subsequently as a brilliantly successful soldier and ruler: so there is no suggestion that his mixed origin disqualifies him from the highest levels of achievement. Later on (3.71–88), the Persians acquire another capable new king through an unorthodox succession, as, following the assassination of the false (earless!) Smerdis by the seven conspirators, Darius, with the artful (or downright sneaky) assistance of his groom, is able to make their horse "snort and neigh" first in the early morning.[104]

The third Herodotean case of disputed equine authority or paternity is that of the Spartan King Demaratus (6.61–69, esp. 68), about whose conception and birth there was apparently much controversy. His mother (unnamed) was indisputably royal; but who was his father? King Ariston? Or a donkey tender (ὀνοφορβός, 6.68, 69)? Or even perhaps the dead hero Astrabacus, appearing to Ariston's wife in the form of a phantom? Demaratus' subsequent career seems to confirm his in-between status, for he shows himself to be intelligent and accomplished, but never endowed with full royal power. In general, these three Herodotean narratives might suggest that "mules" (or equids of dubious breeding) make rather good monarchs—certainly better than those horsey-named disappointments, Hippias and Hipparchus of Athens.[105]

103. Powell [1938] 1977. Not surprisingly, by contrast, there is not a single mention of donkeys or mules in Thucydides; and there are few in Xenophon. In this respect as in others, these two wealthy landowning Athenian gentlemen show themselves to be far more elitist and narrow-minded than their Halicarnassian predecessor; cf. Johnstone 1994. For Herodotus' interest in mules as symbols of illegitimacy and/or sterility, see Ebbott 2003, 2–3, 74–75.

104. The terms used here for the horse's "snorting" (φριμάσσομαι, χρεματίζω) are not quite as species-specific as φρυάσσομαι (p. 318 and n. 33 above), since goats are also credited with such sounds. But the expressions do seem to carry some sexual innuendo. The technique employed by Darius' groom to incite the stallion to snort (i.e., giving it a cloth to smell that is suffused with the scent of a mare in heat) is similar to the technique recommended by Columella (*Rust*. 6.27.10) for encouraging reluctant stud stallions. (See too Lytle 2003.) For the close relationship between grooms and equid owners, see n. 7 above.

105. At 3.151–54, the fall of Babylon is presaged by a prediction and "portent" (τέρας) of a molly bearing a foal, itself rather a conventional miracle that is oft-repeated in later Greek and Roman history: e.g., Suet. *Galb*. 4: *cum mula peperit* (see Olck 1907, 663; Otto 1890).

Herodotus also notes an odd "fact" about the Scythians and their equines:[106] there are no mules or donkeys at all in the coldest region of Scythia, because, unlike the horses there, donkeys cannot stand the constant frost (4.28), even though (he claims) in other parts of the world donkeys and mules can actually withstand the cold better than horses (Hdt. 4.28.5):[107]

> Ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχήν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἑστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι, ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται.
>
> Horses stand the winter well, but mules and donkeys cannot stand it at all; this is unusual, for elsewhere mules and donkeys bear cold easily, but horses kept standing during hard weather, are subject to frostbite. (Trans. J. Marincola)

This appears to be a case where Herodotus' account is influenced by two separate prejudices—as well as one accurate observation: (i) donkeys and mules have a reputation for being "enduring", and so might be expected to tolerate extremes of cold well; on the other hand, (ii) the nomadic Scythians (as imagined by Herodotus) do not have separate and distinguishable social "classes" like other societies ("upper, lower, middle" = "horses, donkeys, mules . . ."), and consequently both people and equids there must all seem quite homogenous, yet constantly on the move—numberless, fluid, non-stratified.[108] But (iii) Herodotus was also well aware that for "Scythians" (to use his blanket term for the numerous different cultures occupying those northern regions)[109] horses were integral to their whole culture (and indeed, we may note that some of these peoples employed sturdy ponies for all kinds of work that Greeks would never have inflicted on their own more delicate horses). Hence perhaps the conclusion (possibly correct) that donkeys and mules were not found in that region at all—only a plethora of horses.

Shortly after this passage, Herodotus mentions in passing (4.30): "In the whole of Elis mules cannot be produced. Elis is not cold, and there is no other apparent reason for this; but the Eleians say it is the result of a curse. . . ."[110]

106. Oddities are of course Herodotus' bread and butter, not least when he discusses the Scythians. He spends several enthusiastic chapters discussing their *hippotrophia* (4.2 milking the mares; 4.8–10 Heracles' missing mares and the viper-woman; 4.61 horse sacrifices; 4.71–72 horse death rituals and burials; 4.110–17 Sauromatians and Amazons; etc.). But his observations about Scythian mules seem to come from a quite different direction.

107. Neither ancient nor modern natural history can confirm Herodotus' claim that donkeys (outside Scythia) usually do better than horses in the cold: for in general they are found in warmer climates (see Part One). Aristotle (who goes further than Herodotus, in claiming that no donkeys or mules at all can be bred "in Scythia and the neighboring parts, or the Celtic country beyond Iberia"), asserts baldly that donkeys are colder by nature than horses (*Gen. an.* 2.748a25–748b5); and perhaps Herodotus labors under a similar prejudice.

108. For these characteristics of Herodotus' Scythians, see Hartog 1988.

109. Herodotus of course uses the term "Scythians, Scythia" to cover a huge area that included a large number of disparate peoples.

110. Therefore, says Herodotus, they take the mares over the border and have the donkey-jacks impregnate them there. This pragmatic circumvention of a divine ban against breeding mules is paralleled in Hebrew tradition: mules were quite widely purchased and used, and for important functions, even though Jews were forbidden themselves to breed them (Dent 1972, 60–65; cf. I Kings 1:38–46, quoted in Part One, n. 183). The alleged Eleian interdiction has been much discussed, mainly in relation to the "origins" of the Olympic Games: see, e.g., Calame 1997, 243–44, with further references.

Several commentators have suggested that this divine prohibition against breeding mules in the place where the Olympic Games are to be held may be a mode of commemorating the pure-bred horses of Pelops, the first victor in a chariot race there, and likewise the perfectly thoroughbred nature of this precinct, sacred to Poseidon and Zeus. Whether or not this is true (or was imagined to be true by significant numbers of Greeks), it is typical of Herodotean—and Archaic Greek—sensibilities to suppose that the gods would regard equine propagation as an important component of cosmic order.

Not far removed from the mood of Herodotus' world, in its concern for class- and ethnic- (or species-) difference, social mobility, political ambition and folly, and the sheer multiplicity of human types and idiosyncrasies, is the corpus of Aesopic fables, many of which undoubtedly go back, at least in their origin, to the Archaic period.[111] Here of course donkeys show up quite regularly, as the "average Joes" of animal society. There are about thirty-five donkey fables in all, their protagonists sometimes savvy and practical, sometimes scheming and lazy, or downright stupid. Horses are less frequent characters (twelve to fifteen fables in all): those that do show up in a fable tend to have come down in the world, mirroring the proverb, ἀφ' ἵππων εἰς ὄνους ("From the horses to the donkeys" = "from riches to rags");[112] or else they are presented as being too snooty and selfish to help anyone else (especially a donkey)—and as suffering the appropriate consequences (Aesop 565, 571 Perry).

Mules are surprisingly rare. But they are quite distinctive in the messages they convey. Only three or four Aesopic Fables contain a mule (out of a total of more than six hundred in Perry's collection), presumably because mules were felt to overlap too much with donkeys in most of their characteristics to have a separate identity, unless the point of the story specifically involved hybridity or challenges to status boundaries. The one Fable that does focus on the issue of hybridity is 315 Perry (Babrius 62 = 285 Hausrath = ps.Plut. *Banquet of the Seven Sages* 150a), a text that has several points of similarity to Aristotle's anecdote about Simonides (*PMG* 515) discussed earlier. I quote the story first in pseudo-Plutarch's version, which provides a (doubtless fictitious) context for Aesop's original delivery of the fable (*Banquet of the Seven Sages* 4.150A):

> Ὁ δ' Αἴσωπος (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὑπὸ Κροίσου νεωστὶ πρός τε Περίανδρον ἅμα καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ παρῆν ἐπὶ δίφρου τινὸς χαμαιζήλου παρὰ τὸν Σόλωνα καθήμενος ἄνω κατακείμενον) "ἡμίονος δ'," ἔφη, "Λυδὸς ἐν ποταμῷ τῆς ὄψεως ἑαυτοῦ κατιδὼν εἰκόνα καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος ὥρμησε θεῖν ὥσπερ ἵππος ἀναχαιτίσας. εἶτα μέντοι συμφρονήσας ὡς ὄνου υἱὸς εἴη, κατέπαυσε ταχὺ τὸν δρόμον καὶ ἀφῆκε τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸν θυμόν."

111. The difficulties of tracking different versions, sources, "Lives," manuscript traditions, etc. of "Aesop" and the fables attributed to him are notorious: see, e.g., Hausrath 1957; Perry 1952, 1965, xi–xlvi, 419–22; and now Kurke forthcoming.

112. Thus, e.g., in Babrius 29 (Aesop 318 Perry), a horse previously proud (γαῦρος) now works the mill; cf. Babrius 83 (Aesop 319 Perry). For the proverb (e.g., *CPG* Diogen. 1.56, with Leutsch and Schneidewin's note), and its inverse (*CPG* 1.55; also ὄνος εἰς ἄχυρα), see Part One, nn. 45, 46; and Olck 1907, 646.

> Aesop too, as it happened, having been sent by Croesus only a short time before on a mission both to Periander and to the god at Delphi, was present at the dinner, seated on a low chair next to Solon, who occupied the place just above. Aesop said: "A Lydian mule caught sight of his own image reflected in a river, and, suddenly struck with admiration at the beauty and great size of his body, tossed his mane and started to run like a horse, but then, recalling that his sire was an ass, he soon stopped his running, and gave up his pride [φρύαγμα, lit. "whinnying"] and animation." (Trans. F. C. Babbitt)

This narrative rehearses many of the familiar elements we previously noted about hippic style and asinine inelegance (gait, hair, unequal parentage, voice), but cleverly inverts the sequence and point of the water reflection. Whereas usually it is a female horse who has to be mutilated (shorn) and then forced by others to see her debased reflection in the water so that she will abandon her vain pride or her sexual fever, in this case the falsely proud animal that sees itself reflected is male, and (because his mane—though presumably somewhat less glorious than a true horse's—is still intact) he continues for a while to believe himself equivalent to a true horse, because he is so big and fine. But soon reality sinks in again, as he reminds himself who his father was; and so this upstart mule gives up its horselike voice (φρύαγμα), spirit (θυμός) and running (δρόμος), and owns up to its base origins, just as Herodotus' Croesus (the original Lydian mule, descended from the usurper Gyges and Candaules' wife) was brought down in due course (by the Persian/Median "mule", Cyrus) and made to recognize his own limitations. Aesop (in pseudo-Plutarch's story) does not explain exactly how or why this mule comes to recognize its asinine origin, but presumably the telling of the story by Aesop is itself a performative enactment of the dawning of this consciousness: the donkeylike fabulist himself (the one sitting on the lowly stool, below Solon) is reminding Croesus, by means of this fable, who he really is, and where he truly comes from.[113]

This story shows up twice amidst the Aesopic collections, now divorced from any particular application to Croesus. In one example, the narrative remains fairly close to the pseudo-Plutarchean version, while adding the high-life elements of leisure and fine food (Babrius 62):

> Ἡμίονος ἀργῆς χιλὸν ἐσθίων φάτνης
> καὶ κριθιήσας ἐτρόχαζε κἀφώνει
> τένοντα σείων "ἵππος ἐστί μοι μήτηρ,
> ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνης οὐδὲν ἐν δρόμοις ἧττων."
> ἄφνω δ' ἔπαυσε τὸν δρόμον κατηφήσας·
> ὄνου γὰρ εὐθὺς πατρὸς ὢν ἀνεμνήσθη.
>
> A mule who lived an idle life, champing fodder at the stall, began to feel his oats one day and started out to run. Tossing high his neck he cried: "My mother is a horse, and I'm no slower in the race than she!" But suddenly he checked his course and hung his head in shame, for all at once the thought occurred, his father was an ass. (Trans. B. E. Perry)

113. For Aesop as a figure of countercultural wisdom, see Kurke 2006. For representations of Aesop as "donkey" or "ape," see Lissarrague 2000. For Aesopic mules, see too Chandezon 2005.

But in the other version it is instructive to see what textual/gender chaos has erupted in the various manuscripts (Aesop 285 Hausrath):[114]

ἡμίονός τις ἐκ κριθῆς παχυνθεῖσα ἀνεσκίρτησε καθ' ἑαυτὴν βοῶσα· "πατήρ μού ἐστιν ἵππος ὁ ταχυδρόμος, κἀγὼ δὲ αὐτῷ ὅλη ἀφωμοιώθην." καὶ δὴ ἐν μιᾷ ἀνάγκης ἐπελθούσης ἠναγκάζετο ἡ ἡμίονος τοῦ τρέχειν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ δρόμου πέπαυται, σκυθρωπάζουσα πατρὸς τοῦ ὄνου εὐθὺς ἀνεμνήσθη.

The manuscripts here preserve almost every possible gender combination (male or female mule, parentage from stallion and jennet, or jack and mare), so uncertain are they as to which sex is more likely to be "proud" of its hair (or its galloping and prancing—again the versions differ), and which parent it is supposed to be proud of, which ashamed of. Clearly the perennial anxiety surrounding the possibility of miscegenation between upper and lower classes, and especially between male slaves and free women (as between donkey-jack and mare), has contributed to this ongoing textual confusion.

If we examine the Aesopic Fables further, with an eye to the kind and quality of the work that is performed by mules and the other equids rather than to the mules' origin, sexuality, and parentage, we find additional results of interest. In one Fable (263 Perry = 204 Hausrath), a donkey and a mule are walking side by side, each carrying an equal load; the donkey complains that the mule is being given more and better food than he; but the mule then proceeds to prove itself stronger and harder-working (eventually taking over all the exhausted donkey's burden), and therefore fully deserving of its better rations. In another, two (male) pack mules are carrying loads together, in convoy (Phaedrus 2.7 = 491 Perry):

MULI DUO ET LATRONES
Muli gravati sarcinis ibant duo;
unus ferebat fiscos cum pecunia,
alter tumentes multo saccos hordeo.
ille onere dives celsa cervice eminet
clarumque collo iactat tintinnabulum;
comes quieto sequitur et placido gradu.
subito latrones ex insidiis advolant
interque caedem ferro ditem sauciant,
diripiunt nummos, neglegunt vile hordeum.
spoliatus igitur casus cum fleret suos,
"Equidem" inquit alter "me contemptum gaudeo;
nam nil amisi, nec sum laesus vulnere."
Hoc argumento tuta est hominum tenuitas,
magnae periclo sunt opes obnoxiae.

The Two Mules and the Robbers

Two mules were going along heavily laden with packs; one was carrying baskets containing money, the other sacks bulging with full loads of barley. The one who carries riches on his back arches his neck high in the air and jingles his clear-toned bell by the tossing of his head; his companion, on the other hand, brings up the rear with a calm and quiet pace. Suddenly robbers rush upon them from ambush. Amid the slaughter,

114. I reproduce the text (but not the apparatus criticus) of Hausrath 1956–57.

> they wound the rich mule with a sword and pillage the money, but they neglect the paltry barley. Accordingly, when the plundered mule bewailed his misfortune the other said; "For my part, I'm glad that I was despised; for I have lost nothing and have suffered no wound."
> Here is evidence that the little man is safe; great riches are exposed to risks. (Trans. B. E. Perry)

So the money-carrying mule that carries its neck ostentatiously high and jingles his bell loud (like a war horse) ends up being attacked and wounded by bandits, while the one with the more donkeylike mentality and gait (*placido gradu*), carrying its sacks of barley quietly and unobtrusively, escapes unharmed. The official moral of the tale that we are given, as often, is slightly off-mark: the point is not simply that "thin resources" (*tenuitas*) are safer than "wealth" (*opes*), but rather that conspicuous self-aggrandizement (acting like a horse) attracts trouble: it is better to keep a low profile and simply deliver the goods without a fuss. Once again, our "middle-class" mules are shown facing that definitive choice: Which is my natural—or proper—role and social rank? Am I for show, or for work? Am I really (should I be) more like Mom, or like Dad?[115]

I conclude this article with three case studies of Greek representation of mules, selected to demonstrate the unique capacity of this hybrid to incorporate and illustrate concerns about gender- and class relations : a proverb, an image, and an anecdote. First, the proverb. As we noted earlier, donkeys are featured quite extensively in ancient Greek collections of proverbs, mules hardly at all. (When they are, it is usually in duplication of a donkey proverb.)[116] The one really distinctive and widely-quoted proverb involving mules (preserved mostly in Latin versions, but probably Greek in origin) has an instructively egalitarian and cooperative twist to it: *mutua muli*, or, *mutuum muli scalpunt* ("mules scratch each other"); that is, "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours," often in the context of praise ("you praise me, I'll praise you!").[117] There also exists a version (*mutuum scabere*, "to scratch

115. The familiar Aeschylean *gnome*, ἀπέδειξεν ἦθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων ("he revealed the character [innate] from his parents," of a lion-cub, *Ag*. 727–28) becomes less straightforward when the two parents are of different "characters"; cf. Orestes' choice, whether to be his father's or mother's son. For Greek medical/scientific theories about inherited characteristics, see, e.g., [Hippocr.] *On the Seed and Nature of the Child*, *On Regimen* 2.1; Arist. *Gen. an.*; and for recommendations about selection of parents for prospective horse- or mule breeding, Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.575b21–578a5; Columella *Rust*. 6.27–38.

116. Thus, especially in Latin, you can call someone either a "mule," or a "donkey," as a way of saying he is stupid (e.g., Olck 1907, 644, 662–63; Otto 1890, 232, s.v. *mulus* 1). Latin, however, uses *mulus* much more freely as a virtual (figurative) synonym for *asinus*, than Greek uses ἡμίονος or ὀρεύς as equivalent to ὄνος. The widely-used proverb *mulum ex asino pingere* ("to paint a mule instead of a donkey," or "turn a donkey into a mule") is usually interpreted as meaning merely "to go through the motions of trying to change something, while leaving it essentially as ugly and worthless as it was before," which would have much the same significance as those stories we have considered of mules that first aspire to be horses but quickly are brought to realize their essentially asinine nature. But perhaps we should rather interpret the proverb in terms of false advertising, trying to palm off a cheap donkey on someone by fixing it up to look like a (more valuable) mule? The "painting" then would be part of a (false) advertisement, or an outright "touch-up" job on the donkey's coat (painting over the tell-tale stripes?).

117. This proverb in Latin predates Varro (first century B.C.E.), since one of his Menippean Satires was entitled *Mutua muli scalpunt*, and he also (*Ling*. 7.28) quotes a satirical epigram by Papinius? (or Pomponius? see Courtney 1993) that employs the phrase *mutua muli* as if it is already well-known. The proverb is found mostly in Latin (Otto 1890, 232–33; *TLL*, s.v. *mulus* (d)); but a Greek version existed that specified donkeys

one another") that does not specify any particular animal, and the gist of the proverb recalls too the well-known *manus manum lavat* ("one hand washes the other": a phrase that in Greek is as old as Epicharmus, χεὶρ χεῖρα νίζει). But it is, I think, significant that the species deemed most suited to such mutual aid and comfort should be (a pair of) mules. We may recall the Homeric simile of the self-directed and collaborative mules at *Il.* 17.742–47 (quoted and discussed in Part One, pp. 240–41), as well as the pairs of mules that regularly drew wedding carts and other elegant conveyances—even racing carts—(as in figs. 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b, 13).[118] Donkeys might generally be too hard-pressed to find the opportunity to groom one another; and they did not so often operate in teams, as mules routinely did. As for horses, they are perhaps too competitive, and certainly too noble and snooty to acknowledge such mundane physical discomforts as an itch or a sore. A mule, however, might be expected to be concerned about looking after him/herself and his/her partner and to have the sense to take the practical action required to improve their common good.

"Mutual scratching" presents, by elite standards, an unglamorous and slightly pejorative picture. (Plato's Socrates likes to argue about itches and scratching too, to the outrage of his aristocratic interlocutors.) Yet this operation could be said to represent nothing other than a thoroughly demystified and crudely pragmatic version of aristocratic "favors" (*charis*) and gift exchange. Like the manual-laborious associations of "one hand washing the other" (or the grooming of chimpanzees and baboons, as observed in the modern era), mutual mule-help was apparently recognized at the popular and middle-brow level as providing practical benefit and fostering a spirit of non-competitive and enlightened cooperation that apparently had no negative impact at all—the opposite of "backbiting" or "backstabbing".

My second case study is a well-known scene from the François Vase, reproduced in figure 15. Close to a splendid panel depicting the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, full of gods and goddesses on horse-drawn chariots, Hephaestus is shown riding on a mule on his way to join the gods on Olympus and to claim his (distinctly reluctant) bride, Aphrodite. She has been awarded to him after a power struggle, or labor dispute, during the course of which the technician-god fastened the Olympians to their chairs and forced them to negotiate with him.[119] Wine played a crucial part in the

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rather than mules: e.g., *CPG* Apost. 17.20: τὸν ξύοντα ἀντιξύειν· ἐπὶ τῶν βλαπτόντων ἢ ὠφελούντων τινάς. ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ὄνων· ἀλλήλους γὰρ ἀντικνήθουσι (cf. Otto 1890, 233). An epigram attributed to the comic playwright Strato (third century B.C.E.) includes the phrase ὡς λέγεται, κνήθειν οἶδεν ὄνος τὸν ὄνον (*Arch. Pal.* 12.238.8). I am inclined to believe that the mule version will have existed in Greek too (especially given Varro's Hellenizing tendencies). But it must be admitted that the Latin phrase *mutua muli* has an assonantial ring that does not work with ἡμίονος or ὀρεύς, so it cannot be ruled out that the verbal jingle (along with the increased economic-social prominence of mules in Roman life) may have been responsible for inserting mules into this proverbial role; possibly it was not originally a Greek idea.

118. Exekias depicts a closely-knit and affectionate-looking pair of rather noble mules in harness (Berlin inv. 1814 = *ABV* 146, 22, also Boardman 1974, fig. 105.2); see Part One, p. 230, n. 145, p. 236, n. 170. Such a pair might surely be expected to show a proper concern for one another.

119. For illustrations and discussion of this mythological episode in Greek literature and art, see Bruneau 1963; Brommer 1978; Gantz 1993; *LIMC*, s.v. "Hephaistos"; Fineberg 2005.

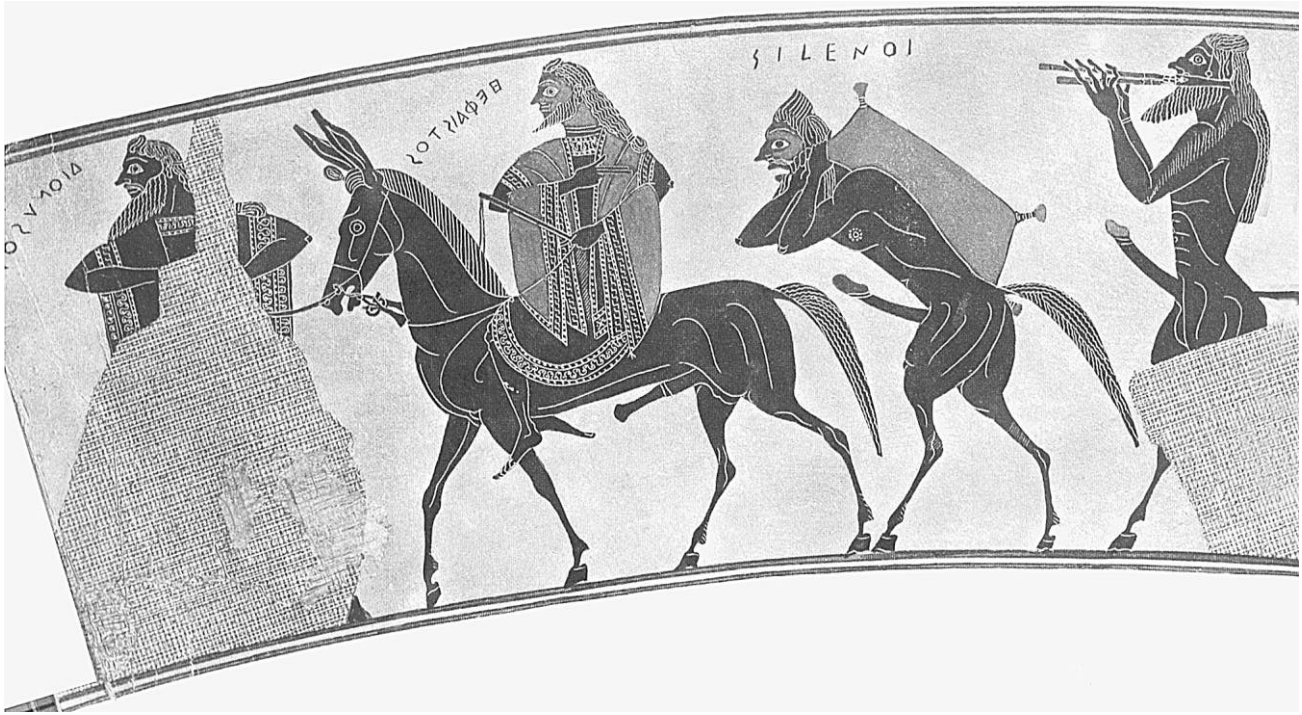


Fig. 15.—Hephaestus, mounted on a mule, arrives to join the Olympians and claim his bride, Aphrodite. Attic black-figure volute-crater from Chiusi by Cleitias and Ergotimus ("François Vase": *ABV* 76, 1; mid-sixth century. Florence Museum 4209). Facsimile from Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904, pl. 3.

proceedings too, as is indicated here by the presence of satyrs carrying wineskins and of Dionysus himself at the head of the procession, leading Hephaestus' mule by a rope attached to its halter. So we see the parvenu craftsman and his crew of silens confidently asserting their newly-acquired status at the expense of—yet in a new collaboration with—the aristocratic Olympian family. The erect phalluses of mule and silens present a striking statement—on Hephaestus' behalf, as it were, though not directly in his person or voice—combining crude, good-humored aggression with a certain impressive bearing and style. The smith has indeed proven himself a true god, resourceful, accomplished, and worthy to become an indispensable member of Zeus and Hera's household and political community, even if by the elegant (horsey) standards of the Olympians he is somewhat defective and rough-hewn. The fact that he rides a mule here, rather than (as is more commonly represented on scenes of the Return of Hephaestus) a mere donkey, and that despite his disability he sits with feet on either side of the animal, rather than sidesaddle (though his right foot is depicted as very twisted indeed), confirms his relatively high and respectable status.[120] But at the same time, the fact that he does not control his mount with reins and bit, but by means of the familiar two-pronged stick held in his left hand, with Dionysus actually leading the animal with a rope attached to its halter, perhaps concedes Hephaestus' lack of "masterly" qualities, as husband or political animal.[121] He is not a high-brow equestrian.

The mule itself, which, apart from its erect penis and long ears, looks quite slim and horselike, with flowing tail (just like the horsey tails of the silens who follow close behind), neatly combed mane, and pom-pom arranged elegantly on top of its head, strides confidently, even stylishly, forward, projecting no apparent air of comedy or impropriety. As for Aphrodite (who stands, long-haired and finely dressed, immediately to the left of what one sees in fig. 15, facing the oncoming Hephaestus), she seems far from enthusiastic, as she prepares for her new role as his bride. (Of course we know that she will not long remain faithful to her new husband, and that—like the partner of any mule—she has in any case no prospect of bearing any children to him.) The viewer's focus and sympathies are thus divided, especially because this scene is presented both as a self-contained narrative of its own, and as a contrast to the surrounding panels on this large and extravagant vase, including the brilliantly heroic wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The Return of Hephaestus was one of the most popular of all subjects for sixth- and fifth-century painters, and it was an episode that was open to many variations of substance and tone.[122]

120. He is long-haired and garlanded, again marks of higher status: in less flattering versions he wears a conical worker's-cap and short hair. See further esp. Brommer 1978; Davies 1990.

121. Dionysus appears to be leading Hephaestus' mule by a halter; no bit is evident, though the harness in other respects resembles that used for a horse; see p. 330 above. For further discussion of this scene, especially of the figure of Hephaestus himself, see Hedreen 2004; also Griffith 2002, 221–22.

122. On the same (François) vase, below one handle (somewhat damaged), another representation of Hephaestus is to be found, this time riding on a donkey, as can be seen from the white muzzle and somewhat tasseled tail (see Brommer 1978, Taf. 1.2). Although Hephaestus' feet are not preserved, it seems clear from the posture of his hips and arms that he is in this case sitting sidesaddle (again, with two-pronged stick in

In this case, I suggest, the potter and painter (Ergotimus and Cleitias) have made a point of emphasizing both Hephaestus' lower-class status and his cheerful and positive (assertive, even slightly aggressive?) social energy as an addition to the aristocratic family of Olympians. The two mulish figures, both the seated divine craftsman and his four-footed co-laborer/companion, command the viewer's respect and sympathy, even as the distinction between them and the highest echelon of "chivalrous" elites is reinforced by their physical differences. At least a few of those who have not been born full members of the Olympian/hippic elite may still through skill, hard work, and enterprise succeed in earning a valued place within it. (And if the class struggle ever threatens to get out of hand, Dionysus and his comic-phallic associates can always help to defuse a crisis.)[123]

My third and concluding case study of hemionic distinction is an anecdote about a particular mule from fifth-century Athens that seems to have become almost legendary, for reasons that have nothing to do with sex, hair, or class conflict. This anecdote provides a rare (for the Greeks) affirmation of the dignity of labor for its own sake, along with a generous recuperation of the mule's honor (if this is not too inflated a claim), so often infringed over the years. The story is found first in Aristotle, and then in several different sources, and so apparently carried some cultural resonance. I quote it here in Aelian's version (*NA* 6.49):[124]

> Ἡμίονος γέρων Ἀθήνησιν ὑπό γε τοῦ δεσπότου τοῦ ἰδίου τῶν ἔργων ἀπολυθείς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει, τοῦ μὲν φιλοπόνου καὶ ἐθελουργοῦ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀφῆκεν. ἡνίκα γοῦν Ἀθηναῖοι κατεσκεύαζον τὸν Παρθενῶνα, οὔτε ἐπισύρων οὔτε ἀχθοφορῶν ὅμως τοῖς νέοις ὀρεῦσι προφορουμένοις τὴν ὁδὸν ἄκλητος καὶ ἑκὼν οἱονεὶ παράσειρος ᾖει, δορυφορῶν ὡς ἂν εἴποις καὶ παρορμῶν τὸ ἔργον τῇ βαδίσει τῇ κοινῇ δίκην τεχνίτου παλαιοῦ τοῦ μὲν αὐτουργεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως ἀπολυθέντος, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ ὑποθήγοντός τε ἅμα τοὺς νέους καὶ ἐπαίροντος. ταῦτα οὖν μαθόντες ὁ δῆμος τῷ κήρυκι ἀνειπεῖν προσέταξαν, εἴτε ἀφίκοιτο ἐς τὰ ἄλφιτα, εἴτε ἐς τὰς κριθὰς παραβάλοι, μὴ ἀνείργειν, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν σιτεῖσθαι ἐς κόρον, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκτίνειν ἐν Πρυτανείῳ τὸ ἀργύριον, τρόπον τινὰ ἀθλητῇ σιτήσεως δοθείσης ἤδη γέροντι.
>
> At Athens an aged Mule was released from work by its master, so Aristotle tells us [*Hist. an.* 6.577b30], but declined to abandon its love of labour and its willingness to work on the score of age. Thus, at the time when the Athenians were erecting the Parthenon, though it neither drew nor carried burdens, yet it would unbidden and of its own free will walk by the young mules as they went back and forth, like a trace-horse, acting as guard, so to speak; and by treading a common path it encouraged their work, like some

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left hand). The donkey wears a halter (no snaffle or bit), and we can also see the throat strap to which a yoke or baggage frame would be attached, a more direct reminder of the animal's working duties than we find with the mule in fig. 15. Again, however, the carefully-etched hairs and arching neck of the animal, as well as the patterned riding cloth on which Hephaestus sits, are neat and decorous; and the donkey is not ithyphallic: contrast, e.g., Brommer 1978, Taf. 3.2, 7.1,2, 9.2, where both Dionysus and Hephaestus are sitting on one donkey; and contrast too fig. 9, for a much uglier donkey face, mane, and tail.

123. For such functions of Dionysiac art and ritual, esp. in the fifth century B.C.E., see, e.g., Seaford 1998; Griffith 2002; Kowalzig 2004.

124. The story is found at Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.577b30; Ael. *NA* 6.49; Plut. *De soll. an.* (*Moralia*) 970b; also Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 5.339a-b, and Plin. (*HN* 8.69.175), who states that this mule was commemorated "on Athenian monuments."

> old craftsman whom age has released from labour with his hands but whose experience and knowledge are a stimulus and incitement to the young. Now when the people got to hear of this they directed the herald to proclaim that if it came in quest of barleymeal or approached to get corn, it was not to be prevented but was to be allowed to eat its fill, and that the populace would defray the cost by depositing money in the Prytaneum, as in the case of an athlete who in his old age was given free meals there. (Trans. A. F. Scholfield, slightly adapted)

The building of the Parthenon is remembered here as an ideal moment of collective and well-directed endeavor, a moment at which all the elements in the city, old and young, elite and working-class, collaborated under Pericles' leadership to make the community strong and beautiful. Comradeship (κοινῇ), pride in labor (φιλοπόνου καὶ ἐθελουργοῦ, αὐτουργεῖν), making oneself practically useful as a "craftsman" (τεχνίτου) and "expert . . . teacher" for the young (ἐμπειρίᾳ . . . καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ), these are the virtues instantiated in this mule and exemplified by his continuing love of his comrades and pride in his work (φιλοτιμία, as Plutarch terms it in his version).[125] When Aelian compares the old mule to a "trace horse" and an "athlete," the elite capabilities of this experienced laborer-technician are thereby acknowledged even in the midst of his mundane and repetitive service.[126] The solidarity of citizen laborers and craftsmen reflected in this story (curiously confirmed by the Erechtheum building records that have survived to this day, in which free men and slaves work side by side for equivalent pay)[127] was not by any means always attained, in Athens or elsewhere, and it is rarely celebrated in the iconography or literature of the period. The image of this mule's behavior and reward contrasts strikingly, indeed, with the flamboyant horsemen of the Parthenon frieze (see fig. 6a), whose brilliant display attracts admiration of a different kind. Unlimited access to the grocery stalls of the agora (as Aelian and Aristotle record the popular "decree")[128] is a rare but revealing instance, I suggest, of ancient Greek "blue-collar" values being reaffirmed, at their own level and in their own terms, rather than being "aristocratized" into hippic language and imagery. And the animal who best symbolizes this "middle-class" commitment to labor, solidarity, and persistence in a common cause is the mule, itself the product of a planned and collaborative combination of "higher" and "lower" (more and less privileged) elements within Greek equine society.

125. Plut. *De soll. an.* (*Moralia*) 970b3: θαυμάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐκέλευσε δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι. Plutarch also includes the name of Pericles in his narrative, and emphasizes the cooperative spirit of the old mule with repeated συν- compounds (συνειργασμένων, συνανέστρεφε, συμπαρετρόχαζεν). According to Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 6.577b34; also Plin. *NH* 8.69.175) this mule was over eighty years old, which would mean he was alive when the Cleisthenic democracy was first introduced.

126. For the term παράσειρος ("trace-horse"), i.e. the outside member of a four-horse team that runs more freely (and also further and faster) and thus helps the others negotiate each turning-post, see p. 333 above. The expression δορυφορῶν (lit. "carrying a spear") gestures towards a "hoplite" status for the mule, i.e., a trusted position as an integral member of the city's armed forces.

127. *IG* 1.2.374.

128. ἐψηφίσαντο μὴ ἀπελαύνειν αὐτὸν τοὺς σιτοπώλας ἀπὸ τῶν τηλιῶν ("they voted that the grain merchants not be allowed to drive it away from their display tables," *Hist. an.* 6.577b34). Aristotle's reference to a "vote," along with Pliny's remark that the "decree . . . is visible on monuments (*decretum . . . monumentis apparet*)," implies that an inscription commemorated the decision.

CONCLUSION

In nineteenth-century Britain, the home of Black Beauty, the term "horse" covered a wide spectrum of physical types, mental images, and social functions, including thoroughbreds, hunters, hacks, dray horses, and pit ponies; the mythology, folklore, range of visual representations, and narrative presence of horses in literature was rich and varied. By contrast, donkeys in most regions of Britain were more uniform in size, appearance, and uses, and relatively not very numerous, while mules were quite rare; so there was little mythology or creative fiction devoted to them. The story was different in Spain and the Middle East (especially for donkeys), and in the United States (especially for mules).[129] Equids are not always used, or thought about, in the same ways. Fashions change, economies evolve, class and gender systems develop differently. For the ancient Greeks, equids in general were just as widely used as in nineteenth-century Britain, but the coexistence of large numbers of horses, donkeys, and mules within the same society, and the restricted range both of horse types and of functions for horses created a very different cultural dynamic. The sharp social and institutional distinctions that were maintained by the Greeks between "horse" and "donkey" were as much the result of arbitrary human choice and fantasy (ideology) as they were a product of nature and practical necessity. That is to say, the choices and fantasies of the Greeks concerning the natural and proper characteristics and activities of horses and donkeys were heavily colored by the facts of their own human (economic, social, and sexual) life; yet at the same time, their notions about these equids undoubtedly served in turn to reinforce their prejudices and preferences about human class and gender relations.

Within the polis and Greek institutions of the family and workplace, certain divisions of labor, gender, and authority were universally recognized. Masters should not do slavish jobs, nor should women usurp men's roles. "Liberal" (mainly leisured) pursuits were fetishized as being superior to banausic "work."[130] These divisions and distinctions were both economically fundamental and politically precious. The abolition of slavery, like the notion of the political equality of the sexes, was, after all, virtually unthinkable[131]—

129. Dent 1972, 127–53 (esp. p. 140, on the rarity of mules in Britain); see Part One, pp. 189–90 (with n. 15), 203–4, 225–26, 233–34. Robert Louis Stevenson's *Travels with a Donkey* [sc. in the Cevennes] (1879) derives much of its charm and interest from the fact that this well-educated Scotsman has never previously had any contact with a donkey and has no idea how to interact with one, unlike most of the local French people that he encounters, who are obviously quite familiar with a donkey's habits and preferences.

130. In practice, doubtless a fair amount of "women's work" (e.g., weaving) was in fact done by men, and vice-versa (e.g., planting, harvesting); likewise Greek elites were probably involved quite often in manual labor, especially on the land (Odysseus is proud of his plowing, Xenophon of his digging), while (conversely) slaves and helots sometimes fought bravely in battle or practised philosophy. In just the same way, older or damaged horses were sometimes used to perform grunt work that was more normally assigned in Classical Greece to donkeys, though this seems to have been much more widespread in Roman society than in Greek (see Part One, pp. 203–4 and n. 87; also Romer 2000). But ideologically, the two sets of operations, free and unfree, male and female, were kept as distinct as possible. Thus the helots and light-armed troops who died in battle were usually not commemorated: only the hoplites and cavalry. That is why the inclusion of mule teams at the Olympics, and the celebration of their victories, gets to be so interesting, and why a decree honoring a democratic Athenian mule is so exceptional.

131. Despite Antiphon 87 B 44 DK; Arist. *Pol.* Book 1; see Garnsey 1996.

and no less so was the liberation of the donkey from its assigned roles of servile labor. Conversely, the continuation of the donkey in its prescribed ("natural") roles as menial laborer, object of corporal degradation, and source of Dionysiac humor, helped to perpetuate the conviction that the natural world was neatly and unalterably divided, not only into male and female,[132] but also into free and unfree, noble and gross, "better" and "worse."[133] "Free" (noble) men faced life with certain expectations, which required a particular body type and set of performance skills (ἕξις; Latin *habitus*) that it was the business of a good upbringing and education to shape and reinforce. They should aspire to be (to look and act like) horses—and also to use (ride, drive, dominate) horses. Free (noble) women likewise were expected (required, trained) to present themselves in a certain style, a style that, as we have seen, tended to assimilate them to well-bred, well-trained, and well-groomed fillies.

Mules, however, existed (in abundance) as a confusing, but ever-present, reminder—if ever anyone wanted to stop and think about them—of precisely the arbitrariness of such class distinctions, gender roles, sexual behaviors, and divisions of labor, even as they confronted their human owners (coworkers) with tangible, flesh-and-blood instantiations of the possibility of constructing and engaging with a social "middle" that might incorporate (the best of) both worlds, or even break down the barriers between them. Any such "construction" requires unceasing work: it doesn't just happen by itself. Indeed, you have to "breed" it anew every generation. The instinct, or habit, of aristocratizing one's aspirations—of wanting to be (like) a horse, to display one's equestrian power and taste (a fast and glamorous sportscar, or massive 4WD SUV) and to relegate others to the role of donkey—was and is extremely strong; and on the whole, the Greeks failed to break out of this habit. They never managed to develop a consistently egalitarian, middle-of-the-road set of values to which all members of their society would aspire. The mystique of the horse never faded, and human class and gender distinctions for the most part continued to be as sharp and essentialized as ever. But it is fascinating and instructive to watch the Greeks confront—or try to ignore and evade—this half-ass hybrid, and to take note of the places where mules are and are not mentioned and accommodated. And I should like to think that the φιλοτιμία of that most unobtrusive and versatile equid, co-builder of the Parthenon and conveyor of brides and bridegrooms (and Hephaestus) to their desired destinations, has much to teach us—a creature who would work collaboratively, patiently, and unpretentiously to carry on the day-to-day labor and social in-

132. Even here, of course, we find occasional recognition by observant Greek writers of the fluidity of gender distinctions: e.g., Hippocr. *On Regimen* 2.1 (where three more or less masculine types of men, and three more or less feminine types of women, are distinguished, including one that is defined as ἀνδρόγυνοι). But in general, almost all Greeks seem to have been convinced that males and females (like horses and donkeys) are necessarily and essentially of a quite different temperature, nature, and value.

133. One of the most negative terms in fifth-century Athenian ethical discourse, signifying "worthless, foul," is πονηρός (lit. "laboring, working-class"); we may compare English "villainous" (derived from medieval "villein" = "peasant, one who works the land" (French *paysan*); see Johnstone 1994. Similarly, a "working horse" (ἐργάτης ἵππος) was distinguished linguistically by a special term—καβάλλης; see Part One, p. 195 and n. 39.

teraction of the community, a loyal partner and companion to fellow-mules and humans alike: an unsung—or now, I hope, at least half-sung (ἡμι-ύμνητος) hero.

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Herm Choppers, the Adonia, and Rhetorical Action in Ancient Greece

James Fredal

The exchange over Aspasia recently printed in the pages of this journal (Gale; Glenn, "Truth"; Jarratt) does more than enhance and complicate our understanding of this particular historical figure; it also illustrates one central issue currently dividing historians of rhetoric, and historians generally. "Traditionalists" like Xin Liu Gale demand rigorous and monogamous fidelity to the evidentiary material of historical scholarship, while postmodernists like Cheryl Glenn and Susan Jarratt pledge themselves *as well* to such nondocumentary elements as subject position, narrative form, and political commitment. These and similar considerations have captured the loyalty of postmodernist scholarship as absolutely central to the process of locating sources, judging evidence, and writing history, but traditionalists continue to see such "externals" as intrusions that compromise the historian's primary obligation to objectivity. You can't, says Gale, have it both ways, foundational and antifoundational: using the historical evidence to champion Aspasia while at the same time "reclaiming" her from the biases of those very documents. You can, answers Jarratt, because reclamation and interpretation are always implicated in any factual reconstruction; they cohabit.

This debate, then, encapsulates the difficulties historians of rhetoric have had in moving beyond these by-now-familiar charges and countercharges. Can we ever know whether Aspasia was "really" a woman *rhetor*, or will she always be only a "construct of discourse" (Gale 380)? Perhaps we remain caught in this historiographic vortex because of the continuing hold of a foundationalist model for rhetorical activity in history. The debate over women's rhetoric in ancient Greece (whether we're speaking of Aspasia, Sappho, or Diotima) demonstrates how the discipline has been hampered by its implicit acceptance of a traditional paradigm for

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proper rhetorical activity: the single, named, public figure who composes (or is composed through) speeches and texts. This rhetorical paradigm works in ways similar to Foucault's "author function," where legitimacy depends upon the discursive unities that cluster around an *œuvre* and a proper name (221–22). Aspasia participates in sophistic circles, writes speeches, or gets herself written about, only she does so as a woman. Her legitimacy as a figure of women's rhetoric, and so the viability of a project examining women's rhetoric in ancient Greece, is made to depend upon the veracity of the claims made about her life and work—claims that center upon the unities that can be established in her name, and that can guarantee her status as a writer, speaker, and teacher—but because she was a woman, her life exists only as refracted through other writers, who seem to render her either as a courtesan, a mouthpiece for Athenian patriotism, or a joke. Aspasia is, it seems, condemned always to be only the discursive effect of written texts precisely because only the written text as authored discourse counts for us as rhetorical knowledge. If we fail to render Aspasia as a legitimate source for the production of rhetorical knowledge, if she never attains the status of rhetorical "author," this may be only because our sources disperse and deflect the very unities that we would look to them to provide.

But she, and the women of ancient Greece in general, share this characteristic with the vast majority of ancient Greeks, only a tiny fraction of whom ever wrote or got themselves written about. About the lives (to say nothing of the rhetorical practices) of the poor, the illiterate, slaves, countryfolk, and the residents of cities other than Athens—Sparta, to name one conspicuous example—we know very little. It has become the commonest of tropes in classics scholarship to admit at the outset the scarcity of sources and the obvious biases and many gaps in the few sources available. Of Cleisthenes, for example, one of the most important of Greek reformers and in many ways the founder of its democracy (and therefore of interest to historians of rhetoric), we have surprisingly little material and nothing from his own hand. Outside that list of a dozen or so ancient Greek literate speakers and theorists whose names we learn early (from Tisias to Aristotle and Demosthenes), our knowledge of Greek persuasive artistry—of either men or women—is scanty indeed, although we can be certain that ancient Greeks in general regularly engaged in rhetorical practices and acts, as it is in the nature of all humans to do.

Unfortunately, however, the very literate and verbal medium through which the ancients have come down to us has determined the terms upon which—indeed the media through which—we are willing to assess their work and worth. A look at recent work in Greek rhetorical history suggests that the "author" and his or her discursive *œuvre* still play a primary role in structuring and legitimating the knowledge that we feel able to profess for that period. Andrea Lunsford's excellent collection *Reclaiming Rhetorica* is organized around proper names and texts, and for many good reasons. Glenn, too, explains the need to write individual, named women into

the history of rhetoric (*Rhetoric Retold*) despite the objections of scholars such as Barbara Biesecker or, from another direction, Joan Scott. Both Glenn and many of the authors of the pieces collected in Lunsford struggle to contextualize the individual women they examine and so connect more generally to the women of the time and to contemporary constructions of gender, as Jarratt and Ong and Glenn do for Aspasia. But this contextualizing still necessarily relies on that elusive authorial name and its discourse as the lever with which to pry open this area of research and to fit discussions of women and gender into the canon. The limits imposed by the author function are difficult to see or escape when this very function determines which texts are worth preserving and what can be said of them; they are particularly injurious to fields such as ancient history, where authors are so few and corroboration so rare.

But this relative dearth of "authors" need not hamper us as much as it does, if we can rethink what might count as evidence in rhetorical history. There are other ways to talk about the rhetorical activity of women in ancient Greece, and of the ancients in general, ways that minimize the importance of the author and his or her discourse as a principle of unity, if we are willing to set aside the narrow and exclusionary tradition according to which rhetorical activity must be limited to the texts or speeches produced by individually named speakers and writers (Isocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Aspasia?). Important events, trends, places, terms, and cultural conditions can replace the author as focal points for historical investigations, and, because the legitimacy of these operators does not depend on their ability to produce or unify a discourse, they allow us to minimize all the troubles that the author function introduces, including especially its exclusive focus upon named figures as the authors of primary documents, of which we possess so few, and its diligence in ignoring evidence for nonverbal rhetorical action.

While the recovery of named figures like Aspasia as a legitimate source of rhetorical knowledge and teaching in ancient Greece is important and valuable—not only for feminists but for historians and theorists of rhetoric in general—there are other media and other venues for what we might call ancient persuasive artistry, other organizing principles for investigating it, and a wide range of historical clues to guide us in reclaiming the persuasive skills that women and other disenfranchised or nonliterate groups possessed, displayed, and taught. Persuasive artistry in ancient Greece worked its effects through, for example, poetry, sculpture, architecture, city planning, dance, collaborative symbolic actions, and everyday practices, in addition to individually authored speeches. (On the symbolic/rhetorical potential for Greek festival and dance, for example see Goldhill; Connor; Stehle, *Performance.*) It was initiated and carried out in private, by noncitizens and women, as well as by political leaders and orators.

These other approaches and sources do not solve what we might call "the Aspasia question," but they offer a way around it, lay out new paths on the "map," by asking different questions. Rather than asking who Aspasia *really* was and what she accomplished, we might ask what sorts of resources, models, spaces, and media were available to rhetorically minded women—or any ancient Greek—outside the dominant paradigm of the public speech or written treatise. We might ask what signs of rhetorical wisdom—what symbolic acts, rituals, practices, events—might help us understand the persuasive practices of a largely oral and performative people. We can, for example, follow the lead of Gorgo, wife of the Spartan general Leonidas, in trying to uncover paradigms for rhetorical cunning. When the Spartans received an apparently blank writing tablet from Demaratus (who wanted to warn them of an imminent Persian attack), it was she who suggested they scrape off the smooth wax to examine the wood underneath (Herodotus 7.239).

If we wanted, similarly, to remove the waxy palimpsest that always privileges the written text and its author, we might begin by thinking about those symbolic resources and media for expression available to potential rhetorical agents behind or beyond the verbal. We might look for the possible opportunities, moments of access, or venues for expression through which individuals or groups could carry out rhetorical acts or practices.

I would argue, for example, that one of the most important media for symbolic expression in ancient Greece was stone, a near-ubiquitous material for Greek architecture, inscription, and sculpture (Wycherly; Thomas 84–88). To understand persuasive artistry in ancient Greece, we would need to learn more about the symbolic use of various types of stone, including especially monumental inscriptions and sculpture. Similarly, one of the most accessible venues for Greek symbolic expression was the festival. For ancient Greek women in particular, symbolic or persuasive agency in the political sphere would have been most available through their participation in the many cults and festivals observed in Athens—in song, dance, and ritual—rather than through the production of speeches, texts, or philosophical treatises (Stehle, *Performance*).

I focus on one festival, one symbolic use of stone, and one historical moment during the Adonia festival of 416–15 B.C.E. to discuss a rhetorical event that was deliberate and political, but that in almost every other way stood in opposition to the accepted modes of rhetoric that would eventually be taken for granted by handbooks and theory. It was collective and anonymous rather than individual, enacted rather than spoken or written, clandestine and nocturnal rather than part of daytime political proceedings, and, perhaps most important, it worked in opposition to the rhetoric of imperialist expansion that characterized fifth-century Athenian politics. While neither Plato, Isocrates, nor Aristotle would consider it rhetoric, I suggest

that this symbolic act offers unique insight into the workings of ancient persuasive artistry outside the sanctioned place of public oratory and prior to the appearance of explicit, written rhetorical theory.

This event is known today as the mutilation of the herms. Though the perpetrators of this illegal and sacrilegious act remain a mystery, the act itself stands as one of the most important single events in the history of classical Athens, and as one of its most powerful rhetorical moments. It is this event that I want to present as a paradigm for powerful, nonverbal rhetorical action.

The Herms of Athens

The classical Greek herm is a partly aniconic, typically archaizing statue of Hermes consisting of a rectangular pillar topped with a stylized bust of Hermes, with a horizontal cutting at shoulder height to accommodate a cross-beam or bracket and, about midway down, an erect phallus and testicles. The herm, says Thucydides, was a ubiquitous Athenian icon. While the origin of the herm remains controversial, its widespread popularity is well attested (Goldman; Osborne 51–52; Furley 17–19). According to the pseudo-Platonic *Hipparchus*, the herms were initiated by the tyrant Hipparchus as distance markers halfway between Athens and each of its rural demes (228d). They included, within Athens, a three-headed herm at a crossroads in the northwest corner of the city, near what would have been the city's principal gateway, pointing the direction of the various paths (Furley 16). These road-markers are supported by archaeological evidence, although the Hipparchan herms are probably not the origin of the herm form (Lewis 293; see Pausanius 3.1.1 and n1).

One of the Hipparchan adaptations included the inscription of verses on the sides of the herms, facing travelers. The terse moral sentiments on the Hipparchan herms included exhortations such as "Think just thoughts" and "Don't deceive a friend" (*Hipparchus* 228d–29b), like early public service slogans ("Just say no"). As such, they combined the functions of the mile marker, the Hermes icon, and the gnomic saying, and were one piece of a larger Peisistratid educational and cultural program (see Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians* 18.2; [Plato], *Hipparchus* 228b–c).[1]

In addition to being placed as road markers, herms were common features within the city itself. The agora or public square in Athens was littered with herms, particularly in its northwest corner, an area known simply as "the herms," where archaeological remains of nineteen separate herms have been found (Shear; Harrison). The placement of this collection of herms at the northwest corner of the agora (like that of Hermes *trikephalos*) puts them on line with the likely location of the archaic city gate, such that the herms here may have functioned to guard the archaic city itself. Later, when the city wall was expanded, they oversaw its civic center. Other herms

were dedicated on the Acropolis, including an often-copied Hermes Propylaios, or "Hermes of the Entrance," at the gateway to the Acropolis. Herms were similarly dedicated at the entrances of other sacred sites and temples, including several Panhellenic sanctuaries. Private herms were also popular at the entrances of households and courtyards, guarding the place where *oikos* meets *polis*, the private meets the public, just as the gateway herms guarded the boundary between Athens and the outside world. Herms were, in this sense, typically connected to the sacred place or dwelling where they stood, guarding entrances, protecting the activities taking place inside, and overseeing rituals and sacrifices to the gods.

But herms could also be attached to important events separate from the place of their erection, especially when associated with military events. An inscription found on the Acropolis, dedicating a statue (now lost) to the general Callimachus in honor of his victory in the battle of Marathon, may have come from a private herm that memorialized Callimachus' role in the Persian war (Tod; Jacoby; Raubitschek, *Dedications*; Raubitschek, "Two Monuments," provides an alternate viewpoint). The three so-called Eion herms in the agora served a similar function, but were erected at state expense, not private initiative. They were inscribed and dedicated to the Athenian victory at Eion in the Persian war, under the general Cimon. The three inscriptions are quoted in Plutarch's *Lives* ("Cimon"). The inscription on the middle herm illustrates their rhetorical force:

> This is a token, given by Athens to her leaders
> In payment for their service and great favors.
> Seeing this, men of the future will more incline
> To go to war in their country's cause. (7.124)

The other two inscriptions similarly praise Athenian martial valor and love of battle. They pointedly do not name the generals of the battle and thus honor Athenian virtue generally rather than the bravery of specific individuals. This public monument to the victory at Eion was particularly important in the forging of an Athenian ideology, since it memorialized a shift from defensive warfare against Persian aggression to the offensive acquisition of new land and tribute-paying colonies. The victory at Eion won the first new territory for what had been a small and relatively insignificant city-state. Eion, and its Athenian triple herm, thus marked the beginning of the Athenian Empire (see Plutarch, "Cimon" 7–8; Thucydides 1.98).

The battle at Eion stood as an origin event for a Panhellenic ideology that saw Athens as the head of a Greece united victoriously against Persia and the East. The hortatory rhetoric of the Eion herm calling young men to "incline to go to war" reinforced this imperialist and Athenocentric ideology, and it singled out aggressive territorial expansion as the practical manifestation of that belief, as was the case on Melos. From very early on, then, herms were more than statues on blocks. Their

erection in particular places, and in connection with particular events, coupled with the inscriptions they carried, gave them a rhetorical, epideictic significance that helped to shape Athenian public, military, and religious ideology and civic pride.

Like the Eion herms, the Hipparchan inscriptions enjoined upon readers honorable attitudes and character traits in relation to Athens. The herms are not reported to have been erected on roads between one rural village and another, only on roads leading to Athens. The positions, historical associations, and inscriptions of these herms communicated a political and moral message in the context both of Athenian identity and of the god Hermes. Like the Eion and Callimachus herms, the Hipparchan herms functioned to reinforce an Athenocentric culture throughout Attica. Just as the Eion herm commemorated the beginnings of an Athenian empire that connected all subject territory to its Attic center, so the Hipparchan herms literally demarcated Athens as the political, cultural, and financial center of all its rural demes. In all of these early cases, the herms figure Athens as the political and moral axis of all its outlying regions, setting it apart from rival Greek cities in the same way that Pericles does in his epideictic funeral oration (Thucydides 2.36–47). They do so symbolically, that is rhetorically, as mnemonic icons with textual support, declaring Athens the political and geographic center of the world. The prolific placement of these herms throughout Athens produced a rhetoric of amplification, magnifying this Athenocentric ideology and assuring that their message would never be long out of mind.

Using Hermes in this statuary form to visually represent and reinforce an Athenocentric view of Greek political life makes sense. Hermes was the herald and messenger of Zeus and a god of communication. This function figured Hermes as the divine patron of male enfranchisement, eloquence, and public speaking. Hermes also oversaw and protected other sorts of exchanges and transmissions in addition to verbal ones: transitions, travel, escort and safe conduct, trade, entrances and exits, boundaries. For this reason, Hermes could oversee the political and financial obligations tying one city-state to all its surrounding rural regions and tribute-paying subject-states. Hermes was also a god of youthful exuberance and competition: herms at palaestrai and gymnasia (wrestling and exercise grounds) suggest his association with masculine beauty, prowess, and competition. And the title Hermes Hegemonios (or Hermes of Supremacy or Empire; see Aristophanes' *Plutus* 1159; Osborne 53) similarly indicates his importance to military expeditions and the wielding of power, particularly to the expansionist policies espoused by Alcibiades and others to extend the empire and increase its tribute money. Because the Athenian empire relied heavily on its navy to police its colonies, collect tribute, and protect important shipping routes, Hermes as protector of travel and communication became especially important.[2]

But Hermes was also a trickster god and thief (and, with typical Greek inconsistency, the protection against thievery; see the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 13–23).

From his days as an infant stealing Apollo's cattle to his practice of "stealing" the sacrifices meant for other gods (made possible by his role as messenger between gods and humans; see Aristophanes' *Plutus* 1111–45), Hermes embodies deception and trickery, including the trickery of the law-court. In the *Hymn to Hermes*, he acts as *rhetor*, employing an argument from probability in his own defense: "I was born but yesterday, nor am I like a cattle-lifter, a sturdy fellow" (376–77). Hermes Strophaios (twisting or turning; see Aristophanes, *Plutus* 1153; Osborne 53) metonymically connects the Hermes of entrances and exits (of swinging doors and hinges) to the shrewd Hermes that employs all the tricks and cunning intelligence (the *metis*) of the sophist, making the worse case seem the better (Detienne and Vernant 41–42). He is thus a god of rhetoric and of the Assembly, and his popularity, like rhetoric itself, has been attributed to Athenian democracy (see Furley 20; Osborne 47–73). Hermes' connection to rhetoric and sophistry as well as to military expeditions and trade made him central to democratic Assembly deliberations, where Athenian citizens had been formulating and supporting expansionist policy since the late days of the Persian war.

Hermes represents, then, just the attitudes that Plato levels against the Assembly and its leaders, and against democracy in general: the people support speakers and policies who promise the most glory and financial gain rather than those who could improve them (*Gorgias* 517b–c; compare also pseudo-Xenophon's *Constitution of the Athenians* 2–8 and the character Demos in Aristophanes' *Knights*). While men like Pericles had given Athenians walls, ships, and buildings, they had not made them better people. Even Nicias' speeches against the Sicilian expedition backfired in their attempts to dissuade the Assembly from the desire for profit and exploit. Although Nicias attempted to exaggerate the cost, risk, and necessary size of the enterprise in order to defuse the people's eagerness to undertake it, they only foresaw even greater opportunities for honor and profit through adventure, travel, the sale of goods for war, payment for service, booty, and the future tribute of a wealthy island, all functions traditionally in the hands of Hermes (Thucydides 6.19, 24; Plutarch, "Nicias" 12).

Thus the associations of Hermes, and his physical features, tie him just as closely to the revenue-producing political empire as to the democratic process that protected and enhanced it. Eva Keuls makes this tangible argument explicit; she sees close connections between the Athenian culture of military, imperial androcentrism (embodied by Alcibiades) and the phallic physiognomy of the herm.[3]

The Mutilation of the Herms

In 416 B.C.E., during the Peloponnesian war, waged between the Athenian empire on one side and Sparta and its allies on the other, Athens attacked the city of Melos for refusing to join its alliance.[4] Though it had few material resources and no strate-

gic value, Melos was destroyed, its men killed, and its women and children sold into slavery. This victory led to even bolder aspirations on the part of the majority of Athenian citizens during the following year. With the excuse of aiding the city of Egesta, an ally of Athens on the island of Sicily, the assembly voted to send a naval force against the prosperous and powerful city of Syracuse in Sicily, a potential Spartan ally, with the aim of conquering the island. The Assembly commissioned an Athenian naval force to be led by three leading generals: the popular and militaristic Alcibiades, the cautious Nicias (who opposed the mission), and the reckless Lamachus. It would be the largest, costliest, and best-equipped fleet ever to set sail from the city. Thucydides describes the ambitious Sicilian expedition at length (Books 6 and 7), as does Plutarch in his lives of Nicias and Alcibiades. But one morning in the summer of 415, during the final preparations for the expedition, residents of Athens awoke to widespread iconoclastic vandalism. Thucydides describes the event in some detail:

> While these preparations were going on it was found that in one night nearly all the stone Hermae in the city of Athens had had their faces disfigured by being cut about. These are a national institution, the well-known square-cut figures, of which there are great numbers both in the porches of private houses and in the temples. (6.27)

This widespread vandalism had an immediate effect on the citizens of Athens. If you imagine that every portrait of Stalin throughout the Soviet Union had been defaced the night before the launching of Sputnik, or that, on the night before a holy day in Vatican City, some faction beheaded or defiled every crucifix, you can begin to approximate the effect of defacing the herms throughout the city of Athens on the eve of its Sicilian campaign.

Thucydides continues his account:

> No one knew who had done this, but large rewards were offered by the state in order to find out who the criminals were, and there was also a decree passed guaranteeing immunity to anyone, citizen, alien, or slave, who knew of any other sacrilegious act that had taken place and would come forward with information about it. The whole affair was taken very seriously, as it was regarded as an omen for the expedition, and at the same time as evidence of a revolutionary conspiracy to overthrow the democracy. (6.27)

Accusations came forth not about the herms, but about the profanation of the sacred Eleusinian mysteries of the "two goddesses" Demeter and Kore; people were accused of parodying rituals whose details were supposed to be known only to initiates. The recriminations from the mutilation of the herms and the associated profanation of sacred mysteries were widespread. Tensions increased and accusations multiplied, says Thucydides, so that

> [a]fter the expedition had set sail, the Athenians had been just as anxious as before to investigate the facts about the mysteries and about the Hermae. Instead of checking

> up on the characters of the informers, they had regarded everything they were told as grounds for suspicion, and on the evidence of complete rogues had arrested and imprisoned some of its best citizens, thinking it better to get to the bottom of things in this way rather than to let any accused person, however good his reputation might be, escape interrogation because of the bad character of the informer. (6.53)

Among those charged was Alcibiades, one of the Athenian generals in charge of the Sicilian expedition. He and others were accused of profaning the mysteries as well as defacing the herms. Alcibiades denied the charges and demanded to be tried before setting sail for Sicily, but his political opponents succeeded in delaying the trial. Alcibiades departed as public opinion against him increased. He was later recalled to stand trial but escaped on the return trip and went into hiding. He was sentenced to death in absentia and defected to Sparta, a move that played an important role in the calamitous Athenian defeat in Sicily.

Another of those accused was the orator Andocides, who was brought to trial finally in 400. In his defense speech, he describes a similar state of unrest in the city as a result of the mutilation of the herms:

> The city was in such a state that every time the herald announced a council meeting, and lowered the signal accordingly, this was a signal both to members of council to enter the council chamber, and simultaneously for the rest to vacate the market-place, as each one of them feared arrest. (1.36)

Whatever the intent behind the mutilators, their act was powerful, prophetic, and heavily weighted with symbolic force. The widespread public nature of the desecration assured that it would be seen and felt by the majority of Athenian townspeople, and they responded with unanimous shock and suspicion. As a result of the mutilation, morale deteriorated. Stripped of its leading general and foremost proponent, the expedition quickly lost momentum as the caution of Nicias degenerated into inaction and, ultimately, defeat. The Athenian losses in the Sicilian expedition were, says Thucydides, "total; army, navy, everything was destroyed, and, out of many, only few returned" (7.87).

My goal is not primarily to uncover the identity of the *hermokopidai* (the herm-choppers), nor to describe the relation of their actions to the profanation of the mysteries (for a traditional view that an oligarchic club performed the mutilations, see MacDowell, appendices C and G in his cotranslation of Andocides; Keuls 387–95 names the women of Athens). Rather, I want to examine this event as a significant moment of and model for rhetorical action in ancient Greece which, while itself rhetorical, nevertheless opposed traditional themes and forms of public persuasion. So, while we cannot say for certain which specific individual or group committed this crime, the event itself merits the attention of historians of rhetoric as one early example of feminist and pacifist "social movement" rhetoric against imperialism and militarism. It also stands as a paradigm for the nonverbal, unwritten, performative rhetoric that scholars of ancient rhetoric often overlook.

The mutilation of the herms functioned as powerful rhetoric precisely because nonverbal rhetorical action—through the performing and visual arts and sculpture, as well as through everyday styles of self-presentation—was a well-understood and important genre of persuasive artistry in ancient Athens. What's more, this form of rhetorical activity was available to constituencies within the city who were either not willing, not able, or not permitted to speak in public: women, noncitizens, children, and slaves, along with inarticulate or disabled men. If any of these groups wished to make their presence and their views known among the voting citizen body, they generally had to do so outside the venue of public oratory. But because nonverbal performances and practices do not project well onto texts and typically remain anonymous, rhetorical theorists, then as now, have some difficulty either crediting or accounting for them.

The Hermokopidai

Much ink has been spilled debating what *exactly* was mutilated that evening, to say nothing of who the culprits were. Thucydides says that each herm's *prosopon*, literally the "face," was cut up, although the term can also mean "front" more generally. Plutarch uses the equally equivocal *akroteriazo*, which can mean "cut off the extremities" or, simply, "mutilate" ("Nicias" 13; "Alcibiades" 18). An extant herm face with a chipped nose, dating from the early fifth century, along with evidence from Thucydides, has led some commentators to conclude that the herms' faces (not their phalluses) were literally cut up. But other evidence suggests that, in addition or instead, it was the herms' phalluses that were broken off.

The most obvious markers of Hermes' masculine virtues and privileges on the herm are its beard and phallus. The phallus has been singled out as particularly symbolic. Burkert suggests that the apotropaic qualities of the herm derives from its ithyphallic form. For Burkert (who borrows from the ethological study of primates) the erect phallus signifies that a group "enjoys the full protection of masculinity" and thus wards off danger and evil (40). The phallus becomes a sign of potency, erection a sign of masculine power. Harrison notes the use of similar phallic forms as apotropaic devices in ancient Italy for the protection of city gates (114). While the cutting of a phallus thus has clear rhetorical significance and force, it would be difficult to understand what symbolic value might be attached to the nose other than as euphemistic double for the phallus.

There is literary evidence for phallus-chopping also. Plutarch mentions a man leaping upon the Altar of the Twelve Gods and castrating himself in association with the events of 415 ("Nicias" 13). And in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, as the women are conducting a sex strike to oppose the Peloponnesian war, the chorus warns a group of men onstage to cover up their huge erections, "so that the herm-choppers won't

catch sight of you" (1093–94). They are not recommending covering the face. Keuls further mentions a vase painting depicting a maenad (a female participant in Dionysian rites) attacking the genitals of a satyr. She likens the "enacted aggression against the genitals of satyrs in the controlled setting of cultic proceedings to the castration of the phallic stone symbols, at the prompting of fear and outrage" (391). But a conclusion that the phalluses were indeed vandalized does not rule out damage to the faces of the herms as well.[5] Vandalism against these icons constituted an attack against the potency of the city, the families, and the individuals who had erected them.

The city immediately began to look for the culprits. The dominant view quickly asserted that some antidemocratic faction, possibly in allegiance to the oligarchic Sparta, "castrated" these herms to foment unrest and prepare for the overthrow of the democracy. The fact that a herm near Andocides' home was spared led to the suspicion and arrest of him and most of his family and then, paradoxically, to their release (Andocides argues, successfully if implausibly, that one conspirator, Euphiletus, had convinced the rest that Andocides himself would smash his own family herm, which he did not do; 61–63).

Far from weakening the democracy, the scandal heightened fears of oligarchy or tyranny and increased vigilance against it. The history of Greek tyranny suggests that individual power is won through the strategic manipulation and cunning display of power and powerlessness.[6] No oligarchy could be won without some similar public display, and one has to wonder why the oligarchs would resort to this rather crude, if powerful, act of evening vandalism rather than public speaking and all the political machinations that it made possible. If the herms affair was intended to move Athens toward oligarchy, then it failed miserably, although it did succeed in casting doubt upon the Sicilian expedition and the public leaders, especially Alcibiades.

One might argue, rather, that those most likely to oppose the expedition were those with the least to gain and the most to lose, those who could express themselves only via symbolic action. It was the women and their children, for example, who, without the ability to participate in decision making, risked slavery, rape, and death at the hands of enemies if Athens were to lose the war. It was the slaves who held the fewest political protections and were most susceptible to torture and death. These were precisely the terrors that Athenian men had visited upon the population of Melos in the year leading up to the Sicilian expedition. And it was the women of Athens that Aristophanes would later portray, in *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Ecclesiazusae*, as the champions of peace and stability against the wartime disruptions and expansionist ethos characteristic of Athenian men. Though admittedly a writer of fantastic comedy, Aristophanes' penchant for alluding to and lampooning contemporary political events and real personages rules out the objection that his protofeminist utopias were pure fantasy.

"I can see no other explanation," says Keuls "for Aristophanes' sudden preoccupation with female protest than that he, and at least a part of the audience, knew or suspected that the castration of the herms had been perpetrated by women" (395). If any group could sympathize with reluctant subject colonies forced to support foreign campaigns, it was the disenfranchised constituencies within Athens itself: slaves, foreigners, and, perhaps, women. Because constituencies least able to express their sentiments through legitimate channels might be most motivated to carry out clandestine symbolic actions, we should at least entertain the possibility that such a disenfranchised group could have done it, if they can be shown to have had access to the herms on the night in question. Regardless of their identity, the herm-choppers can demonstrate to us the importance of symbolic action in ancient Greece.

The Adonia

Normally, the confined women of Athens would have gained access to so many of the herms in the city only with great difficulty. But in this case, an important women's festival—the Adonia—gave them significantly greater freedom of movement. For anywhere from one to eight days in late summer, women traveled from house to house where, in temporary rooftop "gardens," they joked, sang, danced, and mourned the death of Adonis before taking to the streets with their small effigies of the dead body. The women brought potted "gardens" of lettuce and other spices to their rooftops where the festivities took place. The wailing was audible throughout the city and into the night. The rooftop chants were followed by a procession through the city where the effigies of Adonis were borne and, finally, "buried" at sea. The gardens were allowed to wither and discarded as part of or after the festival.[7]

Adonis—beautiful, boyish, downy-faced, and reticent—stood in opposition to rapacious, conquering, masculine gods and heroes like Zeus and Theseus, both of whom functioned as foundation figures for Athenian political identity. In the myth of Adonis, the goddess Aphrodite pursues and beds a reluctant male mortal who later dies. Structurally, the myth lies in opposition to the much more common myth of the abduction and rape of females on the part of male gods and heroes, as Marcel Detienne points out. Detienne further interprets the Adonia as a countercultural ritual that parodied and symbolically overturned more formal marriage and agricultural rites, such as the Thesmophoria. The Adonia reenacts a story of female license, female power, and female participation in male self-definition.

Adonis was, says Keuls, the model for all subsequent romantic heroes, from Romeo to Rudolph Valentino to Leonardo Di Caprio. According to one form of the myth, the youthful and downy-faced Adonis was fatally wounded during a hunt by a boar whose tusk pierced his groin and mutilated his genitals. He either hid or was hidden by Aphrodite in a bed of lettuce, and/or his corpse was laid out on such a

bed.[8] The supposed dissipating effects of lettuce on male potency and its rapid withering in the shallow pots each suggest in different ways the untimely castration and death of Adonis, itself represented by the small statues. Aphrodite mourns his loss, and during the Adonia, the women of Athens did also. In doing so, they celebrated sexual relations and forms of license, potency, and independence distinctly different from the aggressive phallicism of official Athenian ideology and public policy (Keuls 57–62).

Concerning that summer of 415, Plutarch recalls the unfortunate occurrence of the Adonia during Assembly proceedings:

> [J]ust when the fleet was poised and ready to set sail, a number of unfortunate things happened, including the festival of Adonis, which fell at that time. All over the city the women were preparing statuettes of the god for burial in a way which loosely resembled the treatment of human corpses, and were beating their breasts, just as they would at a funeral, and chanting dirges. ("Alcibiades" 18)

In *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes refers to this same festival, when a male character recalls sitting at the Assembly with "that accursed Adonis ritual on the roofs" in progress. While Demostratos argued in favor of the Sicilian campaign (arguing, in fact, to formally close the debate), "his wife danced and wailed 'Alas Adonis . . . beat your breast for Adonis,'" interrupting the proceedings and irritating its voting members (388). It is unlikely that Aristophanes made this juxtaposition accidental: Demostratos calls for public debate on the matter to be closed just as his wife breaks into the proceedings from a nearby roof, preventing him from being heard and, in effect, prolonging the discussion. Mourning the victim of deadly violence in a ritual that overturned the ideology of masculine potency, could the women of Athens not have been thinking as well of the masculine ethos of potency that dominated the assembly and that sent sons, brothers, and husbands off to fight in foreign wars?

Both Plutarch and Aristophanes reveal the masculine distaste for the "unfortunate" and "accursed" festival and its bad timing. The Adonia was run by the women of Athens and had no established date for its observance (Winkler 193; Reed 319). It was in this and other ways unlike official state festivals, and existed "on the periphery of the official cults and public ceremonies" (Detienne 65). The Adonia was a private affair controlled by the women who celebrated it, including citizen wives, concubines (hetairai, like Aspasia) and prostitutes, slave and free. Some of these women, Demostratos' wife among them, could have timed their celebration of this festival to coincide with and disrupt the Sicilian debate and expedition and, perhaps, to gain the freedom to take more forceful action against it.

The Adonia, then, was one of a very few opportunities for women to socialize, celebrate, and gather under their own control. Keuls calls this festival "the only form of self-expression developed by Athenian women, in response to an emotional need of their own, and not dictated by the voice of male authority" (23–24). While

other rituals, such as the official festivals of Demeter (the Thesmophoria), included the wives of Athenian citizens (but not prostitutes) as participants, even sometimes excluding men, they were state-run festivals, controlled by priests and financed by wealthy men to further the interests of, for example, Athenian agriculture and marriage. The Adonia was not secret, but it was women-run, included all women, not only wives, and perhaps expressed a bawdy and carnivalesque inversion of official, masculinist ideology.

If women could use the Adonia to express and clarify their own political interests, then the supine and "castrated" Adonis (the very figure whose miniature effigy they bore) may have taken on rhetorical force as a figuration of masculinity, sexual relations, and political ambitions inverse to the erect phallicism of the public herms. To the degree that the herms' physiognomy connected aggressive sexual conquest with military conquest, then Adonis may have become a figure of more peaceful and egalitarian relations in the *polis* as well as in the *oikos*. Aristophanes (in *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Ecclesiazusae*) relies heavily on women protagonists to advance his arguments for peace and social reform, even if Adonis does not appear in his plays. In the *Ecclesiazusae*, or *Assemblywomen*, the women, after dressing as men to pass their own agenda through the Assembly, initiate communitarian reforms that redistribute wealth and privilege equally among all (590–614).

Just as the women of Athens may have exploited the Adonia to interrupt the Assembly, so the youthful beardlessness of Adonis, his near-castration, and his untimely death function physiognomically to signify opposition to the masculinist aggression of Athenian policy, represented by the erect and bearded herms.[9] If someone were to knock a herm over and render it beardless (or symbolically so, by chiseling at the face) and castrated, they would, in effect, make of him an Adonis, whose own early death might argue for the abortion of a dangerous and unnecessary expedition.

Women's Ephemera

In the *Phaedrus*, Plato calls upon the ephemeral and nonserious qualities of the Adonis ritual in order to draw a contrast between what is frivolous and ephemeral and what is serious and lasting. The women's potted gardens of Adonis (raised for the Adonia) root quickly but then wither away and are discarded, while the "sensible husbandman's" farm requires months of labor and produces tangible results. The former, argues Plato, like writing, is pursued for the sake of short-lived amusement (a women's festival) but produces no lasting results, while dialectic, like serious husbandry, produces new seeds "in other minds [. . .] capable of continuing the process for ever" (277A). According to this Platonic metaphor, anyone invested in *not* seeing military expeditions "continuing forever" might find it useful to symbolically connect the ephemeral and abortive (the gardens of lettuce, the potency of Adonis) to

the ongoing Sicilian debate via the very symbol of both military might and public debate: the herms. And perhaps they could do so through writing.

Both writing and the Adonia, suggests Plato, were ephemeral and womanly, but even Plato would have to concur that war and speechifying remained for most citizens the lasting, serious work of men. If this is the case, then upon what might women write their own political sentiments, especially peaceful or egalitarian ones? If this sentiment—that the Adonia activity was, like writing, neither serious nor lasting—was not unique to Plato, then those feminized "writers" who literally inscribed their sentiments on the bodies of the herms during a women's festival that was, though mournful, nevertheless playful and irreverent, may have used this very sentiment against its proponents. That is, the *hermokopidai* might employ the very terms of opprobrium used against the Adonia—womanly, written, ephemeral, irreverent (not to mention nocturnal)—to declare their opposition to a manly, sanctioned, but deadly rhetorical and military action by "writing" on the serious face (beard) and phallus of herms, rendering them effeminate and Adonis-like. In doing so, they would re-inscribe the icon of Athens's serious and lasting war lust into a ludic, irreverent, and inevitably impermanent (since defaced statues would soon be repaired or replaced), though serious, bid to abort the mission and work for peace.

Even aside from the Adonia, women's activities provided a powerful locus for countercultural or oppositional rhetoric in the general sense that most forms of cultural capital, social prestige, and political power in Athens were held by men through masculine modes of performance: public speaking, poetry, athletic games, and battle. Women's activities were by definition restricted to private places and nocturnal times where they would be neither seen nor heard by unrelated men. Athenian men spent a great deal of time worrying about the actions and movements of their women, or at least they are reported to have done so, primarily to ensure patrimony and to uphold the name of the family or clan (Gould). In this sense, women's public activity and availability was seen by males to be by definition dangerous, duplicitous, and an implicit threat to the social order, even as it was essential to that order. Any outdoor activities constituted a powerful locus of symbolic *dis*order (an understanding the women capitalized on in the Adonia) and thus the very existence of women constituted an argument for strict social control.

The place of women as oppositional was frequently portrayed in myth, not only through figures such as Helen and Clytemnestra—whose supposed infidelities contributed to the most famous of tragedies, the Trojan war and the fall of the house of Atreus, respectively—but also through the figure of Pandora, through whom Hesiod crystallized ancient Greek animosity toward women and their skills at persuasion and deception. Pandora was given golden necklaces by Persuasion, the goddess, to aid her in her treacheries (*Works and Days* 60–83). According to most measures of cultural capital, social prestige, and political power, positive ideals including elo-

quence and martial power were defined in terms of masculine traits and practices, negative ideals defined by their opposition to all that was masculine.

If the women of Athens had wanted to express their sentiments in a way that mattered, what outlet did they possess? Speaking publicly, even in courts and in cases that involved them as primary litigants, was normally not allowed and could be dangerous. The wife of Alcibiades, Hipparete, "a well-behaved and affectionate wife," had attempted to speak in public when she appeared in court to sue her adulterous husband for divorce. But, continues Plutarch, "when she arrived in court to see to this business as the law required, Alcibiades came up, grabbed hold of her, and took her back home with him," where she stayed "until her death, which happened a short while later" ("Alcibiades" 8). Thucydides nowhere attempts to dissuade us from the view that Alcibiades was the cause of his wife's untimely death.

Besides, Nicias and his followers had already pursued the path of peace in the Assembly, with disastrous results. Demostratos (whose wife may have interrupted these very proceedings) had in fact succeeded in closing the debate in favor of a large expedition. Different rhetoric would be needed. It would have to be public, to be seen and taken seriously by a majority of leading citizens. It would have to be anonymous and perhaps collaborative, since no single citizen, much less any woman, could expose himself or herself to public support for a cause that even a famous general had unsuccessfully risked his reputation upon, a cause that had been closed off from further debate.

Peitho, Iunx, and the Rhetoric of Desire

There was in ancient Greece an alternate image of rhetorical power distinct from the public, spoken rhetoric represented by Hermes Hegemonios, a rhetoric more frequently associated with women, magic, and love. As I have mentioned, Aphrodite herself was understood to embody another type of persuasion, not the persuasion of rational, public speech, but of embodied sound and sight both public and private, an extraverbal force signified through her attendant, Peitho, and characterized in terms of desire. Hesiod describes Peitho as accompanying Aphrodite in the adornment of Pandora. She bestows upon Pandora entrancing speech with which to control men. An image by the Meidias painter shows Aphrodite and Adonis flanked by Himeros, or Desire, who spins an *iunx* (an instrument of seduction rituals; see below), and Peitho, who carries the wryneck bird, also called the *iunx*.[10]

The traditional (masculine) view of this aspect of persuasion described Peitho as irrational and erotically charged. This was a persuasion that subverted rational deliberation and, when wielded by women, bewitched men through the power of sex. The daughter of Peitho (or, in some versions, of Echo) was also called Iunx, a sorceress who was turned into a bird by Hera in punishment for seducing Zeus with

her charms and spells (Hornblower and Spawforth 792). Her spells are invoked in love charms, and work to reunite a lover and a beloved. In a poem of Theocritus, "The Sorceress," the refrain that separates each incantatory couplet runs "Iunx, draw to my dwelling this man, my lover" (8-12). Iunx was also the name of the coin-sized disk held by Desire, laced with a loop of string through two holes. When set in motion by alternately tightening and relaxing the cord, it emits an airy whirring or whistling sound. The sorceress who uses the iunx seeks to provoke the same sort of enchantment that her spells are meant to achieve. Like the necklaces and adornments of Peitho in her connection with Aphrodite or Pandora, this aspect of persuasion links it quite closely to magic and seduction. But it is also possible that erotic and magical chants and instruments, like mourning songs and dirges, could be used for purposes other than those for which they are ostensibly produced or apparently employed, just as African American spirituals and work songs could double as hortatory emancipation rhetoric.

Writing, like magic, remained largely private and anonymous, and was therefore accessible to women as public speaking was not, and at least some women knew the power of writing, which could be employed to enhance the powers of magical charms. But to the degree that magical charms and writing were "womanly" they were devalued, as Plato makes clear, as a medium for manly public deliberation. Yet for women, public writing could be powerful: but not the alphabetic public inscriptions, like those on the herms, erected by the Athenian state and dedicated to its military prowess. Public inscriptions required long planning, expertise, and the sort of centralized capital that only the state and wealthy men possessed. They represented the state-supported, strategic use of writing like those on the herms, whereas the *hermokopidai* had to rely on the immediate, ephemeral, nonprofessional, and clandestine "tactics" of those outside the center of power.[11] Still, a symbolic "writing" of and on bodies, like the "magical" bodily persuasion of Aphrodite, Peitho, and Iunx, might be effective: a nonphonetic, nonprofessional, tactical writing, an iconographic inscribing, or the chiseling of a mark or a sign, a trace of dissent, perhaps even an erasure.

The notion of writing and then mimetically manipulating a symbolic message in order to change the hearts and minds of others was common in ancient Greek culture, and is typically studied as a form of magic or ritual, like those that employed the iunx. Curse tablets seeking the affections of a beloved or the downfall of an enemy are common, as are prayers seeking beauty, eloquence, and grace. Curse tablets were commonly written on lead and then bent, buried, nailed, or trod upon in order to mimetically reinforce the action sought within the text of the tablet. Because these texts were thought to work outside the realm of direct communication (working magically or via communication to a god), they are typically thought of as instances of magical rather than rhetorical intervention. The roughly mimetic na-

ture of the herm castrations places it in part within the context of such magical, ritual writing. Burke affirms that this sort of symbolic manipulation of objects in order to produce change in the real world is a rhetoric (mis)applied when the objects addressed do not respond to symbolic manipulation (40–42). The chiseling of the herms may have borrowed from magic the private use of secret, mimetic inscription to effect change. But it did so in a way designed to become, with the light of day, public and quite real, if scandalous, epideictic persuasion.

Opposing Rhetorical Action

As an Athenian institution, the herm represented an Athenocentric view of Greek political life. As a god of eloquence, the assembly, and therefore the political interests of enfranchised citizens, Hermes represented sanctioned male speech. An attack on the herms could then be read not only as an antiwar protest, but as a rhetorical action in opposition to the dominant pro-war speechifying of the day, the rhetoric of Demostratos and Alcibiades. If we think of burning the flag as a form of anti-American political "speech," and attacks upon the World Trade Center and the Pentagon as including a symbolic indictment of the institutions and activities housed there (American capitalism and militarism), then we might see the herm-chopping in part as a symbolic attack against Athenian Assembly rhetoric and its characteristic ends. At its most extensive, the herm mutilations could suggest an indictment against the aggressive, manipulative, and self-serving nature of Athenian political discourse in general, and could anticipate the very criticisms voiced by both Plato and Aristophanes (see *Gorgias* 502e–519d and the contest for Demos in Aristophanes' *Knights*, 727ff). What I will call "Hermetic" rhetoric tended, as Plato notes in the *Gorgias*, to nurture the egos of speakers and flatter audiences (503a) and to leave cities "swollen and festering," worse off than they had been before (518e). Herm-chopping displays an orientation toward popular Athenian rhetoric not unlike that laid out decades later by Plato, despite his belief that no good work could come of the Adonia. Women by necessity and Plato by choice alike observed the results of Athenian oratory without participating or getting caught up in it, and like Plato the herm-choppers marked out the dangers of phallic excess, of an overweening desire for pleasure and power, and of too much masculine itch-scratching (see *Gorgias* 494e).

The *hermokopidai* may have employed the images and methods of a "Peithotic" rhetoric to symbolically and ritually abort (just as the Adonia mourners had interrupted) the Hermetic rhetoric of Athenian men by defacing (that is, by castrating and, perhaps, symbolically depilating) the anatomical markers of Hermes' masculine prerogatives and privileges (chief among which was the right to address the Assembly). An attack upon the herms by chiseling upon their markers of masculinity would amount to a denunciation of Athenian assembly proceedings and their typical

pro-war outcomes, while simultaneously slandering the deity who supported and sanctioned such proceedings. It was, in this sense, what we might call an act of anti-rhetoric.

Although we have the names and the speeches of many of the men of Athens from the period, we know virtually nothing of the rhetorical practices of the women who celebrated the Adonia, just as we know virtually nothing of the rhetorical practices of Athenian slaves, noncitizens, and nonliterate men, or the many forms of symbolic expression that were not inscribed on some durable surface or attached to some proper male name. Yet it is in the nature of oppositional or protest rhetoric and of most marginalized rhetorical activity to work toward its goals without the privileges afforded by sanctioned and durable spaces, offices, titles, and names. When no officially legitimated authority or author exists to speak for a cause that nevertheless enjoys widespread support, illegitimate groups may resort to "invalid" rhetorical means anonymously or collectively, and often at great risk, to gain a hearing.

So it is possible that some women acted vigorously, if anonymously, to oppose what they and the followers of Socrates later saw as the harmful and foolhardy character of Athenian public speaking. But even if these women were not responsible, the events of that evening during the Adonia festival silently and symbolically reenacted the oppositional roles already scripted for women (and, later, for philosophical quietism) by the dominant Athenian rhetoric and ideology. The participants became, according to the practical logic of the day, feminized by acting secretly, anonymously, and at night. More important than the identity of the culprits is the event itself as a methodological lens through which to examine forms of rhetorical artistry distinct from the ancient rhetorical tradition whose textual lineage is said to begin with the Sophists and to run in a line through all the familiar authors and texts of rhetorical history. We cannot name the culprits any more that we can know the true Aspasia, but by asking different questions about means, media, access, and ends, we can yet learn a great deal about transgressive or invalid rhetorical practices in ancient Greece. We would have to place fairly tight limits on our definition of rhetoric not to consider the herm-chopping an exemplary rhetorical event, and one that can radically challenge our understanding of ancient rhetorical artistry.

Notes

1. Hipparchus may have been responsible for either initiating or regularizing the recitation of Homer by rhapsodes and for importing celebrated poets, such as Simonides and Anakreon, to Athens.

2. On the connections among trade, empire, and artistic developments, see Raaflaub.

3. Keuls's book has been the subject of heated controversy. Bernard Knox, for example, opines that Keuls's "wilder flights of speculative imagination [. . .] pass belief" (98).

4. Information about the affair of the herms derives primarily from Thucydides (6.27–29) and Plutarch's *Lives*, "Nicias" (13) and "Alcibiades" (18–21).

5. Dover (in Gomme et al. 288) suggests that both the phalloi and the faces of the Hermai were damaged, but notes the view of Lullies that erect phalloi had become unfashionable in the fifth century, leaving only faces to damage on some statues.

6. The story of Pisistratus' three separate attempts to take control of Athens are recounted in Herodotus 1.59–64. In each case, he employed cunning public displays before the people to win their trust and gain power.

7. Lettuce was believed to destroy the potency of men and to be the "food of corpses" (Detienne 68). Its use in the Adonia suggests that within the context of the festival and its rituals, women wielded the potency.

8. On the Adonis myth, its variants, and its interpretation, see Detienne 60–71 and the introduction by Vernant. Alternate views to Detienne's structuralist interpretation can be found in Winkler 188–209; Stehle, "Sappho's Gaze"; and Reed.

9. On the beard and the phallus as indicators of masculine virtue and martial vigor, see Gleason 70 and chapter 3. Gleason draws heavily on both Quintilian (Book 11) and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomics.*

10. The mottled coloring, the talon positioning (two forward and two back), and the complete neck rotation of the iunx or wryneck give it the characteristics of a range of animals (including the octopus) associated with *metis*, or cunning intelligence, a quality of verbal trickery and "sophistry."

11. De Certeau discusses the relationship between strategy and tactics. By "strategy" he means the activities pursued by centers of power, while "tactics" refers to the shifting and opportune use of borrowed resources by the powerless.

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EURIPIDES' MOTHER: VEGETABLES AND THE PHALLOS IN ARISTOPHANES

Carl Ruck

OBSCENITY WAS CENTRAL TO THE ancient comic celebrations. The phallic gestures enacted in the theater were the badge of defiance which the trickster figure traditionally has used to protect himself at times of carnival.[1] Greek comedy dared to show the finger to madness; in the name of the phallos the celebrants challenged with ritual immunity the world of ordinary reality, and cavorted safely in the restructured universe of their intoxicated god. The potential terrors of madness were kept at bay and lifted to the positive level of ecstasy.

Actors and dancers wore the phallos, and it would be too much to expect them to make no reference to it in their stage routines. The language of Old Comedy is therefore difficult to interpret, since in such circumstances any appropriate demonstrative is likely to free even the most improbable concepts into metaphoric flight toward the obscene. Comic idiom cannot be understood without some attempt to visualize the activity on stage. Words function in their contexts and should not be confined to their simple lexical equivalents. This is especially true for a literature which is so dependent upon presentation for its meaning, although the tradition of its scholarship, which accumulates eventually in the lexica, has been one of readers, often with some vestigial prejudice against eroticism and obscenity. When the texts have not been actually expurgated, the scenes in which the undeniably indecent words may occur are still explained away in terms of whatever insipid activity could by some stretch of the imagination anchor the language in literal meaning. Political invective, furthermore, instead of being merely a technique of defiance, becomes elevated to the

poet's purpose, since the critic thus can salve his offended sensibilities with a morally redeeming quality. Instead of being the trickster's heroic venture, comedy, we are told, is didactic and can be excused.

Two examples, among many possible ones, will illustrate what Aristophanes has been kept from expressing by his critics. The two are united by their common concern for vegetables.

EURIPIDES' MOTHER: ACHARNIANS 478.

In a famous scene in the *Acharnians,* Dikaiopolis, who has just concluded a private peace with the Spartans, and thereby incurred the wrath of the charcoal-makers of Acharnia, goes to Euripides' house in order to beg some used rags from former tragedies, so that he will be suitably attired in a pitiful costume when he explains his actions to his Acharnian pursuers. The comic routine with Euripides culminates when Dikaiopolis asks for some *skandix,* which the tragedian would have got from his mother (*Acharn.* 478). The *skandix* is commonly assumed to be the plant "wild chervil" *(Scandix pecten-veneris)* and the point of the joke is supposed to be some jibe at Euripides' lower class origin: his mother sells vegetables.[2] The joke was apparently repeated often in the comedies,[3] but the point seems to have been misunderstood.

The fourth century historian Philochoros expressly states that Euripides' family was not lower class; it was one of "extraordinary nobility."[4] The same was the opinion of Theophrastos,[5] who recorded in his treatise on intoxication that Euripides as a boy served as wine-pourer at Athens for the "Dancers," a group, perhaps, of satyric[6] dancers, who performed at Delos around Apollo's temple; the dancers and their wine-pourer belonged to the first families of Athens. An ancient biography, perhaps using material derived from the fourth century "life" composed by Satyros, further claims that Euripides was

trained as a pancratist and a boxer, and that he competed and won in games at Athens;[7] such athletic activity would again indicate noble background. Euripides also served as "torch-bearer" for the Zosterian Apollo.[8] The family may have been in exile for a while in Boeotia,[9] but even exile implies a family of a certain importance. Whatever reality lies behind the *skandix* joke, it is unlikely that any contemporary of Euripides could have mistaken him for lower class. We might also wonder why the audience, which presumably would have been predominantly lower class, would have been amused by the repeated attacks upon Euripides' supposedly similar background. Fifth century Athens, moreover, was an egalitarian society and was not polarized, at least not openly, between noble and commoner; nobility, in fact, would have tended to connote anti-democratic and pro-alien sentiments during the period of the Peloponnesian War. A person was more likely to have been satirized for noble connections as was the case with Sokrates, whose mother actually was a midwife, and whose father was a stone-cutter.

The noble-commoner polarization was, of course, appropriate to the Hellenistic period, when the scholiast tradition which determined the subsequent interpretation of Aristophanes originated. We can see scholiast prejudice at work in the explanation of the passage in the *Frogs* where Euripides, criticizing the wordiness and misdirection of Aischylean prologues, claims that his own prologue-speaker immediately sets you straight about the subject of the drama. The speaker tells you right away the *genos* of the drama ("genealogy"? or perhaps simply "type" of drama [*Frogs* 945-47]). Dionysos comments: "That's better, you know, than yours" (*Frogs* 947). It has been assumed that he addresses the remark to Euripides, and means that the families in mythology are more noble than the poet's.[10] Throughout this section, however, Dionysos has been siding with Euripides, and he has expressly stated that he cannot understand what Aischylean language means.[11] His comment is surely addressed not to Euripides, but to Aischylos, and simply means that he approves of such straightforward clarity.[12]

The identification of the *skandix* with "wild chervil" can hardly be considered certain. The fourth century authority on plants, Theophrastos, claimed that many plants with curly or chicory-like leaves were classified together and confused with each other; this group included *skandix* and many plants like *skandix* such as *kaukalis,* sweet *enthruskon,* and "goat's beard" *(tragopogon).*[13] *Skandix,* moreover, is classed as an uncultivated herb, and if we are to imagine Euripides' mother as having sold it, we are nevertheless not to imagine her as having grown it. She would, apparently, have gathered it.

Although we cannot identify the *skandix* with certainty, we do have some interesting information about its effect. Pliny records that this plant, which figured in the Aristophanic joke about Euripides' mother, had the ability to give strength to persons exhausted from sexual indulgence and to revive sexual virility in old men.[14] Such seems to have been its effect also in the fifth century. A fragment of the comic poet Telekleides preserves the words of a woman who has apparently been seduced: "He wanted to sleep with me; he importuned me with voluptuous cakes and he gave me a dose of *skandix.*"[15] Some plant of this group was called *paideros,*[16] a name that combines the roots for "boy" and "love." Telekleides apparently used the word as an epithet of Zeus, punning on the oak tree, which was traditionally associated with that god and which was also called *paideros,*[17] and Zeus's notorious pederastic escapades.[18] Another plant called *skandix* in the fifth century was apparently more edible than the *skandix* herb, although not at all a desirable food. Andokides prays that the conditions which existed during the war will never be repeated; he hopes never again to see the country people coming to the city and everybody in arms, and never again to have to eat wild vegetables and *skandix.*[19] Pliny, however, was apparently correct in identifying the *skandix* of the old comedians as an aphrodisiac, and if Euripides' mother did indeed gather and peddle it, she would seem to have been more like an herbalist than a vegetable seller.

It is perhaps the psychotropic effect of the *skandix*

which explains the mention of Euripides' mother in the *Thesmophoriazousai,* where a woman is justifying herself against the Euripidean prejudice that all females are lascivious (*Thesm.* 387 sq.). Note also that the second accusatory speech, that of the "Wreath-Seller," again mentions the herbal joke: "He's rough on us, ladies, but what could you expect from someone who was raised on rough vegetables" (*Thesm.* 455-56). A "wreath-seller" is apparently a prostitute; we learn that her husband died in Cyprus, Aphrodite's island, and she was left with five children whom she struggles to feed by "weaving wreaths in the myrtle market" (*Thesm.* 448). Any circular muscle of the body, such as the *sphincter ani,* could be called a "wreath,"[20] and the "myrtle" was slang for penis.[21] Wreath-sellers, moreover, may have been stock figures of comedy.[22] Euripides' remarks about the gods in his tragedies have cut her business in half, but we notice that when she leaves for the market to continue her hard life, she explains that she must go since she has already contracted to weave wreaths for twenty men (*Thesm.* 457-58). Certainly business doesn't seem that bad!

The *skandix* routine no doubt determined why Euripides was chosen for parody in the *Thesmophoriazousai.* As the arch-sexualist, he would quite appropriately be the enemy at the Thesmophoria: the chaste nature of this festival was symbolized by a rite in which the women strewed their beds with "holy mint" *(hagnos kalaminthe)* which was apparently an anaphrodisiac.[23] As such, it is of course the antithesis to that other mint, the aphrodisiac *blechon,*[24] which figured in other aspects of the Demeter-Kore complex.

Very few substances can actually stimulate sexual desire biochemically by a direct physiological reaction on the genito-urinary tract;[25] such a substance, for example, is the blistering compound cantharidine, which is extracted from the integument of beetles of the family *Meloidae,* the most notorious representative being the Spanish fly, *Lytta vesicatoria.*[26] Even the Spanish fly, however, does not so much stimulate or intensify sexuality as irritate the genitalia and, in the male, induce an

erection. The term aphrodisiac can also be employed more loosely to designate simply a psychotropic preparation which may induce mild hallucinations and mental ease: alcohol and hashish are now sometimes still classed as aphrodisiacs.[27] It seems probable that Euripides' *skandix* was an aphrodisiac of this second type. We might recall in this context the tradition that Lucretius, despite his Epicurean philosophy and its aversion to passionate sexuality, suffered from recurrent fits of madness caused by a love potion, and which eventually led to his suicide[28]; the association of Lucretius with drugs is an instance of the rumours of psychotropism which have adhered to the Democritean, or pseudo-Democritean corpus.[29]

In the *Frogs* Aischylos calls Euripides the "son of a rustic goddess" (*Frogs* 840); the context for that remark indicates again that the point is not Euripides' lower class origin. Euripides has just strung together a list of pejorative adjectives illustrative of Aischylos' wild and uncontrolled use of language; Aischylos now retaliates with a few more bombastic compounds directed at Euripides and *his* poetic style. The point is clearly that Euripides' language is as wild as that of Aischylos, and that with such a mother, how could it be otherwise? The mother is a rustic goddess since her herb puts her in contact with divinity, and the son's poetic wordiness is derived from that same source.

Euripides, himself, was said to have peddled *skandix*;[30] and the comic routine which opens the *Knights* coins an adverb, "nice-and-Euripidousy" *(kompseuripikos, Knights* 17)[31] to indicate a paraphrastic mode of poetic expression which will clothe in pretty language what one of the characters wishes to say. The other character replies, "No, no, no! Don't give me a dose of *skandix!*" The aphrodisiac meaning is no doubt also implied since the context is definitely sexual: the two servants are attempting to escape from their troubles with their Paphlagonian master; they first try *fellatio,* which they call a flute lament; and then, after a certain reluctance to name openly the second expedient, they try mutual masturba-

tion, punning on a verb which means, "to come by oneself" ("to desert" and apparently "to ejaculate," *Knights* 20 sq.). A fragment of an anonymous comic poet again connects the *skandix*-seller with his para-tragic bombast: "None of that highfalutin talk, the kind of stuff you get from the *skandix*-seller who calls water the sacred effluvium of Pirene."[32] It was apparently the *skandix* that gave Euripides the ability to call things by their equivalents in tragic diction, and for that reason Dikaiopolis needs it to complete his tragic costume in the *Acharnians* (473-74). Perhaps the fact that Euripides refuses to give him the *skandix* is the reason that Dikaiopolis, although suitably attired as a tragic beggar, cannot compose a tragic speech of justification, but merely "trugedy" or *trugoidia,* the comic version of tragedy (*Acharn.* 496 sq.).

We should remember that in this scene Euripides is introduced by his servant Kephisophon as "at home but not at home" (*Acharn.* 396), a paradox which is explained as meaning that his mind is out collecting verses and is therefore not at home while Euripides himself is inside the house, "up" and writing a tragedy (*Acharn.* 397 sq.). Poetic inspiration is similarly parodied in the *Peace,* where Trygaios on his way back from heaven passes the souls of a few dithyrambists who are out fluttering around, collecting their poems (*Peace* 828-31). In the *Birds,* the dithyrambist Kinesias similarly arrives at the bird city in quest of wings so that he will be able to fly up to the clouds for new inspiration (*Birds* 1382 sq.). It is interesting that the poet has a lame manner of walking: he is "circularly circling upwards his club foot"[33] (*Birds* 1379). That such "flight" is sexual is clear from the *Frogs,* where Kinesias becomes Kleokritos' wings and the two of them thus become a boat for "naval battle"[34] (*Frogs* 1437 sq.). Kinesias is Myrrine's ("Myrtle's") frustrated husband in the *Lysistrata;* he enters again with an erection and it is suggested that some plant of Demeter's had something to do with his strange condition (*Lys.* 829 sq.). Kinesias, of course, lent himself to such satirical treatment since his name suggests a pun upon one of the Greek verbs for copulation.[35]

In this episode of the *Acharnians,* Euripides claims he is too busy "to come down," but he consents to roll out on the *enkyklema.* We might compare the similar entrance of the poet Agathon on the *enkyklema* in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (93-208). There we learn from a servant that Agathon is inside writing songs with a *thiasos* of Muses (*Thesm.* 40-2). The *thiasos* is a band of revellers and it is clear that they are sexually cavorting within the house. The servant describes the composing of the poem by the metaphor of building a ship, but the catalogue of activities connotes sexual experience (*Thesm.* 52 sq.).[36] Mnesilochos suspects that it is all just plain fornication, and after he hears about "ship-building" he concludes that it is indeed nothing but "wenching," and offers "to funnel his penis into and to turn and grind it around in the poet's rump!" When the *enkyklema* finally brings out Agathon with his *thiasos,* the comic routine devolves into a fantastic parody of the poet as the hermaphroditic Dionysos. The literary basis for the parody is named as Aischylos' *Lykourgos* trilogy (*Thesm.* 134-35). The transvestism is explained as necessary mimesis for composing female roles, and is in the manner of Euripides as well as of Agathon (*Thesm.* 93). Poets, of course, were also actors and all female roles, with the exception perhaps of hetairas in comedy, were played by male actors; it would be inevitable that transvestism amongst the company of actors should become a subject for comic laughter. Our interest for the moment, however, in the Agathon routine is simply to document the sexual revel as a metaphor for the poet's activity.[37]

Thus in the *Acharnians* we can perhaps understand better the manner of Euripides' entrance. He is *anabaden* (*Acharn.* 399, 410) a word which means "up" in some way, but the precise mode of "up" is not clear. The scholiasts suggested that Euripides had his feet up, or that he was lying on something high, or that he was flying.[38] The last suggestion is most attractive, but it would imply an entrance by the machine rather than by the "roll-out." How does Euripides enter?

The word occurs in one other passage, in Aristophanes'

Ploutos (1123). There the god Hermes is complaining that he no longer gets anything to eat; he goes to bed now hungry and *anabaden.* The foods for which he hungers, however, are again the metaphor of sex as eating: he used to eat intoxicating cakes, figs, and that fleshed limb bone which is the membrum virile;[39] the other foods which he mentions (warm entrails, honey, etc.) no doubt also connoted sexual experience. Hunger for such experience, moreover, tends to induce an erection, a condition which, by an understandable cliché, affects one's ability to walk.[40] Thus the Megarians, "blistered and swollen with pain" for the loss of their prostitutes, hunger *baden* ("walk-wise," cf. *ana-baden*), in Dikaiopolis' fantastic description in the *Acharnians* of the cause for the Peloponnesian War (*Acharn.* 535).

If there is still some doubt about the manner of Euripides' entrance in the scene in the *Acharnians,* we may cite the description which is extant in three authors, all of whom apparently are quoting from Ktesias, the fifth-to-fourth century historian. Sardanapalus (= Ashurbanipal, 668-626 B.C.), the luxurious Assyrian ruler who was given to strange pleasures, was seen by one of his generals sitting with his face painted with white lead, and bejewelled like a woman, combing purple wool in the company of his concubines.[41] He was sitting there *anabaden,* with blackened eyebrows, wearing a woman's dress and having his beard shaved close and his face rubbed smooth with pumice; when he saw the general, he rolled his eyes seductively at him. Surely it would not be overly rash to conclude that *anabaden* means "with an erection" or at least in some sexual position; we might compare the related verb *anabaino,* which designates the act by which the male rises to mount or cover for copulation.[42] "Eat, drink, make love; for nothing else matters."[43] Such was the epitaph for Sardanapalus.

It is interesting also to note that stories circulated in antiquity about Kephisophon, the servant who introduces Euripides in the *Acharnians.* Euripides caught him in adultery with his wife, and when the servant refused to discontinue the affair, Euripides relinquished his wife to

him. The anecdote which is extant in the *Life of Euripides*[44] apparently is a paraphrase, and perhaps a misunderstanding, of some comic passage; for the author goes on to quote a few lines of Aristophanes which indicate Euripides' supposed admiration for Kephisophon's swarthy buttocks: the servant used to make music with his master, no doubt on Euripides' phallos.[45]

The sexual nature of the collaboration is clear in the *Frogs,* where Euripides describes his dietary regime for tragedy: he feeds his art only word juice which he filters out of books, and monodies which he gets from "copulation" with Kephisophon. The joke involves a pun on a verb which, in addition to its sexual meaning, can indicate the "mixing" of another item into the diet potion (*Frogs* 944).[46] Later in the play, the collaboration is again mentioned when Euripides offers his gimmick for saving the city: Kleokritos should take wing with Kinesias; the two of them thus will be a boat and when they do naval battle, they can sprinkle vinegar on the enemy. The vinegar was Kephisophon's idea (*Frogs* 1436-53);[47] although the stratagem remains obscure, it is no doubt another version of the action described earlier in the play, when Dionysos claimed that he took ship on Kleisthenes and that together they sank twelve or thirteen ships.[48] Rumours about Euripides' supposed artistic collaborations seem often in fact to contain some sexual innuendo. In a comedy of Kallias, Euripides appeared dressed as a woman and spoke of what he had learned from Sokrates;[49] and a play of Telekleides apparently described Euripides and Sokrates "bolted" together like so many ship planks.[50]

When Euripides is first seen by Dikaiopolis in the *Acharnians,* Dikaiopolis comments: "So you do it 'up' rather than 'down.' No wonder you make your characters lame!" (*Acharn.* 410-11). A correct understanding of this scene is very important, since it gives us the original point of the supposed criticism of Euripidean beggars on the tragic stage. How does Euripides make his characters lame? In the *Thesmophoriazousai* Mnesilochos complains that Euripides is laming him in *both* his legs; what has preceded has apparently been sufficient to produce an

ordinary lameness. Euripides and Mnesilochos had been introduced at the beginning of the play in some version of the "leading-on" comic routine:[51] Mnesilochos complains that he is being "threshed" and is about to "ejaculate all his milt" (*Thesm.* 2-3).[52] The conversation devolves into a pseudo-philosophic disquisition on the difference between the organs of seeing and hearing: the ear is a funnel drilled into the body for hearing; Mnesilochos objects that his "funnel" neither hears nor sees (*Thesm.* 18-19). The sexual meaning is made explicit shortly later, when Mnesilochos threatens "to funnel his penis into Agathon's rump" (*Thesm.* 59-62). The threat indicates that Mnesilochos has profited from his "consorting with philosophers" (*Thesm.* 21). His stupidity had just been demonstrated to him, for he had thought that Agathon was "bearded" (*Thesm.* 33),[53] a surprising error in view of the fact that he has buggered Agathon but apparently has never "seen" him (*Thesm.* 30 sq.). The sexuality of Euripides returns as a theme later in the play: Euripides and Mnesilochos, for the first rescue routine, greet each other like long separated lovers. Mnesilochos, as Helen in Egypt, is ashamed to look at her husband in her present depilated condition (*Thesm.* 903); she recognizes that Euripides is Menelaos because of the *iphyon* (*Thesm.* 910). The *iphyon* is apparently another herb associated with the *skandix*-seller; it seems to account for the erection which characterizes the husband who has been so long away from his wife. The plant is supposed to be *Lavendula spica,*[54] but the evidence is hardly conclusive.

In the rescue routine which finally succeeds, Euripides is again an arch-sexualist: with a troupe of dancers and musicians he orchestrates a fantastic scene of seduction[55] and the Scythian archer runs off stage pursuing his hetaira. In this role, Euripides assumes the name of Artemisia, the plant "wormwood" which was perhaps also called *ambrosia* and *botrys,* the "clustered grape" (*Thesm.* 1200).[56] The scene is similar to the passage in the *Frogs* where Euripides' Muse is introduced on stage to dance the parody of his lyrics (*Frogs* 1306 sq.). Dionysos pre-

tends to be shocked by her lascivious actions, because Euripides' music has as much variety as the twelve sexual positions of the notorious Kyrene. Earlier in the play Euripides had been satirized for his prostitute characters, his Phaidras and his Sthenoboias.

It is no doubt a sexualist's role that Aristophanes has accorded Euripides in the *enkyklema* scene for the *Acharnians*. Like Agathon, he is shown with his actors (*Acharn.* 418)[57] in the act of composing. The violence of his inspiration reduces his characters to lameness, a difficulty in walking which is occasioned either by the tension of an erect phallos or by the experience of anal copulation.[58] It is no wonder, as Dikaiopolis says, that his characters are all in rags (*Acharn.* 413)!

The point of the joke remains elusive, but in view of the fact that beggarly costumes on the tragic stage were not uncommon[59] and, in a pre-Aristotelian time, may not have elicited general condemnation, we should perhaps recall a few parallels. In the *Frogs*, when Aischylos mentions the rustic goddess, he also labels Euripides a "lamer" and a "rag-trash-stitcher" (*Frogs* 842, 846). The members of the chorus of Eleusinian initiates in that same play had worn rags as they greeted Dionysos as his chthonic hypostasis Iakchos. The advantage of such a costume, whatever its religious or ritual significance, is obviously that it seductively exposes the body. The initiates claim that Iakchos has rent their sandals, and made their clothing rags, in order to get a laugh and also in order to save money, and that he has discovered a way for them to play and dance with impunity (*Frogs*, 405-9). Critics tend to take the supposed financial expedient seriously. The fact that at this time choregic costs exceeded the resources of individual citizens, and that they therefore shared the expense of production, does not mean that expenses were curtailed. The *Frogs*, in any case, shows no signs of curtailment. The play requires a fourth actor for the part of Plathane and Ploutos;[60] and the chorus requires costuming as frogs and as initiates, and may in addition have been supplemented by female walk-ons (*Frogs* 447, 411 sq.), unless the dancing

members were costumed as the two sexes. The chorus speaks as initiates and not as individuals. The rags, like the ribald invective (cf. *Frogs* 394, 420 sq.) and the escorting of Iakchos, were perhaps characteristics of the night-long walk to Eleusis and of the scabrous *gephyrismos* or "passage across the bridge." The ritual rags are given a comic interpretation, since the male chorus has just seen a "female playmate's" breast exposed because of her torn robe (*Frogs* 411-15); it should be obvious what the men mean when they enter the grove to play with the women and girls (*Frogs* 445-46).[61]

Perhaps more to the point, however, is the scene in the *Birds* where the poet who comes to Bird-land introduces himself, quoting from Homer, as an "*otreros* servant of the Muses" (*Birds* 909-10). Pisthetairos responds with two puns which obviously have reference to the poet's costume. First the "servant" is equated with "slave" *(therapon, doulos),* and Pisthetairos asks why the poet, if a slave, has long hair. Long hair would certainly indicate a freeman;[62] but we should also recall that some fifth century comedian claimed that "there's no one with long hair who's not been buggered," using a metaphor from the fertilization of the fig by the gall-insect.[63] The second pun involves the word *otreros,* which in the Homeric formula means something like "nimble," from a verbal root meaning "rouse." Pisthetairos' comments: "No wonder you have a *ledarion* which is also *otreros!*" (*Birds* 915). The *ledarion* is some kind of clothing; to judge from the context earlier in the play (*Birds* 708-15), it is summer as opposed to winter clothing and therefore apparently scant. The scholiast, perhaps merely guessing from what follows, claims that the *ledarion* is "worn-out."[64] It seems likely that the *ledarion,* whatever its condition, actually is "roused," for the adjective *otreros* when applied to bread, designates "roused" or leavened bread.[65] This poet, that is to say, like the other poets we have examined, has an erection; he is in a state of destruction, perhaps even of frustration (*Birds* 916).[66]

When we recall that Aristophanes called Euripides a "rag-stitcher" (*Frogs* 842), we should remember also that

comedians apparently saw something similar in the back-and-forth motion of stitching and the act of copulation. Thus Demos in the *Knights* is accused of giving himself to base lovers: "lamp-sellers, sinew-stitchers, hide-cutters, and skin-sellers" (*Knights* 739-40); and the Sausage-seller, in criticizing Kleon's manner of showing his love to Demos, offers to his professed beloved something which he has "stitched up on himself" so that Demos can sit down in comfort for the "naval battle" of Salamis (*Knights* 784-5).[67]

The point, however, is explicitly made in the *Frogs* that Euripides wraps kings in rags "so that they might appear pitiable" (*Frogs* 1062-3). Such costuming is similarly called "pitiable" in the scene in the *Acharnians*. We might ask, with Euripides in the *Frogs* (1064), what is wrong, anyway, with costumes that elicit pity. Even Aristotle recognized pity as a valid element of the tragic experience; and, to judge from the Sokrates of Plato's *Apology* (34c), Athenians regularly expected a defendant to evoke pity. It is only by placing the rag costumes in the context of Aristotle's particular preferences for tragic plots that we get the supposed condemnation of Euripidean techniques; in the Aristophanic contexts, the rags figure differently.

In the *Frogs* routine, Aischylos is criticizing the effect of Euripidean dramaturgy and sophistic education on public morality. Euripides, by composing roles for "prostitutes" like Phaidra and Stheneboia, actually creates prostitutes (with some reference, apparently, to Euripides' private sex life); Aischylos, by contrast, has never had anything to do with Aphrodite nor ever "presented a woman in love" (*Frogs* 1043 sq.). As in the controversy in the *Thesmophoriazousai,* however, it is not denied that women actually are the way Euripides has described them (*Frogs* 1052); Aischylos' criticism is simply that Euripides tells the truth, and that by so doing, he undermines the false model of humanity which Aischylean drama presents. Thus the beggarly kings teach the wealthy Athenians how to avoid the liturgy taxation; and Euripidean rhetoric, like Socratic sophism, teaches

young men to desert the palaestra and to be homosexual.

Each of the two examples elicits satiric comments from Dionysos. The point of his remark about the liturgy-evaders is an irrecoverable joke: the wealthy man who protests his pretended poverty wears woolen underclothes and, once he has won his cause, he pops up among the fishes (*Frogs* 1067-68). The scholiast explains the "fishes" as the fishmarket, and assumes that the supposed poor man betrays his actual wealth by buying fish. It is to be doubted that fish in a city so close to the sea would be bought only by those citizens wealthy enough to have bought the city a trireme instead; or that woolen clothing in a pastoral country would likewise indicate such superior wealth. The second comment, however, has a clear sexual meaning; and, for the sake of balance,[68] we might suspect a similar reference in the "fish."[69] Dionysos' remark about the youth of former times is that "they used to fart in the mouth of the rower below, defecate on their messmate, and upon disembarking, steal someone's clothes; they used to row back and forth, whereas now they make rhetorical speeches" (*Frogs* 1074-76).[70] The metaphor is obviously the ship of intercourse[71] and Dionysos thereby shows the reality which underlay Aischylos' bombastic eulogy of the "rowing call" of bygone days. Women have always been prostitutes, and young men always homosexual. In view of such a context, we cannot be sure even that the beggarly "kings" are really the kings of mythology, although, no doubt, a secondary reference to the tragic characters is inevitable.[72]

Our point is simply that the rags critique may well be motivated by some particular comic routine. The same argument applies also to the scene in the *Acharnians* where the explained reason for the disguise in rags culminates again in sexual innuendo. After a two-line quote from the *Telephos* of Euripides ("I must seem to be a beggar today: to be who I am, but not to appear so"),[73] Dikaiopolis rephrases the tragic explanation so that it fits exactly the comic situation: he wants the audience to know who he is while he demonstrates the stupidity of

the choral members by "buggering" them with his speech (*Acharn.* 442-4);[74] he uses for this last action a metaphor which designates the insertion of a finger into the ovipositor of a bird in order to determine whether it has an egg ready to lay. His costume as Telephos consists of rags and a felt Mysian cap, which apparently connotes not only foreignness but also sophistic degeneracy (*Acharn.* 439).[75] The costume is something "scant, with frequent intellectual devices" (*Acharn.* 445); it is like the rhetoric which Dikaiopolis hopes to use, for the costume defines the character: as Dikaiopolis puts it on he immediately feels himself "filling up" (*Acharn.* 447) with the words he needs for buggering the chorus. "Bless you—and for Telephos I have something else in mind!" says Dikaiopolis, slightly perverting a line from the *Telephos* (*Acharn.* 446)[76] so that the line implies, beneath a cover of politeness, that the tragedian *and* his character can both be damned for such scant intellectuality. The costume, however, is not yet complete, and Dikaiopolis goes on to wheedle further items from Euripides. The items remain somewhat enigmatic to us, but a second perversion of the quotation from the *Telephos* indicates that Dikaiopolis is now progressing toward items which are perhaps more appropriate to Euripides' mother in some manner of dress, rather than to Telephos in his beggar's costume: "Bless you—*and* your mother! (Do you remember?)" (*Acharn.* 457), Dikaiopolis says as Euripides hits him and attempts to push the beggar from the house, which is paratragically called "stone pillars." The items of the costume, in addition to the obvious beggar's staff, are "a lamp-burnt basket,"[77] "a chalice with its lip knocked off,"[78] "a little pot stoppered or jammed with *spongion* (a little sponge?),"[79] and "some dried leafage for the basket."[80] Both the "chalice" *(kotyliskion)* and the "leafage" *(phylleia)* have psychotropic connotations,[81] and although Euripides does not recognize these latter items as part of the costume of Telephos, he still complains that there is nothing left of his tragedy. "Yes, yes, I'm going!" says Dikaiopolis in answer to Euripides' complaint; and then enigmatically he adds: "I know I am really too much

trouble—although I don't think that sovereigns hate me" (*Acharn.* 471-2).

It is difficult to assess what is meant by the concluding remark; it was apparently an ignominiously perverted quotation from another "beggar" play of Euripides, the *Oineus.*[82] The basic idea in the Aristophanic context must be that Dikaiopolis may indeed be disturbing Euripides' "house," but "kings" at least do not hate him. Whether the reference is to some supposed indignation on the part of "kings" for their portrayal as beggars, or to some special function of the herbalist's role is not clear. Some pun, in fact, on "king" may even be intended.[83] Inasmuch as the "leafage" may be an anaphrodisiac, the aphrodisiac *skandix,* which is the final item requested, completes an antithetical pairing of psychotropic substances. We have already suggested such antitheses as part of the symbolism enacting the duality of the Demeter-Kore complex. Beyond this we cannot go. What sacred function did Euripides' mother as an herbalist perform? In what way was her son's poetic inspiration also involved? Whatever the answers, we feel certain that we touch here upon those rites which belonged in the control of the city's most ancient nobility; to debase such exalted functions by confusing them with the character of the wandering witch or the greengrocer of the marketplace is the province of comedy, an activity in which it achieves its sacred satiric function.

We are moving toward realms of greater uncertainty; perhaps it is apposite to conclude with a mention of the "enigma" by which Dionysos in the *Frogs* (61) attempts to explain his yearning for the poetry of the dead Euripides: it is like the sudden craving for *etnos,* a pudding or porridge of various seeds or grains; such a porridge is the initial item in the enactment of the rural Dionysia in the *Acharnians* (245). In the *Ekklesiazousai,* it is the "youngest girls" who will boil up the pots of *etnos;* the context describes a banquet with sexual connotations (*Ekkles.* 845).[84] In the *Lysistrata,* the women of the chorus, in an obvious sexual invitation, claim that they have some *etnos,* and that they have "sacrificed" their "piglets"

so that the flesh for the banquet will be good and tender (*Lys.* 1061-62).[85] It is Athena herself who, in the *Knights,* has "ground" up the pea porridge *(etnos)* which Kleon, the lover, offers to win the favor of Demos (1171-72). Kleon, throughout the play, has been portrayed as the strumpet who is competing with the more masculinely equipped Sausage-seller.[86] Athena and Kleon are both "gate-fighters" and their *etnos* is offered to Demos in order to surpass the Sausage-seller's love gift, his piece of "dunking bread" which Athena molded with her own elephantine hand: "That was quite a finger!" is Demos' comment. The craving for such *etnos* had occurred to the Dionysos of the *Frogs* as he was "on board" Kleisthenes and doing "naval battle": he was on the ship reading the *Andromeda* of Euripides when suddenly the desire struck his heart. It is a sexual desire, a small but devastating desire which, despite the fact that he has slept with Kleisthenes, is not for woman, boy, nor man—but for *etnos.* The *Andromeda* is lost[87] but its parody in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* is still extant. There Mnesilochos, dressed in the turban and saffron robe (*Thesm.* 939-42) used in festivals of Dionysos,[88] is tied to a pillory plank and guarded by a Scythian archer, who has brought out a basket, taken from Euripides, in order to watch him (*Thesm.* 1006). "Do you see?" laments Mnesilochos; "I stand here muzzled with wicker-work, not for choral dancing nor because of girls of my own age, but because I am implicated in bonds, food for the monster: this is not my marriage" (*Thesm.* 1029). Euripides, in the disguise of his Perseus, sees her/him, moored like a ship (*Thesm.* 1106); he and the Scythian enter into a controversy about what sex Mnesilochos-Andromeda is. The Scythian counters Euripides' claim that Mnesilochos is female by avowing that there is not the slightest evidence of female *pudenda* (*Thesm.* 1114). Nevertheless, Euripides is stricken with the sickness of love for this *kore.* It is an affliction which the Scythian does not envy, but if Euripides wants to turn Mnesilochos around, he will not mind if he buggers him—or, for that matter, he can drill right through the pillory plank from behind (*Thesm.*

1118-24). When Euripides persists in his intention to untie Mnesilochos, the Scythian threatens to cut off Euripides' "head" with a sabre which is identified by a demonstrative gesture (*Thesm.* 1126-27). "You wretched fox," the Scythian cries, "how you whet me!" (*Thesm.* 1132). We recall that Euripides-Perseus had entered for the rescue scene carrying the Gorgon's head, which the Scythian had insisted on misunderstanding as the head of some secretary (*Thesm.* 1101-04). (Is it apposite to mention that Dikaiopolis in the *Acharnians* delivers a speech with his "head" on the chopping block [*Acharn.* 318, 355, 365, 366]?[89] Decapitation, moreover, does not seem to have been a common penalty in fifth century Athens.) Whatever the point of the enigma, it seems unlikely that Dionysos was simply hungry.

Let us adduce one more item. When Lysistrata summons her female attendants to her aid in the sexual war which the women are waging with the men, she calls them "seed-merchant-egg-yoke-vegetable sellers" and "garlic-hostleress-bread-sellers" (*Lys.* 457-58). Her complaint is that the men go shopping, raving mad and armored, and that they go about the market like Korybants, roaming through the pots and vegetables in "manly fashion" (*Lys.* 555-59). It is really ridiculous, she says, to see someone with a "Gorgon shield" buying "black birds" (with a pun on "girl-lays," *Lys.* 559-60);[90] and the women agree, for they have themselves seen a long-haired horseman tossing into a felt cap the egg-yolk bean he got from some hag (*Lys.* 561-62). This egg-yolk bean is one of the ingredients of the seed porridge which the wives cook up at home as they wait for their husbands to come back in Pherekrates' lost comedy, the *Deserters* or the "Self-comers" (i.e., "Masturbators").[91]

As a vegetable-seller Euripides' mother may be probably nothing other than the butt of some joke which portrayed her in a sexual role; even if there is no ritual nor religious meaning to the *skandix,* it would thus still be appropriate to her trade. And Euripides' "Andromedan" *etnos* involves simply the tragic actor's female impersonation. Since comic poets tend to view everything

sexually, we cannot know where, beyond the systems of comic metaphor, the truth about Euripides and his mother resides. The *etnos* and the *skandix* no doubt refer to the versatility of Euripides' sexual impersonations: in this regard he is identical, at least for the comic view, with other tragic actor-poets.

MUCK DANCING: WASPS 248 SQ.

The chorus of the *Wasps* enters attended by boys: the leader notices some "muck" *(borboros)* and then conjectures that within four days at the most it is going to rain. The lamps, as he explains, have "mushrooms" *(mykes)*, by which he apparently means sparks around the wicks,[92] a sign which was commonly supposed in antiquity to indicate the excessive humidity caused by a southern wind, and which was therefore a presage of rain.[93] The passage, however, does not make sense as it has been traditionally interpreted: it is difficult to see why "muck" on the ground should indicate that it is going to rain rather than that it had already rained. Emendation has been proposed, changing *borboros* ("muck") to *marmaros* ("marble");[94] the correction at least dries up the ground, but it is hardly convincing. Nor does it help to speculate that perhaps someone has emptied slops into the street and that the ground is thereby wet in the absence of rain.[95] Anything is of course possible, but the scene must make sense dramatically or comically. I suspect that interpreters have not visualized the stage activity correctly.

Our first concern must be the costume of the members of the chorus and the manner of their entrance. Bdelykleon ("Loathe-Kleon"), who is the son of the monster Philokleon ("Love-Kleon"), describes their appearance to Xanthias just before they make their entrance. The old jurors are like a nest of quick-tempered wasps: they have pointed stingers attached at the groin and with these they

sting, screaming and jumping and striking like sparks (*Wasps* 223-27).[96] The ordinary oversized leather phallos of the comic actor has obviously been worked into an ingenious costume.[97] The phallos is thus made into the jurors' weapon: it becomes erect when they are angered (*Wasps* 407, 423); with it they can attack the rump of an enemy (*Wasps* 431),[98] just as they once filled the sky with weapons when they swarmed after the Persians, "harpooning their ball bags . . . stinging their buttocks and groins . . . so that among the barbarians everywhere, even now, there is still nothing called more manly than an Attic wasp" (*Wasps* 1081-90).[99] The sexual nature of the jurors' adjudication is clear in the passage where Philokleon sets up the court at home, so that the old man can do the same things there that he used to do in public courts: when his housekeeper privately opens her "door," he can toss his vote in, his own individual rape of her (*Wasps* 769-71). Conversely, when the wasps relent, they put down their "sticks" (*Wasps* 727): there is a pun here, no doubt, on the staffs of various colors which, in Athenian custom, allowed the jurors admittance to the different courts.[100] Similarly, Philokleon, in pitying the dog who is on trial, laments that something awful is happening to him: he is getting soft (*Wasps* 973-74). The members of the chorus are "wasp-waisted" (*Wasps* 1172) and therefore "wasps"; but it is the stinger which really characterizes them, and the poet is not particularly insistent upon their being wasps rather than some other stinging insect like hornets (*Wasps* 1080)[101] or bees (*Wasps* 241, 366; cf. 1111 sq.).[102] In addition to their appearance, there is an action which is supposed to be characteristic of their waspish pose: "We are in every other way," the choral leader says, "contrived like wasps: assembling in swarms as if to our nests . . . we adjudicate, jammed one into the other, bending down to the ground,[103] barely moving (with a pun on "copulate"), snug as larvae in their cells" (*Wasps* 1106-11). It may be apposite to recall the passage from the *Lysistrata* where the female is the hive whose honey is raped (*Lys.* 474-75). The chorus of wasps, however, is not here involved in

heterosexual activity; another metaphor aptly describes the action. We should note that this is not the first time in the play that the wasps are in this crouching position: upon entering for the *mykes* scene with which we began our inquiry, the choral leader told the boy to bend way over, to take the lamp and to jam it forward (*Wasps* 249).[104]

Since the chorus is composed of adult male and boy couples, the choreography and comic routines obviously may utilize this dual configuration for the personality of the chorus. The costume, moreover, depicts the adult males as worker or stinging insects[105] with pinched waists: such an appearance could best be effected by the wearing of an abdominal appendage extending below the waist, thus converting the human trunk into the insect's thorax, with its limbs all attached above the "wasp" waist. This abdominal appendage with its "sparking" stinger, composed of the red-tipped phallos, apparently resembles a lamp with its wick. We must not, however, insist that the costume was anything more than a metaphor. The testes and penis are always, of course, in miniature such an abdominal appendage and the transformation of the phallos into a "wick" can be documented from other plays. Thus the sycophant in the *Acharnians* is teased for "showing without a wick" (*Acharn.* 816);[106] he apparently has no penis, a lack which is appropriate, since as a sycophant he "shows the fig" or the *pudenda muliebria*. We might recall also that a "lamp" or "torch" is used to singe Mnesilochos in the shaving scene in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (238 sq.); Mnesilochos seems to interpret the singeing as an anal rape. This interpretation of "wick" also explains the punning in Praxagora's opening speech in the *Ekklesiazousai:* she has disguised herself as a male and apostrophizes the "shining eye of the wheel-driven lamp," even though lamps, as the scholiast noted, are stamped or molded rather than thrown on the wheel; the turning, no doubt, implies the sexual experience.[107] She goes on at great length, calling the "lamp *(penis coriaceus?)* the most amazing invention amongst the class of things that hit the target." She intends to reveal its

"genesis and its experience." It is "driven by a wheel by the ceramist's exertion" and "because of its mucousy snouts it has a shining honor identical with the sun's." She "rouses" it to give "the agreed upon significance of flame," for it is about to "consort" with her present plans to be a male. "To or with it alone do we fittingly reveal, for in the brothels it stands nearby those women who have experience in Aphrodite's turns—of character; no one excludes from the houses its eye, the standby for bodies in sexual contortions; it alone illuminates the forbidden recesses of the thighs, singeing the hair which flowers there; it stands by the women as they open just slightly the storehouses full of harvest and Bacchic fluid" (*Ekkles.* 1-29). She retires to conceal herself when she sees a lamp approaching, in case the person carrying it might be a man, rather than another woman in disguise. The metaphor was so common that a lover who is frustrated by his woman threatens in the *Lysistrata* "to burn her door with his lamp" (*Lys.* 1216-18); and earlier in that comedy, when the men attack the virgin's sanctuary with burning logs, one of them calls attention to the condition of the lamp with which he intends to scorch his opponent (*Lys.* 376).

Before we examine the *mykes* passage more closely, we might notice that the action of bending down close to the ground exhibits that member of the chorus in a quite convincing mimesis of the stinging insect's walk. In this position, of course, the phallos might drag along the ground. It becomes, in fact, a particularly troublesome "toe": the leader of the chorus, speculating about the possible reasons for Philokleon's tardiness, suggests that perhaps he stubbed his toe in the darkness and that his "ankle" became "hot and swollen," a condition which would have quickly caused havoc in his groin, since, after all, he was an old man (*Wasps* 275-7).[108] It is possible, also, that the choreography would imitate at times movements which, at least to an agrarian populace, could have been recognized as insect actions. Bees, for example, when individually joining their front legs to the back legs of others in their clustering or swarming pat-

tern, form a chain that might be misconstrued as engaging in a sexual activity like *fellatio* or *cunnilingus*. One version of Aristophanes' *Clouds*, in fact, contained such an observation of insect behavior: "The two of them will lie together like fornicating bugs."[109] The bees' "wagtail dance" might also be easily misinterpreted as an invitation to anal intercourse. We cannot, of course, reconstruct the movements of the dance but we should bear in mind the possible significance of the action of bending down;[110] the leader of the chorus, for example, in describing Philokleon's bitter personality, again demonstrates: "if anyone opposed him, he would bend down like this and say, 'You're boiling a stone!'" (*Wasps* 277-80). We must always remember that the action on the stage would make clear what in the bare text seems obscure. The "old man" walk of comedy, moreover, may simply indicate a difficulty in walking upright with an erect phallos.

The transformation of the phallos to a lamp wick is perhaps the reason Philokleon so strenuously objects to removing his *tribon* or thread-bare cloak (there is perhaps a pun on the sexual connotation of the verb *tribo*, "to grind"),[111] and is why he becomes so hot when his son wraps around him the refinement of Persian effeminacy (*Wasps* 1121). He becomes, in fact, an oven and asks for a meat hook so that he can be fished out when he's done (*Wasps* 1153-55).[112] Perhaps the abdominal appendage figures also in the routine with the old man's "piss pot" and his handy lentil casserole (*Wasps* 807 sq.).[113] The son, in redirecting the old man's life, has been progressively rendering him more impotent. Earlier Bdelykleon had explained to his father the political corruption that was bought by the jurors' dole, which the politicians drip, drop by drop, like oil on the jurors' wad of wool (wick?) to keep them alive (*Wasps* 701-2).[114] Philokleon had lamented that his anger seemed impotent: a paralysis affects his hand and he cannot control his "sword," but is already soft (*Wasps* 713-14). At the refined drinking party, however, the old man gets drunk, makes some obscure insults to one of the other guests, who "looks like a locust without its *tribon* fig leaves" (*Wasps* 1311-12);[115]

and runs off with the courtesan flute player, hitting a "bread-seller" with his "torch" on the way home (*Wasps* 1390). In the seduction scene with the flute girl, the phallos has apparently turned into a "rope,"[116] with which she is instructed to hoist herself up: "Watch out—the rope is rotten; but don't worry, it doesn't mind being ground down a bit" (*Wasps* 1341-44). The old man, however, seems incapable of the act, and he shifts into a routine in which he imagines that he is still too young, and that she will have to wait until he inherits his son's fortune. The puritanic son's arrival prompts the father to try another ruse. The "rope" becomes a "bundle of faggots," a "torch," and the girl is disguised as a torch stand. Her pubic hair is the pitch oozing out of the lighted torch, and the anus has a branch of the torch protruding from it. The son, dismissing the ruse, claims that the old man is "rotten" and "can't do anything" (*Wasps* 1361-82).

Our digression on the varying phallic metaphors allows us now, perhaps, to imagine the action of the *borboros* scene. There occur remarks which suggest a sexual context for the entire episode. The old man, for example, is called a "dear little bag (scrotum?)" (*Wasps* 314); and he counters the boy's complaints by claiming that the boy's mother bore the child just so that the father would have the trouble of "feeding" him (*Wasps* 312-13). The discussion about food, for all its obscurity, is also suggestive: The father offers "knucklebones" as something nice he can get his boy, but the son prefers "figs" since they're sweeter; "You wouldn't think so," the father complains, "if it were you who were hung up!" (*Wasps* 291 sq.).[117] "Knucklebones" are dice, but their opposition to figs indicates the male organ instead of the female. "Leading" or "escorting" the old man may well involve more than simple motion forward.[118] As the chorus first enters (*Wasps* 245 sq.), the men inspect the surroundings with their "lamps"; they are afraid of stubbing their toe on a "rock" and thus, apparently, of suffering the same inguinal inflammation which they imagine has afflicted Philokleon. The boy objects that there is some "mud" of the

clayish, lumpy variety, but the old man disregards the refusal and tells the boy to bend over and "take the lamp" and "jam it forward" anyway. The boy again demurs and instead he pulls the man's "wick" forward with his finger; the old man now complains that he has lost some oil, and that at his age he doesn't have much to spare. The traditional interpretation of this scene derives from an ancient critic's guess: the boy has pulled the lampwick forward with his finger, instead of with a twig, and the lamp is thus burning too brightly. Why a twig should be better than a finger for this task, however, escapes my comprehension. "Where did you learn to shove the wick like that?" the old man asks. The boy threatens to extinguish the man's lamp, and to leave him "without this"(?), to wallow in the clay mud like an *attagas* bird. The old man, however, counters that he has taken care of bigger ones than him;[119] and then apparently the danger of rocks and clay disappears, as he begins to tread genuine *borboros,* mud of the sewerage variety.[120] For the man apparently is engaged in "manure-gathering," the metaphor which customarily describes the action of anal rape;[121] and his "treading" action no doubt has a meaning similar to the "treading" of the old man's youthful northern campaign: he and a friend treaded around at night and sneaked in to steal the "bread-seller's kneading bowl" (*Wasps* 237-38). *Borboros* is apparently in some comic situations desirable: the chorus in the *Peace* describes a male who has the "passion of a Herakles" and "takes on the biggest" as he bestrides the *byrse's* terrible odor *(penis coriaceus?)* and the *"borboros*-inspired violence" (*Peace* 752-53). Herakles is here probably the insatiate sensualist as well as the mythological purifier of the Augean stables. Kleon, with his *byrse,* stirs up the *borboros* as he revels in the turmoil he causes in the city, his beloved Demos (*Knights* 306 sq.). It is difficult for us to imagine a sexual fantasy which entails speculation about the quality of excrement encountered in buggery, and certainly more difficult when the routine involves the female's *penis coriaceus;* but apparently such a fantasy was possible, at least, in Greek comic imagination. Thus

we are, no doubt, to understand those delightful Boeotian prostitutes, those Copaic "eels" (*Acharn.* 880 sq.; *Lys.* 700-02), who so much enjoy wallowing in the *borboros* (*Knights* 864-67). In the *Wasps,* therefore, it is possible that neither the rocks nor the different types of muck are on the ground. The discovery of *borboros* excites the aged gentleman. The "wick" on the "lamp" now has a red sparking tip—it has a "mushroom"; and he goes on to speculate on the meaning of this sign: it presages rain, with perhaps a pun on the impregnating urination of Zeus, who is customarily responsible for precipitation.

The old man then goes on to comment that "crops which are not early" need rain followed by a north wind. This is supposed to be an irrelevant mental wandering characteristic of old age: crops that are not early are explained as summer crops, and the north wind in summer is dry; rain followed by a drying wind keeps the crops from rotting. There are, however, several difficulties with this explanation. The time of the performance of this comedy is the January festival of the Lenaea; Greek summers are dry and the land ordinarily does not lack drainage, so that there would be little need for a drying wind after rain to insure the growth of summer crops. The north wind in winter is, of course, cold; and rain and cold weather, which are the January conditions, are suited for the growth of a particular crop which is not early, but rather quite late in the year's cycle of growth. Has the "phallos—mushroom," "lampwick—mushroom" punning culminated in a reference to the mushroom plant, which figured in the maenadic rites of the Lenaea?[122]

In the final scene of the comedy (*Wasps* 1474 sq.), the newly emancipated Philokleon comes back on stage dancing wildly with a number of Crabs, who are all supposed to be members of the Crab family of tragic poets, but who may actually be choreographic representations of that crab-like insect which troubles the pubic hair.[123] The scene begins when Xanthias announces that "some god has wheeled a difficulty into the house." The old man has been drinking for some time inside and listening to flute music, and he is dancing from ecstasy, refusing to

stop: he intends to dance a history of tragic dance from earliest times up to the present. He bursts out of the house—the beginning of his dance step or rather, as Xanthias comments, the beginning of his madness: he bends his torso and shouts that the "mucouser is mucousing," *mukter mukatai* ("snout is snotting," "the musher is rooming," etc.), and "the vertebrae" (with perhaps a pun on the "voting pebbles") "are ringing" (*Wasps* 1488).[124] That he is mad is indicated by Xanthias' advice that he drink hellebore (*Wasps* 1489, cf. 1496), the cause which is also, therefore, a cure. The Crabs come on stage and Philokleon challenges one of them to a "knucklebone dance" (*Wasps* 1503); this midmost son of Crab, he vows, "will be drunk down." Another Crabson tragedian comes on stage: this one, Philokleon claims, is a tasty meal. The last Crab enters doing an "owl or mole" dance; he is the smallest of his family, the one who writes tragedies. He is the pinna-guard, a small crab which lives in the pinna mollusk's shell (a pun with *pinos*, "hair filth," or with *pino*, "drink," is possible). It's quite a family of crabs, as Philokleon comments: a veritable multitude of "wrens" (*orchilos*, with a pun on *orchis*, "testicles") which has dropped on him. Xanthias is directed to mix up some salt water, apparently so that these Crabs can be cooked like proper crabs, if Philokleon wins the contest. The comic exodos is accomplished with the old man dancing off with his Crabs: no chorus of tragedians was ever like this, but this, after all, is a chorus of "trugedians," the singers of the *trux* or of the wine dregs.

NOTES

[1] Cf. Thorkil Vanggaard, *Phallos: A Symbol and Its History in the Male World* (Denmark: 1969; translated into English by the author, New York, 1972). Vanggaard documents the instinctual response to the phallos as a sign of aggression.

[2] Schol. in *Frogs* 947; cf. Plin. *N.H.* 22.81; Suidas s.v. σκάνδιξ.

[3] *Thesm.* 387, *Knights* 19.

[4] *Vita Eur.* 5 (Manuel Moschopoulou) and Suidas s.v. Εὐριπίδης.

[5] Quoted in Athenaeus 424 ε.

[6] Ibid., loc. cit., cf. Pollux vii 48, where it is stated that the Theraic cloak, which is mentioned by Theophrastos, was used in satyric drama.

[7] *Vita Eur.* 1 and 4 (Thomas Magister).

[8] Ibid. 1.

[9] *Vita Eur.* 5 (Manuel Moschopoulou) and Suidas.

[10] Schol. in *Frogs* 947.

[11] *Frogs* 914 (a response to some gesture implied by 913: γρύζοντας οὐδὲ τουτί), 916-18, 921-22 (addressed to Aischylos), 926 (addressed to Aischylos), 927 (addressed to Aischylos), 930-32 (addressed to audience), 934 (addressed to Aischylos).

[12] Dionysos objects to Euripides only on the subject of democracy; his plays have taught people to quibble (954). Cf. Dionysos' attitude earlier at 915 sq. When he does object, however, he stresses that this is the one point where he must disagree and even then addresses Euripides in a friendly manner (952-53). Euripides, like Sokrates, is being accused of offering a sophistic education and thereby of causing political relativism. Notice, however, that Dionysos continues to be offended by Aischylos' bombast and lack of clarity: 1018, 1020, 1023-24 (Dionysos hits Aischylos!), 1028-29 (Dionysos ridicules some stage action of the *Persians*).

[13] Theophrastus, *H. P.* 7.7.1.

The equation of σκάνδιξ in *L.S.-J.*[9] as "wild chervil, *Scandix pecten veneris*" or the "Venus comb scandix," implies greater certainty than in fact exists. The references quoted in *L.S.-J.*[9] may not be to the same plant. Lewis and Short gloss *scandix* as *Scandix caerefolium,* with references to Pliny's *N.H.* 22.80, where it is equated with the Euripidean *scandix;* 21.89, where it is listed, along with *caucalis* and *enthryscum,* as a common food in Egypt and described as the same thing as *tragopogon,* which has leaves like those of saffron. *Kaukalis* is glossed as *Tordylium apulum* in *L.S.-J.*[9] and as *Caucalis orientalis* in Lewis and Short. *Enthryscum* is glossed as the equivalent of ἄνθρυσκον or *Scandix australis* both in the Greek and in the Latin lexicon. *Tragopogon* is supposed to be "salsify" or *Tragopogon porrifolius (L.S.-J.*[9]). These are the same plants that are grouped together in Theophrastos. "Wild chervil" usually is *Anthriscus cerefolium,* which is a popular culinary herb with a flavor of mild parsley; it is an ingredient of the French "fines herbes."

[14] Pliny *N.H.* 22.81: "peculiaris laus eius, quod fatigato venere corpori succurrit marcentesque iam senio coitus excitat." This notion reappears in the Elizabethan *Herball* (1597) of John Gerard: herbalists often repeat observations which are not their own and which originally pertained to some other plant. I cannot discover whether "chervil" has the effect claimed for it. In an interesting display of selectivity, Starkie in his commentary on this passage (*The Acharnians of Aristophanes*, London: 1909, p. 102) records Pliny's mentions of *skandix* as a not "legitimum olus" but isolates the reader from any knowledge of the supposed aphrodisiac effect of the herb.

[15] Telekleides 38: . . . ξυγγενέσθαι διὰ χρόνου μ' ἐλιπάρει δρυπεπέσι μάζαις καὶ διεσκανδίκισε. The meaning of the δρυπεπεῖς μᾶζαι is not at all clear; δρυπεπής seems to imply "tree-ripened" but a sexual connotation is involved: in Aristophanes Frag. 141 an old man is asked whether he prefers δρυπεπεῖς hetairas or virgin women who are like firm olives soaked in brine; in *Lysistrata* 564 the word describes figs which a Thracian, in a passage not devoid of sexual innuendo, ate after he had given the fig-seller quite a fright (cf. *Peace* 1349-50).

[16] Pliny *N.H.* 19.170.

[17] Paus. 2.10.6, Nic. Frag. 74.55.

[18] Telekleides 49 (Pollux 3.70).

[19] Andokides, Frag. 4. This plant may be the turnip-rooted chervil, *Chaerophyllum bulbosum*, which is boiled and eaten like a turnip. A turnip-rooted chervil, of course, might be considered an aphrodisiac by the "doctrine of signatures" (see below): the turnip shape resembles the female breast (cf. *Thesm.* 1185: ὡς στέριπο τὸ τιττί, ὥσπερ γογγύλη, which is the Scythian archer's comment, in his own dialect, about the dancer who is apparently "dancing" on his lap). We do not know, however, whether the "doctrine of signatures" pertains to pre-Christian herbalism; it seems to have been a discovery of the medieval period.

[20] Pollux 2.211.

[21] *Knights* 964. Cf. schol. ad loc. (Cf. *L.S.-J.*[9] s.v. μύρσινος II 3). The "myrtle berry" (μύρτον) referred to the *pudenda muliebria:* cf. *Lysistrata* 1004 and schol. on *Knights* 964.

We adduce also the passage in the *Ekklesiazousai* (1030-36) where the sexually reluctant lover advises the hag about what she must do to render the act more palatable: She asks whether he will buy her a "wreath" and he agrees—one of beeswax so that he can fall in through her quickly. A similar idea lies behind the scabrous remarks in the *Lysistrata* about the "gold-pourer" who made a "ring-wreath" for a woman which is too big for the husband's "acorn" (408-13).

Wreaths and hoops commonly indicate lovers in the symbolism of Athenian vase painting: cf. Ganymede's rolling a hoop and carrying a cock (a phallic representation) on an early fifth century Athenian mixing bowl (Louvre, Paris); the sexual symbolism is recognized by Thorkil Vanggaard, *Phallos.*

[22] *Wreath-Sellers,* title of a comedy by Eubolus Comicus (IV B.C.). Fragment 98 makes explicit the fact that his garland-sellers are courtesans.

[23] Aelian *N.A.* 9.26. Some kind of lettuce *(thridakane)* was also an anaphrodisiac, as is clear from fragment 14 of Eubulus' *Impotent Men;* cf. Pliny *N.H.* 19.127. In the *Ekklesiazousai* (648), Aristyllos kisses his suppositious "daddy" and makes him smell of *kalaminthe;* such an odor accompanies Aristyllos because, like a woman, he has strewn his bed either with the anaphrodisiac, or with the *kalaminthe* without the epithet "holy," which indicates the plant has the properties antithetical to the anaphrodisiac. Nothing is known of this Aristyllos, and we therefore cannot choose between the alternatives.

Some plant called *bolbos* was apparently also an aphrodisiac. In the *Ekklesiazousai,* the young man who is being forced into copulation with two unattractive old women is advised to fortify himself with a pot of *bolboi* (1092). The name was applied to many plants and merely indicates some bulbous root.

[24] *Blechon* is usually identified as "penny royal" *(Mentha pulegium),* which is mildly psychotropic: cf. C. Kerenyi, *Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter* (New York: 1967), Appendix 1, pp. 177-180. There were, however, several forms of *blechon* (Theophrastos, *H. P.* 9.16.1-3; Pliny, *N.H.* 20.156). One of these was *diktamon,* a plant which apparently took its name from Mount Dikte on Crete. A late tradition claims (Pliny, *N.H.* 24.164) that on this mountain grew the magic plant *theangelis* or "messenger of god," which the Magi used in divination. It is possible that the *blechon* of Eleusis, where the religion derived from Minoan precedents, was a stronger hallucinogen of the *Labiatae* family, such as *Salvia divinorum,* for example.

Aphrodisiac or psychotropic properties of *blechon* underlie several jokes in Aristophanes: *Peace* 709-12, *Lysistrata* 87-89, *Acharnians* 860-61; cf. also the pun on *minthoun* in *Lys.* 1174 sq. (cf. schol. ad 313).

[25] H. S. Denninger, "A History of Substances Known as Aphrodisiacs," *Annals of Medical History* II 383-93 (1930).

[26] The "Spanish fly" or "blister beetle" is the *καν θαρίς*; its ability to "revive sexual potency" was known to Plutarch (*De audiendis poetis* 2.22a). The "scarab-beetle" was *κάνθαρος,* and although Aristotle (*H. A.* 490[a] 15, 531[b] 25) distinguishes between the two words, the distinction was not commonly observed either before or after his time. The scholiast on Nicander's *Alexipharmaka* 115, claims that the *καν θαρίς* was also called *κάνθαρος*; and the Aetnaean

κάνθαρος of Aristophanes' *Peace* (73) and of Aischylos frag. 233 (Nauck) is no doubt identical with the Aetnaean κανθαρίς of Plato Comicus frag. 37. We might well wonder whether the flight to heaven in the *Peace* is not effected by the κάνθαρος rather than the κανθαρίς. The scarab was apparently sometimes ascribed aphrodisiac properties in Egyptian art (Denninger, op. cit.). The *dikaion* "bird" of India, which has been identified as the dung-beetle (Darcy Thompson, *Greek Birds*), was said to produce a lethal and soporific "excrement." I cannot accept Thompson's identification of this "excrement" as a resinous preparation of Indian hemp; "hashish" is not ordinarily lethal; nor is there any reason to associate it with a beetle.

The κανθάρεως was the name of a kind of vine (Theophrastus, *H. P.* 2.15.5); the κάνθαρος was the name of a drinking cup (Phrynichus 15, etc.).

[27] The confusion of such classifications can be sensed from the persistence of the aphrodisiac connotations of hashish or hemp, despite the ancient tradition that the drug is actually an anaphrodisiac. Galen (*De simpl. med.* VII-XII 8 Kuhn) claimed that hemp cuts off or dries up the semen. For the similar confusion of the drug's aphrodisiac and anaphrodisiac properties in Islamic civilization, see Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: 1971) 82 sq.

[28] Jerome, *Euseb. Chron.* A.U.C. 659.

[29] William Emboden, Jr., "Ritual Use of Cannabis Sativa," P. Furst, *Flesh of the Gods* (New York: 1972).

[30] σκανδικοπώλης Hsch., Phot., Suidas.

[31] Cf. schol. in *Knights* 18.

[32] Suidas s.v. σκάνδιξ. (Quoted from some anonymous comic author?)

[33] The foot is apparently also the penis in *Lysistrata* 416.

[34] Cf. Note 97 below for the sexual connotations of "naval battle."

[35] Κινησίας· κινεῖν (*L.S.-J.*[9] II 4).

[36] E.g., κολλομελεῖ (κόλλοψ, peg or screw = ἀνδρόγυνος, *cinaedus* *L.S.-J.*[9] II 2); γνωμοτυπεῖ (γνώμων, pointer: cf. Diogenes Cynicus, IV. B.C. philosophus, *Epistulae* 35: ὁ γνώμων ἀνίσταται, sens. obsc. *L.S.-J.*[9]), etc.

[37] The metaphor can be documented also from other plays. In the *Frogs* (94-95), Dionysos claims that the inferior poets are disgusting lovers: they no sooner get their chorus than they urinate, instead of ejaculating in their tragedy-hetaira.

[38] Schol. in *Acharn.* 399, 410.

[39] *Pl.* 1120 sq.: *οἰνοῦττα* is either a cake of some kind (schol. ad loc.) or an intoxicating plant (Arist. Frag. 107); *ἰσχάς* is the dried fig; on *κωλῇ* as the membrum virile, cf. ***Clouds*** 989, 1019 (and schol. ad loc.).

[40] For documentation, see below, note 58.

[41] Ktesias Frag. 20 (Muller), quoted by Athenaeus 528f.; Plutarch, *Mor.* 336c; Dio Chrysostom 62.6.

Aristophanes costumed a character as Sardanapalus in ***Birds*** 1022.

I suspect that the original source for Ktesias may have been some fifth century comic routine which has been mistakenly taken literally. In the ***Ekklesiazousai*** (88-101), for example, "carding wool" involves either some pun or action which will expose the sexual organs and reveal the choral women as male-impersonators (they are, of course, really men disguised as women who have disguised themselves as men).

[42] *L.S.-J.*[9] s.v. *ἀναβαίνω* II 7.

[43] Plutarch, *Mor.* 336c.

[44] *Vita Eur.* 136 W.

[45] Aristophanes, Frag. 580.

[46] *L.S.-J.*[9] s.v. *μείγνυμι* B 4.

[47] Line 1442 seems misplaced in its manuscript position and should no doubt follow 1436.

[48] Cf. note 97 below.

[49] Kallias 12.

[50] Telekleides 40.

[51] Cf. the second section of this essay.

[52] The sexual meaning of "thresh" (*ἀλοάω*) should be sufficiently clear from ***Frogs*** 149 where, in a list of perversions which have earned people a place in Hell's "sewerage" (*βόρβορον . . . καὶ σκῶρ*), we find *ἢ μητέρ' ἠλόασεν.*

[53] *δασυπώγων* with perhaps a pun on *δασύπυγος* (which means *δασύπρωκτος* according to schol. in Theoc. 5.112). Cf. the "shaggy buttocks" of the Cyprian men in Pl. Com. 3. Cf. *δασύτρωγλος* = *δασύπρωκτος* in *A.P.* 12.41 (Mel.).

White (i.e., hairless?) buttocks (*πύγαργος*) were a sign of cowardice and effeminacy: Sophokles, Frag. 1085, Kallias 12; black

buttocks (μελάμπυγος) were a mark of manhood: Eubulus 61, Aristophanes, *Lys.* 802, etc. In Kratinos 295, a shaggy ass is caused by a bean (κυρήβια) diet; ἐρεβίνθος could imply the membrum virile (schol. in *Frogs* 545). We might also adduce *Frogs* 426 sq., where Kleisthenes' son is said to depilate his ass amongst the grave stelai, and to rend his "buttocks" (?): he is mourning for Sebinos, even though he is himself a masturbator (schol. in *Frogs* 427). Sebinos is a name which indicates a more interpersonal form of copulation (σὲ βινεῖν); cf. *Ekkles.* 979-80. He is, however, apparently also having sex, for in the upper world everyone is a corpse (ἐν τοῖς ἄνω νεκροῖσι 424), and thus Aristophanes has described a fantastic pun on ritual mourning (shorn locks and scratched cheeks) and anal copulation: note, for example, the mourner's position: κἀκόπτετ' ἐγκεκυφώς.

Note also the effect of Euripidean education: *Frogs* 1070: καὶ τὰς πυγὰς ἐνέτριψεν.

[54] Hsch., s.v. ἴφυα . . . ὃ ἡμεῖς Λαβαντίδα καλοῦμεν.

[55] *Thesm.* 1185-9 can leave no doubt about the sexual nature of the stage action.

[56] Cf. Dsc. 3.113-4.

[57] Οἰνεὺς ὀδί indicates that Euripides has either actors or their costumes with him on the *enkyklema.* Cf. 427: ὁ χωλὸς οὑτοσί.

[58] In the *Lysistrata,* the Spartan herald describes the lame walk of the frustrated husbands: they "bend forward like men carrying lamps" (1002-3). When they later enter (1072 sq.), they are so doubled up with spasms that their beards cover their groins like a woman's "sanitary napkin" (χοιροκομεῖον).

[59] If we adduce merely the extant tragedies of Sophokles, we note several "beggar" roles: *Oidipous Koloneus, Philoktetes,* Herakles of the *Trachiniai, Elektra.* Of the remaining three plays, *Ajax,* fresh from the slaughter of the cattle, and *Oidipous Tyrannos* after the self-mutilation, are certainly poor examples of kingly splendor; even *Antigone* we might imagine to be a little less than magnificently attired, since she has disfigured herself for ritual mourning.

[60] Dionysos, Xanthias, and the hotel hostess are all present and speaking on stage when Plathane speaks at line 552. The fourth actor would also play the role of Ploutos with Dionysos and Euripides and Aischylos all present.

[61] For sex as "play" see also *Ekklesiazousai* 922.

[62] Schol. in *Birds* 911.

[63] Adespota 12.

[64] Schol. in *Birds* 915.

[65] Matro Parodius (IV B.C.), *Convivium* 92.

[66] We can parallel the occurrence of a noticeable erection beneath clothing in the appearance of the Spartan herald in *Lysistrata* 980 sq.

[67] On the sexual meaning of the "naval battle," see note 97 below.

[68] Note the balanced oaths: *Frogs* 1067: *νὴ τὴν Δήμητρα* . . . and 1074: *νὴ τὸν Ἀπόλλω*. . . .

[69] Cf. for example *Peace* 814, where "fish-destroyers" have smelly armpits, are polluted, and "shoo away old women birds." Hetairas quite often have bird names and we may wonder whether "birds" as well as "fish" are prostitutes. We might recall that the nightingale of the *Birds* is clearly an hetaira (cf. 670-74), and that she dances during that play's parabasis. It is interesting also to speculate about what stage action is involved when the priest enters "blowing" on a pipe (859) and singing "for the sake of joy" (855), and inviting "Joy" to sing along too: he or the two of them together are the unusual sight of a "crow with a mouthpiece." None of the other visitors to Bird-land are dressed as birds. There are, furthermore, no indications that the chorus wears the phallos, although the visitors may (Kinesias: see line 1379; poet: see line 915; Meton: note puns on *ὀρθῷ* . . . *ὀρθαί* . . . *ὀρθαί* 1004-8 as he measures and maps out the air). Note also the joke about Philokrates, the "sparrow-lecher" (1077: cf. Hsch.) who "blows" on thrushes and "defiles" them: he sells decoy birds, with a pun perhaps on prostitute. Females are birds also in *Lysistrata* 115, 131, 776.

There is sexual innuendo probably also in the "fish" (*τριχίς*, with a pun on *τριχίας*, etc., "hairy") which the husband got his fill of, so that he coughed all night long in the *Ekklesiazousai* (55-6); the wife complains that she got no sleep, and her complaint is obviously similar to the previous woman's complaint that her husband "drove" her all night (37-39).

[70] Rhetorical babbling is characteristic of "buggered youths" as is evident from a passage in the *Ekklesiazousai* (111-14) where a woman claims that she too has had that experience, and therefore should be able to speak as well as any young man. Later in the play it may be apposite to recall that the female's *penis coriaceus* is called a woman's "straight-talker" (916, cf. schol. ad loc.).

[71] See note 97 below.

[72] We should also consider the possibility that the reference involves the Aristophanic criticism of Euripides as much as it involves actual Euripidean dramaturgy. There is a certain nostalgia in the *Frogs* caused by the realization that the poet is putting to rest, with one final variation, some of his favorite comic routines: there will be no more Euripides. The "beggar-kings" bring the

comic poet back to the *Acharnians* and the days of his youth. Otherwise we must assume that Aristophanes was so outraged by the technique (which by the time of the *Frogs,* at least, was no longer solely Euripidean), that he never tired of voicing his indignation.

[73] Eur., Frag. 698 (Nauck). Cf. schol. in *Acharn.* 440.

[74] Cf. schol. ad loc.

[75] Cf. *L.S.-J.*[9] s.v. Μυσός, and Antiphanes (comicus) 33, where members of Plato's Academy are satirized for their foreign affectations in dress.

[76] Cf. schol. ad loc.

[77] Note that Euripides realizes that this item is not part of his costume as Telephos. The scholiast's explanation of this item is nonsense, since he is vainly trying to find some appropriateness for the basket as part of an "old man's" costume: "Old men, because they walk so slowly, hide their lamp in a basket so as to preserve the fire." The same attempt leads him to identify line 454 as a quote from *Telephos,* although the similarity to Eur. frag. 717 is based on an entirely undistinctive sequence of words: τί δ' ὦ τάγας; we might well doubt that anyone in the audience could have identified the source.

[78] The *kotyliskos* is the sacred mixing bowl of Dionysos, and also the vessel with which the initiates pour their libations (Athenaeus 11.479c, who cites Nicander of Thyateira and Aristophanes, frag. 380, as his sources; cf. Hsch.). In a fragment of Pherecrates (69) a woman complains that her "bile" has never been the same since the day that she drank the "drug" from such a chalice.

[79] As the profusion of wild guesses indicates, the scholiasts were quite baffled by this item. Apparently there was nothing in their texts of the *Telephos* to justify such an oddity.

[80] One scholiast's interpretation identifies *phylleia* as the leaves of *thridakine,* which had anaphrodisiac properties (Eubolus 14).

[81] See notes 78 and 80 above.

[82] Cf. schol. in *Acharn.* 472. Some unknown Symmachos apparently found the line in his text of the *Telephos,* but the scholiast's edition did not contain it.

[83] Neither in the *Frogs* nor in the *Acharnians* is the word *basileus* ("king") proper used: *Acharn.* 472: κοιράνους; *Frogs* 1063: βασιλεύοντας.

[84] The lines which follow the mention of *etnos* defy comprehension: "and amongst those youngest girls, Smoios, the sullen, dressed

as a horseman purifies the women's *tryblion*-cups" (846-7). His special dress no doubt qualifies him as the "mounter" (cf. *Lys.* 60 and schol. ad loc.; *L.S.-J.*[9] s.v. κέλης III 1). In the *Acharnians* it is Dikaiopolis' daughter who ladles the *etnos*.

[85] That the δελφάκιον is the *pudenda muliebria* is recorded in Hesychios; such a possible meaning is indicated in any case by the χοῖρος scene of the *Acharnians* (729 sq.).

[86] On Kleon's role in the *Knights*, see 315, 325, 352, etc. Kleon is the "skin-sticker" who is trying to pass himself off as a man: he has gone around getting seeds into his sack for so long that now he thinks he has some to give to others. The harlot impersonates a male with her "skin" imitation of the Sausage-seller's authentic item.

[87] Fragments 114-156 (Nauck).

[88] Cf. *L.S.-J.*[9] s.v. κροκωτός. A man, wearing the *krokotos*, became an impersonation of Dionysos or a woman: cf. Kratinus 38.

[89] Although the word ἐπίξηνον occurs often in the *Acharnians* the only other fifth century occurrence is in a lyric passage in Aischylos' *Agamemnon* (1277): *L.S.-J.*[9]'s gloss "executioner's block" may be misleading since Kassandra is lamenting that she is to be "slaughtered" (1278), not "executed." The *epixenon* is a kitchen tool, not an instrument of punishment (cf. Suidas, Hsch., *Etym. Gen.* Cf. also Pollux 6.90, 10.101. Note that the *epixenon* is brought from inside the house in *Acharn.* 359); E. Fraenkel (*Aeschylos Agamemnon*, Oxford: 1950, line 1277 = p. 593 vol. 3) criticizes the accuracy of the *L.S.-J.*[9] gloss. We suspect that too much is made of the *epixenon* in the *Acharnians* for the comic routine to have involved simply the head on the "butcher block." Dikaiopolis does mention the "head" (318, 486) and the "neck" (492), but both terms easily admit of metaphorical extension: Aristotle *H. A.* 510a 14 (ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ὄρχεως) and Pollux 1.90 (αὐχήν is the handle of the steering-paddle of a ship). The chorus in the *Acharnians* (360) asks "what is this thing which is so big" which Dikaiopolis wishes to say, and later (368), Dikaiopolis doesn't bother "to put the shield on" as he begins his speech. The speech itself concerns the rape of the Megarian prostitutes as the cause of the Peloponnesian War: are we to imagine that Dikaiopolis actually has his head on the butcher block for all this? If our suggestion is accepted, there is obviously a special point in Dikaiopolis' having to deliver his speech even without the *skandix* (480); there is a special point also in his "beggar" pose. When Lamachos comes rushing in after Dikaiopolis' speech, he asks who has "roused the Gorgon from the covering" (574); and Dikaiopolis insinuates that Lamachos, even though well equipped, does not have sufficient strength to peel back the foreskin of Dikaiopolis (591-92).

[90] κορακίνους (with pun on κόρας κινεῖν?).

[91] Pherecrates 22.

[92] Scholia in *Wasps* 260. Cf. 262.

L.S.-J.[9] s.v. μύκης 5, glosses "snuff of a lamp-wick." Such a definition explains the metaphor of a "lamp-mushroom" by assuming that the ancients' inability to comprehend the nature of fungoid growth allowed them to see something similar in the mushrooms which appeared on putrefying damp wood and the sooty excrescence on the wick. The scholiast, however, is quite clear in defining the "lamp-mushroom" as sparks; even the variant opinion that it is an "insect" is merely an attempt to offer a physical reason for the sparks around the lamp wick.

[93] Theophrastos, *de Signis Tempestatum* 14, 42, et al.

[94] G. Hermann, *De choro Vesparum dissert.* (Leipzig: 1843) p. 7.

[95] S. Srebrny, *Eos* 1 (1959-60) 43 n. 2; followed by MacDowell in his commentary (*Wasps*, Oxford: 1971).

[96] Note the scholiast's gloss for φέψαλοι· Σπινθῆρες, οἷον πῦρ πνέουσιν. Despite the gloss, the scholiast has not understood the situation. MacDowell argues (225 ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος) that the stinger is "coming out of their backs"; but surely that is a strange place for it: stinging insects in antiquity had stingers in the belly anyway (cf. Pliny 11.60: "aculeum apibus dedit natura ventri consertum"): and Aristophanes would have to have been a fool to lose such an opportunity for comedy. It is true that the stinger is called "this tail piece" in line 1075, but the metaphor, accompanied by a demonstrative gesture, would be not only understandable, but quite hilarious: "tail" (*L.S.-J.*[9] s.v. οὐρά I 2) can, in any case, be documented as meaning the sexual organ. I also find it difficult to follow MacDowell in assuming that the stingers are not visible to the audience until line 408, when the wasps remove their cloaks for battle: it is at this point, when they are angered, that they "get an erection." The stinger is apparently maneuverable, like a weapon, and it is the extraordinarily formidable appearance of it now which causes Xanthias to remark about it (420), for he has already been told, in line 225, that the old jurors have stingers. MacDowell's posterior stinger would require that the wasps, mustering for attack, would have to back into their foe! Note also that a prostitute in line 740 grinds down the penis and the *osphys*. In the *Lysistrata* (962-6), the *osphys* is one of the parts of the male body which suffers from sexual frustration.

"Spark" (φέψαλος) may have been an "argot" metaphor for the "glans penis": cf. *Acharnians* 279, where Dikaiopolis is privately celebrating the Dionysia. He will rape the Thracian maenad, get "high," drink the sedative potion, and finally hang the "shield" on the "spark." The traditional explanation of this passage disregards the erotic context and places the shield in the "chimney place"; the φέψαλος, however, is not the chimney place. In the *Lysistrata* (107-10), a woman complains about the disastrous state

of sexual affairs: there is not a "spark" (φεψάλυξ) of an adulterous male left; and ever since the Milesians revolted, she hasn't even seen a good, long *penis coriaceus*, the "leather aid"; the problem is that the husbands, even if they ever do come home for a moment, just have time enough to grab the "shield" and then off they go again to war. The implement apparently could be red or have a red tip: cf. Herodes 6.19 (βαυβών is another name for the ὄλισβος; from *Thesm.* 560, it appears that the implement could be metaphorically called an "axe," πέλεκυς: cf. πελεκάω *L.S.-J.*[9]).

We can document a sexual meaning for the verb προσβάλλειν in *Peace* 994. For weaponry as sexual "equipment," cf. *Acharn.* 591; *Lys.* 156, 800.

[97] In the *Clouds* Aristophanes similarly used the phallos as part of an unusual costume: the clouds have noses (340 sq.):

STREPSIADES: Tell me, why is it that if they're really clouds, they resemble mortal women? Women aren't like that.
SOKRATES: Well, what do you think they look like?
STREPSIADES: I don't know, really. These look like fluttering puffs of wool—and not like women—no, by god, not at all: these have noses!

The point of the joke is made clear in the ensuing parody of Socratic dialectic. Clouds assume the appearance of whatever they happen to see, and these clouds have just seen the female impersonator Kleisthenes and therefore are women with phalloi! (The penis is called a "nose" also in *Ekkles.* 630.)

In the parabasis of the *Clouds*, the choral leader claims that the comedy, like an Elektra, is a good girl: "for the first time she comes on stage not having stitched together a leather thing, hung down, red at the end, thick so that the kids can get a laugh." Aristophanes is here saying not that he has rejected the use of the comic phallos but rather that he has been inventive in its employment.

Inventiveness in the employment of the comic phallos is also evident in the costume of the King's Eye in the *Acharnians*. The ambassador apparently has the phallos protruding through an oarlock, which in Greek was called an "eye" (cf. scholia in *Acharn.* 95; the oarlock was lined with leather to protect against wear; this becomes the leather sacking [i.e., testes?] which Dikaiopolis notices beneath the King's eye, 97). Thus the ambassador has a "shipwreck look" though he is about to enter harbor (96), which is no doubt the point of the mention of the "gape-assed" Ionians which follows (104-6, cf. 133). Cf. Pl. Com. 3, where the oar is clearly a penis, and the act of rowing is copulation.

Whether such costumes were actually represented, or merely fantastic metaphors, we cannot know.

I might further suggest that this connotation of the oar underlies the manner of dance which carries Dionysos in the *Frogs* across the Styx in Charon's boat. In answer to Dionysos' question as to how he will cross, Herakles points to a "little boat" and adds that the

fee is "two obols" (139-40). (The two obols have caused critics much trouble since Charon's fee is supposed to be only one obol: if the demonstrative has pointed to what I have implied, then the dual nature of the coins should be obvious. Two obols, of course, may simply indicate a round trip.) Thus there is some trouble about the manner in which Dionysos is to sit when he embarks: "Sit to the oar!" Charon says. "Hey, what are you doing?" Dionysos answers, "What am I doing? What else? I'm sitting to the oar, just like you said." "Not there, you stomach!" Charon replies. "There, shove forward and stretch out your hands." (196-201) Dionysos has apparently sat on the oar-penis, but Charon insists that Dionysos, despite his inexperience as a sailor "drive." We must entertain the possibility that the entirety of the very famous frog chorus is an accompaniment to a dance of anal intercourse (cf. *Frogs* 237-38). We adduce in support of this fantastic suggestion, the conversation in the *Ekklesiazousai* where two hags are fighting over the young man who is reluctant to sleep with either one of them, as he is required now by law, in the newly established, female-dominated, communist regime: he calls them difficult "ferry men" because by pulling (on his penis) they "scrape" the sailors; how, he asks, can he "row" both of them at once? The vagina, moreover, is the "hole" or "oar-lock": *Ekkles.* 624: τρύπημα (cf. *Peace* 1234); *Ekkles.* 906: τρῆμα (cf. *Lys.* 410); thus, earlier in the *Ekklesiazousai,* a woman complains that her husband, who is an heroic sailor, kept her awake all night "driving" her on the bed.

Lest we doubt that a Greek god could be shown on the stage in such an unbecoming activity, we may recall the scene (*Frogs* 482 sq.) where Dionysos apparently wipes his anus, which he calls his "heart," with a "sponge." (Cf. also 740.) We should remember also that Dionysos himself claims that he "embarked" on the (hermaphroditic) Kleisthenes and "did naval battle" (48-49). (Cf. also 432 sq., where Kallias, identified with a demonstrative, is said to have covered his "vagina" with a lion skin and done "naval battle." In the *Birds,* Pisthetairos wants to get between the goddess Iris's thighs and claims that she will be amazed that, although he is old, he has an erection "three prow rams long" (1256); Iris, upon her entrance, for some reason of costuming, had looked like a boat (1202 sq.).

We may wonder, furthermore, about the manner of Dionysos' entrance with Xanthias at the beginning of the *Frogs.* Is Dionysos the "ass" and has he let Xanthias "ride" him, punning on a verb which means also to "cover" or "copulate" (21 sq.)? (ὀχέω, cf. ὀχεύω, ὀχευτικός, ὀχευτής in *L.S.-J.*[9]; φέρω would presumably refer to the action of the mounted rather than to that of the mounter: thus, πῶς φέρεις γὰρ ὅς γ' ὀχεῖ; 25.) Notice that Xanthias must dismount (35) so that Dionysos can knock on Herakles' door ("centaur fashion" [38]. A centaur is glossed in Hesychios as a παιδεραστής); the ass disappears from that moment on, even though Xanthias repeatedly complains that he is carrying a burden (87, 107, 115): why doesn't he put his burden on the now unoccupied ass—unless there never was one on stage?

[98] Stingers are wont to attack that part of the anatomy: cf. Pl.

Com. 173.21, where a stinging scorpion also behaves in this manner.

[99] A more traditional interpretation has the wasps harpooning the Persians' pajama pants and stinging them in the jaw and lower back. Note, however, that θυλάκη is the "scrotum"; *L.S.-J.*[9] glosses the plural of θύλακος as "slang term for the loose trousers of Persians and other Orientals," but the only other occurrence of the word (Euripides, *Cyclops* 182) is clearly in a passage of sexual innuendo: such oriental pajamas were apparently so called by analogy with "scrotum sacks." In the *Ekklesiazousai* (730-33), a man tells his beautiful "chaff-mover" (κιναχύρα, "sieve for flour," with a pun on κινεῖν, "copulate") to show itself at the "door" like "market wares" so that it can be "ground down" and "carry the basket" while rotating downward his "many *thylakoi.*" In the *Knights* (369 sq.), Kleon threatens the Sausage-seller with the *byrse,* the female's *penis coriaceus,* which Kleon has taken in order to be a man after so many years of "collecting grain" like a woman; the Sausage-seller counters the threatened *byrse* by claiming that he will "skin" Kleon and make the *byrse* into a *thylakos* for the grain Kleon has stolen. The sexual nature of the threats is firmly established by the context.

In the *Thesmophoriazousai* when Mnesilochos is shaved for his disguise as a woman, there can be little doubt that it is not the beard alone that is being shaved. He first must remove his clothing (214); he bends over (230, 236, 239); he is being changed into a *delphakion—pudenda muliebria*—(237) and will have to go on military duty bald (232); and finally when he is "singed," his ass catches fire (242 sq.), and his anus must be washed out (188), apparently with sperm. It must therefore have been hilarious when for the shaving scene he is told "to puff out his right cheek" (221); Euripides, who is doing the shaving, has extracted the "razor" from Agathon's "razor sheath" (218-20), and the razor, as well as the instrument later used for singeing, is apparently the phallos. The fantastic riddle in Eubulus 107 assumes that the rump can be confused with the face: it speaks, without a tongue, it is both smooth and shaggy, it is the same for both male and female. Cf. also the contexts for γνάθος in *Lys.* 361 and *Ekkles.* 1101.

[100] Scholia in *Wasps* 1110.

[101] τἀνθρήνια (rather than σφηκιᾷ, as in 224); cf. 1107.

[102] In *Lysistrata* 475, Aristophanes again confuses wasps and bees. Wasps and hornets were considered "degenerate varieties" of bees: Pliny *N. H.* 11.61.

[103] MacDowell acknowledges that he can see no reason for the wasps bending to the ground: "Perhaps they sat on low backless benches which induced a crouching posture. To say that they stooped with age would be inappropriate to this context, where the subject is the conditions in the courts" (op. cit., 275).

On the "worms" in the κύτταροι, we might compare a passage

in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (515-16), where the nurse who brings the suppositious infant to the deluded husband says, "His little foreskin is just like yours, all wrinkled and twisted just like a κύτταρος." Note also Aristoph. Frag. 583, where the "grinding woman" shares her life with her lover, feeding on "worms and mill-roaches."

[104] Note the similar occurrence of the verb βύω ("stuff, jam") in this passage and in 1110.

[105] The worker insects are, of course, actually female: the stinger is a peculiar development of the ovipositor. It is the stingerless drone who is the male. The matriarchal nature of the hive community, however, was not always understood in antiquity, or at least not in later antiquity, and the queen was thought to be a king. A scholiast, commenting on Aristophanes' *Wasps* (1114), does, however, recognize that the drones are male; and Aristotle knew about the queen wasp (*H. A.* 627^{b} 32).

[106] Cf. *Lys.* 1024, where φαίνω means to expose the penis.

[107] Cf. *Lys.* 845-46, where the "wheel" is the cause of Kinesias' erection.

[108] The traditional interpretation of this passage assumes that old men have poor circulation, and that therefore it is quite expectable that a stubbed toe should cause blood poisoning and a subsequent inflammation of the groin. Surely this is overly subtle for comedy?

[109] Aristophanes, Frag. 377 (cf. Photius and Suidas, s.v. πηνίον). The action is supposed to be performed by Sokrates and Chairephon.

[110] The action of "bending over" seems indicative of anal copulation in *Acharnians* 16, where the musician Chairis ("Joy") bent over into the "upright" (i.e., musical nome).

[111] Cf. *Wasps* 739-40; *Acharn.* 1147; *Peace* 11-12.
On *tribon* as "penis" or "foreskin," cf. note 115 below.

[112] The scene, despite several improbable interpretations in the scholia, remains quite obscure. Note the pun, for example, in 1131-32: τὸν τρίβων' ἄφες, τηνδὶ δὲ χλαῖναν ἀναβαλοῦ τριβωνικῶς; the son insists on giving the old man a nice experience (1125, 1130), although the father claims that the *tribon* is the only thing that saved him during the northern campaigns, and that he tried the son's suggestion once but it didn't agree with him—he got his fill of "grilled fish" and ended up owing the "wool-comber" (κναφεύς, with a pun on κνάω, "scratch"; a cheese "grater" is the penis in *Lys.* 237) a three-obol piece. The old man has engendered and raised a child only to find that "he wants to choke him" (on the sexual sense of "choke," cf. *Knights* 894). Then follows a series of puns on what the new thing is called: καυνάκης, with a pun on καίω, "burn," or καῦμα, etc., "heat"; σισύρα Θυμαιτίς, punning per-

haps on ἐπιθυμεῖν, "desire"; Μορύχου σάγμα (cf. the comic routine in *Acharn.* 574?) κρόκης χόλιξ, "thread sausage"; etc. Is the son perhaps instructing the father in some variety of sexuality?

The suggestion is somewhat difficult to accept, but the meat hook in two other passages is the penis: *Knights* 770-72, where the Sausage-seller, in vowing his love for Demos, hopes that he may be grated in honey-porridge, and be dragged by his testes' meat hook to the Potters' Quarters; and *Ekklesiazousai* 1002-4, where the meaning is obscure but the context is obviously sexual.

[113] On the πάτταλος as the penis, cf. *Knights* 371, 375-81; *Ekkles.* 1020.

[114] MacDowell (op. cit.) suggests that the metaphor refers either to the use of oil as a cure for earache, or to the inadequate feeding of invalids, but he admits that neither idea makes sense.

[115] From a comparison with *Acharnians* 150 sq., where locusts, fig leaves, and the penis again occur, it is obvious that the "fig leaf" is the foreskin, and that Philokleon in the *Wasps* is therefore saying that the other guest has a circumcised look. The *tribon* in this passage is either the penis or perhaps (defining genitive) the "worn-out foreskin coat." (Cf. scholia in *Acharn.* 156; also *L.S.-J.*[9], s.v. ἀποθριάζω.) This meaning of the "fig leaf" apparently also lies behind Bdelykleon's saying earlier in the *Wasps* that the attacking members of the chorus are just "fig leaf noise" (436). Fig leaf noise is proverbial for "empty threats" (cf. scholia in *Wasps* 435 and *L.S.-J.*[9], θρῖον I 2), and in view of the phallos stinger of the wasps, the point is obviously that they are "impotent" noise. Note also the fig leaf jokes in *Knights* 954, *Lys.* 664.

[116] Cf. *Peace* 36-37, where a sexual innuendo for the rope also seems probable.

[117] That the boy and man are father and son does not rule out the possibility of sexual meaning: cf. *Wasps* 608, where father and daughter engage in καταγλωττισμός.

On sexual activity as "eating," cf. *Peace* 885, where the senator has a passion for licking up the hetaira Festivity's "broth"; cf. also, perhaps, the philathenian Thracian's passion for "sausages" in the *Acharnians* (145). Cf. Pl. Com. 43, 173, etc.

[118] Cf. πρόβυσον 249-50 (?). A husband is led by his penis in *Lys.* 1119.

The opening routine of the *Thesmophoriazousai* introduces Euripides leading Mnesilochos in what is again apparently a sexual mimesis: cf. 18 sq.

[119] In view of the wasps' "sexual" use of their stingers in chastisement, κολάζω need not imply a reference to some recent law case, as the traditional interpretation explains. Note also the innuendo of sadism in *Wasps* 448 sq.

[120] Hesychius, s.v. βόρβορος. Cf. βορβορυγμός *L.S.-J.*[9]

[121] *Lys.* 1174: κοπραγωγεῖν; *Knights* 295: κοπροφοήσω σ' εἰ λαλήσεις. Λαλέω is "anal" speech as opposed to γρύζω, swine sound or "vaginal" speech: thus the threat for the latter is διαφορήσω.

[122] The psychotropic character of Dionysian rites was first suggested by Robert Graves: "Centaurs' Food," *Food for Centaurs* (New York: 1960) 257-282; the suggestion was repeated in the introduction to his *Greek Myths* (Baltimore: 1960), and more recently in his *Difficult Questions, Easy Answers* (Garden City, N.Y.: 1973). The idea has been popularized by John Allegro's controversial *The Sacred Mushroom and the Cross* (Garden City, N.Y.: 1970). All studies of the sacred mushroom are indebted to the remarkable work of the ethnomycologist Gordon Wasson, who has argued convincingly for the identification of the botanical original of the shaman's "World Tree" and of the Soma plant-god of the *Rig Veda* as the birch or pine with its attendant fungus, the *Amanita muscaria: Soma, Divine Mushroom of Immortality* (New York: 1972, reprint of the Hague: 1968).

Classicists have generally ignored the serious consequences this work has for our conceptions of Greek culture; cf., for example, the ridicule accorded Graves in John Peradotto's "Classical Mythology: Bibliographical Survey" (APA: 1973), although the reviewer obviously has nothing but his native intellect to guide him.

The present essay is part of a longer work in which I investigate the psychotropic nature of Greek wine, and the role of mushroom lore in Greek rituals and tragic symbolism.

[123] I find it difficult to assume, with MacDowell (op. cit., 327), "that the sons of Karkinos appeared in person in the original performance of *Wasps*." MacDowell further argues that the warning not to dance with Karkinos' sons a year later in the *Peace* (781-6) indicates "that their participation in the *Wasps* was a failure and Aristophanes regretted allowing them to take part"; it was supposedly their unsatisfactory dancing which spoiled the play's spectacular ending and caused it to fail to win first prize. Surely, however, that is a very tenuous argument; critics repeatedly forget, in any case, that the element of chance selection in the judging and voting procedure made it possible for a poet to earn the majority opinion and still lose (cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*).

I am not contesting the historicity of a fifth century Karkinos who was a general in the early years of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides 2.23; *I.G.* I² 296.30-40) or that he had sons, some of whom wrote tragedies (Aelian *V.H.* 2.8) and were engaged in political activities (Isocrates 17.52). Our information about them, however, has been inflated by scholiast explanations of misunderstood comic routines. They obviously offer a fortunitous opportunity for a pun on the crab.

Although *karkinos* as the insect pest cannot be directly documented, the insect is quite recognizably crab-shaped and *karkinos* would be the obvious name for it in Greek. (The crab-louse, *Phthirius inguinalis,* is quite different in shape from other lice, for which the generic name in Greek was φθείρ, related to the verbal

idea of "destruction" or "corruption." The crab-louse grows to a considerable size: it is approximately one-tenth of an inch in length and its crab-shape is clear to the unaided eye.) The passage in the *Peace,* after the admonition not to dance with the Crabsons, offers some suggestive descriptions of them: they are quite small "dwarfs," in fact; "little bits of dung," "versatile creatures," "home-grown quarrelsome birds," "dancers with shielded necks" (789-90). The context for the admonition, moreover, is an invocation of the Muse, who is asked to celebrate weddings and banquets: "Too bad!" said Papa Crab; "It was too good to be true, anyway!" (791-95). The diminutive size of the Crabsons is also stressed in the *Wasps,* where one of them is called *ὁ πινοτήρης . . . ὁ σμικρότατος,* i.e., the pinna-guard or the crab so small that it actually lives in a mollusk shell. We might note that the "foot" of the mollusk is penis-shaped and that the *pinoteres* crab lives in the pinna shell in symbiosis with the mollusk. It is this crab who writes tragedy obviously because of the phallic symbolism in Dionysiac rites (1510-11).

It seems unlikely that Karkinos actually had "three dwarfish and deformed sons" (Maurice Platnauer, commentary on the *Peace,* Oxford: 1964, p. 135). The number of the sons, in any case, is not certain; scholiast opinion varies between three and four. By one view, Datis of the masturbation passage in the *Peace* (289-91) is identified as one of the Crabs. Note also a passage later in the *Peace* (863-64) where the context is clearly sexual: Trygaeos is the envied bridegroom of the prostitute "Harvest" and fantasizes about the moment when he will sleep with her and hold onto her teats; the leader of the chorus tells him that he'll be more fortunate then than the Crab "twirlers."

A passage from the parabasis of the *Knights* (595-610) goes far toward justifying our fantastic suggestion. There we have to do with a Corinthian "crab"; and, at least for the world of comedy, Corinth was a city famous for its brothels. The members of the chorus of cavalry men (with a sexual connotation of "mounter": cf. note 84 above) are praising their horses. These beasts, provisioned with Spartan drug crops and garlic and onions (plants identified with the sexual organs: cf. *Acharn.* 164-65, etc.), jump aboard the cavalry transport ships in manly fashion (it is usually they who are mounted, but the ships offer an interesting variation), grab the oars and thrust them in (rowing is a recurrent metaphor for copulation: cf. note 97 above), and thus sail to Corinth. There the younger of them dig their beds ("digging" indicates vaginal copulation: cf. *Lysistrata* 1174 and *Peace,* passim) and graze, not on Persian grass (plants are often substituted for pubic hair: cf. *Lysistrata* 87 et passim) but on crabs, if one should happen to creep out from the "depths" to the "door" (obviously indicative in comic idiom of the vagina: cf. *Lysistrata,* passim). That is what these horses hunt; and a Corinthian crab is thus prompted to comment that neither on land nor sea can the crabs now hide in the "depths" to escape the "horsemen."

[124] *οἷον μυκτὴρ μυκᾶται καὶ σφόνδυλος ἀχεῖ.* On the *σφόνδυλος* voting counter, cf. Pollux 8.17.





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EROS AND MILITARY COMMAND IN XENOPHON

Xenophon's concern with morality in his more philosophical writings is evident. But (as Vivienne Gray has recently argued)[1] that concern embraces also his approach to history. In the *Hellenica* this interest in morality is not to be written off as a matter of marginal comment, but, it may be claimed, is integral to the historian's purpose. He is one for whom the determinants of history are (under the gods) the personalities and actions of great (and not so great) men, and it is natural for him to observe the interaction between personal morality and political and military actions. It is from this standpoint that the present article seeks to illustrate from Xenophon's writings one aspect of his outlook on these matters, – the role of self-control (or lack of it) over homoerotic desire in the context of military history. How far we can go behind his text to determine 'what actually happened' or use his testimony in developing a wider understanding of *erōs* in classical Greece at large are matters for further enquiry.

Xenophon's manifold writings contain an intriguing variety of anecdotes and narratives reflecting erotic relationships between men, and philosophical or ethical discussion about the nature of such affairs. While in the more philosophical writings Xenophon reports Socrates as expressing quite rigorist views, it appears from many of the stories narrated in the historical books that the writer is quite comfortable in recognizing such relationships as a natural part of social life, and not infrequently he implies approval.[2] In military matters, a positive view of the relationship between *erastēs* and *erōmenos* is based on the belief that the presence of his *erōmenos* will inspire a man to valour and, through shame, save him from cowardice. This explanation, put into the mouth of Pausanias 'lover of Agathon' in the 8th chapter of Xenophon's *Symposium*, is immediately rejected by Socrates. Yet Xenophon himself evinces some sympathy for it, when, quite parenthetically, in the treatise *On Hunting*, he takes it as self-evident that 'when any man is within sight of his *erōmenos* he excels himself and avoids saying or doing things which are base or cowardly so that he may not be seen by him'.[3] Moreover, elsewhere in the *Symposium* Xenophon allows Kritoboulos to give an enthusiastic exposition of the principle, and go on to declare that it is madness not to elect handsome men as generals.[4] No doubt some allowance must be made here for dramatic effect, yet the 'Sacred Band' of Thebes was famously organized on the basis of erotic relationships, and as Sir Kenneth Dover has pointed out, the story of Episthenes in Xenophon's *Anabasis* reflects the same belief in stiffening a fighting force with the powerful bonds of *erōs*. The historian himself, it will be remembered, intervened on behalf of this lover of boys and the young man he was seeking to save from execution, and spoke to Seuthes, the local ruler in whose service he then was, sympathetically of the company of fighting youths whom Episthenes had raised, chosen on the basis of their good looks.[5] Even among the

[1] Vivienne Gray, *The Character of Xenophon's Hellenica* (London, 1989). Cf. G. L. Cawkwell, Introduction to *Xenophon: A History of My Times* (Harmondsworth, 1979), pp. 43–6.

[2] Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.1.40, 4.8.39, *Anabasis* 4.6.1–3, *Hiero* 1.29–38. *Anab.* 5.8.4. presupposes that quarrels over *paidika* were to be expected in army life.

[3] Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* 12.20.

[4] Xenophon, *Symposium* 4.15–16.

[5] *Anab.* 7.4.7–11. Cf. K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978), pp. 51f, and p. 192.

Spartans, who did not as a matter of policy station lovers together in battle, we find a general, Anaxibios, being faithfully attended by his *paidika* as he courted death on the battlefield.[6]

We may conclude that not only did Xenophon accept the practice of pederasty as a part of life, but that he also recognized the potential of the feelings it aroused to prompt nobility and valour. There is, however, a converse possibility – and one which alarmed Xenophon – that erotic desire might threaten to interfere with the performance of one's military or civic duty, particularly on the part of a man set in authority. Against this destructive *erōs* he sets the virtue of self-control (*enkrateia*), and it is the relationship between these principles, particularly in the exercise of military command, which I wish to examine in more detail in Xenophon's writings.

Self-control for Xenophon does not exclude the satisfaction of bodily needs, but it makes a man the master of such desires, not their slave. Nor is this virtue invoked only in respect of sexual matters. For sexual desire, whether for men or women, is only one of a list of bodily appetites which recurs in one form or another at several points in the *Memorabilia* and elsewhere, and over which the truly good man is expected to exercise self-control – in matters of food and drink, sex, sleep, devotion to work and the disregard of extremes of heat and cold.[7] This aspect of morality is summed up most graphically in Xenophon's retelling of the fable (attributed to Prodikos) of Herakles' choice between Virtue (*Aretē*) and Vice (*Kakia*, also, and interestingly, termed *Eudaimonia*), who, personified as women, set out their alternative life-styles before the hero as he enters upon manhood.[8] Vice offers a life of pleasure, in which Herakles need not concern himself with weighty matters of war and public affairs, but may plan his life around the choice of whatever will delight him by way of the senses, including the love of boys. Nor need he be too scrupulous about the means employed to attain these ends. With this is contrasted the path of Virtue, whose goal (to be a worthy doer of fine and noble deeds) cannot be achieved without toil and effort. After Virtue and Vice have each outlined their prospectuses, Virtue goes on to berate Vice for the more specific sins which the latter's offer entails. She (Virtue) combines two themes: that Vice requires one to make elaborate preparations for the heightening of pleasure, thus (by implication) wasting effort that should be spent on higher things; and that one is then led into excess, not waiting for appetite to arise naturally, but taking one's fill of all things before desire supervenes.[9] This requires the elaborate preparation of sophisticated dishes, snow-chilled wines and the like, to stimulate the jaded appetite. In the case of sexual desire, these themes are expressed in the following words, in which Virtue addresses Vice:

τὰ δ' ἀφροδίσια πρὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἀναγκάζεις, πάντα μηχανωμένη καὶ γυναιξὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι χρωμένη· οὕτω γὰρ παιδεύεις τοὺς σεαυτῆς φίλους, τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς ὑβρίζουσα, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας τὸ χρησιμώτατον κατακοιμίζουσα.

[6] *Hell.* 4.8.39. Paul Cartledge suggests that the *paidika* in question was not necessarily a Spartan: Paul Cartledge, 'The Politics of Spartan Pederasty', *PCPhS* 207 (n.s. 27) (1981), p. 32 n. 32.

[7] Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.5.1, 2.1.1, 2.6.1, 4.5.9. For *enkrateia* in general, compare the significant place accorded to control over the bodily pleasures in Michel Foucault's account of 'the moral problematisation of pleasures': M. Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, Volume 2 of *The History of Sexuality*, translated from the French by Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth, 1986), Part 1.

[8] *Mem.* 2.1.21–34.

[9] *ἥτις οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἡδέων ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναμένεις, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐπιθυμῆσαι πάντων ἐμπίμπλασαι* (Ibid. 2.1.30). For this phrase and the general interpretation of the passage, see Olof Gigon, *Kommentar zum zweiten Buch von Xenophons Memorabilien* (*Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, Heft 7, Basel, 1956).

Before the need arises you force the arousal of sexual desire, employing all kinds of tricks and using men as women; for this is the kind of training you give your friends, indulging in excesses at night and spending the most profitable part of the day in sleep.

The somewhat strange phrase, *τὰ ἀφροδίσια... ἀναγκάζεις*, is to be explained by the context where the emphasis is on the exploration of artificial (and so, it is suggested, demeaning) ways of gaining pleasure. As one may use fancy dishes to tempt a flagging appetite, so the sensualist must turn to more recondite forms of sex to achieve sexual arousal. If so, it is natural to interpret *ἀνδράσιν* (in the phrase 'using men as women') strictly in the sense of 'adult men'. The reference is not to the accepted customs of pederasty, but to coupling between grown men with anal penetration – a practice which, as Sir Kenneth Dover has shown, was generally regarded as degrading. It is, says the fable, a mark of depravity to resort to such practices as a means of stimulating sexual appetite when desire flags.[10]

For Xenophon the need for self-control and the perils of enslavement to bodily pleasure (above all, sex) are particularly important in those who exercise any kind of authority. Even when it comes to appointing a farm bailiff, he suggests, one should avoid a man who is excessively in love, because concern with his boy lover (*paidika*) may interfere with the punctilious performance of his duties.[11] Not surprisingly, then, the virtue of self-control is seen as essential for those who exercise military command. At *Memorabilia* 1.5.1, control over the bodily appetites is a prime consideration in choosing a military leader. In the world of affairs in which Xenophon had some experience, it is seen as an important element in the success of Iason of Pherai as a commander, a man described in the speech of Polydamas as 'the most self-controlled of all the men I know in regard to bodily pleasures (*ἐγκρατέστατός γ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν*).[12] It is, above all for Xenophon, exemplified in the career of Agesilaos, to whom I shall return at the end of this article.

Enough has been said to sketch the place of self-control in Xenophon's concept of the good man, and in particular the good military commander. The exercise of this virtue (or the lack of it) in respect of *erōs* may be illustrated from three episodes in Xenophon's writings. As will be apparent to anyone acquainted with Xenophon's *Hellenica*, the order of presentation is determined by the logic of the argument, not the historical sequence.

The first episode is brief and, though not quite explicit, unproblematical. Little more is needed than to tell the story. It concerns an incident during Agesilaos' campaign against Thebes in 377 B.C. As a result of Spartan activities in Boiotia the Thebans had been unable to harvest their crops, and were suffering from a severe shortage of grain. They accordingly despatched two triremes up the coast to Pagasai to buy corn. The Spartans at the time had a garrison at Oreos on the island of Euboia under the command of one Alketas. He secretly manned three triremes and succeeded in capturing the Theban ships with their corn and 300 prisoners. Alketas kept his prisoners under guard on the acropolis at Oreos, where he had his own quarters. But not for long. As Xenophon relates,

In close attendance upon him [Alketas] there was, it was said, a boy from Oreos, who was a very fine young fellow. Alketas was in the habit of going down from the acropolis and devoting

[10] In §30 Virtue is on each point *heightening* the depravity which is only hinted at in Vice's opening statement in §24. Thus, taking pleasure in food and drink in §24 becomes, in §30, eating and drinking to excess, while sexual pleasure with boys is converted into treating men as women.

[11] Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 12.13–14.

[12] *Hell.* 6.1.16.

himself to this boy. But when the prisoners came to know of his laxity, they seized the acropolis and the city rebelled. As a result, the Thebans secured their corn with ease.[13]

Xenophon does not state in so many words that an erotic relationship was involved, but he often requires us to read between the lines, and there can hardly be any other explanation for Alketas deserting his post to seek out a local boy (*παῖς*) for no other reason than that he 'had an interest in him,' – *περὶ τοῦτον ἦν*. The use of *περί* with the accusative implies a preoccupation with something (less commonly, with people) in which or in whom one has a keen interest. G. E. Underhill suggests, 'was totally wrapped up in him.'[14] It is difficult to determine whether the description *μάλα καλός τε κἀγαθός* (which I have translated 'a very fine young fellow') also points in this direction. The phrase commonly denotes moral worthiness and is used by Xenophon as a term of general approbation, applicable as well to a slave as to a general.[15] One wonders however whether its application to a youth who has no part to play except as an associate of Alketas, does not bring to the surface an underlying aesthetic reference, in a way which elsewhere requires further specification.[16] In this sense, Rex Warner translates, 'He was a fine attractive boy.' However that may be, Xenophon's narrative seems clearly to imply that the Spartan commander's neglect of his duties in pursuit of this boy had resulted in a significant military reverse.

My second example is as abstruse and debatable as the incident of Alketas was clear and self-explanatory. I refer to the episode of Thibron and the *aulos*-player Thersandros during Sparta's campaign against Strouthas in the Maiandros valley during 391 B.C. It is recounted in *Hellenica* 4.8.18–19. The general course of the brief campaign as it appears in Xenophon's narrative is clear enough. In an attempt to re-assert Spartan influence in Asia Minor, Thibron was sent as commander of an expeditionary force to check the behaviour of Strouthas, general of the Great King, whose operations were favouring the Athenian interest. Strouthas, however, (so Xenophon informs us) had observed that Thibron's troops lacked discipline, and he soon succeeded in making a surprise attack which resulted in the deaths of Thibron and his companion Thersandros, and the flight of the Spartan army. For the military or indeed the political historian that account of the debacle may suffice. But the social historian is drawn to ask what Thibron and Thersandros may have been doing which apparently was responsible, at least in part, for precipitating the Spartan defeat. The passage is a longstanding *crux* whose obscurities have led many scholars to resort to emendation, and for which, so far as I am aware, no satisfactory solution has yet been proposed. I wish to argue that, unlikely as it may seem at first sight, the passage is to be understood as another example of the baneful effects of undisciplined *erōs*.

Before entering upon a more detailed discussion, we should recall what Xenophon has already reported about Thibron's earlier career and character. He first appears as the commander of the Spartan force in Asia Minor to which in 399 B.C. Xenophon transferred the veterans of the long march of the Ten Thousand.[17] The decision to join

[13] *Hell.* 5.4.56–7. The incident seems to have been part of a wider struggle for the control of Oreos (Histiaea), involving Iason of Pherai (Diod. XV 30. Cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece* [3rd ed., Oxford, 1986], p. 490). The fact that Xenophon records only the incident of Alketas reflects his interest in the morality of generalship.

[14] *Xenophon: Hellenica*, Text by E. C. Marchant, Notes by G. E. Underhill (Oxford, 1906), p. 214. For *περί* with the accusative, Underhill compares Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.4.28. Cf. LSJ s.v.

[15] See K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 41–5. The Xenophon references are *Oec.* 14.9 and *Hell.* 6.1.2.

[16] Cf. Dover ibid. p. 41, who cites Aeschines 1.134 in this sense.

[17] *Anab.* 7.6.1, 7.7.57, 7.8.20–4.

Thibron was taken after tortuous negotiations between envoys from the Spartan and the court of Seuthes, ruler of Thrace, with whom the Greek mercenaries had taken service. The fact that for much of the time these negotiations seem to have taken place behind Xenophon's back, and that at one point it was put around that Xenophon's life was in danger if he joined Thibron,[18] suggest that from the beginning there was some cause for ill-feeling between Xenophon and the Spartan commander. No more is heard of the death threat, however, and it may have been a fabrication designed to put pressure on Xenophon. However that may be, he in the end personally conducted his force to meet Thibron at Pergamos, and (it seems generally agreed) joined the latter's campaign against the Persian Tissaphernes as commander of the veterans of the long march. As Delebecque has pointed out, Xenophon firmly disliked Thibron, perhaps because he was forced to accept a position subordinate to a man who had far less experience of warfare in Asia than he did himself.[19] Certainly, the brief reports of Thibron's period of command contained in the *Hellenica* are distinctly denigratory.[20] He was, according to Xenophon, laggardly in bringing Tissaphernes to battle; while he gained control of several cities by voluntary submission, those he took by storm were 'weak'; and where resistance was offered (at Larisa) he failed. Because he seemed to be accomplishing nothing, the ephors then ordered him to leave Larisa and campaign against Karia, where he was replaced by Derkylidas. He was then recalled to Sparta, fined and exiled. In addition to this tally of military incompetence, it was said that he allowed his soldiers to plunder their allies – an oppression which his successor sought to avoid. Here as elsewhere the inadequacy (to put it no higher) of Thibron is used by Xenophon to show up the high qualities of his successors.[21]

While Thibron was subsequently appointed to command the campaign against Strouthas which is my immediate concern, it would seem from the background I have sketched, that Xenophon regarded him as a man about whom a highly discreditable story could properly be told, of a kind that he might have suppressed in the case of any other Spartan. That such was the case appears (I believe) from the text which I now wish to examine in some detail – *Hellenica* 4.8.18. As found in the Oxford Classical Text, it runs as follows:

προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου κατανοήσας ὁ Στρούθας ὅτι Θίβρων βοηθοίη ἑκάστοτε ἀτάκτως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ἔπεμψεν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταδραμόντας ἐκέλευσε περιβαλλομένους ἐλαύνειν ὅ τι δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ Θίβρων ἐτύγχανεν ἐξ ἀρίστου διασκηνῶν μετὰ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θέρσανδρος οὐ μόνον αὐλητὴς ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλκῆς [ἰσχύος], ἅτε λακωνίζων, ἀντεποιεῖτο.

The critical sentences are the last two, and it may be helpful to state at the outset the conclusion for which I propose to argue. My central contention is that *λακωνίζων* here should be recognised as an example (unique, it appears, in prose of the Classical era) of the meaning attributed to it by later lexicographers – to engage in pederasty – probably with the added nuance for which Dover has argued, of referring to anal penetration.[22] I would then propose to translate the passage as follows:

As time went on, Strouthas noticed that Thibron's sorties were on each occasion conducted in an indisciplined and over-confident manner. So he despatched cavalry to the plain with orders to ride down upon the enemy, to surround them and carry off whatever they could. Now, it so

[18] *Anab.* 7.6.43.

[19] Édouard Delebecque, *Essai sur la Vie de Xénophon* (Paris, 1957), p. 134. Cf. H. D. Westlake, 'Individuals in Xenophon's Hellenica', in *Essays on the Greek Historians and Greek History* (Manchester, 1969), pp. 210f.

[20] *Hell.* 3.1.4–8, 3.2.1.

[21] Delebecque, op. cit. p. 134. Cf. Vivienne Gray, op. cit. p. 35.

[22] K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, pp. 187–8.

happened that Thibron was retiring in his tent after the morning meal with Thersandros, the *aulētēs*. For Thersandros was not only a good *aulos*-player, but also made some claim to prowess as the active partner in anal sex.

It was (Xenophon implies) because the commander was occupied in this activity while within range of the enemy that his troops lacked direction and were exposed to surprise attack.

Can such an interpretation be made good?

Two amendments have been proposed for this passage, neither of which appears to rest on any evidence of irregularity in the manuscripts. The first (the excision of ἰσχύος) is of little moment. The word is so obviously a marginal gloss on the somewhat rarer and more poetical ἀλκῆς that there need be no hesitation in deleting it. Riekher's proposal to replace διασκηνῶν with δισκεύων (accepted in the Teubner text and in Rex Warner's recent translation) is more debatable and takes us to the heart of the problem. Certainly it is very difficult to assign a meaning to διασκηνῶν in this context if λακωνίζων means, as is generally supposed, 'adopting Spartan ways.' The connective γάρ must indicate that the sentence it introduces explains why Thibron was engaging in whatever activity is signified by διασκηνῶν. It might, just possibly, be explained as a defence to the charge that it was undignified for a Spartan commander to associate with a mere *aulētēs*, particularly one who was not even a Spartan. This seems unlikely on the part of a writer who has so far said nothing good about Thibron. Nor does this faltering explanation deal with the wider problem, that the whole incident concerning Thersandros seems intended to explain why Thibron was so easily surprised by the enemy.

In favour of the amendment, δισκεύων, it can be said that it makes a tolerable connexion with Thersandros' claim to physical prowess – though ἀλκή and ἄλκιμος elsewhere in Xenophon seem to relate more to prowess in deeds of courage than mere physical strength.[23] It is also true that according to Xenophon Spartan troops were required to exercise regularly while on campaign, though discus is not among the athletic exercises mentioned.[24] But it is doubtful whether the amendment satisfactorily explains why Thibron was so easily surprised by the enemy attack. If engaged in discus throwing or any other open-air activity, he might reasonably be expected to have seen the enemy cavalry approaching. If his real fault was a failure to appoint sentries (though Xenophon does not mention this), then the charming vignette of the game of quoits is not only irrelevant but misleading.

None of these considerations comes into play if the reading of the manuscripts can be satisfactorily explained as it stands. Let us then return to the text, and consider whether by adjusting the interpretation of other parts of the context it is possible to avoid emending διασκηνῶν. The key, I suggest, is λακωνίζων. One certainly cannot prove beyond doubt that Xenophon had in mind the meaning παιδικοῖς χρῆσθαι, or something like it. But a number of considerations may at least make us hesitate before ruling it out altogether.

There are of course a number of instances in Xenophon in which λακωνίζειν refers

[23] Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.1.12, *Agesilaus* 10.1, *Cyrop.* 7.5.75, *Hiero* 5.1, 9.6, *Oecon.* 4.15, 6.10. One must however be cautious in generalising about 4th century usage when Aristotle (*Pol.* 1338a 20) makes ὑγίειαν καὶ ἀλκήν the aim of physical exercise.

[24] Xenophon, *Lacedaemonian Constitution* 12.5. This text however requires the exercise to be taken before, not after, the morning meal. Advocates of the amendment δισκεύων may also appeal to the fact that an *aulētēs* was sometimes employed to help athletes maintain their rhythm in sports such as discus. Cf. Max Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin, 1949), pp. 100–3.

unambiguously to taking the Spartan side in a political sense.[25] In this it is paralleled by similar verbal forms relating to other states – *ἀττικίζειν*, *βοιωτιάζειν*, *ἀργολίζειν*.[26] Nearly always the grammatical subject is a group of people, a faction within a city, or collectively the city as a whole. I have found only one case in Xenophon where a verb of this type is used of an individual changing his political allegiance.[27] Otherwise, the few examples relating to an individual (apart from the passage under review) seem to refer to speaking the language concerned, or speaking with a certain accent.[28] None of these examples bears upon the present context, where 'laconising' has to explain a claim to prowess.

In other examples of the word *λακωνίζειν* quoted by Liddell and Scott, the context makes its significance clear. In Plato's *Protagoras* (342b) there is an extended joke at the Spartan expense, suggesting that their boorish customs and addiction to athletic exercise are a façade designed to conceal their true excellence which consists in the practice of philosophy. The purpose, says Plato, is to appear to excel in the military virtues, an aim taken up by those who imitate them (*οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι λακωνίζοντες*) in manner of life (with thonged boxing gloves, style of cloak and so on). Similar references to fashions of dress, coupled with glowering looks, mark out the laconisers in Demosthenes 54.34, to which Plutarch (*Alcibiades* 23) adds unkempt hair, addiction to cold baths, barley bread and black sauce. Elsewhere in Plutarch we find laconism in pronunciation and studied brevity of speech.[29]

All these passages give specific descriptions of the sort of behaviour which justifies the use of the term 'laconising'. *Hellenica* 4.8.18 is unique among the passages so far cited for the non-political sense in not providing any such description. True, the account in the *Protagoras*, with its reference to a pretence of military virtue, is fairly readily applied to Thersandros' claim to prowess in our passage. But neither this nor any of the elucidations of *λακωνίζειν* found in the other quoted authorities will provide the explanation of *διασκηνῶν* which the unamended text of *Hellenica* 4.8.18 requires. There remains however one other meaning for *λακωνίζειν* where such evidence as is available suggests that the word might be used without further specification – in its reference to pederasty.

The evidence, as presented by Sir Kenneth Dover, is complex. Discussion starts from Hesychius' statement that *λακωνίζειν* means 'to use *paidika*', supplemented by the Suda, which adds that this meaning is found in a lost play of Aristophanes, referred to as 'Thesmophoriazousai 2'.[30] This appears to be the only unchallenged occurrence of this meaning in the classical period. In addition, Meineke suggested, somewhat tentatively, that a fragment of Eupolis preserved in Athenaeus might bear the same meaning.[31] Though this Eupolis fragment is not mentioned by Dover, it is perhaps worth reviewing. It runs:

Αλκιβ: *μισῶ λακωνίζειν, ταγηνίζειν δὲ κἂν πριαίμην*
B: *πολλὰς δ'... οἶμαι νῦν βεβινῆσθαι...*
A: *...ὃς δὲ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρεν τὸ πρῷ 'πιπίνειν;*
B: *πολλήν γε λακκοπρωκτίαν ἡμῖν ἐπίστασ' εὐρών.*
A: *εἶεν. τίς εἶπεν 'ἀμίδα παῖ' πρῶτος μεταξὺ πίνων;*
B: *Παλαμηδικόν γε τοῦτο τοὐξεύρημα καὶ σοφόν σου.*

[25] *Hell.* 4.4.2, 4.8.28, 5.4.55, 6.3.14, 6.4.18, 7.1.44, 7.4.34.
[26] *Hell.* 1.6.13, 6.3.14, 4.8.34, 5.2.6, 5.4.34.
[27] *Μηδίσας*, used of Gongylos at *Hell.* 3.1.6. [28] *Anab.* 3.1.26, 4.5.34, 7.3.25.
[29] Plutarch, *Moralia* 150b, 513a. [30] K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, p. 187.
[31] A. Meineke, *Fragmenta Poetarum Comoediae Antiquae* (Berlin 1839), Pars Prima, pp. 547–8. The excerpt is from Athenaeus 1.17d. The text is cited from T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1880–8), Eupolis, fragment 351.

The passage is quoted by Athenaeus to illustrate the usage of ἀμίς (chamber-pot), and the absence of the immediately preceding lines (as well as the possibility of lacunae) makes it impossible to be sure of the interpretation of λακωνίζειν. The fondness of the comic poets for making jokes about copulatory and excretory functions, and the presence of such references later in the passage (βεβινῆσθαι, λακκοπρωκτία, ἀμίς) suggest a reference to pederasty. Kock however rejects this meaning on the grounds that it does not fit with the customary reference of the verb ταγηνίζειν ('to fry') to luxurious banqueting. Λακωνίζειν may therefore, according to Kock, mean to eat simple food (in Spartan fashion), in contrast to the rich food implied by ταγηνίζειν.[32] Kock admits that on this view it is impossible to understand the connexion between the first two lines.

While Meineke's proposal cannot be decisively affirmed, the objection to it advanced by Kock can I think be removed. In a society where slaves were regarded as readily available to their masters and could, it seems, be presented as gifts to an important personage,[33] the following hypothetical context for the disputed lines seems quite possible. Suppose that the conversation is about the purchase of a (male) slave cook (and πρίαμαι seems often to be used for the purchase of slaves), B could have suggested that A's purpose is to secure a handsome sexual partner. A replies that he has no taste for anal intercourse with his own sex, even though he might buy the man for his cooking. Not to be cheated of his sexual jibe, B. rejoins, 'That's all very well, but plenty of *women*, I think, have been entered [by you].' It seems therefore quite possible that we have here a second example from the classical era of a sexual meaning for λακωνίζειν.

Whether or not this passage of Eupolis be taken to have a sexual reference, Sir Kenneth Dover calls upon the term κυσολάκων and a number of references to the use of women to argue that λακωνίζειν may well have meant originally 'to have anal intercourse, irrespective of the sex of the person penetrated.' This more specific meaning might well explain the rarity of the usage. Once however the possibility of a sexual reference in the Xenophon passage is admitted, the reference to anal intercourse would make the word peculiarly applicable to the relationship between Thibron and Thersandros. Whatever they did together, their relationship can hardly have been that between *erastēs* and *erōmenos*, for the age of the participants would rule that out. Thibron, certainly, was a mature man. He had been experienced enough to be appointed Spartan harmost in Asia Minor first in 400 B.C., and the text under discussion refers to a period some nine years later, when he had been appointed to a second command. Less certainty attaches to Thersandros, but he is generally regarded as identical with the *aulētēs* of that name referred to in Polyaenus 6.10. Polyaenus records that a certain Alexandros had been phrourarch of the lands

[32] T. Kock, op. cit. I, p. 351.

[33] It is doubtful whether a slave could claim the protection of the law against anything done by his owner. According to Demosthenes XXI 47, the law on *hybris* prohibited violence against a slave, but this probably operated only as a ban on assaulting someone else's slave (which was in effect an offence against that slave's owner). See David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York and London, 1990), p. 185 n. 70. My argument requires no more than a recognition that the master–slave relationship must have afforded easy opportunities for seduction. On the availability of slaves to their masters in the ancient world generally, see Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (London and Boston, 1988), p. 23. The giving of slaves as gifts is observed by Xenophon in *Anab.* 7.3.27 and *Cyrop.* 5.5.38–9. The gifts offered to Kyaxares on the latter occasion included a handsome winewaiter and a good cook. Neither instance relates to Athenian society, but Xenophon's account shows no sign of surprise or criticism.

around Aiolis, where he devised an ingenious scheme for raising money. He organized a theatrical spectacle in order to inveigle the inhabitants of neighbouring towns into the theatre, where he held them, surrounded with soldiers, with a view to extracting ransom money for their release. Having done this, he handed over his territories to Thibron and departed. Among the artists whose reputation attracted the populace to the event was the *aulētēs* Thersandros. The location, Aiolis, attaches this narrative to Thibron's first campaign in Asia, which, according to Xenophon, involved a number of Aiolian cities, as well as Pergamos of Mysia, on the borders of Aiolis.[34] Thus, if Polyaenus is to be believed, even before Thibron's first appearance in Asia in 400, Thersandros had achieved sufficient reputation as an *aulētēs* to attract quite a following. He could hardly have been less than a mature adult when in 391 he was travelling in Thibron's company on the plain of the Maiandros.

If then the word λακωνίζων here carries a sexual connotation, it probably refers to anal intercourse between two adult men. One must then ask whether such an interpretation can accommodate the words, ἀλκῆς ἀντεποιεῖτο. The middle use, ἀντιποιέομαι, though not common, has broadly speaking two meanings in Xenophon. It may denote contending with someone else for the possession of something, such as rule over cities or empire.[35] Elsewhere however, it means to lay claim to something or, perhaps, strive to possess it. In the latter category mention is made of rule, money and the craft of cookery,[36] and the last named provides a close parallel to the sense required in our passage. Ἀλκή is a human ability or quality which Thersandros 'professes' or 'lays claim to', but the basis of his claim to prowess is expressed in ἅτε λακωνίζων – inasmuch as he plays the active role in anal intercourse.

Granted the sexual reference in the passage, it is natural to read the description of Thersandros' claim as ironical: his prowess is with the phallus, not the sword. That such a turn of phrase might come readily to Xenophon is suggested by the positive response to ironic wit which he shows elsewhere. One recalls the oft-quoted *bon mot* of Theramenes, as he tossed away the dregs of the hemlock – Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ – where Xenophon adds an aside to indicate his appreciation of the witticism. While the saying is attributed to Theramenes. the placing and significance accorded to it, as Vivienne Gray has argued, reveals the shaping hand of the historian.[37] For a further example of irony, one may recall Pharnabazos' speech at his parley with Agesilaos, where one may feel with some confidence that the formulation is due to Xenophon himself. It includes the satrap's ironic reproach to Agesilaos for the injustice he has suffered, with the words, 'If I do not know either what is holy or what is just, will you please demonstrate to me in what way such deeds are appropriate to men who understand how to return favours.'[38] One may also refer to the extended use of irony in the successive speeches in Xenophon's *Symposium*, in which (from Socrates' claim to be a procurer to Antisthenes' claim to wealth) the true meaning of

[34] *Hell.* 3.1.4–7. Of the cities named by Xenophon, Larisa, Myrina and Gryneia are included in Herodotus' list of Aiolian cities (1.149). Xenophon alone calls Larisa 'Egyptian', but it is probably to be identified with the town of that name mentioned by Herodotus, owing its sobriquet to the presence of Egyptian settlers. See J. K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (California, 1970), pp. 167–8 and p. 314 n. 12–13.

[35] *Anab.* 2.1.11, 2.3.23, *Hell.* 4.8.14.

[36] *Mem.* 2.1.1, *Lac. Pol.* 1.9, *Mem.* 3.5.8, 3.14.6. The latter reads: καίτοι πῶς οὐ γελοῖόν ἐστι παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὀψοποιοὺς τοὺς ἄριστα ἐπισταμένους, αὐτὸν δὲ μηδ' ἀντιποιούμενον τῆς τέχνης ταύτης τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ποιούμενα μετατιθέναι;

[37] *Hell.* 2.3.56. V. Gray, *The Character of Xenophon's Hellenica*, pp. 26–8.

[38] *Hell.* 4.1.33. Another ironic turn of phrase is found when Agesilaos, after having devastated parts of Korinthia, suggests that the Boiotian ambassadors may wish to see 'the good fortune of their friends', knowing full well that what they will actually see is disaster (*Hell.* 4.5.9).

each speaker is at variance with the superficial signification of the virtue he claims. The schematism here surely suggests the art of Xenophon the author, rather than an exact recollection of what was said on a particular occasion.[39]

The irony in the description of Thersandros' claim to prowess is in keeping with the rest of the passage which is otherwise controlled by a degree of innuendo and euphemism. It also accords with the fact that elsewhere in Xenophon ἀλκή does not simply mean physical strength, but is associated with courageous deeds. In the field headquarters of a campaign supposedly dedicated to military valour, Thersandros is distinguished by valour of a different kind, and in thus characterising the company he keeps, Xenophon directs what for him is another insult at the despised Thibron, who is by implication the passive object of Thersandros' 'prowess.'[40]

I go on to ask how the conclusion to which the arguments so far advanced seem to point illuminates, or may perhaps be supported by, the disputed διασκηνῶν. Clearly the statement that not only was Thersandros a good *aulētēs* but he professed prowess as a 'laconiser', is intended to explain the fact that after the morning meal Thibron happened to be 'διασκηνῶν' in his company. While the primary meaning of σκηνή is 'tent', in Xenophon's narratives the word and its derivatives are not limited to accommodation in tents, but can mean any kind of billets or quarters – in ships, for example, or houses.[41] Σκηνή and its verbal derivatives can also mean 'banquet',[42] and it is relevant to note that in both the passages quoted for this meaning from the *Cyropaedia*, 'bringing the feast to an end' or 'breaking up the party' is signalled by a compound with διά:

> διαλύσαντες τὴν σκηνὴν ἀνεπαύοντο.
> τὴν σκηνὴν εἰς κοίτην διέλυον.

Both noun and verb are also used of ordinary meals – the common messes of the Spartans, where the Spartan συσκήνια are contrasted with Greek habits elsewhere, where they eat at home (οἴκοι σκηνοῦντας).[43]

The compounds of the verbal form (other than with διά-) are used logically and consistently in Xenophon. The commonest is συσκηνέω – share a tent or a mess, with its offshoot σύσκηνος – messmate. Συσκηνέω may also, occasionally, mean 'banquet

[39] Not only does Socrates boast of being a 'procurer' (*Symp.* 3.10), but the claims of other speakers turn out to be similarly ironical: Kallias claims 'to make men better' – by giving them money; Kritoboulos boasts his good looks – largely because of the power they give him over others; Charmides admires 'poverty' – as a means of avoiding the impost of *leitourgia*; Antisthenes claims 'wealth' – in the fewness of his needs and the richness of his soul.

For the ironic suggestion that the strength appropriate to a soldier may be exhibited in sexual dominance, a comic parallel is provided by Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 591–2, where Dikaiopolis jeers at the (fully-armed) general, Lamachos. Dover, 204, translates the line: 'If you're such a mighty man, come on, bare my knob' (εἰ δ' ἰσχυρὸς εἶ, τί μ' οὐκ ἀπεψώλησας;). The comparison with Xenophon is particularly apt if, as Professor Dover suggests, Dikaiopolis's words imply that the active partner penetrates the other anally while stimulating his penis. Both Dikaiopolis and Lamachos are, of course, grown men.

[40] For ἀλκή in Xenophon, cf. note 23 above.

For the shame of the passive role, cf. K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, pp. 103–5. D. M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (pp. 30–1), emphasises the asymmetry of penetrative relationships, and the subordinate status of the one penetrated. Cf. also, Eva Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World* (transl. by Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin, New Haven and London 1992), pp. 44–8.

That the criticism of Thibron remains somewhat indirect is probably due to Xenophon's pro-Spartan bias. Despite his personal dislike of Thibron he is reluctant too openly to criticise a Spartan commander. He felt no such inhibition about the Thessalian, Menon (*Anab.* 2.6.21–8).

[41] *Hell.* 5.1.20, *Cyrop.* 8.3.34.

[42] *Anab.* 4.5.33, *Cyrop.* 2.3.1, 3.2.31.

[43] *Lac. Pol.* 5.2, 15.4.

together', with *σύσκηνοι* as 'fellow-banqueters'.[44] *παρασκηνάω* is to camp alongside, and *ἀποσκηνέω*, to encamp at a distance from.[45] *κατασκηνάω* or *κατασκηνόω* are commoner, but show a less clear-cut meaning. They seem however, rather like the English 'camp down' to shift the emphasis to pitching tent or taking up quarters,[46] rather than dwelling in or being encamped at a certain place.

As for *διασκηνέω*, apart from *Hell.* 4.8.18, there are six occurrences of the verb (whether in *−έω* or *−όω*) to be found in Xenophon. Four of them occur in the *Anabasis*, within a few paragraphs of each other, in the course of a description of conditions during one of the most testing times of the great march. The army is struggling to progress through snow in the mountains of what we now know as Kurdistan. The mood of the local inhabitants is uncertain, and the likelihood of surprise attack hard to gauge. The question, debated on more than one occasion, is whether to disperse the troops to spend the night in various neighbouring villages, where they will have protection against the bitter weather, or to sleep together in one spot, despite the extreme cold, so as to be ready to meet a surprise attack. The word for the dispersal strategy is *διασκηνεῖν* (or, once, *διασκηνοῦν*), where *διά* is manifestly used in its distributive sense, 'in different directions'.[47] It is not clear whether any difference in meaning is intended between the form in *-έω* and that in *-όω*.[48] In *Anab.* 4.4.10, the meaning of *διασκηνοῦν* is clarified by its contrast with the alternative strategy – *συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα*. The words seem to be used throughout intransitively, – 'to take up one's quarters separately, or in a dispersed fashion.' Possibly the present infinitive at 4.4.10 means 'to spend time in dispersed quarters' – the situation otherwise expressed by *διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν* (4.5.29), which divides the sequence into the act of dispersal to quarters and the period of sleeping.

The other two occurrences are in quite different contexts, and refer to guests or simply participants, dispersing after a meal. The first of these refers to the conclusion of communal meals among the Spartans. The second (from the *Cyropaedia*), is found at the end of a long description of Cyrus' dealings with the King of Armenia and his son Tigranes.[49] The Armenian had reneged on his obligation to pay tribute, and was being held captive by Cyrus. The latter however is dissuaded from putting the Armenian to death by a long philosophical discourse from the king's son, Tigranes. Tigranes had been Cyrus' companion in his youth, and such is his eloquence that the Persian King is persuaded to commute a substantial portion of the Armenian's debt, and make a most generous settlement. He there and then invites the Armenian king and his family to a meal. The story continues, *Διασκηνούντων δὲ μετὰ δεῖπνον, ἐπήρετο ὁ Κῦρος...*, and his question to Tigranes launches another philosophical discussion.

The use of *διασκηνεῖν* in these two passages has been variously interpreted. The Loeb translator, assuming that the meaning of *σκηνή* as banquet predominates, makes both passages refer to the 'break-up' of the dinner party, without any reference to 'tents'. A second type of interpretation however is to be found in Liddell and Sott, which gives for the first passage, 'separate and retire each into his billet (*σκηναί*)', 'go into billets', and for the second, 'leave another's tent.'

[44] *Cyrop.* 2.2.29, 3.2.25.
[45] *Anab.* 3.1.28, 3.4.35.
[46] *Anab.* 3.4.32–3, 7.4.11, *Hell.* 4.2.23, 4.5.2, *Cyrop.* 4.5.39, 6.2.2.
[47] *Anab.* 4.4.8, 4.4.10, 4.4.14, 4.5.29.
[48] For the simple verb, Liddell and Scott gives *σκηνέω* (*σκηνάω*) = 'dwell in a camp', and *σκηνόω* = 'pitch camp.' But the distinction is not clearcut, and *σκηνόω* can take on either meaning (see LSJ s.v.).
[49] *Lac. Pol.* 5.3, *Cyrop.* 3.1.38.

The first view derives, presumably, from Stephanus, who says that Xenophon uses διασκηνεῖν here (and, incidentally, in *Hell.* 4.8.18) to signify what he elsewhere refers to as διαλύειν τὴν σκηνήν.[50] But despite this authority, διασκηνεῖν, by analogy with the other compounds of σκηνέω should surely mean 'camp separately' (as in the Anabasis passages) or, if the σκηνή element is taken to refer to a banquet, the compound should mean 'dine separately' (a translation which would make nonsense of both passages). Besides this etymological point, it can be said in favour of the second type of interpretation that it is natural in the *Lac. Pol.* passage to assume that the diners at the end of the communal meal return to their homes or billets, thus reversing the procedure which brings them out of their homes to join the communal meal in the first place.

The interpretation 'dispersing to quarters' is more difficult to bring to bear on the description of Cyrus' entertainment of the Armenian king. I have described this a little more fully to bring out the point that it is not just a matter of Cyrus entertaining in his tent (which he was accustomed to do)[51] officers or others from his own camp, who would have tents of their own to retire to. This was not true of the Armenian king and his entourage. For (lacking in verisimilitude as it may be), Xenophon represents the sequence of events from surrender, through captivity to trial (and discussion with Tigranes) as all occurring within the space of one day, and Cyrus' hospitality clearly did not extend to offering his vassals a bed for the night. On the other hand, Cyrus does conclude his offer of dinner (to a family who were still technically his captives) with the remark that having dined they would be free to go wherever they wished.[52] Moreover, grammatically διασκηνοῦντων refers to something which occurs *after* the meal. It may naturally be taken to refer to the Armenian and his family preparing to depart for their chosen destination – their own homes, or elsewhere. This view would preserve us from the necessity of entering into rather different territory for the meaning of διά here: 'withdrawing from someone else's tent,' as Liddell and Scott translates.

My conclusion is that in all its uses elsewhere in Xenophon διασκηνεῖν can, and probably should, be taken to mean either dispersing to separate tents/quarters, or spending time in separate tents/quarters. It may therefore be expected to carry the same meaning at *Hell.* 4.8.18. A certain flexibility however may be allowed in view of the unique characteristics of this passage. Assuming that Spartans on campaign (as at home) followed the custom of eating together, the passage is aligned with *Lac. Pol.* 5.3 in that the dispersal to quarters takes place after a meal – though the meal in question is *ariston* not *deipnon*. Nowhere else, however, is the subject of the verb an individual person, nor in other passages is companionship between individuals alluded to. Occasionally the simple verb σκηνοῦν takes a singular subject to denote the place where an individual commander has his quarters (as with Agesilaos and Alketas).[53] But in *Hell.* 4.8.18 it is not just a question of locating the commander's quarters, or retiring to one's billet for the night, but of something passing between Thibron and Thersandros which needs to be explained by Thersandros' claim to prowess. These considerations taken together would, I think, suggest the translation: 'Thibron happened to be spending time apart in his tent with Thersandros after the morning meal.'

Turning from this grammatical and lexical analysis, we should ask briefly what can be learned from a study of the relevant social and military background. From

[50] *Cyrop.* 2.3.1, 3.2.31. Cf. above, p. 356.
[51] *Cyrop.* 2.1.30.
[52] *Cyrop.* 3.1.37.
[53] *Hell.* 4.6.7, 5.4.56.

Xenophon's account in *Hell.* 4.8.17–19 the general picture of the campaign is fairly clear, with Thibron's army based on the cities of the Maiandros plain, sending out raids into the surrounding countryside. Encampments were presumably of the rough and ready kind described by J. K. Anderson – unfortified, frequently moved, bivouacs rather than entrenched positions, in which the σκηναί would consist of rough shelters of timber and brushwood, rather than tents proper.[54] At first Thibron had some success, until Strouthas observed the indisciplined nature of his operations and began making harrying attacks on the Spartans. The sequence of events in the final and decisive episode in these operations is, however, less clear. Xenophon's brief narrative begins somewhat abruptly *in mediis rebus* with Thibron and Thersandros in their 'tent.' The clue to the situation is, it seems, reserved until the concluding lines of paragraph 19: it was an example of Thibron's habit of setting out on a foray against the enemy without giving proper orders to his troops. It would seem that he had gone out on this raid with only a portion of his army, and was presumably occupying a temporary bivouac, while the rest of the Spartan force, being uninformed of the raid, was left behind at the main encampment.[55] Ill-disciplined and heedless of danger in his preoccupation with Thersandros, Thibron was exposed to attack by Strouthas' sizeable body of well-ordered cavalry.

The crucial moment occurred 'after the morning meal.' There are frequent references to meals in Xenophon's narratives, and the common pattern is for the evening meal to be followed by sleep, while following the morning meal preparations are made for marching, preparing for or engaging in battle.[56] There are of course exceptions, particularly when in the interests of tactical surprise, forced marches or attacks are undertaken at night. But I have found no example of a general retiring to his tent during the day for any purpose other than to take counsel of a military or judicial kind.[57] It is no doubt the difficulty of understanding the purpose for which Thibron and Thersandros might have retired to their 'tent' that has prompted scholars to eliminate διασκηνῶν by emendation. But the stronger the arguments for declaring such a withdrawal from company to be unprecedented, and inexplicable under the normal routines on campaign, the more powerful the support for the view

[54] Cf. J. K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon*, pp. 60–6.

[55] A significant number of Spartans were saved from destruction, διὰ τὸ ὀψὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς βοηθείας (*Hell.* 4.8.19).

[56] The sequence is illustrated in the manoeuvres before Aigospotamoi (*Hell.* 2.1.20–2), where both sides follow the pattern: *ariston*, action, *deipnon*, the night passes, *ariston*, further action. Cf. *Cyrop.* 6.3.37–6.4.1. For *ariston* followed by action, see *Hell.* 4.5.3, 5.4.38, 6.5.20, *Anab.* 3.3.6, 4.6.8–9, 5.4.22, 6.3.24. Xenophon is not afraid to point out the truism that a meal fortifies one to fight (*Anab.* 6.5.21), and it is exceptional for a body of soldiers to go forward 'ἀνάριστοι' (*Hell.* 4.5.8). On the other hand, rest and sleep follow *deipnon*: *Hell.* 4.3.20, 4.6.7, 7.2.23, *Anab.* 6.3.20–1, 6.4.10. Other examples could be given, but while the rule of sleep following *deipnon* is often broken in order to achieve tactical surprise, I have not found any place (except the present passage) where soldiers take it easy after *ariston*. Curiously, rest and relaxation during the afternoon is, according to Xenophon, prescribed by Lykourgos (*Lac. Pol.* 12.6), though a military historian could hardly be expected to record so unredeemably banal a piece of routine. But if this account does reflect the practice of a Spartan army at base camp, one may doubt whether it would have applied to a skirmishing or expeditionary force in an advanced position close to encounter with the enemy.

[57] The use of tents for purposes other than sleeping (or, in the case of senior commanders, feasting) is rarely reported. For the most part, Xenophon's reports (apart from notes of individuals going to their tents) fall into two groups: as we should expect, commanders at all levels hold council in their tents (*Hell.* 1.1.30, *Anab.* 1.6.4, 3.5.7, *Cyrop.* 2.2.21; or the tent is the place for a banquet (*Cyrop.* 2.1.30, 2.3.19). At *Cyrop.* 5.3.46, army commanders depart to their tents after receiving orders. There is nothing in all of this to prepare us for the holding of a tête à tête between a Spartan commander and an Ionian *aulētēs*.

here proposed: Thibron was flouting the norms of expected behaviour and that was the cause of his undoing.

Xenophon does not describe in detail exactly what went on, but follows the rule of polite society, that in sexual matters language should be imprecise and reticence observed.[58] The word λακωνίζειν itself may be regarded as a euphemism, and without explicitly stating that the two men indulged themselves sexually, Xenophon leaves his readers to draw this inference from the fact that they went apart (a degree of privacy was required for sex[59]) and that Thersandros had a reputation for 'laconising'.[60]

My conclusion, then, is that the incident of Thibron and Thersandros provides another example of a military commander's failure to control his erotic desire bringing disaster upon his troops. Not only did Thibron fail to give proper orders, but, instead of taking due precautions while within range of the enemy cavalry, he spent the prime time for action (after the morning meal) disporting himself in his tent with his companion. Thus engaged, when the enemy struck, he was in no position either to direct his troops or defend himself, and in consequence he and Thersandros were the first to be killed, while the army was routed, with many casualties.

This view of the incident has it seems to me all the arguments of coherence in its favour. Once the possibility of a sexual meaning for λακωνίζων is accepted, it readily accounts for all the linguistic elements in the passage, and provides a smooth and intelligible connexion of thought without the need for emending the text. It offers a clear explanation of why Thibron's activity made him so vulnerable to surprise attack, and the plausibility of such an explanation is enhanced by the episode of Alketas discussed earlier. Finally, the proposed interpretation is consistent with all that is said elsewhere about Thibron's laxity and incompetence, a point strikingly developed by one passage yet to be examined.

A few paragraphs after recording the death of Thibron, Xenophon comes to describe his successor in the Spartan command. This man, a certain Diphridas, was, says Xenophon, no less charming (εὔχαρις) than Thibron, but a better organised and more enterprising general, for he was not at the mercy of his bodily pleasures (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκράτουν αὐτοῦ αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναί).[61] The implied contrast is obvious, yet, apart from the passage which I have analysed at such length, there is nothing in Xenophon's previous narrative to suggest that Thibron's shortcomings included an inability to control his bodily appetites. In mentioning this characteristic, Xenophon is surely high-lighting the prime cause of Thibron's downfall in the incident he has just described.

More generally, this judgment on Thibron's lack of *enkrateia* reflects Xenophon's wider interest in the morality of self-control noted at the beginning of this article. Indeed, the incident of Thibron and Thersandros shows an interesting affinity with

[58] So K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, pp. 53–4.

[59] So D. M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*, pp. 91 and 182, n. 28.

[60] Quite apart from what is given in Xenophon's text, one is tempted to speculate on what an Ionian *aulētēs* was doing in the camp anyway. The *aulos* had, it is true, a recognised role in Spartan military life. *Aulētai* were members of the royal entourage, and were required to play on ceremonial occasions and in celebration of victory (Xenophon, *Lac. Pol.* 13.8, *Hell.* 4.3.21, *Ages.* 2.15). But one may well ask why, if Thibron required a professional *aulētēs*, he did not bring one with him from Sparta, and why Thersandros, first heard of in Aiolis at the time of Thibron's first Asian campaign (though no meeting between them is reported), appears again in the Spartan commander's company (and, it seems, as his tent partner) 9–10 years later. Was this in fact a long-standing liaison of a more intimate kind?

[61] *Hell.* 4.8.22. At least in some quarters it was by his subservience to bodily pleasures that Thibron was remembered: Aristides (C. A. Behr) III, *To Plato, In Defence of the Four*, 202 (W. Dindorf, XLVI 2.176).

the example of sexual self-indulgence of which Vice is accused in Prodikos' fable. Not only does it involve using a grown man as a woman: Thibron also confounds the proper uses of day and night, spending the prime time of the morning, not, perhaps, in sleeping, but in what most Greeks would have regarded as a shameful form of sexual indulgence. Taken as a whole, the incident, like that of Alketas, illustrates Xenophon's moral concern with the dangers posed by *erōs* for a military commander. One might even argue that, given this interest, Xenophon's statement that Thibron and Thersandros were the *first* to be killed sounds more like an expression of moral retribution than a report of historical fact.

The reverse picture, the cost and the achievement of a triumphant *enkrateia*, is seen (in somewhat sycophantic light) in the famous incident of Agesilaos and Megabates, to which I now turn.

The story is told in chapter five of Xenophon's life of Agesilaos. Megabates was the handsome son of the Persian nobleman, Spithridates, whom Agesilaos had encountered on his campaign in and around Phrygia in 396–5 B.C. That the king's infatuation with Megabates was a well-remembered fact about him is attested by its appearance in the sober and economical pages of the Oxyrhynchus historian as well as in Xenophon.[62] But my interest is not so much in what may or may not have transpired between them as in the significance that the incident, as reported by Xenophon, has for the historian's view of the ideal leader. At first sight, the essential facts are that on some unspecified occasion Megabates approached Agesilaos to kiss him, but that with enormous effort Agesilaos rejected the approach, thus demonstrating his almost super-human self-control. Modern commentators seem generally to have taken the story at what seems to us to be its face-value as an illustration of Agesilaos' principles of personal morality. As Xenophon remarks later in his biography, Agesilaos' desires were directed to fine deeds rather than to fine bodies.[63] Such a view can appeal to the statement in Xenophon's *Lacedaemonian Constitution* that Lykourgos himself had forbidden Spartans to indulge in any physical expression of pederastic love, though it is doubtful how far these words reflect actual practice.[64] One may also recall the reflection on the dangers of yielding to the kiss of a beautiful boy which Xenophon attributes to Socrates.[65]

Yet, as in the case of Xenophon himself, whose narratives frequently fail to tally with his philosophical pronouncements on this subject,[66] there is evidence to suggest that Agesilaos did not hold to any simple and absolute condemnation of physical *erōs*. Xenophon twice tells us that he took pleasure in love stories about *paidika*.[67]

[62] *Hell. Oxyrh.* XXI 4. In addition, Xenophon informs us (*Hell.* 3.4.10) that Spithridates' defection from Pharnabazos had been brought about by Lysandros, who was operating in the Hellespont under Agesilaos' orders. The son is again mentioned.

[63] *Ages.* 11.10: καλῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν. As a psychological description these words seem at the very least to gloss over the reality reflected in the graphic language of *Ages.* 5.4: παιδὸς ἐρασθέντα (sc. τὸν Ἀγησιλάον) ὥσπερ ἂν τοῦ καλλίστου ἡ σφοδροτάτη φύσις ἐρασθείη.

[64] *Lac. Pol.* 2.13. Cf. the somewhat equivocal comments of K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, pp. 191, 193–4. P. Cartledge has argued that whatever the status of the Lykourgan '*nomos*' on pederastic chastity may have been (and Xenophon does not state that physical relationships were illegal), it was probably not observed in practice ('The Politics of Spartan Pederasty', pp. 19–22). Cf. G. Proietti, *Xenophon's Sparta: An Introduction* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1987), p. 50.

[65] *Mem.* 1.3.8–13.

[66] Even in the discussion of Kritoboulos' kiss, Xenophon distances himself from Socrates with the comment that he himself might well take the risk of indulging.

[67] *Hell.* 5.3.20, *Age.* 8.2. That the phrase παιδικοὶ λόγοι means stories (or gossip) about *paidika* is indicated by *Cyrop.* 1.4.27. Cf. V. Gray, *The Character of Xenophon's Hellenica*, pp. 62f.

Such an interest is not in itself incompatible with personal abstention from, or indeed theoretical condemnation of, such *erōs* on the part of the interested person, though such a stance might imply a degree of hypocrisy. But the idea that Agesilaos was opposed to *erōs* of this kind simply on grounds of personal morality is hard to maintain in the face of the Spartan king's continued interest in the son of Pharnabazos, satrap of Phrygia. This interest arose out of an incident related by Xenophon in *Hellenica* 4.1.39–40.[68] Not only did Agesilaos exchange gifts with the young man as a token of guest-friendship, but at a later date, when the Persian had taken an Athenian youth as a lover, Agesilaos used his influence to bend the rules at Olympia to enable the young Athenian to be admitted to the *stadion* race. One can hardly apply the Lykourgan ideal of abstinence to relationships between a Persian and an Athenian, and the natural inference is that Agesilaos exerted himself to meet a request made by Pharnabazos' son, notwithstanding the latter's acknowledged relationship with his Athenian *paidika*.

But even without recourse to such inferences, a fuller reading of the text relating to Megabates' attempted kiss requires more than a moral objection to pederasty to explain it. For the story does not end with Xenophon's commendation of Agesilaos' self-control after his initial rebuff to Megabates. It moves on to a set of negotiations, in which Megabates demands a kiss for compliance, which Agesilaos refuses, affirming with an oath that he would rather fight again the same battle with his desire for the youth, than gain a miraculous cure for his lameness or find everything within sight turned to gold.

To set the stakes as high as that suggests, in terms of fourth century morality, that something more is involved than abstention from homoerotic indulgence. Megabates was no casual local beauty, but the son of Spithridates, a turn-coat Persian nobleman, who had entered a military alliance with Agesilaos against his former overlord, Pharnabazos, Persian satrap of Phrygia. Moreover, the incident of the kiss, with the involvement of courtiers in the negotiations, was not played out in private. For, says Xenophon, it was the Persian custom to kiss those whom they honour,[69] and honour is a matter of public recognition. Against this background, the Megabates incident takes on a strong political and diplomatic colouring, a conclusion which, I would argue, is borne out by a review of what Xenophon tells us elsewhere of Spithridates and his family.

According to Xenophon, Spithridates had formerly served under Pharnabazos, the satrap. The latter however had insulted him by seeking to take Spithridates' daughter as his concubine, while courting the hand of the Great King's daughter in marriage.[70] In consequence, Spithridates transferred his allegiance to Agesilaos, taking with him his daughter and also a handsome son, Megabates. The youth's beauty was one of the first things to attract comment from Agesilaos, and according to the Oxyrhynchus historian was the prime reason for Agesilaos giving a friendly welcome to Spithridates.[71] Seeking to build up a wider alliance against the Great King, Agesilaos proceeded to negotiate a marriage between Spithridates' daughter and the king of the neighbouring territory of Paphlagonia, Otys. Part of the bait, explicitly dangled by

[68] The incident occurred shortly after Agesilaos' break with Spithridates and his son Megabates (whose encounter with Agesilaos is discussed below), at a time when Agesilaos was seeking to develop a new alliance with Pharnabazos against the Great King.

[69] *Ages.* 5.4.

[70] Ibid. 3.3. The wording (*Φαρνάβαζος... ἄνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο*) might be taken to imply that Spithridates had been frustrated in an attempt to achieve a marriage alliance with Pharnabazos.

[71] Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.1.6, *Hell. Oxyrh.* 21.4.

Agesilaos, was the political advantage to Otys of an alliance, not merely with Spithridates, who was a powerless exile, but with Agesilaos and through him with the Spartans and with the rest of Greece which, Agesilaos claimed, was under Spartan control.[72] We are here firmly in the territory of the political marriage, and from Spithridates' point of view, living as he was in a dispossessed state of exile, a link by marriage with Otys would be politically a most welcome prize.[73]

If Spithridates was thus willing to use his daughter in furthering his political aims, may he not have been equally willing to foster a pederastic liaison for his son with similar motives? There are precedents for such a policy elsewhere in the world of the fourth century, since, as Paul Cartledge has argued, the seeking of political advantage through a pederastic liaison was not unknown in Sparta. It was probably a factor in Lysandros' position as *erastēs* to the young Agesilaos, as reported by Plutarch, and in the development of the liaison between Agesilaos' son, Archidamos, and Kleonymos, son of Sphodrias.[74] Xenophon's account of this relationship in connexion with the Sphodrias affair, though later in date than Agesilaos' Asia campaigns, is worth examining for the light it throws on the historian's view of such liaisons.

Sphodrias, a Spartan commander, was, it will be recalled, charged with a capital offence for damaging Sparta's interests by leading an unauthorised raid into Athenian territory.[75] He failed to appear to stand trial, thereby admitting his guilt, but was nevertheless acquitted through the intervention of Agesilaos. To account for that intervention, Xenophon provides a circumstantial narrative to the effect that Agesilaos' son, Archidamos, was the *erastēs* of Sphodrias' son, Kleonymos, and that Archidamos had been thereby led to intercede with the king on behalf of his *paidika*'s father. The story ends with Sphodrias acquitted, and Kleonymos in gratitude pledging eternal fidelity to Archidamos, redeeming that pledge with his life at the battle of Leuctra. The reason for Agesilaos' intervention, however, is not unambiguously clear, and his position changes in the course of the narrative. Having at first opposed Archidamos' plea for acquittal, he later (according to the report of a third party, Etymokles (§32)) let it be known that in his view Sparta could not afford to lose the services of a soldier with Sphodrias' distinguished record and qualities, and this was taken as a signal for acquittal. As Sphodrias belonged to the circle of the Agiad king, Kleombrotos, one might then see in the incident an example of Agesilaos seeking to nullify domestic political opposition by the shrewd deployment of patronage, while discounting the part played by the love affair in the story.[76] But while this interpretation may represent the historical reality behind the narrative, it can hardly without more ado be taken to represent Xenophon's view of the matter.

[72] Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.1.8. I. A. F. Bruce has argued that the marriage may not have had as great a political importance as Xenophon suggests (I. A. F. Bruce, *An Historical Commentary on the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia'* [Cambridge, 1967], p. 144). But it is Xenophon's view of the matter which is relevant for my argument.

[73] Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.1.4.

[74] P. Cartledge, 'The Politics of Spartan Pederasty', pp. 28–9.

[75] The story of the raid and subsequent negotiations over Sphodrias' acquittal is told in considerable detail in Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.4.20–33.

[76] So Cartledge argues, op. cit. p. 29. In his book *Sparta and Lakonia* (London, 1979), p. 295, Cartledge also points out that shortage of manpower is given as a reason for suspending the law under which those guilty of cowardice at Leuctra might have been punished, citing Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 30.6 and *Moralia*, 191C, 214B.

Vivienne Gray (*The Character of Xenophon's Hellenica*, pp. 61–2) sees the love between Archidamos and Kleonymos and the loyalty which it engenders as the main point of the story, while recognising the conflict between that love and the demands of just administration of the law.

To begin with, Xenophon introduces the episode with the statement that many people considered that this was 'the most unjust verdict given in a Spartan court.'[77] While not presenting this as his own view, he does nothing to dissociate himself from it. He then passes to his lengthy exposition of the love affair with the words, 'this was the reason for it.' A similar phrase ends the narrative. On each occasion, the close association of these phrases with the account of the pederastic affair suggests that the latter provided the explanation of the acquittal. The narrative does not require us to believe that Agesilaos was uninfluenced by the lover's plea: merely that he arranged that no such influence should be apparent. The king's first reaction is, of course, to reject the plea: he might forgive Archidamos for asking, but the city would never forgive him (Agesilaos) for yielding (§30). Nothing is said subsequently to modify his condemnation of Sphodrias, as a man who had made money by causing harm to the city.[78] Yet, in response to Archidamos' second approach Agesilaos begins to waver, saying, 'Very well, provided that the affair is likely to turn out well for us' (§31). Archidamos takes this as a refusal – since, presumably, the condition seems incapable of fulfilment. Alternatively, it suggests that Agesilaos is looking for a face-saving formula. It is this, I would suggest, that represents the underlying intention of the word spread about by Agesilaos' friends (without, it appears, any formal declaration by the king) that Agesilaos had been heard to say that Sparta could not afford to lose a man of Sphodrias' calibre, despite his acknowledged guilt. Finally, the impassioned commitment of Kleonymos never to besmirch Archidamos' honour, surely reflects the debt of gratitude which Kleonymos is represented as feeling as a result of Archidamos' intercession.

The conclusion would seem to be that for Xenophon, at least, the story was what it appears on the surface to be: an illustration of family pressure arising from a pederastic liaison, leading to a shameful political decision. That he was embarrassed by having to acknowledge such behaviour on the part of his paragon, Agesilaos, is shown both by the very indirect way in which it comes out that Agesilaos had acquiesced in Sphodrias' acquittal, and by the fact that the incident is entirely omitted from Xenophon's life of the king.

If, in Xenophon's view, a pederastic affair might be a source of improper political pressure, must not the acknowledgement of *erōs* between Agesilaos and Megabates have been seen to carry just such risks, to the great detriment of Sparta? Would not such a relationship, from Spithridates' point of view, have seemed as potentially advantageous as the marriage of his daughter to Otys? Such a hypothesis seems to me to account for the nuances of the exchange between Agesilaos and Megabates as Xenophon presents it.

The story is introduced to illustrate Agesilaos' iron self-control in refusing the attractions of Megabates, and that indeed it does. But if it were solely a question of personal morality, it is very difficult to explain why Agesilaos was not willing to bring the incident to a close with his refusal of the kiss. The young man might feel slighted, but why should his sulking reaction concern the king and lead him, apparently, to seek a continuance of the relationship (albeit, presumably, on fresh terms), and expose himself again to the temptation which he had repudiated at some cost? The answer must lie in the political implications of the situation. For Agesilaos to accept

[77] *Hell.* 5.4.24.

[78] *Hell.* 5.4.30. The reference is to the charge of bribery which Xenophon had previously reported merely as a suspicion (Ibid. §20), but here seems to accept as well-founded. Furthermore, even Agesilaos' reported support for clemency is prefaced by the statement that there is no way of denying Sphodrias' guilt (§32).

a rebuff from the son of his new-found Persian ally would undermine his authority within the alliance. He must therefore exact a recognition of his position from Megabates. In this way we can understand Agesilaos' reaction, and indeed the fact that he is prepared to use a courtier as intermediary to negotiate.

But at this point the hidden agenda of Megabates (and behind him, one may suppose, Spithridates) becomes apparent. Supposing, asks the courtier, Megabates agreed to pay him honour, would Agesilaos kiss him? The kiss is now the price of Megabates' being willing to restore the honour due to the king. The most obvious explanation of this manoeuvre, particularly when we remember that in such affairs the *erōmenos* is not expected to reciprocate the passion of his *erastēs*, is that Megabates is seeking to attain a political end. The kiss would signify an acknowledgment of the youth as Agesilaos' *paidika*, which might well open the way for the dispossessed Persian exile, Megabates' father, to exert influence upon the Spartan king.[79] It is this possibility which explains the quasi-political process of negotiation and the strong language with which Agesilaos resists for the second time: his honour and authority as king and commander of his city's army is more important than the healing of his lameness or the acquisition of the Midas touch (let alone the pleasure of sleeping with Megabates).

This analysis requires some reading between the lines. But the traditional view, which sees here nothing beyond a judgment on the morality of pederasty is obliged simply to ignore substantial elements in the narrative. In offering an alternative analysis I do not wish to imply that Agesilaos was not deeply attracted to the young man, or that he did not indeed exercise remarkable, even heroic, self-restraint in refusing to accept him as a lover. What is at issue is the motivation for this stand. It was not, I suggest, based upon a moralistic condemnation of pederastic love, but on the perceived duties of a commander in chief, who must avoid rendering himself open to improper pressure. The morality involved is a morality of military and political duty, not a morality of sexual acts *per se*. Thus understood, the incident of Megabates' kiss fits well into the framework provided by our earlier examples, while without some such hypothesis it seems very difficult to explain the extraordinary amount of self-conscious negotiation which the story records.[80]

The opportunities for homoerotic pleasure available to Greek armies and their commanders in the field must have been many, and the resulting relationships complex. As I have argued at the outset. Xenophon recognised that such relationships might well be honourable, and motivate men to valour in battle. But experience also taught him that situations could well arise where to indulge in *erōs* was fraught with military or political danger. In such situations, he had no doubt that the welfare of the city should take precedence over individual impulse, and for him the ability to resist

[79] Further speculation is provoked by the curious discrepancy between what Xenophon says about Persian etiquette at *Ages.* 5.4 and at *Cyrop.* 1.4.27–8. In the former passage we are told that it is customary for Persians to kiss those whom they honour; but in the latter, the Persian kiss is reserved for kinsmen. Could it be that Megabates was seeking to assert a relation of kinship, or quasi-kinship, which Agesilaos might find even more embarrassing? If so, Xenophon might have understandably glossed over the full implication of the proffered kiss, by substituting 'honour' for 'kinship' as the motivating principle.

[80] It is more than likely that another instance of gaining advancement through a pederastic liaison is to be found in the story of the infamous Thessalian, Menon. Xenophon records of him that it was public knowledge that while still in the bloom of youth he got Aristippos to put him in command of the mercenaries: *παρὰ Ἀριστίππου μὲν ἔτι ὡραῖος ὢν στρατηγεῖν διεπράξετο τῶν ξένων*. When in the same sentence Xenophon refers explicitly to Menon's other love affairs, it is natural to infer that his youthful beauty is what persuaded Aristippos to give him the command (*Anab.* 2.6.28. For Aristippos, see *Anab.* 1.1.10).

erotic desire where necessary ranked high among the qualities required by a military leader. Some failed the test, and, like Alketas and Thibron, brought military reverses upon their city. Others, like Agesilaos in his relations with Megabates, survived the test with honour, and this was not the least of Xenophon's reasons for according him high praise.

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XENOPHON ON MALE LOVE

In a previous article I attempted to trace the way in which, for Xenophon, homosexual liaisons might or might not affect the discipline of military life, and the emphasis which he placed upon the virtue of self-control (ἐγκράτεια) in dealing with desires of this kind.[1] The present paper seeks to broaden the enquiry into a study of Xenophon's attitude to male same-sex affairs in general.

Following the recognition that Plato's discussions of pederasty are quite unrepresentative of Athenian society as a whole, recent scholarship has concentrated on vase paintings and on the orators who, as Sir Kenneth Dover has taught us, embody in their speeches the values which would appeal to an Athenian jury. Xenophon meanwhile has to some extent fallen between two stools. Relegated to the second rank as a writer and thinker behind Thoukudides and Plato, he nevertheless fails to be representative of the common man. On questions of male love, his writings have been excavated for citations to supplement general views on the Greek outlook, but the distinction between Sokrates and Xenophon has often been disregarded, or perhaps thought incapable of definition.[2] Other scholars have regarded Xenophon's writings as a source for the 'historical Sokrates', while showing little interest in the views of Xenophon himself. More recently, there has been a tendency to regard Xenophon as opposed to pederasty (or at least its physical expression) outright.[3]

The time may therefore be ripe for a fresh attempt to discover just what Xenophon believed on this subject. He belongs to an important group in Athenian society, the upper-class gentry who, while not aspiring to the heights of Platonic philosophy, might be prepared to think about their relationships with boys. Moreover, his very position in the second rank as a man of letters embodies a positive virtue for the social historian who is seeking to map the views of Greek society at large. I do not claim in any simplistic sense that Xenophon can be held to embody those views, but he provides an interesting specimen for dissection. Granted the limitations of his class background, his experience of life was wide-ranging—from military service in Asia Minor and Thrace to the pursuits of a retired country gentleman at Skillous. He knew the life of Athens and Sparta, and, to some extent, that of the Persian Empire and of Thrace. In his retreat at Skillous he developed a variety of interests which are reflected in his multifarious treatises. He shows himself aware of the different traditions within Greece regarding pederasty,[4] and his narratives include glancing references to a

→ C. Hindley, '*EROS* and military command in Xenophon', *CQ* 44 (1994), 347–366.

[2] Both Sir Kenneth Dover and Michel Foucault, from their different viewpoints, handle the material in this way. See K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978); M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 2: *The Use of Pleasure*, trans. R. Hurley (Harmondsworth, 1986). The relationship of Sokrates to the tradition about him over many areas of interest has been much illuminated by the volume of essays edited by P. A. Vander Waerdt, *The Socratic Movement* (Ithaca and London, 1994).

[3] E. Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, trans Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 63f. B. S. Thornton, *EROS: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality* (Boulder, 1997), pp. 103, 202f.

[4] *Lac. Pol.* 2.12–13. The omission of Athens here is intriguing and hard to explain, though it is to some extent (and in a very different context) repaired in Sokrates' discourse at *Symposium* 8.32–4. Unless otherwise specified, the title *Symposium* in this article refers to Xenophon's work of that name.

number of other Hellenic societies. Moreover, in addition to the set-piece discussions of love in the *Memorabilia* and the *Symposium,* many of his references to manifestations of ἔρως are in the nature of parenthetical narratives or *obiter dicta,* seemingly uncoloured by the rhetorical or metaphysical purposes of an Aiskhines or a Plato. Elsewhere Xenophon provides annotations which, however jejune they may be, at least allow inferences to be drawn about the author's own ethical stance.

I propose therefore to examine the few passages in which Xenophon speaks *in propria persona*, his editorial comments, the implications of his narratives, and the extent to which he seems to identify with, or stand aside from, the various more formal discussions of pederasty attributed to others in his writings. It is to be hoped that what emerges is a reasonably rounded picture of the views held by an experienced observer of male same-sex relationships in the world of his time, and a contribution to understanding that ποικίλια which, following Plato's Pausanias, recent observers have emphasized as characteristic of the Athenian scene.

Several passages make clear Xenophon's recognition of the power of sexual desire. Notably, in the fifth chapter of *Agesilaos* the king is said to have shown almost superhuman self-control in resisting Megabates, though his love for the youth was of the kind displayed by a most passionate nature (σφοδροτάτη φύσις) for the loveliest of boys. Indeed, concludes Xenophon, 'It seems to me that many more men are able to gain the mastery over their enemies than over such passions.' This is a matter of 'nature' (φύσις), which, as commonly used, refers to a person's settled character.[5] The term may extend to human nature at large, as when Hieron (and behind him I think we can hear Xenophon) is made to say that his love for Daïlokhos is perhaps driven by a natural compulsion.[6] Elsewhere, children, wives, or παιδικά are grouped together as objects of a similar 'natural compulsion' to love.[7] The passages so far mentioned carry no implication that a person may be more inclined to homosexual than to heterosexual relations (or vice versa), but Xenophon seems elsewhere to come near to what we mean by 'sexual orientation' in speaking of Episthenes as a παιδεραστής, whose τρόπος can be explained to Seuthes by reference to his cohort of beautiful youths.[8] Dover points out that the compulsion of love is described in the same terms as same-sex desire in the heterosexual story of the Persian Araspas.[9] Interestingly, however, as

[5] *Ages.* 5.4 and 6. See also *Symposium* 8.8, where Sokrates admires Kallias' character. The reason for Agesilaos' restraint was, I believe, not a moral objection to pederasty, but the risk of diplomatic entanglement with an ambitious Persian family (see Hindley [n. 1], pp. 361–5). On the wider literary background for the power of Aphrodite/Eros, see James Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes* (London, 1997), pp. 159ff.

[6] *Hiero* 1.33. Cf. Dover (n. 2), pp. 61f. Also, for the meaning of 'nature', see K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Indianapolis, 1994), pp. 88–95.

For Hieron as mouthpiece of Xenophon, see below p. 89.

[7] *Cyrop.* 7.5.60: the term for 'love' here is φιλεῖν, but surely in the case of wives and παιδικά it does not exclude ἐρᾶν. (Cf. Dover [n. 2], pp. 49–50, on the overlap between φιλία and ἔρως.)

At *Mem.* 2.6.21 friendship or hostility toward others are matters of 'nature'.

[8] *Anab.* 7.4.7–8. Cf. Dover (n. 2), pp. 51, 62. Xenophon's text is grammatically ambiguous as to *who* raised the cohort of καλοί. To my mind the more likely candidate, on balance, is Episthenes. But contrast D. Ogden, 'Homosexuality and warfare in Ancient Greece', in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Battle in Antiquity* (London, 1996), p. 126.

For τρόπος as an individual's character, cf. *Cyrop.* 8.3.49, and as a national characteristic, *Cyrop.* 2.2.28.

[9] *Cyrop.* 5.1. 8–18. The passage provides another example of Xenophon speaking through his characters: for while at *Cyrop.* 2.2.28 Kuros is depicted as deriding a courtier for appearing to have a παιδικά in the Greek fashion, he speaks in *Cyrop.* 5.1.12 as though homosexual relationships were entirely on a par with heterosexual ones.

soon as the discussion here turns to the power of love in general (§12), the genders of lover and beloved both become masculine. This grammatical shift may not necessarily indicate all-male relationships, but it surely includes them.[10] The language of the paragraph as a whole (with its repeated references to ἐρώμενοι) is strongly reminiscent of male same-sex contexts, where the compulsions of love are felt as strongly as in the heterosexual arena.

Xenophon makes an important distinction between sex with and sex without ἔρως. The latter (τὰ ἀφροδίσια or λαγνεία) is treated as a mere bodily appetite, on a par with other bodily appetites, such as hunger and thirst. This catalogue is mentioned with numbing regularity by Xenophon's Sokrates, and at *Mem.* 2.1.1 Xenophon himself implicitly acknowledges its validity.[11] The sexual appetite may be satisfied quite casually—without any thought of procreation—and, Sokrates observes, the streets are full of those who are willing to oblige.[12] The gender of the object of desire is immaterial. Thus, the philosopher Antisthenes, when his body craves relief, is satisfied with whoever (or perhaps 'whatever'—τὸ παρόν) is available, including women whom no one else will visit.[13]

Beyond (but including) this bodily appetite lies ἔρως, which Dover defines as 'the obsessive focussing of desire upon one person'.[14] Xenophon makes Hieron speak of the much greater pleasure to be obtained from τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια,[15] and is clearly happy to romanticize relationships based on ἔρως. When Episthenes (the παιδεραστής whom he encountered in Thrace) was on the point of offering his own life in exchange for that of a beautiful youth, Xenophon readily came to his aid, and praised the valour he had shown alongside his company of young men.

He also takes obvious pleasure in recounting the παιδικὸς λόγος of the Median nobleman who steals a kiss from the young and handsome Kuros, and for whom a mere blink which deprives him of the sight of Kuros seems an eternity.[16] Most notably, he provides a lyrical description of the effect of Autolukos' beauty on Kallias and the assembled company at the opening of his *Symposium*, himself making the comment that 'those who are inspired by a temperate love (σώφρων ἔρως) have a kindlier look, a gentler voice, and show a more unconstrained bearing'. A modern moralist might conclude from this idealistic eulogy that physical sex is out of the question between Kallias and Autolukos. But the opposite implication is clearly made later in the

[10] On the ambivalence of the masculine grammatical gender, see R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, Satzlehre, Erster Teil* (Vierte Auflage, Hannover, 1955), §371.1, p. 82.

[11] *Mem.* 2.1.1: Ἐδόκει δέ μοι καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγων προτρέπειν τοὺς συνόντας ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν βρωτοῦ καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ λαγνείας καὶ ὕπνου κτλ. This alignment between sex and other bodily appetites is well analysed in Foucault's *The Use of Pleasure* (n. 2 above). It is given great prominence by Davidson in relation to Athenian society as a whole (n. 5 above).

By the phrase 'Xenophon's Sokrates' I mean the teachings attributed by Xenophon to Sokrates, whether or not the historical Sokrates actually held them. For convenience the name 'Sokrates' is used with this meaning (unless indicated otherwise) throughout this article.

[12] *Mem.* 2.2.4–5. Cf. *Mem.* 2.1.5, where would-be adulterers are counselled (in the interest of avoiding awkward entanglements) to resort to a prostitute—ὄντων δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ἀπολυσόντων τῆς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίας. In both passages the masculine participle may include women, but πόρνοι were readily available: see D. M. Halperin, 'The democratic body: prostitution and citizenship in Classical Athens', in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York and London, 1990), pp. 88–112. For resort to boys on the part of a frustrated married man, cf. also Euripides, *Medea* 249 (Dover [n. 2], p. 171, n. 2).

[13] *Sympos.* 4.38. [14] Dover (n. 2), p. 63. [15] *Hiero* 1.29.

[16] *Cyrop.* 1.4.27–28.

dialogue. For when Sokrates praises Kallias' love as Ouranian and directed to the ψυχή, Hermogenes astutely interrupts to praise Sokrates' skill in admonishing Kallias while seeming to praise him. If, in Hermogenes' submission, Sokrates has to instruct Kallias as to οἷόνπερ χρὴ εἶναι, it follows that hitherto his conduct has not met Sokrates' standard. One naturally concludes that the σώφρων ἔρως attributed to Kallias (by Xenophon) included physical intimacy in some form.[17]

At the same time, Xenophon is aware of the potential of physical desire, particularly in its homosexual form, for undermining the right ordering of military and political affairs. This much emerges from the contrast between his portrayal of the Spartan Thibron, a general who (as I believe the text implies) was destroyed by his uncontrolled desire for bodily pleasure, and that of Agesilaos, who amazingly resisted such desires. Another Spartan commander, Alketas, could betray his post for an attractive boy, while the tyrannical Iason of Pherae could be praised as ἐγκρατέστατος . . . τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν.[18]

Awareness of the potentially anarchic power of τὰ ἀφροδίσια is a major factor in Xenophon's admiration for the virtue of ἐγκράτεια. It is for him καλόν τε κἀγαθὸν ἀνδρὶ κτῆμα. These words introduce a chapter in which, at the climax of a paean to self-control in every department of life, he makes Sokrates call self-control 'the foundation of virtue' (ἀρετῆς εἶναι κρηπῖδα). This thought is reinforced, in the concluding paragraph, with Xenophon's own commendation: τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγων [ὁ Σωκράτης] ἔτι ἐγκρατέστερον τοῖς ἔργοις ἢ τοῖς λόγοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδείκνυεν. Moreover, this perception of Sokrates forms the centrepiece of Xenophon's rebuttal of the charge that the philosopher corrupted the young.[19]

In Book 4 of the *Memorabilia*, the analysis is carried further to show that such self-control is also true freedom, because it enables a man to do what is right, rather than be enslaved to his passions,[20] a view endorsed by Xenophon as Sokrates' way of making his companions better fitted for action (πρακτικωτέρους). Conversely, Sokrates can claim that many have been destroyed through passions aroused by physical attraction,[21] an observation Xenophon himself had made earlier, with some emphasis (κἀγὼ δὲ μαρτυρῶ τούτοις), at *Mem.* 1.2.21–3. In regard to love, such men are described (by Xenophon) as οἱ εἰς ἔρωτας ἐγκυλισθέντες,[22] and Sokrates' way of dealing with them is illustrated in the incident of Kritias and Euthudemos. Sokrates, it

[17] See *Sympos.* 1.10, and Hermogenes' interjection at *Sympos.* 8.12. The phrase σώφρων ἔρως is paralleled in the δίκαιος ἔρως of Aiskhines 1.136, and a number of other expressions and relationships noted at n. 88 below. Also, see the analysis of 'reverence' in Kritoboulos' speech, p. 88 below.

[18] See Hindley (n. 1) for a more detailed examination of these examples. The main references i→ *Hell.* 4.8.18–19, *Ages*→ *Hell.* 5.4.56–57, 6.1.16. The description of Iason is found in the speech of the admittedly partial Poludamas of Pharsalos, possibly Xenophon's informant on Thessalian affairs (cf. G. Cawkwell, Introduction to *Xenophon: A History of My Times,* trans. R. Warner [Harmondsworth, 1979, p. 26]. The important point here is the probability (based on Xenophon's laudatory introducti→ -*Hell.* 6.1.2–3) that the historian would have endorsed Poludamas' judgement. He himself makes a similar comment about Diphridas, Thibron's successor in A→ *Hell.* 4.8.22).

For a survey of homosexuality in Greek armies generally, see Ogden (n. 8).

[19] *Mem.* 1.5.1, 1.5.4, 1.5.6. For the general argument, compare Foucault (n. 2), esp. Part 1.3. On the potential danger of wasting money on παιδικά, see *Mem.* 1.2.21–3.

For corruption of the young, see *Mem.* 1.2.1.

[20] *Mem.* 4.5.1–3. Cf. *Mem.* 2.1.3. [21] *Mem.* 4.2.35.

[22] *Mem.* 1.2.22. For the language, compare Sokrates' words (during the discussion of military pederasty) about Pausanias, as ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀκρασίᾳ ἐγκαλινδουμένων (*Sympos.* 8.32)

will be remembered, rebuked Kritias for approaching his παιδικά, Euthudemos, like a piglet scratching itself against a stone.[23] A number of factors however, in addition to Kritias' desire to enjoy physical intimacy with Euthudemos, may be thought to have contributed to a sharpening of Sokrates' criticism. In the first place, as paragraph 30 makes clear, the incident took place in public, though a degree of privacy for sex was usually thought desirable.[24] Equally open to criticism in Sokrates' view was Kritias' behaviour in abasing himself before his παιδικά, which displayed a slavish attitude not befitting a free man. Finally, the narrative implies that Kritias' purpose was confined to τὰ ἀφροδίσια. Though he is said to 'love' (ἐρᾶν) Euthudemos, his passion seems to be limited to that of one who was attempting to use the boy physically (πειρῶντα χρῆσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ πρὸς τἀφροδίσια τῶν σωμάτων ἀπολαύοντες).[25] These factors would also explain why Xenophon (who, as we shall see, does not share Sokrates' outright rejection of all homosexual copulation) also condemned Kritias' action. For such condemnation seems clearly implied in Xenophon's introduction to the incident, where the words φαῦλα πράττοντας are naturally taken as reflecting Xenophon's own as well as his mentor's judgement.[26]

One reason for reporting the Kritias incident at this point is to demonstrate how in Xenophon's view Kritias (and also Alkibiades) were restrained by Sokrates and deteriorated when they parted company with him.[27] This is not simply a matter of private morality, but reveals ἐγκράτεια as crucial for political leadership. Xenophon not only claims that Sokrates' public humiliation of Kritias explains the latter's hostility to the philosopher when he came to power as one of the Thirty Tyrants. But we are also, I think, invited to infer that Kritias' ἀκρασία in sexual matters (aggravated, no doubt by the bad company he had kept in Thessaly) was symptomatic of one who, when deprived of Sokrates' restraining influence, could perpetrate the atrocities of the Thirty.[28]

At the beginning of the second book of the *Memorabilia*, Sokrates, in conversation with the philosopher Aristippos (an apolitical hedonist), raises the question, what kind of young man is fit to be entrusted with government.[29] The argument ranges widely, but insofar as it concerns the control of sexual appetite, it proceeds from assumptions very different from those we are accustomed to make. There is no discussion of the 'morality' or otherwise of sexual acts in whatever context. Instead, Sokrates concentrates on the duty to participate in public life and rebuts Aristippos' suggestion that a man may honourably decline to play this role. From this perspective, the control of sexual desire is advocated simply with a view to ensuring that a man is

[23] *Mem.* 1.2.29–31. For the imagery, cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 494c–e, on which see J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (New York and London, 1990), p. 53.

[24] For privacy and sex, see Halperin (n. 12), p. 91 and p. 182, n. 28.

[25] For πειράω in relation to sexual seduction, compare Hipparkhos' 'attempts' on Harmodios' honour, Thucyd. 6.54.3 and 4 (two separate occasions). Cf. also Xen. *Hiero* 11.11.

[26] Mem. 1.2.29: ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς πονηρὸν ποιῶν ἐκείνους φαῦλα πράττοντας ὁρῶν ἐπῄνει, δικαίως ἂν ἐπιτιμῷτο.

[27] *Mem.* 1.2.24.

[28] Davidson (n. 5, ch. 9) has recently analysed the link between physical self-indulgence in matters of food and sex and the practice of tyranny in politics.

[29] *Mem.* 2.1.1–20. The nature of the elder Aristippos' teaching is obscure: cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *Socrates* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 170ff. It would be interesting, however, if he had, as Diogenes Laertius avers, formulated the principle, τὸ κρατεῖν καὶ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἡδονῶν ἄριστον, οὗ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι. In formal terms, at least, this is close to what I believe Xenophon's position to have been. (Diogenes Laertius 2.75: cf. Foucault [n. 2], p. 70.)

not deflected from doing his public duty.[30] The dialogue with Aristippos prepares the way for the discussion of virtue embodied in the fable of Herakles' Choice, attributed to Prodikos, which Xenophon now reproduces, and which develops further the theme of self-discipline as a requirement for proper participation in public life.[31]

Xenophon himself, in his introductory sentence to the second book of the *Memorabilia*, presents the Sokratic teaching which follows, first in dialogue with Aristippos and then in the fable of Prodikos, as an ideal to be followed. It is thus that (according to Xenophon) Sokrates encouraged his associates to practice self-discipline in respect of all bodily appetites. It is all with a view to achieving great things in public affairs, an argument which reaches its most eloquent expression in the final discourse in the *Symposium*. Kallias is exhorted to practise virtue in the city's service, and there can be little doubt that for Sokrates this requires keeping his relationship with Autolukos on a purely non-physical plane.

The question of total abstinence, however, has hardly been raised in the passages so far reviewed. In the case of food and drink it would be a recipe for suicide, as the down-to-earth Aristippos points out.[32] The test here, therefore, is whether at any given time bodily needs demand reasonable satisfaction, and one recalls the words of Virtue in the fable of Herakles' Choice, where she berates Vice for artificially stimulating appetites (for food, sex, and sleep) when there is no need.[33] A similar test can be applied to sexual indulgence, but it is obviously too simple to transfer the regimen appropriate to food and drink to *τὰ ἀφροδίσια* without more ado. Life can survive celibacy, and there is a number of passages where Xenophon represents Sokrates as advocating total abstinence from sexual relations with boys. The simplest and clearest statement is at *Mem.* 1.3.8: *ἀφροδισίων δὲ παρῄνει τῶν καλῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπέχεσθαι.*[34] Sokrates' own practice is summarized later in the same chapter: *αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα φανερὸς ἦν οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος ὥστε ῥᾳον ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ὡραιοτάτων ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν αἰσχίστων καὶ ἀωροτάτων.*[35] It is also

The discussion here touches on the broader philosophical question of hedonism. Harold A. S. Tarrant has recently suggested that the formula 'mastery not abstention' reflects the moderating influence of Sokrates' teaching on Aristippos, who may originally have advocated a more extreme hedonism: see H. A. S. Tarrant, 'The *Hippias Major* and Socrates' theories of pleasure', in Vander Vaerdt (n. 2), p. 124. See also Tarrant's discussion of 'moderate hedonism' in Xenophon's presentation of Sokrates (pp. 121ff.).

For the importance of political involvement in the discussion with Aristipppos, and the role of self-control in this sphere, cf. D. K. O'Connor, 'The erotic self-sufficiency of Socrates', in Vander Vaerdt (n. 2), pp. 159–163: 'Aristippus' indifference to politics rather than his hedonism is Socrates' primary target' (p. 160).

[30] *Mem.* 2.1.3. Love for a woman can be equally distracting—*Cyrop.* 5.1.8.

[31] *Mem.* 2.1.21–34.

[32] *Mem.* 2.1.1.

[33] *Mem.* 2.1.30. The strictures against male love here are, I believe, restricted to anal intercourse between adult males, cf. Hindley (n. 1), p. 349. Cf. also *Mem.* 1.3.5–6.

[34] *Καλῶν* here must surely be masculine. Not only is it picked up by *τοιούτων* in the following line, but the whole ensuing discussion revolves around boys, and its conclusion (§13) generalizes the message in explicitly masculine terms (. . . *ὁπόταν ἴδῃς τινὰ καλόν*). Given the context, one must also allow for the influence of the *καλός*—inscriptions on vases: of Robinson and Fluck's list of 283 'love-names' (give or take one or two of doubtful gender) only about 34 (12%) are female. See D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-names* (Baltimore, 1937).

For the sentiment, cf. *Mem.* 2.6.32, 4.2.35, *Sympos.*4.54. The 'appeasing appetite' argument is applied heterosexually to Antisthenes (*Sympos.* 4.38), but Sokrates nowhere, I think, contemplates celibacy as total abstinence from women. Indeed, as a married man and a father he could hardly do so. But heterosexual intercourse may be justified more for its role in the procreation of children and the raising of a family than for its pleasure (*Mem.* 2.2.4).

[35] *Mem.* 1.3.14. Cf. also *Mem.* 4.1.2.

to be noted that in Virtue's speech in the Fable of Herakles, at the place where one might expect a positive appraisal of honourable boy-love, one in fact finds Virtue claiming to be ἀρίστη φιλίας κοινωνός.[36] It is of course given to Sokrates to narrate the fable, and the sentiment here is a succinct summary of the thrust of Sokrates' speech in the *Symposium*, exhorting Kallias to develop a wholly non-physical love towards Autolukos. This is the same Sokrates that we find in the famous anecdote of Alkibiades' unsuccessful attempt at seduction, and there can, I imagine, be little dissent from Sir Kenneth Dover's conclusion that the Sokrates of both Xenophon and Plato condemns homosexual copulation.[37]

Did, then, Xenophon himself, with all his veneration for Sokrates, accept this ban on physical intimacy between homosexual lovers? Key passages are the discussions with and about Kritoboulos in the *Memorabilia* and the *Symposium*. But by way of background it is worth recalling aspects of Xenophon's own experience and knowledge which must have helped form his judgement.

Xenophon's emergence as a general after the battle of Cunaxa and the death of Klearkhos indicates considerable powers of leadership in a perilous situation, and it is natural to assume that this experience helped shape his concern with leadership in his later historical writing. Certainly there are examples in the *Anabasis* of his exhibiting the virtues of physical self-discipline which he was later to advocate.[38] Did he also discern, in some of his contemporaries, a growth of indiscipline in personal attitudes which he thought required to be challenged by the succession of sermons in the *Memorabilia*? He certainly allows Perikles, son of the great statesman, to reflect pessimistically on the decline of Athens,[39] and it is the quest for the qualities needed for political and military leadership (with a heavy emphasis on self-control) which informs much of the *Memorabilia*.[40]

However, while the perils of uncontrolled desire on the part of a military commander were apparent, ἔρως could also inspire loyalty, devotion, and heroism. One recalls the παιδικά of the Spartan general Anaxibios, who stood by his ἐραστής as he fought to the death;[41] or the devotion of the Greek soldier, Pleisthenes, to the captive (and effectively orphaned) son of the Armenian village headman whom he took home with him as his lover, treating him as the most faithful of companions (πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρῆτο);[42] or the valour displayed by Episthenes, to whom reference has already been made, in association with his band of beautiful youths.

The most notable and extended of Xenophon's pederastic narratives is that of the affair between Arkhidamos, son of King Agesilaos of Sparta, and Kleonumos, son of Sphodrias. The sentiment that inspired it lasted for at least seven years, from Sphodrias' luckless raid on Attica (378 B.C.) to the death of Kleonumos defending his king on the field of Leuktra in 371 B.C. The liaison between two such eminent families must have been a very public affair. According to Xenophon, it gave rise to a disreputable deal arranged by Arkhidamos with his father, on behalf of Sphodrias, his παιδικά's father, whereby Sphodrias was acquitted (quite wrongfully in Xenophon's view) of treason. But the relationship between the two young men seems to have been an honourable one. Xenophon says of Kleonumos that he declared that he would

[36] *Mem.* 2.1.32.

[37] Plato, *Symposium* 217–19. Dover (n. 2), p. 160. Cf. Guthrie (n. 29), pp. 70–8.

[38] *Anab.* 3.4.46–9, 4.4.12–13.

[39] *Mem.* 3.5.15. Cf. Cantarella (n. 3), p. 64. But the evidence suggests to me that Xenophon's attitude to boy-love was far more complex than Cantarella allows.

[40] See above pp. 77f. and n. 18. → *Hell.* 4.8.38–9.

[42] *Anab.* 4.6.1–3.

never besmirch Arkhidamos' honour, and that 'while he lived, all his actions were those of a good and noble Spartan. His death caused Arkhidamos terrible pain; but he had kept his promise; he had brought him honour and not shame.'[43]

We can only guess at what complexities lie behind the brief narrative of Agesilaos' relationship with the son of the Persian satrap Pharnabazos and Parapita. ξενία was established between them, and Agesilaos seems to have followed the young man's career. Later, the king used his influence to get the Persian's Athenian παιδικά admitted to the boy's race at Olympia.[44] The ξενία pact may have had political significance, but the pendent anecdote of the Athenian παιδικά seems to owe its place to the favourable light which, in Xenophon's view, it sheds on Agesilaos' loyalty to his friends.

The evidence so far shows a number of love relationships between men which seem to meet with Xenophon's approval. The historian is no tabloid reporter, hot in the pursuit of titillating details, but it would be surprising if these relationships had not found physical expression. Such liaisons (short of anal penetration, which is implicitly condemned at *Mem.* 2.1.30[45]) do not attract condemnation on Xenophon's part unless they involve actual or risked betrayals of trust. Indeed, there is some slight evidence to support the speculation that (as might be expected of an Athenian of his background) Xenophon himself had found a male lover during his campaigning in Asia Minor. Xenophon's response to Kritoboulos' kiss (discussed below) as well as his obvious interest in retailing love-stories about παιδικά suggest that he had an eye for a handsome youth, and a passage in the *Anabasis* shows that soldiers might be expected to take their boys or women along with them. For when it was decided that the baggage train must be reduced by leaving behind recently taken prisoners of war, a blind eye might be turned if a soldier was in love with a good-looking boy or woman. At a later point, in defending his exercise of authority, Xenophon includes the claim that he never quarrelled with a soldier over his παιδικά.[46] While the sentence does not assert that Xenophon had a παιδικά, it clearly implies that it would have caused no surprise had there been such a boy for whom he might have been expected to fight. It may also be noted (though the point is not so relevant to the discussion in Greek eyes as in ours) that Xenophon was probably not yet married at the time, and might well be expected to have sought the comfort of a male lover as did some of his companions on the Long March.[47]

It is against this background that we must question the role of the 'boy' (παῖς) whom Xenophon brought with him to the court of Seuthes.[48] The existence of this young man is known because of Xenophon's embarrassment at having no suitable gift for Seuthes, his host. He had, he records, brought nothing with him from Parion except his παῖς and a few provisions. Unfortunately the ambiguity of the term here can

→ *Hell.* 5.4.25–33 and 6.4.13f. The translation cited is that of Warner. The liaison can be considered independently of the role it may have played in securing Sphodrias' acquittal. The exact age of the lovers is not known. Xenophon describes Kleonumos as just out of puberty at the time of the Sphodrias affair (378 B.C.). Paul Cartledge, in the Chronological Table of his *Agesilaos* (London, 1987), suggests that Arkhidamos may already have been born when Agesilaos ascended the throne in 400 B.C.

→ *Hell.* 4.1.39. Cf. G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 58f. On the diplomatic overtones of this story, cf. Cartledge (n. 43), p. 193.

[45] Cf. Hindley (n. 1), p. 349.

[46] *Anab.* 4.1.12–14, 5.8.4.

[47] The circumstances of Xenophon's marriage are obscure. E. Delebecque (*Essai sur la Vie de Xénophon* [Paris, 1957], p. 124) dates it to 399 or 398; J. K. Anderson (*Xenophon* [London, 1974], p. 162) places it some time after 399 B.C.

[48] *Anab.* 7.3.20.

hardly be resolved. When later in the banquet another guest presents a 'παῖς', the meaning seems to be 'slave'. But Xenophon does not make a present of his 'boy' to Seuthes, and at *Lac. Pol.* 2.12–13, as at *Anab.* 4.1.14, he clearly treats παῖς as equivalent to παιδικά. Perhaps on active service the roles of slave, batman, lover, coalesced. The traces of pederastic interest in this record are too slight to yield a firm conclusion, but it is at least possible, and even likely, given the *mores* of the time, that Xenophon, in common with many of his men, had found a young male companion to share the rigours of campaigning.[49]

But the *Memorabilia* provides clearer evidence of Xenophon's acceptance of love relationships between men, and his divergence from Sokrates' views on their means of expression. I refer to the episode of Kritoboulos' kiss.[50] Sokrates, it will be remembered, came to know that Kritoboulos had kissed Alkibiades' handsome son. The discovery prompts the philosopher to utter an uncompromising warning (though cast in humorous vein) about the dangers of such conduct. It is worse, he says, than the bite of a poisonous spider, rendering the victim a slave to his passions, and even driving him to madness. The humour is characteristic of Xenophon's (and, often, Sokrates') relaxed and informal style in dealing with serious matters.[51] But the thought is in line with Sokrates' utterances on self-control, and his ban on homosexual copulation,[52] to which (it is implied) the first kiss will inevitably lead. Much more interesting is Xenophon's own contribution to the discussion.

This conversation is the only occasion in the *Memorabilia* at which Xenophon claims to have been present not merely as a reporter but as a participant. It is introduced by reference to Sokrates' teaching (already noted) that one should resolutely abstain from sex with beautiful youths.[53] But the effect of Xenophon's contribution is to dissociate him from Sokrates' rigorist views. For when Sokrates suggests that Kritoboulos, by his rash act, has belied his character as a sober and prudent man and become instead foolish and reckless (ἀνόητος καὶ ῥιψοκίνδυνος), Xenophon replies, that he might well take a similar risk himself. The historian, it seems, shares with his male contemporaries that susceptibility to ephebic beauty which Sokrates warns against.[54] In the face of Sokrates' comparison with the fateful spider's bite, he protests the innocuous character of the lover's kiss. Indeed, his attitude is not so very far from Kritoboulos' light-hearted approach to kissing in a subsequent exchange with Sokrates.[55] It also accords with the evidence already assembled for Xenophon's positive attitude to male love.

[49] In the light of this conclusion we may look with fresh eyes on the incident of the trumpeter Silanos (*Anab.* 7.4.116). Doubtless he struck fear into the enemy with his trumpeting. But why is this minor figure given such prominence—even to the mention of his age, when, at eighteen, he was pre-eminently ὡραῖος? Is this another young man who caught Xenophon's eye?

[50] *Mem.* 1.3.8–15.

[51] Vivienne Gray draws attention to this characteristic of Xenophon's style, both in his historical writing and his more philosophical works. (V. Gray, *The Character of Xenophon's* Hellenica [London, 1989], pp. 76f. Cf. O. Gigon, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch von Xenophons Memorabilien,* Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 5 [Basel, 1953], p. 110). Further examples of Xenophon's sense of humour are collected by S. E. Bassett, 'Wit and humor in Xenophon', *Classical Journal* 12 (1917), 565–574.

[52] See pp. 79–80 above and n. 37.

[53] *Mem.* 1.3.8. Cf. above p. 79 and n. 34.

[54] Cf. *Sympos.* 4.25 where (of a kiss) Sokrates says, οὐ ἔρωτος οὐδέν ἐστι δεινότερον ὑπέκκαυμα. The incident of Sokrates nudging Kritoboulos, reported by Kharmides at *Sympos.* 4.27, suggests that Sokrates shares the susceptibilty, but still he warns against it: the encounter with Kritoboulos, he says, was like a wild beast's bite and gave him a sore shoulder for a week.

[55] *Mem.* 2.6.32.

Against this background, how are we to interpret the conclusion to the episode? Following Sokrates' advice to Kritoboulos to go away for a year, Xenophon continues with a summary of Sokrates' teaching on sexual matters which departs significantly from the advocacy of total abstinence found in *Mem.* 1.3.8:

οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀφροδισιάζειν τοὺς μὴ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀφροδίσια ᾤετο χρῆναι τοιαῦτα, οἷα μὴ πάνυ μέν δεομένου τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἂν προσδέξαιτο ἡ ψυχή, δεομένου δὲ οὐκ ἂν πράγματα παρέχοι.[56]

The passage (whose grammatical construction is tortuous) seems intended to allow a concession to human weakness similar to that developed in regard to the dangers of overindulgence in food and drink (*Mem.* 1.3.6). Sokrates is represented as teaching that those who have difficulty in controlling their sexual drive may indulge when two conditions are fulfilled: (a) when the bodily urge is overpowering;[57] (b) when to indulge would cause no trouble. To illuminate the latter phrase (οὐκ ἂν πράγματα παρέχοι) Gigon refers to the avoidance of the risks of adultery recognized elsewhere in the *Memorabilia* (2.1.5), and finds parallels to the abstinence from sexual indulgence among anecdotes told of the philosophers by Diogenes Laertius and others.[58] They all concern the charms of women, and Gigon accordingly argues that §14 is concerned with heterosexual relationships. If so, the transition is abrupt, and it seems more likely that the section either continues the homosexual theme or covers both homosexual and heterosexual ἔρως, following the Greek tendency to minimize the difference between the two where τὰ ἀφροδίσια is concerned.[59] In either case, the phrase 'not causing trouble' could readily be interpreted by reference to *Memorabilia* 2.6.22, where self-control in sexual matters is urged in order to avoid hurting those who should not be hurt (see below, pp. 85f.).

But whether the section continues the homosexual theme of the conversation about Kritoboulos or moves to heterosexual (and presumably extra-marital) relationships, it is difficult to understand the link with its context seemingly conveyed by the words οὕτω δή. Οὕτω commonly refers to what precedes, and must surely do so here. If δή is then taken as emphatic,[60] it serves only to emphasize the disjunction with what has gone before. 'In this way' is precisely what the following words fail to show; for they allow occasional indulgence which Sokrates has just warned against. Only by a perversely excessive reliance on irony could one argue that 'in this way' means 'as urged upon Xenophon'—i.e. not at all. More probably, οὕτω δή is connective.[61] But even on this view, the point of comparison between the warning to Xenophon and the

[56] *Mem.* 1.3.14. The text is that of E. C. Marchant's second edition (*OCT*, 1921), omitting πρός before τοιαῦτα.

In essentials following Marchant, I would translate: 'In this way, then, he thought that those who find their sexual impulses difficult to control should engage sexually <only> in such activities as the mind would not condone unless an urgent bodily need arose, and such as, once the need was there, would not cause trouble.'

The phrase, πάνυ δεομένου τοῦ σώματος, seems to conflate two thoughts: a definition of the *kind* of activity (that which arises from the body's need) and the *timing* (when that need becomes urgent (πάνυ) for actions which otherwise the mind would not condone).

[57] For δέομαι with reference to the sexual urge, cf. *Mem.* 2.1.30, *Sympos.* 4.38, 4.15, *Hiero* 1.33.

[58] Gigon (n. 51), p. 117. [59] Cf. Dover (n. 2), pp. 63–5.

[60] J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (2nd edn, rev. K. J. Dover, Oxford, 1950; repr. Bristol, 1996), p. 209, § (x).

[61] Under this heading, Denniston alludes to the commonness of such openings to sentences as οὕτω δή, ἐνταῦθα δή (ibid., p. 236).

advice to those who 'find their sexual impulses difficult to control'[62] remains obscure. It may base itself on the distinction between desire which is inflamed by the flirtatious kiss (to be avoided) and bodily need which arises without such encouragement. Only in the latter case, when the desire becomes irresistible, may the mind (ψυχή) condone its physical expression. But such a view, intelligible in itself, is difficult to reconcile with the fact that in *Memorabilia* 1.3.8, and even more forcibly in the long exhortation to Kallias in *Symposium* 8, Sokrates unconditionally rules out any form of bodily love in relations with boys.

This discrepancy (coupled with the absence of any evidence for dislocation in the transmission of the text) suggests the hypothesis that Xenophon has here grafted in a statement by Sokrates from another (possibly heterosexual) context, in order to support the caveat that he had himself entered in condoning Kritoboulos' kiss.[63] Of course, the limited character of the concession allowed in *Memorabilia* 1.3.14 falls short of the positive view of homosexual ἔρως which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Kritoboulos in the *Symposium*. But it goes some way to soften the stark contrast between Sokrates' teaching on celibacy and (if the argument of this essay so far is correct) Xenophon's own attitude to pederasty.

One other point to arise from this passage is the role given to ψυχή, which Tredennick and Waterfield here and elsewhere translate as 'mind'. In this text, as in an earlier discussion of dietary self-discipline,[64] the decision on what is allowable or not rests with the ψυχή. There is also the recurrent contrast between love of body and love of ψυχή. The latter term had already by the time of Xenophon developed a complex history, and its significance in relation to Sokratic thought is discussed by Guthrie.[65] Of Xenophon's usage, one may say that, while the notion of the 'invisible part of man' is not excluded,[66] the ψυχή is thought of largely in functional terms: it is the seat of intelligence, judgement, thought, that which 'rules' in us, the organ of virtue or vice.[67] When Sokrates is said to 'love the soul', what he loves are not insubstantial wraiths, but people whose minds dispose them to virtue—τῶν τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ πεφυκότων ἐφιέμενος.[68] The ψυχή is that which orders a person's life as a whole, and it may cover both the directing mind and the personality which results. It is for the ψυχή to judge (amongst other things) how far bodily desire for boys may be accepted. While for Sokrates the answer may be 'never', the analysis allows others such as Xenophon to respect a ψυχή which judges otherwise.[69] In the latter case the contrast between love of body and love of soul may well consist, not in a simple dichotomy between a physical and a non-physical love, but between a desire which is exclusively physical, and a love directed by the mind (ψυχή) which embraces both friendship and its physical expression.

[62] One might also ask whether this phrase implies that there is another class of men (and the whole discussion is carried on from a male perspective)—οἱ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀφροδίσια? If so, are they totally abstinent (at least outside marriage), or are they men who, in the phrase attributed to Aristippos, are able to master pleasures without abstaining from them? (See n. 29 above.)

[63] One may compare the concession to overmastering desire acknowledged in Plato, *Phaedrus* 256.

[64] *Mem.* 1.2.4.

[65] Guthrie (n. 29), pp. 147–64.

[66] *Mem.* 1.4.9, 3.10.3, 4.3.14, 1.2.53; *Cyrop.* 8.7.17.

[67] *Mem.* 1.2.53, 1.4.13, 1.4.17 (in this section, νοῦς and ψυχή are equivalent), 4.3.14, 3.11.10. For ψυχή as the seat of virtue, see *Mem.* 1.2.19, 1.2.23, 2.6.30, 4.1.2, 4.8.1.

[68] *Mem.* 4.1.2. Conversely, it is possible to be μοχθηρὸς τὴν ψυχήν: cf. *Oecon.* 6.16.

[69] This is essentially the principle of self-regulation which Foucault develops under the heading '*Chrēsis*' (n. 2, part 1, ch. 2), though it was no doubt exercised within an overall understanding of custom and law (νόμος).

To sum up, the passage (*Mem.* 1.3.8–15) as a whole shows that

(a) Xenophon acknowledges homosexual desire in himself (a not surprising fact, but a not unimportant one either).
(b) he challenges Sokrates' rigorist view on grounds of common sense.
(c) he acknowledges circumstances (though circumscribed) in which the physical expression of sex with boys may be accepted by the mind without harmful consequences. It is for the individual ψυχή to regulate these matters.
(d) while Sokrates' practice of abstinence is to be admired, it may be questioned whether this rule is to be made universal, since even the master allowed some relaxation.

The division over sexual ethics between Sokrates and Xenophon which we see emerging is dramatized here and elsewhere around the character of Kritoboulos. He is presented, not as the porcine (and potentially tyrannical) Kritias, but as one who is (to the average observer) σωφρονικός and προνοητικός.[70] Despite Sokrates' rebuke over his delight in kissing a charming ephebe, he can later in the *Memorabilia* engage in a serious discussion with the philosopher about civic virtue and friendship. He is also Sokrates' interlocutor for the first six chapters of the *Oeconomicus*, where he responsibly explores with the philosopher questions of business and estate management. In both dialogues Kritoboulos shows himself for the most part a willing pupil of Sokrates. The one point at which he seems to resist Sokrates' teaching is over his associations with young men. In *Memorabilia* 2.6.32 the jovial banter about kissing beautiful ephebes is repeated, with no sign of recantation on Kritobolous' part, despite Sokrates' attempts to move him away from assuming that one can catch the physically beautiful and the morally virtuous in the same net of friendship. And in the *Oeconomicus* (where Kritoboulos is depicted as already married) Sokrates chides him as one παιδικοῖς πράγμασι προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν.[71] It should, however, be noted that for Sokrates the ground of criticism is the waste of time and money involved in pederasty, rather than, in our sense, the 'immorality' of such activities. As for Kritoboulos himself, he claims, after listening to Sokrates' advocacy of ἐγκράτεια, to have attained reasonable success in applying this teaching to his personal life.[72]

The general picture of Kritoboulos as a lover of young men seems to justify us in taking the masculine genders in the Kritoboulos texts mentioned as referring to beautiful men rather than beautiful people in general. More doubt attaches to one remaining passage, where the following words, attributed to Sokrates, are embedded in a discussion between Sokrates and Kritoboulos, and relate to the καλοὶ κἀγαθοί who develop friendship to put a brake on their mutual animosities and conflicting ambitions:

διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν αἱροῦνται μὲν ἄνευ πόνου τὰ μέτρια κεκτῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολέμου πάντων κυριεύειν, καὶ δύνανται πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες ἀλύπως σίτου καὶ ποτοῦ κοινωνεῖν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὡραίων ἀφροδισίοις ἡδόμενοι καρτερεῖν, ὥστε μὴ λυπεῖν οὓς μὴ προσήκει. (*Mem.* 2.6.22.)

[70] *Mem* 1.3.9.

[71] Oecon. 2.7. Given the character of Kritoboulos as revealed elsewhere, παιδικά πράγματα must surely refer to the objects of ἔρως—'minions' (Marchant) rather than 'childish pursuits' (Waterfield). For Kritoboulos' marriage, see *Oecon.* 3.13 and *Sympos.* 2.3.

[72] *Oecon.* 2.1 αὐτὸς δ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐξετάζων δοκῶ μοι εὑρίσκειν ἐπιεικῶς τῶν τοιούτων ἐγκρατῆ ὄντα.

The surrounding conversation ranges across the field of friendship and how to conduct one's affairs decently, in a way which might seem to be consistent with an advocacy of sexual abstinence (outside marriage). But the reference to sex arises out of a variant of that overworked theme, control over bodily appetites, where the phrase τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις ἡδόμενοι indicates actual participation in sexual pleasure.[73] The point is, once again, self-restraint, not abstinence.[74] The immediate context is concerned with what the individual can fairly take (whether of food, drink, or sex), and what is 'fair' in regard to sexual pleasure is defined in the qualification, ὥστε μὴ λυπεῖν οὓς μὴ προσήκει. The passage would then mean 'exercise self-control in taking sexual pleasure with people in the bloom of youth, so as not to harm those whom one should not harm'. What is not clear, however, in this isolated mention of sexual relations, is the gender of the objects of desire. Does the good man avoid adultery (which would harm a husband's—and fellow citizen's—rights) and go for female prostitution instead (with equal concern, we would hope, for the woman involved)? Or does he cultivate his παιδικά with what would be regarded as an honourable love, which would bring no harm to the beloved? Perhaps both forms of sexual engagement are envisaged, though here again the occurrence of the phrases in a 'Kritoboulos context' suggests a preference for the male interpretation. Either way, the passage advocates a form of moderation and respect for others in indulging sexual desire which is akin to *Mem.* 1.3.14.[75]

Insofar as they include pederasty within their purview, it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile either *Mem.* 1.3.14 or *Mem.* 2.6.22 as teachings of Sokrates, with the exhortation to abstain from pederastic sex attributed to him elsewhere. I have suggested that *Mem.* 1.3.14 may represent an attempt by Xenophon to moderate the teaching. On the other hand, when, in *Mem.* 2.6.22, the reference to τὰ ἀφροδίσια appears as tangential to the discussion of rivalry among the καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, we may understand 'Sokrates' here to be reporting on observed social *mores* rather than formulating his own teaching.

As far as Kritoboulos is concerned, the consistent picture to emerge from the various passages so far discussed is that of a young man who combines a continuing, but (according to his own estimation) reasonably self-disciplined, love of pleasure, with a serious interest in philosophy and public affairs. He had, however, so far as we know, no public persona, nor any reputation as a philosopher. He might therefore be deemed to be merely a representative of views widely accepted in his social circle. But when the only personal intervention by Xenophon in the *Memorabilia* (over Kritoboulos' kiss) so clearly aligns the historian with the latter, it is not unreasonable

[73] The wider context concerns the antidote to πλεονεξία—what one can properly take for oneself. The reference to τὰ ἀφροδίσια parallels the immediately preceding comment on moderate participation in food and drink, with κοινωνεῖν meaning 'take a share of' (LSJ), rather than 'give a share of' (as Marchant and Tredennick/Waterfield). The latter, as part of a more general mutual assistance (ἐπαρκεῖν ἀλλήλοις) only arises in §23, while §22 concerns the familiar theme of moderation in food and drink, and self-control in matters of sex. Cf. *Mem.* 1.3.14.

[74] καρτερεῖν flows from ἐγκράτεια, but does not require the renunciation of pleasure. Cf. the collocation of ἐγκράτεια–καρτερεῖν–ἥδεσθαι at *Mem.* 4.5.9.

[75] The theme of self-discipline over bodily appetites is set at the head of the whole chapter (*Mem.* 2.6.1). Gigon finds it alien to the subject of contention between good men (O. Gigon, *Kommentar zum zweiten Buch von Xenophons Memorabilien, Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, Heft 7 [Basel, 1956], pp. 146f.). But current views on the risk of pederasty infringing citizen status throw new light on this contention. In regard to pederasty, at least, the moderation advocated in this text may have an important bearing on the mutual adjustments between good men in society.

to assume that on questions of pederasty, Xenophon is closer to Kritoboulos than to Sokrates. It would follow that in seeking Xenophon's views we should give more attention than has been customary to Kritoboulos' speech in the *Symposium*, a speech which occupies a position in Xenophon's dialogue somewhat similar to that of Pausanias in the *Symposium* of Plato.[76]

It will be recalled that the topic for discussion, introduced by Kallias, is the quality upon which each speaker particularly prides himself. For Kritoboulos, this is his beauty. With a bantering irony to match that of the other speakers, he claims that it is through this quality that he can get what he requires from others without lifting a finger. Kritoboulos infers this conclusion from the assumption that other people's attitudes to him, as a handsome man (and putative ἐρώμενος) will mirror his own reaction to the beauty of his παιδικά, Kleinias. Following a passionate opening declaration of his love for Kleinias, the central portion of Kritoboulos' speech consists of a sequence of three-pointed sections on the blessings which accrue from beauty:

1. For the παιδικά it gives more reason for boasting than strength/bravery/wisdom.
2. It provides him with money/personal (even menial and laborious) service/protection from danger.
3. The ἐραστής is 'inspired' with corresponding virtues: to be liberal with money/to endure toil/to court glory through danger.

Thus far section 3 balances section 2, the virtues inspired in the ἐραστής corresponding to the services he performs for the ἐρώμενος. Moreover, the thought so far can be illustrated from elsewhere: lavish expenditure on the παιδικά is reported in other authors;[77] the lover's 'enslavement' to the beloved and love's power to inspire the lover to heroism on the battlefield are found in Plato's *Symposium*, in the speeches of Pausanias[78] and Phaidros[79] respectively. We need not decide whether here (and in *Symposium* 8.32) Xenophon was echoing or misquoting Plato, or whether, possibly, both were drawing on a more widely current discourse of love.[80] But for an analysis of Xenophon's own views, it is significant that the list of qualities in section 3 is extended (καὶ μήν[81]) to less commonplace ideas. Ἐρώμενοι, says Kritoboulos, also inspire their ἐρασταί (to be:

> αἰδημονέστεροι,
> ἐγκρατέστεροι,
> οἵ γε καὶ ὧν δέονται μάλιστα ταῦτ' αἰσχύνονται.

[76] Xenophon, *Sympos.* 4.10–18. Cf. Plato, *Sympos.* 180c ff. One cannot go quite so far as to say that Kritoboulos is simply Xenophon's mouthpiece, if only because the former's pleasure in spending money on his παιδικά would clearly attract Xenophon's censure (*Mem.* 1.2.22).

[77] Cf. Plato, *Symposium* 184a, 185a; Aristophanes, *Wealth* 153–9; Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.2.22; *Anab.* 2.6.6. Cf. Dover (n. 2), pp. 92f., 107. Such expenditure is criticized by Xenophon, but for Aristotle a proper degree of liberality with money is a virtue (*Nic. Eth.* 4.1, 1119b24ff.).

[78] Plato, *Symposium* 183a, 184b. φιλοπονώτερος corresponds to the more explicit 'serving as Kleinias' slave' in §14. Enslavement to the παιδικά is condemned by Sokrates while it is condoned, if not praised, by Plato's Pausanias.

[79] Plato, *Symposium* 178d–179b. The principle that the lover may be inspired to valour by the presence of his beloved is accepted by Xenophon at *Cynegeticus* 12.20, though rejected by Sokrates at *Sympos.* 8.32ff.

[80] On the complex problems surrounding the relationship between the two dialogues on this subject, see K. J. Dover, 'The date of Plato's *Symposium*', *Phronesis* 10 (1965), reprinted in K. J. Dover, *The Greeks and their Legacy* (Oxford, 1988).

With this conclusion, the somewhat light-hearted tone of the first part of Kritoboulos' contribution has been dispelled, the point of transition being marked by Kritoboulos' claim that he is better able than Kritias to inspire every kind of virtue. In particular, the introduction of quite new elements, including a reference to the important virtue of ἐγκράτεια, requires to be taken seriously.

αἰδήμων, the word used of disciplined Spartan boys at *Lac.Pol.* 2.10 and of the young Kuros in his respect for the elders (*Anab.* 1.9.5), seems at odds with Kritoboulos' flamboyant spending as criticized by Sokrates in *Oec.* 2.5–7. ἐγκρατής, referring to the virtue which Xenophon seems sometimes to set above all others, is only doubtfully to be applied to the Kritoboulos of the dialogues. But of course the question at issue is not the nature of an historical character, but the ethical conclusion that Xenophon wishes to reach. It is embodied above all in the last three virtues, and, in particular, in the concluding statement on αἰσχύνη. The beauty of the ἐρώμενος will make the ἐραστής modest and self-controlled and the latter will show αἰσχύνη towards those things he most needs. The circumlocution shows a characteristic reticence in mentioning sex when it is the subject of approval rather than condemnation.[82] But in the context of a discourse on love, the concept of 'need' is surely to be aligned with *Hiero* 1.33, *Mem.* 1.3.14, and similar passages—the body's need for sex.

But does the ἐραστής show 'shame'—and so not seek bodily consummation of his love, or 'reverence'—approaching τὰ ἀφροδίσια with the respect accorded to one he loves? Von Erffa has shown how in the course of development from Homer onwards, αἰσχύνομαι came, in some instances, to shed its association with shame, and how (particularly in Thoukudides) it may mean to 'show honour or respect'.[83] In Xenophon, αἰσχύνομαι generally refers to shame. In some instances it is ambiguous. But there are clear instances where it means 'show respect for' or 'diffidence towards'. Closest to the context of Kritoboulos' speech is the Median gentleman, who hesitates to approach Kuros for a kiss out of respect for the young prince. There is the general, Proxenos, who shows more deference to his troops than they do to him, and the Thracian, Medosades, who shows no proper respect to the gods or to his ally. Kuros' arrangements for quartering his troops were designed to develop mutual respect among them, and later in the *Cyropaedia* ἐκείνους αἰσχυντέον refers to troops who have borne the heat of battle.[84] These instances lend substantial support to the Tredennick/Waterfield translation of *Symposium* 4.15: 'because they (the lovers) feel reverence for what they most desire'.

The decisive point is the structure of the argument: it is difficult to believe, in the light not only of this speech but of the pervasive divergence between Kritoboulos and Sokrates over sexual *mores*, that the younger man's eulogy of ἔρως should reach its climax in a recommendation of abstinence. But it would be natural for Xenophon, in constructing Kritoboulos' speech, to move from what the scanty evidence suggests may have been a recognized discourse of love to thoughts more distinctively his own about self-control and respect. And it is consonant with all we have so far gleaned

[81] καὶ μήν as 'progressive', introducing a new point: see Denniston (n. 60), pp. 351f.

[82] Cf. the avoidance of the term τὰ αἰδοῖα at *Hiero* 1.4–5, and, for general usage, Dover (n. 2), pp. 53f. Also, on this passage, see Foucault (n. 2), p. 223: 'the "thing" is designated by the very impossibility of naming it'.

[83] C. E. von Erffa, '*AIΔΩΣ* und verwandte Begriffe in ihrer Entwicklung von Homer bis Demokrit', *Philologus* Supplementband 30, Heft 2 (1937).

[84] *Cyrop.* 1.4.27; *Anab.* 2.6.19 (cf. Kharmides' diffidence before the 'lower orders' of the *ekklesia*—*Mem.* 3.7.6); *Anab.* 7.7.9 (cf. *Anab.* 2.5.39); *Cyrop.* 2.1.25, 4.2.40. Cf. also Aiskhines 1.180.

about Xenophon' s attitudes (and his self-acknowledged sympathy for Kritoboulos) that he might use the speech to express a view midway between Sokrates' advocacy of celibacy (so far as boys are concerned) and the profligacy of those who (like Kritias) are devoted to nothing but their own physical pleasure. For Xenophon, with his emphasis on ἐγκράτεια, would condemn the latter as much as would Sokrates. Instead, he advocates a temperate course, in which the self-disciplined man can nonetheless enjoy a positive ἔρως, and in which physical consummation is tempered with respect for the beloved, soul and body.[85]

This blend of the physical and the ethical may also provide an underlying logic for the transition to the conclusion of the speech proper: it justifies the well-known principle that the presence of a lover can inspire men to deeds of honour (and so it is foolish, says Kritoboulos, to ignore this factor in appointing generals). A similar conjunction of the dimensions of physical and personal relationships allows society to recognize different forms of 'beauty' as a man grows from childhood to old age.[86]

Reticence over these matters, as Dover has emphasized, inhibits explicit statements of what such physical relationships involve, though Aiskhulos comes close to it when he makes Akhilles speak of his reverence for the thighs of Patroklos.[87] But the concept of honourable love which includes the physical and to which the climax of Kritoboulos' speech points, finds support in the phraseology used by other writers: the δίκαιος ἔρως or τὸ ἀδιαφθόρως ἐρᾶσθαι of Aiskhines; the love of Ouranian Aphrodite advocated by Plato's Pausanias, which is ὕβρεως ἀμοίρος and which is to be practised κοσμίως γε καὶ νομίμως; the decency with which the speaker in Lusias 3 claims to have treated the youth Theodotos. From Xenophon himself we may recall the description of Kallias' love for Autolukos as σώφρων ἔρως, or Pleisthenes' treatment of his Armenian παιδικά. In dealing with a culture so different from our own it is difficult to be confident about how far allowance must be made for things obscure to us which the Greeks would have taken for granted. But closer analysis supports the view that a physical relationship is implicit in all these examples.[88]

The fullest exposition of the combination of respect for the beloved with physical love-making is that attributed by Xenophon to Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse. I have already suggested that Kritoboulos may to some extent be regarded as reflecting Xenophon's views. With even more confidence can this be said of Hieron, who was tyrant of Syracuse before Xenophon was born. What Xenophon gives us is an imaginary dialogue, and it is likely that one reason, at least, for the choice of Hieron and Simonides (rather than Sokrates) as protagonists is the fact that the views expressed were not those of the philosopher. That is particularly true in relation to the subject of this article. Moreover, while (as Professor Gray has argued) Simonides is

[85] It may well be that adherence to such a view (and the observations that led him to it) underlie Xenophon's sympathy with reported scepticism about the Spartans' observance of the νόμος of Lukourgos which enjoined celibacy in regard to boys—*Lac. Pol.* 2.14.

[86] Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.5.11 (1361b), and the same author's recognition of the transition, which may (though not invariably) occur with the passing of time, from ἔρως to φιλία in a relationship, *Nic. Eth.* 8.4.1–2 (1157a).

[87] Aiskhulos, frr. 135, 136 (*TrGF*). Cf. Dover (n. 2), pp. 197f.

[88] Aiskhines 1.136–7; Plato, *Symposium* 181c, 182a5 (cf. 184d4); Lusias 3.5; Xenophon, *Sympos.* 1.10, *Anab.* 4.6.1–3. Dover (n. 2, pp. 42ff.) takes Aiskhines' δίκαιος ἔρως as the text for his analysis of the degree of physical intimacy permitted. See also K. J. Dover, *Plato: Symposium* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 95f. (Pausani → C. Hindley, 'Law, society and homosexuality in Classical Athens (Comment)', *Past & Present* 133 (1991), p. 172 (Pausanias and Lusias 3); above, pp. 76f. (Autolukos). Also cf. Winkler's discussion of the distinction between approved pederasty and the life of the κίναιδος (n. 23, pp. 53f).

cast in the role of 'Wise Man', in the first part of the dialogue, the author's sympathies are clearly with Hieron, who wins the first exchanges.[89]

One could wish that the relative dating of Xenophon's works was more firmly established, but it is widely thought that the *Hiero* is a comparatively late work, and the probability is that it was written after the *Symposium*.[90] If so, one could well argue that its brief discussion of pederasty represents a development of aspects of the Xenophontic thought earlier expressed in the Kritoboulos speech. This relative dating also seems (as I argue below) to provide a plausible explanation for the relationship between the theories of ἔρως attributed respectively to Sokrates and to Hieron.

The brief discussion in the *Hiero* begins by placing sex alongside the other bodily appetites, and Simonides asserts that the prospect of enjoying τὰ ἀφροδίσια may well be what motivates a man to seek absolute power. After an analysis of this thought in respect of marriage, the discussion moves to sex with boys. But Hieron makes it immediately clear that he is not interested in 'mere' sex, which is no more than the satisfaction of physical appetite. He wants τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια, which (as 'everyone knows') yields immeasurably greater pleasure. The need for ἔρως (in the sense of passionate desire for another) is a variant of the general argument that sensual pleasure is keenest where it is stimulated by desire (such as hunger or thirst) for something not immediately available. This psychological perception creates special difficulty for the tyrant, who need never be in want. He has the power to force his will upon an unwilling boy, but in so doing he will inhibit the pleasure he most desires. For while his body 'needs' what Daïlochos can give him, he also wants it to be freely given—μετὰ φιλίας καὶ παρὰ βουλομένου. The reference to 'need' links this passage with the Kritoboulos speech (ὧν δέονται),[91] as does the attitude which Hieron recognizes he must adopt. He will not seek pleasure by force (a kind of robbery), but will seek only such favours as the παιδικά freely wills to give. This is to exercise that respect for his lover which Kritoboulos commends. It manifests the attitude previously noted in the *Memorabilia*, where the self-controlled lover will avoid hurting (or grieving) the beloved.[92] More generally, as Sokrates elsewhere argues in regard to the senses, ἐγκράτεια not ἀκρασία actually brings the greater pleasure.[93]

It is along these lines that Xenophon reconciles the need for self-control and the desire for sexual gratification. And the pleasure associated with the latter is suggested by the words ἡδύς, ἥδομαι. Of course these words are used very widely, often in a quite weak sense, 'pleasant'. But in some instances the context clearly requires at least an

[89] → V. J. Gray, 'Xenophon's *Hiero* and the meeting of the Wise Man and Tyrant in Greek literature', *CQ* 36 (1986), 115–123 at 117. G. J. D. Aalders, 'Date and intention of Xenophon's *Hiero*', *Mnemosyne,* 4th ser. 6 (1953), 213f.

Pederasty is the subject of *Hiero* 1.29–38.

[90] According to Dover (n. 80), Xenophon's *Symposium* was written after the formation of the Sacred Band at Thebes in 378, and Plato's work of the same title, before that date. There also seems some force in the argument that the reference to Spartan leadership (Xenophon, *Sympos.* 8.39) implies a date before Leuktra (371): see reference to F. Dornseiff at Dover (n. 80), p. 97, n. 41. The arguments linking *Hiero* with political developments in Syracuse and political assassinations in the ruling house at Pherae seem persuasive, yielding, according to Hatzfeld, a date of 360–355. See Jean Hatzfeld, 'Note sur la date et l'objet du *Hiéron* de Xénophon', *REG* 59 (1946), 54–70; also Delebecque (n. 47), who dates *Hiero* to 358–357.

[91] *Sympos.* 4.15.

[92] *Mem.* 2.6.22. This is important evidence for the Greek recognition of a distinction between hubristic and hubris-free sexual relations (though the word ὕβρις is not used). On ὕβρις in the sphere of sexual activity generally, see N. R. E. Fisher, *Hybris* (Warminster, 1992).

[93] *Mem.* 4.5.9.

awareness that the gratification has a sexual basis.[94] So here, when Hieron speaks of ἔρως being required for τὰ ἥδιστα ἀφροδίσια, the repeated use of ἥδιστος subsequently to describe the παιδικά's response by word and gesture[95] indicates the erotic content of such flirtatious behaviour.

But if my interpretations of the *Hiero* and the Kritoboulos passages are correct, it becomes clear that broadly three approaches to the love of boys appear in Xenophon's writings. First is the more or less amoral concentration on physical gratification—whether enthusiastically pursued (as in the case of Kritias) or regarded as an irritant to be relieved as expeditiously as possible (as with Antisthenes or the concessionary indulgence recognized at *Memorabilia* 1.3.14). This is the sphere of τὰ ἀφροδίσια pure and simple. Then there is the 'way of moderation' (implicit in the attitudes of Kritoboulos and Hieron) which combines the love of body with affection and respect for the mind or personality (ψυχή). Finally, there is the 'Sokratic' view, the 'way of celibacy', which concentrates on the love of the mind/personality and its development to the exclusion of genital activity, and which reaches its fullest expression (in Xenophon's writings) in chapter 8 of the *Symposium*. In the closing part of this paper I propose to explore the complex web of linguistic cross-references between crucial sections in the *Symposium* and the *Hiero* which suggests that Xenophon is aware of arguing (perhaps with himself as well as with his readers) the comparative merits of the latter two lifestyles. The passages concerned are *Symposium* 8.12–18 and *Hiero* 1.29–38.

In the *Symposium* Sokrates, while alluding to the Ouranian and Pandemian Aphrodite expounded by Plato's Pausanias,[96] sets up a far sharper distinction between love of body and love of mind/soul than is to be found in the latter. Basing himself on this distinction, Xenophon's Sokrates devotes paragraphs 12–18 to a eulogy of the love of mind, which expresses itself in φιλία. He has no time for the physical expression of same-sex love, which for him (§§19–22) is an ἀναιδὴς ὁμιλία, leading to πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόσια πεπραγμένα. The distinction and relative merits of the two loves are further expounded in what follows, but paragraphs 12–18 are sufficiently self-contained to provide a basis for comparison with Hieron's philosophy on the question whether or not to admit a physical relationship.

It is true that Xenophon's Sokrates, briefly and in passing, recognizes the possibility of combining love for mind with love for body,[97] but he immediately dismisses it in order to concentrate on the love which excludes the physical. The result is a gap in Sokrates' exposition where one might expect to find something like 'love' in our modern sense—a relationship which combines physical and ethical elements. We shall not, on the other hand, be surprised to find Hieron implicitly challenging the dichotomy propounded by Sokrates, following the declaration that in matters of good and evil, we sometimes experience pleasure and pain through the mind alone, and

[94] Cf. *Mem.* 2.6.22. One also recalls the Theban polemarchs entrapped by Phillidas with the expectation of a night with the most beautiful courtesans—μάλα ἡδέως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύ[illegible] (*Hell.* 5.4.5); or the comment in *Oecon.* 10.7 that the gods have ordained sexual attraction between members of the same species—καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπου σῶμα καθαρὸν οἴονται ἥδιστον εἶναι. Cf. also Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1069, with J. Henderson's comments, *The Maculate Muse* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 158–9. ἡδύς appears as the description of lovers in erotic inscriptions of the fourth century on Thasos (LSJ, Revised Supplement, Oxford, 1996).

[95] *Hiero* 1.30 and 34–5. Cf. Kritoboulos' repeated use of ἥδιον to show how he places devotion to Kleinias above everything else (*Sympos.* 4.14–15).

[96] Plato, *Symposium* 180–1. On the chronological precedence of Plato's work, see above, n. 90.

[97] *Sympos.* 8.14: ἂν δὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα στέρξωσι . . .

sometimes jointly through mind and body.[98] Following this clue, one might well argue that the allusions to pederasty at various points in the *Hiero* seem precisely to fill the void apparent in the Sokratic treatment. For where 'Sokrates' argues for an exclusive attention to mind, Hieron presupposes a combination of mind and body.

Both discussions announce that they are concerned to promote enjoyment (εὐφραίνειν, εὐφραίνεσθαι) whether through ethical relationships (ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔρως) or through τὰ ἀφροδίσια.[99] For Sokrates, love of mind leads to φιλία, without which there can be no relationship worthy of the name. For Hieron it is sex based on desire (ἔρως) which brings enjoyment:

ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἄνευ φιλίας συνουσία οὐδεμία ἀξιόλογος πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα (*Sympos.* 8.13)[100]

ὅτι <μὲν> γὰρ τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια πολὺ διαφερόντως εὐφραίνει πάντες δήπου ἐπιστάμεθα (*Hiero* 1.29)

To take these two sentences in isolation, however (despite the significant degree of symmetry between them), would be to oversimplify the situation. Sokrates argues exclusively for φιλία. While it is true that for him φιλία stems from a form of ἔρως ('love of mind', §12), he seems uncomfortable with the latter term, which at §15 he replaces with ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλία. Hieron, on the other hand, having begun by contrasting τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια with sexual gratification without love, goes on to posit a relationship of φιλία with the object of his desire. Indeed, his major aim in chapter 1 is to repudiate the idea that simple appeasement of the 'need' for sex is sufficient. He is inclusive (sex–desire–friendship) where Sokrates is exclusive (friendship only).

Both types of relationship are a form of compulsion (ἀνάγκη). For Sokrates, where love (φιλεῖν) is inspired by the beloved's character, it is an ἀνάγκη ἡδεῖα καὶ ἐθελουσία. For Hieron it is seemingly a compulsion of nature. For Sokrates this latter is to be resisted and replaced by the compulsion of φιλία. By contrast, Hieron's ideal is to combine an acceptance of the compulsion of sexual desire (and its attendant pleasures) with the values of friendship. These two foci of love are elegantly combined in Hieron's description of his relationship with Daïlochos.[101]

Both forms of relationship express φιλία and look for affection in return (ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι) and both are celebrated in the exchange of glances and conversation.[102]

On the well-worn theme of appetite and satiety, Sokrates naturally argues that dependence on physical beauty (like the desire for food) is soon glutted and loses its appeal, whereas the love of the mind is ἀκορεστοτέρα (§§14, 15). But he neither admits that ἔρως (as desire for the unpossessed) may intensify pleasure, nor does he (in Xenophon's text) recognize the metaphysical dimension to this emotion which provides the starting point for Plato's philosophy of beauty. Hieron, on the other hand, accepting the comparison with the appetite for food and drink, finds an analogue in sexual matters in awaiting the free response of his παιδικά, which even a

[98] *Hiero* 1.5 (following Marchant's text of 1925 [Loeb]). The point is made by Simonides, but immediately accepted by Hieron.

[99] *Sympos.* 8.12, *Hiero* 1.29. On hedonism, see n. 29.

[100] συνουσία can mean sexual congress, but hardly in this context!

[101] *Sympos.* 8.13. *Hiero* 1.33: ἐγὼ γὰρ δὴ ἐρῶ μὲν Δαϊλόχου ὥνπερ ἴσως ἀναγκάζει ἡ φύσις ἀνθρώπου δεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν καλῶν, τούτων δὲ ὧν ἐρῶ τυχεῖν, μετὰ μὲν φιλίας καὶ παρὰ βουλομένου πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμῶ τυγχάνειν. Cf. p. 76 and n. 6 above.

[102] *Sympos.* 8.18, *Hiero* 1.35.

tyrant cannot command, but which is essential for his fulfilment—*παρὰ δὲ παιδικῶν βουλομένων ἥδισται οἶμαι αἱ χάριτές εἰσιν.*

The key word *καλός* is also brought into the discussion. Sokrates uses it in its moral sense to describe the *ἐρώμενος* as *καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθός*, and for him, the aim of the *ἐραστής* is not so much to enjoy the boy's beauty but to seek his well-being (*τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς καλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡδέα σπουδάζοντα*, *Sympos.* 8.17). In the *Hiero*, however, the conventional use of *καλός* in erotic contexts is observed: Daïlochos is *κάλλιστος* as the object of *ἐρᾶν*, and Hieron seeks what is needed *παρὰ τῶν καλῶν* (*Hiero* 1.31, 33).

If one takes in the Kritoboulos speech as part of the 'Xenophontic' view of *ἔρως*, two further linguistic parallels are notable. At *Symposium* 8.14, Sokrates refers to the common theme of the withering of youth's bloom. Rather surprisingly (and surely polemically) he draws the conclusion that it entails the withering, not merely of *ἔρως* but of *φιλία*, and the choice of the word *φιλία* here suggests that nothing of permanent value can come out of bodily love.[103] Kritoboulos, as spokesman for 'the way of moderation', has already anticipated this objection with his recognition that each stage of life has its own beauty (*Sympos.* 4.17). Kritoboulos also anticipates Sokrates by claiming the description *αἰδημονέστερος* for his type of lover (*Sympos.* 4.15, cf. 8.16).

Throughout these discussions Xenophon shows an awareness that the key words in a discourse of love can point in different directions, towards or away from an acceptance of the physical. But perhaps the most interesting link between the discussions in *Symposium* 8 and *Hiero* 1 is the word *ἐπαφρόδιτος*. At the simplest level, this provides just another verbal link between the two passages. But the meaning of the word presents a teasing problem. If it had originally had any connection with the sexual side of Aphrodite's domain, it had lost it by the time of the Byzantine lexicographers: the Suda gives 'charming' (*ἐπίχαρις*, *ἡδύς*). Photius applies it to the grace of literary style or as a translation of Sulla's agnomen, 'Felix'. A search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* reveals (if we include one instance of the negative, *ἀνεπαφρόδιτος*) only nine occurrences in the fifth and fourth centuries, of which four are found in the Xenophon passages we are considering. Of the rest, Isokrates uses it to characterise the charm of Homer's style; Aiskhines recalls that Ktesiphon employed it in a fawning description of Philip; and the New Comedy poet, Philemon, incorporated it in a eulogy on the blessings of peace.[104] In all these cases something like 'charming' would seem an appropriate translation. There remain Herodotos, who twice uses the word in his story of the high-class courtesan, Rhodopis, and the four Xenophon instances.[105] In none of these latter passages would the translation 'charming' be impossible—but is it wholly satisfactory? When the adjective occurs in a sexual context, can we exclude

[103] A more balanced view is found in Aristotle, *Nic.Eth.* 1157a6–12. But see also the recognition in *Sympos.* 8.27 that the *ἐραστής* may convert his *παιδικά* into a good friend (*τῷ ὀρεγομένῳ ἐκ παιδικῶν φίλον ἀγαθὸν ποιήσασθαι*: the infinitive is seemingly a metaphorical use of *ποιοῦμαι* = 'beget').

[104] Isokrates, *Helen* 65.6; Aiskhines, *Fals.Leg.* 42.6 (also 52, where the description is glossed as *ὄψιν λαμπρός*); Philemon, *Frag.* 71. One should perhaps add a possible tenth instance which may be from the fourth century—the apparently undatable Lunkeus as cited in Athenaios, 6.242c, where the noun *ἐπαφροδίσια* refers to literary elegance. I am most grateful to Mrs Sue Willetts of the Library of the Institute of Classical Studies (London University) for technical guidance with *TLG*.

[105] Herodotos 2.135.2 and 135.5. Xenophon, *Sympos.* 8.15 (bis), 18; *Hiero* 1.35.

the influence of the cognates τὰ ἀφροδίσια and ἀφροδισιάζειν, or the substantial tradition of the appellative use of the name Aphrodite to mean sexual love?[106]

Herodotos describes how Rhodopis, who had lived as a slave in the same household on Samos as Aisopos, was brought to Egypt 'in the course of her trade' by one of her wealthy admirers, where she prospered greatly. According to Herodotos, κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα. She clearly amassed her fortune by providing sexual services, and (as Sokrates' dialogue with Theodote shows[107]) a Greek would have had no embarrassment in recognizing this. Even if the word ἐπαφρόδιτος is (like the English plural 'charms') something of a euphemism, it surely refers here to Rhodopis' sexual attractiveness. And no doubt it is with the same meaning that, in the following section, the courtesans (ἑταῖραι) of Naukratis are described as ἐπαφρόδιτοι.

On the strength of the Herodotos passages one may explore the possibility that in Xenophon's discussions of male love likewise, ἐπαφρόδιτος means 'sexually attractive'. At the outset, it is relevant to note that it is Xenophon who provides us with two of the clearest examples of the appellative use of the goddess's name to refer to sexual desire or sexual intercourse.[108] In turning to the occurrences of ἐπαφρόδιτος, I take the clearer context first. In *Hiero* 1.29–38 the overall subject matter is sexual pleasure with boys, which in Hieron's view is most (possibly only) worth pursuing when accompanied by a loving response. The responses mentioned in §35 illustrate the theme, and the argument is cumulative—from glances to questions and answers and, best of all, 'struggles and quarrelling's' (μάχαι τε καὶ ἔριδες). All these exchanges are 'sweet' (ἡδεῖαι, a word which, as I have argued, takes on sexual overtones from its context). But the concluding items are characterized yet more strongly as ἥδισται δὲ καὶ ἐπαφροδιτόταται. For the rhetoric to work, the concluding superlative must go beyond ἥδισται, and the obvious direction is towards a more emphatic reference to sexual pleasure—the 'struggles and quarrellings' are 'most sexually stimulating'. I presume this is the intention of E. C. Marchant's translation, 'very ravishing'. Waterfield translates the word as 'erotic'.[109]

I would suggest that we need a play on the same meaning to make sense of *Symposium* 8.15:

ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλία διὰ τὸ ἁγνὴ εἶναι καὶ ἀκορεστοτέρα ἐστίν, οὐ μέντοι, ὥς γ' ἄν τις οἰηθείη, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνεπαφροδιτοτέρα, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς καὶ ἀποτελεῖται ἡ εὐχὴ ἐν ᾗ αἰτούμεθα τὴν θεὸν ἐπαφρόδιτα καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα διδόναι.

The anonymous τις presumably supposes that a 'holy' love would be ἀνεπαφρόδιτος in the sense of lacking sexual pleasure. He frames the response of the ordinary man to Sokrates' advocacy of abstinence. In reply, Sokrates resorts to an argument of the kind he has already deployed around the word καλός in his conversation with Kritoboulos in chapter 5: 'I am καλός, but not in the sense you mean.' So the φιλία analysed in chapter 8 will, according to Sokrates, be no less erotic, no less replete with the charms of Aphrodite (ἐπαφρόδιτος) than its physically sexual counterpart: but the true meaning of the adjective (according to him) is that found in the prayer commonly addressed to Aphrodite—a petition for words and deeds of grace and charm. Thus love of the mind/personality is 'erotic', but only in the sense that

[106] From Homer, *Od.* 22.444, onwards.
[107] Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.11.
[108] *Sympos.* 3.1, 8.21.
[109] *Xenophon: Hiero the Tyrant and Other Treatises*, trans. R. Waterfield with introductions and notes by P. Cartledge (Harmondsworth, 1997), p. 12.

Sokrates claims that he himself has always been in love. The same logical ploy underlies Sokrates' summary at *Symposium* 8.18, where the question is both a challenge and an equivocation: *οὐ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπαφρόδιτα;*[110]

Admittedly, an interpretation based on a handful of instances of *ἐπαφρόδιτος* can hardly be conclusive when compared with the multitudinous occurrences of *καλός*. But the logic is the same as that in other Sokratic arguments, and the interpretation gives point to the importation of a distinctly rare word. This analysis of 'the charms of Aphrodite', I would suggest, confirms the argument that in *Symposium* 8 and *Hiero* 1 Xenophon was deliberately setting alongside one another two types of love: the Sokratic doctrine of celibate friendship as the true fulfilment of *ἔρως*, and the view found in discourses associated with Kritoboulos and Hieron and elsewhere in Xenophon's writings that an honourable *ἔρως* may include physical satisfaction within the broader pattern of *φιλία*, provided it is subject to *ἐγκρατεία*.

One may nevertheless feel a certain lack in Hieron's discourse of that concern for the beloved 'in sickness and in health' which pervades Sokrates' view in *Symposium* 8.18. In reply, it may be said that the short discourse in *Hiero* 1 is concerned with the narrow point: whether, given the nature of tyranny, a tyrant can experience the reward of true *ἔρως* for something he does not possess and cannot command. But, more importantly, the chapter describes the relationship between the lovers as embracing both *φιλία* and *ἔρως*. One may, therefore, expand the analysis with reference to the positive discussion of *φιλία* in *Hiero* 3. While this chapter makes no explicit mention of pederasty (unless such a relationship is implicit in the '*ἑταίροις πρὸς ἑταίρους*' of §7), it speaks of the mutual caring of friends in language distinctly reminiscent of *Symposium* 8. It may thus be called upon to supplement the description of flirtatious love-making in the first chapter.

Nevertheless, the passages in *Hiero* 1 and 3 so far discussed share a fundamental weakness. They speak of ideal relationships which are unattainable by one who occupies the position of tyrant as Hieron understands it. Thus at the outset Hieron declares that in respect of boy-love even more than in heterosexual relationships, *μειονεκτεῖ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν ὁ τύραννος* (1.29). He wants to attain his goal with the beloved, in a friendship freely given: but (as he thinks) force is inescapably in the background for all a tyrant's activities. He can therefore never be sure that the love seemingly offered to him is genuine and not hypocritical, arising from fear or self-interest.

This problem besets the tyrant in every department of life. The answer, which Simonides reveals, is that a tyrant's rule need not be oppressive. He can devote himself to the service of his people and so achieve Xenophon's ideal of 'tyranny over willing and loving subjects, which is a heaven'.[111] The ideal ruler here does everything required to ensure the love of his subjects (*τό φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων*, 11.8). He will, in consequence, be surrounded by admirers and well-wishers, and be the object not only of *φιλία* but of *ἔρως*. In Waterfield's translation:

> What people will feel for you, then, is passionate love rather than mere liking. You won't have to make advances to good-looking men, but to bear with their advances.[112]

[110] A similar oscillation has already been noted in the two speeches (of Hieron and Sokrates) over the word *καλός* (above, p. 93). A further example of the same logical ploy is found around the word *ᾥδεσθαι* at *Mem.* 1.3.15.

[111] Gray (n. 89), p. 117.

[112] *Hiero* 11.11: *ὥστε οὐ μόνον φιλοῖο ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρῷο ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς οὐ πειρᾶν, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι ἄν σε δέοι.*

The immediate context recalls the opening of the dialogue. which surveys the organs of sensual pleasure, beginning with the eyes (gratified by great tourist spectacles) and ending with the genitalia. Hieron claims that his status as tyrant prevents him gratifying any of these desires. In the recapitulation at 11.11 the discussion is compressed to the first and last points: the reformed Hieron can now follow his tourist instincts wherever he wishes, without risk; as for sex, he will be surrounded with would-be lovers. But the change that makes this possible is not in his eudaimonistic goals, but in his mode of government. As Gray summarizes the main thrust of the dialogue, 'Simonides eventually shows him how he can turn his tyranny into the sort of rule that will attract love, and then he will be able to enjoy those pleasures if he wants (8–11).'[113] The 'reformed ' tyrant will act in a beneficent manner *vis-à-vis* his subjects, and the pleasures will then accrue to him unimpeded by his status.[114]

But if the possibility of enjoying true love is included in the tyrant's reformation, why is the accessibility of lovers described as something to be borne or endured (*πειρώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι ἄν σε δέοι*)? The answer must, I think, lie in Xenophon's fondness for ironic witticism, an example of which can in fact be found earlier in this dialogue, where Xenophon refers to the wild delight of the citizenry following a military victory in which they claim to have killed a greater number of the enemy than actually fell on the battlefield![115] The light touch at 11.11 may indicate a certain delicacy and reticence in dealing with sexual matters, but it is essentially jocular, suggesting that so far from being unable to attain a sexual liaison of the kind he wants, Hiero will have to put up with plenty of unsolicited offers. This hints at opportunities for discriminating choice, rather than promiscuity, but does not imply abstention from sex altogether.[116] Indeed, the possibility of more than one lover is probably implied in the reference to *παῖδας* in 11.14 (see below).

The tyrant's services so far mentioned in chapter 11 are in the public domain, but a more personal concern for friends and lovers is urged at the ensuing §14, which enjoins him to treat his '*παῖδας*' as his own life. Once again, we encounter ambiguity in the word *παῖς*. There is certainly rhetorical force in adding 'sons' to 'friends', but one may wonder why an exhortation to care for sons is needed when the father–son relationship has just been held up as exemplary.[117] A paragraph or two earlier the promise of male lovers has been held out to the good tyrant. As we have seen, Xenophon uses *παῖς* equivalent to *παιδικά* more commonly than has been generally recognized, and this seems certainly a possible, and on balance the more likely, meaning here. When, at the close of the dialogue, Xenophon comes to depict the character of the good tyrant, his male lovers are included within the scope of his beneficence.

Taken as a whole, the various references in the *Hiero* present what may be regarded

[113] Gray (n. 89), p. 116. [114] *Hiero* 8.1, cf. 3.5.

[115] *Hiero* 2.16. For Xenophon's humour, cf. n. 51. Also (for the ironic twist), cf. Hindley (n. 1), pp. 355f. and nn. 38, 39. An element of humour also creeps into the Alkibiades seduction narrative, when Alkibiades complains that Sokrates's rejection had 'insulted' him (*ὕβρισεν*—usually a strong and serious term): Plato, *Symposium* 219c.

[116] An alternative view is hinted at in the note to Waterfield's translation (n. 3, p. 189), which suggests a possible parallel with Alkibiades' attempt to seduce Sokrates. Sokrates puts up with this, but clearly does not welcome it, and eschews any physical response. A similar attitude, it might be argued, is implicit in the moral connotation of *ἀνέχεσθαι* ('bear with') in the present passage. But to follow this route for the interpretation of *Hiero* 11.11 is to entertain a dismissive attitude to sexual pleasure which does not appear elsewhere in the dialogue and is at variance with Xenophon's view of moderate physicality (as argued for in the present article).

[117] This argument also rules out the possibility that the words might be a warning against family murders of the kind mentioned in *Hiero* 3.8.

as an idealized view of homosexual love. They depict a way of moderation and regard for the beloved, a combination of the physical and the ethical, which we have now seen to run through Xenophon's writings, and which, it may be claimed, was Xenophon's own view of the matter. It may be unattainable by the unreconstructed tyrant, but remains as an ideal for the ruler (and, presumably for any of his subjects) who is willing to show concern for his fellow men.

The purpose of this paper has been to explore so far as possible Xenophon's own understanding of male love. It is no accident that I have largely avoided the longest single treatment of the subject in Xenophon's writings—Sokrates' speech in *Symposium* 8. This speech has provided a foil for the way of moderation expounded by Hieron. But neither in the passage I have selected for detailed study (*Symposium* 8.12–18) nor elsewhere in the speech is there any overt endorsement by Xenophon himself of the views attributed to Sokrates.[118] Not only so, but (as we have seen) the evidence elsewhere suggests that Xenophon, in accepting the way of moderation, disagreed with the philosopher over the degree to which physical relationships between ἐραστής and ἐρώμενος might be acceptable. Moreover, other discrepancies are apparent between *Symposium* 8 and Xenophon's treatment of pederasty elsewhere. The swift move to concentrate on prostitution in the discussion of bodily love (*Sympos.* 8.21–22) disregards the examples of honourable love we have noted elsewhere. The discussion in *Symposium* 8 also overlooks the distinction between ἀκρασία and an ἐγκρατεία which admits (and indeed enhances) sexual pleasure, put into the mouth of Sokrates at *Memorabilia* 4.5.9. In the *Cynegeticus* Xenophon himself accepts the principle of inspiration to deeds of honour provided by the ἐρώμενος, which Sokrates rejects.[119]

There are then several grounds on which one might doubt the initially appealing hypothesis that Sokrates' speech in *Symposium* 8 represents a summation of Xenophon's own views. But if my thesis of Xenophon's espousal of the 'way of moderation' is to be entertained, it must face the question: why did he devote so elevated a place to a speech which uncompromisingly advocates pederastic celibacy?

The first point to be made is that, whatever the thrust of Sokrates' exhortation to Kallias, it cannot eliminate, and should not be allowed to obscure, the evidence in favour of a moderate physicality found elsewhere in Xenophon's works. The 'way of moderation' is close to that expounded by Plato's Pausanias, and must clearly be included in any account of views current in fourth-century Athens. The fact and manner of its occurrence in Xenophon's writings suggest that it was accepted by the writer himself. At the same time, Xenophon admired Sokrates greatly, and it is to the biographical purpose of the *Symposium*[120] that we must turn for some explanation of the space given to Sokrates' non-physical view of male love.

Xenophon clearly intends to present Sokrates as the centre of the dialogue. In nearly all respects he regards Sokrates' teaching as exemplary, and important points of convergence between Xenophon's views and the teaching of Sokrates in *Symposium* 8 can be attested from elsewhere in Xenophon's writings. Xenophon valued highly the pedagogic element in pederasty exemplified in the relationship between Cheiron, Phoenix, and Akhilles. Such παιδεία presupposes a loving relationship of mutual

[118] The nearest approach is Lukon's concluding appraisal of Sokrates (*Sympos.* 9.1). On the other hand, traces of the 'moderate' view can be discerned (albeit dimly) in Sokrates' speech itself: *Sympos.* 8.14 (love of both body and soul) and 8.27 (growth 'out of' pederasty into friendship).

[119] *Cynegeticus* 12.20; contrast *Sympos.* 8.34.

[120] *Sympos.* 1.1.

[121] *Sympos.* 8.23. Cf. *Mem.* 4.1.1–5, esp. §5; *Lac.Pol.* 2.12. Xenophon's conception of Sokratic

respect, whether physically consummated (Xenophon) or not (Sokrates).[121] Moreover, Xenophon's comments in the *Memorabilia* support the high value placed upon ideals of public service in the latter part of Sokrates' speech in the Symposium. Xenophon would also, as we have seen, have agreed with Sokrates' teaching on the love of boys insofar as it counselled self-discipline (falling short of total celibacy). It would be wrong, therefore, to exaggerate the divergence between the Sokratic speech in the *Symposium* and what I have argued to be Xenophon's own view.

But self-control is not to be identified with celibacy, and Xenophon could not, without sacrificing historical fidelity, have suppressed the fact that Sokrates sought to divert ἔρως wholly away from the body and to focus it exclusively upon 'mind'. Xenophon also had a more particular reason for retaining this aspect of Sokrates' teaching in his literary creation. One of his major aims was to defend Sokrates against the charge of 'corrupting the young'—and for Xenophon 'corruption' clearly included the encouragement of unrestrained sexual indulgence.[122] To have introduced qualifications into the 'set piece' in *Symposium* 8 would have gravely weakened the defence. Xenophon accordingly contented himself with indirect indications of his dissent elsewhere in his writings. One might go further. For if indeed *Hiero* was written after the *Symposium*, we could justifiably read it as a recantation of those elements in the Sokratic speech which so vehemently reject the physical content of homosexual ἔρως.

It must be acknowledged that part of Xenophon's weakness as a philosopher (but part of his amiability as a man) is his failure always to achieve self-consistency in his writings. What I hope I have demonstrated, however, is an interest on his part in right sexual relationships between older and younger men and boys, and the articulation of a viewpoint, if not a theory, on this subject which stands in tension (and, by the time

παιδεία would require a separate essay, but reference may be made to two recent studies of 'education through love' in the Sokratic tradition: C. H. Kahn, 'Aeschines on Socratic eros', and D. K. O'Connor, 'The erotic self-sufficiency of Socrates: a reading of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*' (both in Vander Waerdt, n. 2).

Kahn traces the literary history of the theme to Aiskhines of Sphettos, whose dialogues *Alcibiades* and *Aspasia* seem to have regarded not only pederastic (probably celibate) love, but also heterosexual (and presumably consummated) love, as the locus for such training. If Kahn's reconstruction of Aiskhines' fragmentary remains is correct, a striking parallel in thought structure can be discerned in comparing the latter's *Alcibiades* with Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 4.1.1–5. Both sequences move from love and companionship, through the rebuke of pride (in ability and possessions), to the need for training in virtue. One may even add to Kahn's idenfication of possible literary influences of Aiskhines upon Xenophon (p. 89, n. 7) the thought that the former's reference to training in horsemanship (ibid., p. 90 and n. 14) may well have prompted the latter's comparison with the breaking-in of horses (*Mem.* 4.1.3). Xenophon, it seems, was appropriating from the tradition as well as from his own memory an aspect of Sokrates' teaching which he wished to commend. (On Xenophon's claims to memory, cf. D. Clay, in Vander Waerdt [n. 2], p. 42, n. 43.)

A much more extended study of a sophisticated (but seemingly non-physical) *eros* as the basis for education is to be found in O'Connor's essay. But O'Connor does not ask (nor, I think, is it relevant to his thesis to ask) whether Xenophon may not have maintained his own, more physical (but still morally structured) view of *eros* alongside the philosophical exchanges with Sokrates which he presents and the authentic interpretation of the philosopher's (paradoxically complex) virtue which he seeks to evoke.

[122] Cf. *Mem.* 1.2.1–2. The exact significance of the charges against Sokrates has, of course, been much debated. It is enough here to say that one element in this paragraph's description of the charges to be rebutted is making young men ἀφροδισίων ἀκρατεῖς. In this passage, as in Xenophon's *Apologia*, the defence lies in an appeal to Sokrates' self-disciplined character (*Apol. Soc.* 16).

of the *Hiero* self-conscious tension) with Sokrates' absolutist rejection of all genital relations between males. It may be termed a way of moderation. It embraces love of body and love of mind, in which the older respects the younger partner and what he offers. It maintains self-discipline over physical expression without denying the latter its place, and finds pleasure in a freely given (sexual) love as an ingredient in friendship. It inspires the lover to the endurance of toil and the pursuit of honour. Finally it integrates such personal ethics into an overriding (and typically Greek) philosophy of public achievement in the service of the πόλις.

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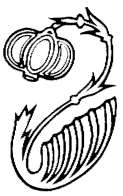
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Plato and Erotic Reciprocity

Friendship and love are always mutual in their fulfillment, though they may originate only in one person: this Plato shows, primarily in the *Lysis*, the *Alcibiades*, and then in the great dialogues on love. Convinced of this, could Plato transform Socrates into an erotic character and have him teach the mutuality of all friendship and love if, in the passion of his own youth, he had met in him a man devoid of love?[1]

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Citations from the following authors, unless otherwise noted, refer to the following works: Robert Boyers and George Steiner, eds., *Homosexuality: Sacrilege, Vision, Politics = Salmagundi* 58–59 (1982–83); K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978). Michel Foucault, *L'Usage des plaisirs = Histoire de la sexualité* 2 (Paris 1984). Paul Friedländer, *Plato,* trans. Hans Meyerhoff, Bollingen Series 59: vol. I: *An Introduction,* 2nd ed. (Princeton 1969); vol. II: *The Dialogues: First Period* (New York 1964); vol. III: *The Dialogues: Second and Third Periods* (Princeton 1969). Mark Golden, "Slavery and Homosexuality at Athens," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 308–24. W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy:* vol. III: *The Fifth-Century Enlightenment* (Cambridge 1969); vol. IV: *Plato, the Man and His Dialogues: Earlier Period* (Cambridge 1975); vol. V: *The Later Plato and the Academy* (Cambridge 1978). Terence Irwin, *Plato's Moral Theory: The Early and Middle Dialogues* (Oxford 1977). Martha Nussbaum, "The Speech of Alcibiades: A Reading of Plato's *Symposium,*" *Philosophy and Literature* 3 (1979) 131–72. Gregory Vlastos, *Platonic Studies,* 2nd ed. (Princeton 1981).

1. Friedländer, I, 46.

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EVER SINCE John Addington Symonds called to the attention of his fellow Victorians what he delicately referred to as "A Problem in Greek Ethics," social historians have been accustomed to treat the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* of Plato as prime sources of information about the theory and practice of sex in ancient Greece.[2] An unfortunate consequence of this (perhaps unavoidable) tendency—quite apart from whatever biases it may have imported into our outlook on ancient varieties of sexual experience in general—has been an inability on the part of scholars to distinguish Plato's own views from the dominant ideology of his culture.[3] Only within the last two decades has new research into many aspects of sexuality in the ancient world made it possible to abandon our all but exclusive reliance on Platonic texts and, instead, to bring to bear on the study of Plato an independent knowledge of Greek sexual attitudes and practices. Sufficient progress had already been made by 1973 to enable Gregory Vlastos to claim in a pioneering and controversial essay on "The Individual as an Object of Love in Plato" that the Greek philosopher actually discovered "a new form of pederastic love, fully sensual in its resonance, but denying itself consummation, transmuting physical excitement into imaginative and intellectual energy."[4] The exact nature and extent of Plato's

2. J. A. Symonds, *A Problem in Greek Ethics, Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion, Addressed Especially to Medical Psychologists and Jurists* (London 1901) 8n., 8–10, 30–44 (esp. 31–35), 48–55, on the value of Plato as a witness to the sexual behavior of the Greeks. (The essay was originally composed in 1873, privately circulated in an edition of ten copies in 1883, later revised, posthumously appended to the first, subsequently withdrawn, printing of Havelock Ellis's *Sexual Inversion* in April 1897, and finally published in a limited edition of 100 copies in 1901.) Plato's authority continues to be invoked by writers on the subject who descend from the same antiquarian tradition, of whom the most recent and voluminous (700 pages) is Félix Buffière, *Eros adolescent: la pédérastie dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1980).

3. Thus, G. M. A. Grube, *Plato's Thought* (1935; Boston 1958) 87, has in effect substituted "the Greeks" for "Plato" in the following statement: "It is well known that homosexual love alone was generally regarded by the Greeks as fulfilling the highest desires of men, and that the love of men for women was little more than a means of procreation." (For a corrective, see K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* [Oxford 1974] 211–12; Robert F. Sutton, Jr., "The Interaction between Men and Women Portrayed on Attic Red-Figure Pottery" [Ph.D. diss., UNC Chapel Hill 1981] 186–89, 224–25; James Redfield, "Notes on the Greek Wedding," *Arethusa* 15 [1982] 181–201, esp. 192–98; Mary R. Lefkowitz, "Wives and Husbands," *Greece & Rome* 30 [1983] 31–47, esp. 37–40; Claude Calame, "Eros inventore e organizzatore della società greca antica," in *L'Amore in Grecia*, ed. Calame, 3d ed. [Rome 1984], ix–xl, esp. xvii–xxii; Foucault, 165–66, 222–23.) A more cautious estimate is offered by Dover, 13: "Modern readers of *Phaedrus* and *Symposium* . . . are apt to believe that what they find therein is the quintessential doctrine of the Greeks on the whole topic of homosexuality, expressed in definitive terms by their acknowledged spokesman. Yet Plato's right to speak for Greek philosophy—to say nothing of a right to speak for Greek civilisation—was not conceded by other pupils of Socrates."

4. Vlastos, 22–23, echoing Grube (supra n.3) 114: "[Platonic] lovers do desire physical intercourse but control this desire and transmute it into a passion for common study." The main points of Vlastos's argument seem to me to have been largely unaffected by the criticisms of Diskin Clay, "Platonic Studies and the Study of Plato," *Arion* n.s. 2 (1975) 116–32, esp. 119–27; L. A. Kosman, "Platonic Love," in *Facets of Plato's Philosophy*, ed. W. H. Werkmeister, *Phronesis* suppl. 2 (Assen 1976) 53–69; Donald Levy, "The Definition of Love in Plato's *Symposium*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40 (1979) 285–91; Nussbaum; James Haden, "On Socrates, with Reference to

contribution to Greek thinking about the moral conventions governing sexuality have only begun to emerge more recently, however. In what follows I shall attempt to illuminate one facet of Plato's originality.

I. HIERARCHY IN GREEK HOMOSEXUALITY AND RECIPROCITY IN PLATONIC HOMOEROTICS

In a justly famous passage of Plato's *Phaedrus* (255c–e) Socrates is inspired to analyze the dynamic of attraction between the two members of a conventional, if rather high-minded, paederastic relationship.

> [When lover and beloved are together, a flood of passion] pours in upon the lover; and part of it is absorbed within him, but when he can contain no more the rest flows away outside him; and as a breath of wind or an echo, rebounding from a smooth hard surface, goes back to its place of origin, even so the stream of beauty turns back and re-enters the eyes of the fair beloved; and so by the natural channel it reaches his soul and gives it fresh vigour, watering the roots of the wings and quickening them to growth: whereby the soul of the beloved, in its turn, is filled with love. So he loves, yet knows not what he loves: he does not understand, he cannot tell what has come upon him; like one that has caught a disease of the eye from another, he cannot account for it, not realising that his lover is as it were a mirror in which he beholds himself. And when the other is beside him, he shares his respite from anguish; when he is absent, he likewise shares his longing and being longed for; since he possesses that counter-love which is the image of love, though he supposes it to be friendship rather than love, and calls it by that name. He feels a desire, like the lover's yet not so strong, to behold, to touch, to kiss him, to share his couch: and now ere long the desire, as one might guess, leads to the act.[5]

Gregory Vlastos," *Review of Metaphysics* 33 (1979–80) 371–89, esp. 382–87; and A. W. Price, "Loving Persons Platonically," *Phronesis* 26 (1981) 25–34. See, further, the excellent earlier discussions of this topic by Ivo Bruns, "Attische Liebestheorien und die zeitliche Folge des platonischen Phaidros sowie der beiden Symposien," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik* 5 (1900) 17–37; Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture,* trans. Gilbert Highet, vol. II: *In Search of the Divine Centre* (Oxford 1947) 174–97; Friedländer, I, 44–58; and Irving Singer, *The Nature of Love: Plato to Luther* (New York 1966) 49–90.

5. R. Hackforth, trans., *Plato's Phaedrus* (Cambridge 1952) 105. All quotations from the *Phaedrus* are in Hackforth's translation (other quotations from Plato are my own rendering); for an argument against Hackforth's acceptance of *anapetasan* in place of the manuscripts' *anapterōsan* at 255c7, see G. J. de Vries, *A Commentary on the Phaedrus of Plato* (Amsterdam 1969) 174 ad loc. This passage has recently been the subject of two psychoanalytic commentaries, both influenced by Lacan: Marie-Hélène Bohner-Cante [Hanna Glyphe], *Platonisme et sexualité: Genèse de la métaphysique platonicienne* (Toulouse 1981) 305–11; W. Thomas MacCary, *Childlike Achilles: Ontogeny and Phylogeny in the Iliad* (New York 1982) 19, confounding the roles of lover and

In this charming description (with its far-fetched analogies from physics and medicine)[6] of how the beloved, having infected his lover with erotic *mania,* catches the disease himself,[7] Plato is actually making a startling point about love and counter-love. For in a conventional Athenian paederastic relationship, the younger partner was not held to experience sexual desire but was expected to submit (if indeed he chose to submit at all) to the advances of his older lover out of a feeling of mingled gratitude, esteem, and affection (or *philia*)—rather like a good Victorian wife.[8] As Xenophon emphasizes in his own *Symposium* (8.21), "the boy[9] does not share in the man's pleasure in

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beloved: "the *erastês* finds in the *erômenos* a mirror for his own beauty . . . so that the erotic pattern is superficially homosexual but essentially narcissistic." Marcel Proust, *À la recherche du temps perdu,* ed. Pierre Clarac and André Ferré, 3 vols. (Paris 1954) I, 609, in his reformulation of this passage, also reversed the roles of lover and beloved in order to make them conform to a projective model of desire: "Quand on aime, l'amour est trop grand pour pouvoir être contenu tout entier en nous; il irradie vers la personne aimée, recontre en elle une surface qui l'arrête, le force à revenir vers son point de départ, et c'est ce choc en retour de notre propre tendresse que nous appelons les sentiments de l'autre et qui nous charme plus qu'à l'aller, parce que nous ne reconnaissons pas qu'elle vient de nous." In Plato it is the beloved, *not* the lover, who falls in love with his own reflection.

The mirror-passage in the *Phaedrus* was also elaborated, somewhat mischievously, by Achilles Tatius 1.9: " 'You do not realize how marvellous it is to behold one's beloved. This pleasure is greater than that of consummation, for the eyes receive each others' reflections and they form therefrom small icons as clearly as in mirrors. Such outpouring of beauty flowing down into the soul is a kind of copulation at a distance' " (I quote, by kind permission, from the forthcoming translation of Achilles Tatius by John J. Winkler). Cf. also pseudo-Lucian *Erôtes* 47–48; Plutarch *Moralia* 765a–766b. For the earlier tradition that located the source of *erôs* in the eyes (of the beloved, usually) and that made eye-contact between lover and beloved the erotic stimulus *par excellence,* see the long list of passages assembled by A. C. Pearson, "Phrixus and Demodice: A Note on Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 162 f.," *CR* 23 (1909) 255–57, to which add Hesiod *Theogony* 910–11; pseudo-Hesiod *Shield* 7–8; Alcman fr. 3.61–62 (*PMG* 3, p. 12); Ibycus fr. 6 (*PMG* 287, p. 150); Sophocles *Trachiniae* 107; Euripides *Hippolytus* 525–6; Agathon fr. 29 (Nauck^2); Gorgias *Helen* 19 = fr. B11 (vol. II, p. 294.7 Diels-Kranz); Aristotle fr. 96 (Rose); Athenaeus 13.564b–f; and a fragmentary poem ascribed to Aspasia by Herodicus of Babylon and quoted by Masurius in Athenaeus 5.219e.

6. On Plato's willingness, demonstrated by this passage, to combine mechanistic and metaphysical orders of reasoning to describe the operation of *erôs,* see Bruns (supra n.4) 19–20; Walther Kranz, "Diotima von Mantineia," *Hermes* 61 (1926) 437–47, esp. 443; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational,* Sather Classical Lectures 25 (Berkeley 1951) 231 n.59; Verdenius (infra n.40) 137.

7. On the imagery of this passage, see Anne Lebeck, "The Central Myth of Plato's *Phaedrus,*" *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 13 (1972) 267–90, esp. 273–76, 278–80; John Van Sickle, "Plat. *Phaedr.* 255d, 3–6," *Museum Criticum* 8/9 (1973–74) 198–99; also Maria Grazia Bonanno, "Osservazioni sul tema della 'giusta' reciprocità amorosa da Saffo ai comici," *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 16 (1973) 110–20, esp. 113–16. Dorothy Tarrant, "The Touch of Socrates," *CQ* n.s. 8 (1958) 95–98, compares Plato's use of the verb *apolauô* in this passage (*hoion ap' allou ophthalmias apolelaukôs*) to its function in a related passage, *Symposium* 175c–d (*par' eme katakeiso, hina kai tou sophou haptomenos sou apolausô*).

8. Dover, 90, elaborates this analogy.

9. The term *boy* (*pais* in Greek) refers by convention to the junior partner, or to the one who plays that role, regardless of his actual age (Dover, 16, 85–87; Buffière [supra n.2] 605–14). That male homosexual behavior among the ancient Greeks featured a hierarchical division of roles

intercourse, as a woman does; cold sober, he looks upon the other drunk with sexual desire."[10] The accuracy of Xenophon's characterization of the conventional Athenian *attitude*—if not of the social *actuality* concealed by it—is overwhelmingly confirmed by the pictorial representations of male homosexual behavior on Attic vases[11] as well as by a variety of ancient literary sources,[12] all of which testify to the clear moral boundaries differentiating the roles of lover and beloved in antiquity. As K. J. Dover concludes, the Greeks assumed that

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according to age has recently been called into question by John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago 1980) 28–30, though in a note he admits the possibility that such a hierarchy of roles did exist in classical Athens; against his arguments must now be weighed the evidence amassed by Dover, 84–91, and by Mark Golden, "Aspects of Childhood in Classical Athens" (Ph.D. diss., Toronto 1981) 127–28, 142–47, 156 n.40 (Boswell, however, remains unconvinced: see his "Revolutions, Universals and Sexual Categories," in Boyers and Steiner, 89–113, esp. 109 n.42). The issue has now, I believe, been definitively settled by Golden, 312, 318 n.47, 321–22.

In order to highlight the historical specificity of the social phenomenon under consideration, I have chosen to speak of male homosexual behavior among Plato's contemporaries as "paederasty" rather than "homosexuality" (on this point, see Cartledge [infra n.13] 17–18, and now Patzer [infra n.13]); the word may have unwelcome associations for some modern readers, but at least it has the advantage of being the word employed by the Greeks themselves to describe their own institutions (other scholars prefer to speak of Greek "pseudo-homosexuality" [Devereux, infra n.14] or "quasi-sexuality" [Dover, vii]: cf. Lionel Ovesey, *Homosexuality and Pseudohomosexuality* [New York 1969]).

10. Quoted by Dover, 52; see Foucault, 245–46. Xenophon means only that the junior partner does not experience a specifically *sexual* pleasure during intercourse, and so Xenophon's remark does not exclude the equally conventional view, voiced by Plato's Aristophanes, that a willing boy "enjoys" and "welcomes" (*khairein, aspazesthai: Symposium* 191e–192b) his lover's physical attentions; welcoming them is one thing, after all, but desiring them sexually is quite another (for the fullest description of a beloved's affectionate response, which nonetheless stops short of erotic desire, see Xenophon *Hiero* 1.35–37): the objections to Dover on this score raised by Thomas S. W. Lewis, "The Brothers of Ganymede," in Boyers and Steiner, 147–65, esp. 160, are therefore groundless. The real disagreement between Xenophon and Plato, as a comparison of the two passages quoted in the text implies, hinges on the nature of the beloved's proper response to his older partner (is it esteem or counter-love?): for a discussion of the ancient controversy, see Bruns (supra n.4) 26.

11. See Dover, 91–103; Golden (supra n.9) 128–29, with copious references (148–54); now Golden, esp. 312–15. Possible deviations from the normal pattern are discussed by Golden, 321–22, and by Eva C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (New York 1985) 277–85, esp. 277: "In some cases the youth is shown with what may be termed a 'puerile erection'; evidently the vase painters wanted to show that the passive partner does derive some pleasure from the contact, even without active participation." Of particular interest in this regard are two vases discussed by Keuls: London W 39 (*ABV* 297, #16) = Keuls, 281, pls. 249 and 250, and W. Berlin F 2279 (*ARV* 115, #2) = Keuls, 222, pls. 196 and 197, both illustrated also by Dover (who, after considering the evidence, interprets it differently [95–97]) as B250 and R196. The assertion made by Nussbaum, 156, that no *erōmenoi* with erections can be found in Greek art may therefore stand in need of qualification, especially in view of Dover's own willingness to admit the possibility of counter-examples (97) and the evidence of a third vase (*ARV* 15, #11) = Keuls, 286, pl. 255, interpreted differently by Dover (as R18: 97) and by Keuls, 285. Such counter-examples, if that is what these are, nonetheless remain quite rare.

12. E.g., Aristophanes *Clouds* 979–80; Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 8.1157a3–14, 1159b11–19, 9.1164a3–12; Ovid *Art of Love* 2.682–84 (bizarrely interpreted by Wilkinson [infra n.13] 30); Martial 11.22; pseudo-Lucian *Erōtes* 27.

"virtually no male both penetrates other males and submits to penetration by other males at the same stage of his life," and therefore "the reciprocal desire of partners belonging to the same age-category is virtually unknown in Greek homosexuality"; rather, "in a homosexual relationship . . . the eromenos [i.e., "beloved"] is not expected to reciprocate the eros ["desire"] of the erastes ["lover"]: instead, the younger partner, *if he behaves honorably,* "does not seek or expect sensual pleasure from contact with an erastes, begrudges any contact until the erastes has proved himself worthy of concession, never permits penetration of any orifice in his body, and never assimilates himself to a woman by playing a subordinate role in a position of contact."[13] With such rules in force, the very nature of male physiology prevents each partner from both giving and receiving pleasure in the sexual act at the same time and to the same degree: the hierarchical disposition of roles enjoined upon homosexual

13. Dover, 1n., 16, 52, 103. See also Jeffrey Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (New Haven 1975) 204–20; John R. Ungaretti, "Pederasty, Heroism, and the Family in Classical Greece," *Journal of Homosexuality* 3 (Spring 1978) 291–300; Paul Veyne, "La famille et l'amour sous le Haut-Empire romain," *Annales (E.S.C.)* 33 (1978) 35–63, esp. 50–55; idem, "L'homosexualité à Rome," in *Sexualités occidentales,* ed. Philippe Ariès and André Béjin = *Communications* 35 (1982) 26–33; L. P. Wilkinson, "Classical Approaches. IV: Homosexuality," *Encounter* 51.3 (Sept. 1978) 21–31, esp. 24; Richard J. Hoffman, "Some Cultural Aspects of Greek Male Homosexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality* 5 (Spring 1980) 217–26; K. J. Dover, ed., *Plato: Symposium,* Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (Cambridge 1980) 4; Lewis (supra n.10) and Foucault, esp. 55–57, 207–48. (For a different approach to this topic, emphasizing the significance of homosexuality as an initiation rite in ancient Greece, see Jan Bremmer, "An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty," *Arethusa* 13 [1980] 279–98; Paul Cartledge, "The Politics of Spartan Pederasty," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* n.s. 27 [1981] 17–36; Harald Patzer, *Die griechische Knabenliebe,* Sitzungsberichte der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der J. W. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 19.1 [Wiesbaden 1982]; Bernard Sergent, *L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque* [Paris 1982]; Jean-Louis Durand and Alain Schnapp, "Boucherie sacrificielle et chasses initiatiques," in *La cité des images,* ed. anon [Paris 1984] 48–66, esp. 57–66; Alain Schnapp, "Eros en chasse," in *La cité des images,* 67–83; Calame [supra n.3] xi–xvi; Keuls [supra n.11] 276–85; and cf. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality:* vol. I: *An Introduction,* trans. Robert Hurley [New York 1978] 61.) The Greek tendency to polarize into active and passive the sexual roles assumed by males in homosexual contacts and to associate those roles, respectively, with distinct age-categories belongs to a much larger cultural pattern into which the Greek evidence fits with serene inevitability: for a survey of the anthropological literature on this topic, see Bremmer, Cartledge, and Randolph Trumbach, "London's Sodomites: Homosexual Behavior and Western Culture in the 18th Century," *Journal of Social History* 11 (1977) 1–33, esp. 2–9, with notes.

In a highly critical review of Dover (*AJP* 101 [1980] 121–24), Nancy Demand doubts that the *erōmenos* failed to experience sexual pleasure during intercourse (on this point, see supra n.10) and judges Dover's picture of Athenian sexual behavior generally implausible; her skepticism is countered by Jeffrey Henderson who, in his own review (*Classical World* 72 [1978–79] 434), accepts Dover's reconstruction of the Athenian normative ideal, rightly emphasizing "the palpable gulf between what is prescribed by convention and what actually goes on." Note, also, Dover's own skepticism (96), remarked by Nussbaum, 156, and his own awareness of "the gulf between reality and the convention that the erōmenos is not aroused" (125n.); see, further, Dover's discussion of the evidence for the prevalence of anal intercourse in paederastic relations among the Greeks (99, 100n.; on this issue, see now Golden, 314 n.34). I believe Dover's thoroughgoing distinction between social norms and sexual practices has tended to escape the notice of his critics.

lovers by Athenian moral convention gives rise in practice to a socially and psychologically asymmetrical relationship. According to the customary Greek idiom, the senior partner in a paederastic love-affair has a monopoly of *erōs;* the junior partner, if he is responsive to his lover, expresses *philia:* he is *philerastēs,* "fond of his *erastēs,*" and is moved to *antiphilein,* "to feel affection for him in return" (only women are said to *anteran,* to return their lovers' sexual desire).[14]

Plato's departure from conventional norms of thought and speech is

14. Dover, 52–53. Cf. George Devereux, "Greek Pseudo-Homosexuality and the 'Greek Miracle,' " *SymbOslo* 42 (1968) 69–92, esp. 74. Michel Foucault, "On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of Work in Progress," in *The Foucault Reader,* ed. Paul Rabinow (New York 1984) 340–72, esp. 344–46. Further evidence for the lack of reciprocity in paederastic relations among the ancient Greeks has been assembled by Anne Giacomelli, "The Justice of Aphrodite in Sappho Fr. 1," *TAPA* 110 (1980) 135–42. For *philia* as the proper response of a male beloved, see (e.g.) Plato *Symposium* 191e7; *Phaedrus* 231e2, 237c8; Xenophon *Hiero* 1.32–38, 7.6; *Symposium* 8.16; Plutarch *Moralia* 750d–e, 761a. For *anterōs* as the feminine equivalent, compare Xenophon *Symposium* 8.3 (most of these passages are cited by Dover). The difference between feminine *anterōs* and masculine *philia,* as the only socially validated forms of loving response to the *erōs* of a male *erastēs,* furnishes the point of Phaedrus' contrasting treatment of Alcestis and Achilles in Plato's *Symposium* (179b–180b): the self-sacrifice of a male beloved who is motivated solely by *philia* for a lover, not by such *erōs* as women normally feel, is adjudged *eo ipso* more heroic. Later in the same dialogue, Pausanias distinguishes between the *erōs* of Aristogeiton and the *philia* of his beloved, Harmodius (182c), pointing out that the lover's role is *to eran* and the beloved's is *to philous genesthai tois erastais* (183c); Socrates similarly distinguishes his *erōs* for Alcibiades from the latter's *philerastia* (213c–d). Plato's Aristophanes differentiates the roles of lover and beloved by referring to the one as *paiderastēs* and the other as *philerastēs* (*Symposium* 192b4). Plato's earliest hint, in the *Lysis,* at the importance of reciprocity conforms, in keeping with the traditional subject of that dialogue, to the conventional formulation: Socrates brings the conversation to a halt by declaring, "It is necessary, then, for a genuine and not a pretended lover [*erastēs*] to be loved/liked [*phileisthai*] by his boy" (222a). On Plato's manipulation of traditional views in the *Lysis,* see David K. Glidden, "The *Lysis* on Loving One's Own," *CQ* 31 (1981) 39–59; on reciprocity in the *Lysis,* see Friedländer, I, 50–51, II, 95–102; Robert G. Hoerber, "Plato's *Lysis,*" *Phronesis* 4 (1959) 15–28, esp. 21; Laszlo Versenyi, "Plato's *Lysis,*" *Phronesis* 20 (1975): 185–98, esp. 197; Hans-Georg Gadamer, "*Logos* and *Ergon* in Plato's *Lysis,*" *Dialogue and Dialectic: Eight Hermeneutical Studies on Plato,* trans. P. Chrisopher Smith (New Haven 1980) 1–20, esp. 10–11.

The only counter-example to all this is at best a dubious one: Pausanias 1.30.1 records an altar to *Anterōs* in Athens, dedicated by resident aliens to commemorate the suicide of an Athenian youth who belatedly appreciated the nobility of his foreign lover when the latter threw himself off the Acropolis in obedience to the youth's contemptuous command (see, also, the *Suda,* s.v. Meletus). The boy's suicide was motivated, however, not by *anterōs* but by *metanoia,* a change of heart, in Pausanias' telling of the story; *anterōs* is the vindictive interpretation placed upon the boy's impetuous act by the resident aliens, who construe *Anterōs* to be an *avenging* deity (*alastōr*). In any case, it is worth noting that the boy mimics his lover's *anterōs* only after the latter is dead. The altars and figures of *Erōs* and *Anterōs* which Pausanias observed in the gymnasia at Elis (6.23.3, 5) seem to have celebrated the spirit of rivalry (the usual meaning of *anterōs*), rather than reciprocity, to judge from Pausanias's description of the frieze (so Calame [supra n.3] xii–xiii): an example of the type appears to have survived on a Roman relief (see Roscher's *Lexikon,* I, 1368, cited by J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* [repr. New York 1965], vol. IV, 103, ad loc.); but cf. Plato *Symposium* 182b. On the cult of *erōs,* see O. Broneer, "Eros and Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 31–55, 2 (1933) 329–429; S. Fasce, *Eros: la figura e il culto* (Genoa 1977).

striking.[14a] Socrates claims that the beloved youth comes to participate in his lover's passionate desire for him. The younger partner no longer feels mere honor or esteem for his lover but is said to return his desire—though more weakly, Socrates hastily adds in an effort to square his account with contemporary moral standards and unwritten rules of social behavior. What the beloved experiences, according to Socrates in the passage from the *Phaedrus* quoted above, is not *philia* but *erōs,* specifically an *anterōs* ("counter-love" in Hackforth's translation)—that is, an *erōs* in return for *erōs,* which is an image or replica (*eidōlon*) of his lover's *erōs*. Understandably, an inexperienced youngster is bewildered by this sensation: nothing in his breeding or in his social training has prepared him for it. He can neither give a clear account of it nor identify the source and object of his desire (the object of his *erōs* is, unbeknownst to him, his own beauty); instead, he professes to feel *philia* ("friendship" or affection) for his lover, as propriety requires and his own social instincts encourage him to believe. Nonetheless, he actually shares the erotic passion that has overcome his lover, or so Socrates insists. The motive for Socrates' emphasis in this passage, and for his somewhat over-ingenious special pleading, springs at least in part from the novelty of his analysis.

Because *erōs,* as Diotima argues in the *Symposium* (206e–207a), does not aim at the physical possession of a beautiful object but at the lover's perpetual possession of the good—or, in her conceptual shorthand, at immortality—and because the possession of a discrete object, however enticing or adorable, necessarily diverts the lover from the ultimate goal of his longing, no erotic desire, no matter how intense, should (or, indeed, can) be sexually gratified.[15] The Platonic doctrine thereby escapes the scandalous charge of applauding sexual passivity. For should the beloved's *anterōs* express itself sexually (i.e., as a desire to be subjected to a passive role in intercourse), the unfortunate young man is liable to incur the censure of his fellow citizens for shamelessness and perversion[16]—together with the ridicule which Alcibiades fears (or pretends to fear: *Symposium* 217e–218b) will greet the recital of his own efforts to be

14a. *Pace* Calame (supra n.3), xxix–xxx.

15. I have argued this point at length in "Platonic *Erōs* and What Men Call Love," *Ancient Philosophy* 5 (forthcoming). I do not, of course, wish to imply that the erotic doctrines of the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium* are identical in every respect (they differ strikingly, for example, in the value they place on human beings as objects of *erōs*); I do regard them as fundamentally compatible, however: see Irwin, 323 n.62, for further arguments, and cf., generally, John D. Moore, "The Relation between Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus,*" in *Patterns in Plato's Thought,* ed. J. M. E. Moravcsik (Dordrecht 1973) 52–71.

16. See, e.g., Plutarch *Moralia* 768e; Dover, 52–53; 91: "That the eromenos should initiate a homosexual act for its own sake is not a possibility admitted by [Plato's] Pausanias or by any other Greek enthusiast or apologist for homosexual eros." See, further, Dover, 168–70, on "perversion."

seduced by Socrates—and even risks losing his civil rights.[17] Rather, the Platonic approach all but erases the distinction between lover and beloved, between the active and the passive partner—or, to put it better, the genius of Plato's analysis is that it eliminates passivity altogether: according to Socrates, both members of the relationship become active, desiring lovers; neither remains solely a passive object of desire. Thus, the way is cleared for a greater degree of reciprocity in the expression of desire and in the exchange of affection. Because his *(ant)erōs,* if guided properly, does not seek sexual consummation, the younger man is now free to return his older lover's passion without shame or impropriety.

II. EROTIC RECIPROCITY IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL COMMUNITY

Relations among the members of Socrates' circle, as Plato portrays them, illustrate the theory of erotic reciprocity sketched out by Socrates in the *Phaedrus.* For Socrates arouses in the beautiful youths whom he pursues a measure of desire equal to his own; as Alcibiades ruefully testifies (*Symposium* 217c, 222b), Socrates awakens in them an erotic response so powerful that they pursue him as if he were a boy.[18] For some of his followers, such as Aristodemus, this erotic inspiration is productive and congenial;[19] for others (Alcibiades numbers Charmides and a certain Euthydemus,[20] in addition to himself, among the victims)—namely, those who hope to barter their physical beauty for wisdom and so evade the claims of their own desire, or those who translate their desire wholly into physical terms—the Socratic community is a theater of frustration and torment. Indeed, Socrates maintains what from a conventional point of view is a highly paradoxical position: he is a lover himself, yet he contrives to be surrounded by other lovers to whom he represents, in turn, an object of love, even as they are objects of love for him.[21]

17. Dover, 103–9, 145–48; Keuls (supra n.11) 291–98. Loss of civil rights is the penalty for prostitution, not for *anterōs* or sexual passivity per se, but because the junior partner is not conventionally supposed to derive sexual pleasure from playing his assigned role, any "boy" who seeks out or otherwise evinces enthusiasm for such a role necessarily exposes himself to unpleasant speculation about the nature of his motives—and so risks courting the general assumption that he has engaged himself for pay (similarly, anyone who performs for hire the sort of job usually assigned to slaves is liable to be accused of being of servile status: see Golden, 310 n.9). That the Athenians appear to have found greed a more plausible explanation for the willingness of an *erōmenos* than sexual desire is a telling indication of what they considered sexually pleasurable and what they did not.

18. Cf. Athenaeus 5.219d. For a vivid description of Socrates' effect on Alcibiades, see Nussbaum, 156–57; cf. also Jaeger (supra n.4), 196.

19. Nussbaum, 150.

20. *Symposium* 222b; Euthydemus also appears in Xenophon *Memorabilia* 4.2 and 1.2.29–30. On the analogy between Alcibiades and Charmides, see infra n.23.

21. On Socrates' dual identity as a lover and a beloved, see David F. Krell, "Socrates' Body," *Southern Journal of Philosophy* 10.4 (1972) 443–51; Michael Gagarin, "Socrates' *Hybris* and Alcibiades' Failure," *Phoenix* 31 (1977) 22–37, esp. 28–30, 32–33; Plass (infra n. 38) 49–50;

The reciprocal erotic dynamic distinctive to the Socratic community finds its clearest exemplification in the *Greater Alcibiades,*[22] where it is expressed once again by the image of the mirror. If Apollo, in his Delphic injunction, had commanded man to *see* himself instead of to know himself, Socrates and Alcibiades agree, man would have to use a mirror—preferably, the pupil of another person's eye, because therein inheres the power of sight itself: "For, thus, an eye gazing into another eye, and looking at that thing with which it sees and is best, would see itself" (132d–133b). In order to see ourselves truly, we have to see ourselves *seeing* (since movement is a property of the rational soul); otherwise, we glimpse only a static image of ourselves and do not know ourselves as active, desiring, sentient beings. "Come then, my dear Alcibiades! If the soul is to know herself, must she not in the same way look at another soul, and specifically at that place in it in which occurs the excellence of a soul—namely, wisdom [*sophia*]?" (133b). Alcibiades is persuaded by these and other arguments; like Charmides before him,[23] he offers to exchange his role of being pursued for that of his pursuer and vows to attend on Socrates as if he were a paedagogue. Socrates replies, "Noble fellow! Will my *erōs* [*sc.* for

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John Brenkman, "The Other and the One: Psychoanalysis, Reading, the *Symposium,*" in *Literature and Psychoanalysis: The Question of Reading—Otherwise,* ed. Shoshana Felman (Baltimore 1982) 396–456, esp. 428–34; Foucault, 264–65. Gagarin is properly sympathetic to the emotional difficulties which Socrates' ambivalent status creates for his youthful admirers, but he is wrong to suppose with Alcibiades that Socrates' *erōs* is therefore nothing but an ironic pretense: for a corrective, see Friedländer, I, 138–43, esp. 140: "It is not his *Eros* that is a mask; if anything is a mask, it is the form he adopts, his adaptation to the social forms of his age" (see also Singer [supra n.4] 51–52, on Socrates' "ambivalence," and compare Walter Hamilton, trans., *Plato: Symposium* [Harmondsworth 1951] 25–26). Gregory Vlastos, "The Paradox of Socrates," in *The Philosophy of Socrates,* ed. Vlastos, Modern Studies in Philosophy (New York 1971) 16, convicts Socrates of a "failure of love" on somewhat different grounds; see also Stanley Rosen, *Plato's Symposium* (New Haven 1968) 279–80; Krell; and Nussbaum, 150–52, who argue that the Platonic ideal instantiated by Socrates in the *Symposium* is incomplete. Cf. Robert Eisner, "Socrates as Hero," *Philosophy and Literature* 6 (1982): 106–18, esp. 114 and 116; Charles Altieri, "Plato's Performative Sublime and the Ends of Reading," *New Literary History* 16 (1985) 251–73 for a general critique of Socrates' erotic paedagogy. On the peculiar erotic habits of Greek philosophers in general, see Bernard Frischer, *The Sculpted Word: Epicureanism and Philosophical Recruitment in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1982) 56–57; and cf. Friedrich Schlegel, "Über die Diotima," *Studien des klassischen Altertums,* ed. E. Behler, Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe I.1 (Paderborn 1979; essay first publ. 1795) 70–115, esp. 77; Michel Foucault, *Le souci de soi = Histoire de la sexualité* 3 (Paris 1984) 183–86.

22. A detailed commentary on this passage is provided by A. Soulez-Luccioni, "Le Paradigme de la vision de soi-même dans l' 'Alcibiade majeur,' " *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* 79 (1974) 196–222; see also Bohner-Cante (supra n.5) 306–10; MacCary (supra n.5) 149–51; Foucault (supra n.14) 367–68. For an introduction to the dialogue as a whole, together with a discussion of the questions surrounding its authenticity, see Friedländer, II, 231–38; Guthrie, III, 470 n.2. The passages examined below are considered Platonic by many who doubt the authenticity of the surrounding text.

23. The final paragraphs of the *Charmides* (176b ff.) contain a similar reversal of roles: there is much badinage about Charmides' intention to pursue and to "force" Socrates, which obviously casts the younger man in the role of the aggressor and the older man in the role of his (helpless) victim; cf. Lewis (supra n.10) 161. This is perhaps part of a larger pattern, to which many of the earlier dialogues conform, involving the interlocutors' conversion at the climax of a Socratic conversation.

you] differ at all from a stork's if, having hatched in you a winged *erōs* [*sc.* for me and philosophy], it [i.e., my *erōs*] is to be in its turn served by it [i.e., your *erōs*]?" (135e). On this note of perfect reciprocity the dialogue closes.[24] In order to comply with the Delphic injunction, then, we must seek to know ourselves in our lover's intellect; when love is Platonic, each lover grows wise by contemplating himself in the soul of his partner, discovering in this way the nature of the divinity within himself (*Phaedrus* 252e–253a).[25] Indeed, one's lover becomes in all literalness another self, an *alter ego*. The union achieved by such lovers is more complete and perfect, yet allows for a greater sense of individual identity, than mere sexual union (cf. *Symposium* 209c).

Plotinus alone seems to have understood something of what was at stake in the reciprocal dynamic of Platonic *erōs:* "One must give himself to what is within," he wrote in his commentary on the *Phaedrus* myth, "and thus, instead of a beholder, become object of vision for somebody else" (5.8.11).[26] Plato's immediate followers, by contrast, resisted the implications of his theory: his model of mutual erotic inspiration was apparently too alien to them. It is interesting to observe how quickly and consistently Plato's disciples tended to displace the operation of reciprocity from the erotic sphere into which Plato had, against all precedents, obtruded it; in so doing they did not act, I think, upon a conscious and deliberate impulse to correct Platonic doctrine but, far from being aware of any disloyalty to Plato in this one instance, they instinctively reinterpreted his thought in order to make it conformable to the widely shared cultural assumptions from which Plato himself had so firmly deviated. Both Aristotle and Cicero, for example, emphasize the importance of reciprocity in human relations, but they invoke Plato's analysis in their discussions of non-romantic love, or "friendship" (*philia, amicitia*), a bond which they define in such a way as to include the force that holds all human communities together in a system of reciprocal exchange.[27] Xenophon similarly transferred Socrates'

24. For a discussion of Socrates' ability to cause his passion for beautiful youths to be reciprocated, see Friedländer, I, 49, 139–42.

25. Cf. Eric Voegelin, *Plato* (Baton Rouge, La. 1966) 18–19; Lebeck (supra n.7) 278, 282; Kosman (supra n.4) 59–67; Price (supra n.4) 32–34; M. Dyson, "Zeus and Philosophy in the Myth of Plato's *Phaedrus*," *CQ* 32 (1982) 307–11; Martha Craven Nussbaum, " 'This Story Isn't True': Poetry, Goodness, and Understanding in Plato's *Phaedrus*," in *Plato on Beauty, Wisdom, and the Arts*, ed. Julius Moravcsik and Philip Temko (Totowa, N.J. 1982) 79–124, esp. 101–5.

26. Quoted by Friedländer, I, 81.

27. Cf. Wilkinson (supra n.13) 27. For Aristotle's stipulation about reciprocity in friendship, see esp. *Nicomachean Ethics* 8.1155b32–1156a5 and cf. *Prior Analytics* 2.68a39–68b7; note, however, that reciprocity may have figured in Aristotle's treatment of *erōs* as well, if Friedländer ("Socrates Enters Rome," *AJP* 66 [1945] 337–51, esp. 348–51) is correct in supposing that Aristotle borrowed Plato's image of one eye looking into another in his own (now lost) dialogue, the *Eroticus*. For the notion that *erōs*, when reciprocated, becomes *philia*, see Plutarch *Moralia* fr. 135 (Sandbach); Foucault (supra n.14) 344–46. The tradition that held *philia* to be the universal bond in nature and in human society is very old and is firmly rooted in Plato, esp. in the *Republic:* see Vlastos, 11–19; for other examples, cf. *Gorgias* 507e–508a, *Timaeus* 32c (on the friendship of the created universe with itself), *Sophist* 242e–243a, and *Alcibiades Major* 126c–127d. See, generally, Jean-Pierre Vernant, *The Origins of Greek Thought* (Ithaca 1982) 60–61; Jaeger (supra n.4) II, 57–59, 174–75, who discusses the importance of *philia* as a social force in Plato but underplays Plato's distinction between *philia* and *erōs*.

emphasis on reciprocity to the context of friendship: in the *Memorabilia* or "Recollections" of Socrates, Xenophon quotes his admired preceptor as saying, "For when I desire [*epithymēsō*] someone, I give the whole strength of my being to be loved [*antiphileisthai*] by him in return for my love [*philōn*], to arouse longing [*antipotheisthai*] in return for my longing [*pothōn*], and to see my desire [*epithymōn*] for companionship reciprocated by his desire [*antepithymeisthai*]" (2.6.28).[28] Notably missing from Xenophon's account is the key term *anterasthai,* "to be desired erotically in return," which Xenophon must have found intolerable in such a context. Aristotle even goes so far as to consider the myth of Plato's Aristophanes (*Symposium* 189d–193d) to be an illustration of the power of *philia:* what specifically gives rise to binding unions, such as the union between two lovers, is in Aristotle's view the intense *philia* generated by the erotic relationship, rather than the *erōs* that generates it (*Politics* 2.1262b8–17). But Plato, in certain passages at least, insists on using *erōs,* not *philia,* as the basis for an ideal intellectual fellowship.

Plato's peculiar insistence on the importance of being a lover, of playing a passionately active part in the philosophical community, is reflected in his faintly idiosyncratic use of language. Plato borrows from conventional Athenian usage the hierarchical terminology employed to differentiate the active and passive roles in a paederastic relationship and converts it to the purpose of articulating the erotic, and aggressive, nature of the philosophical enterprise. In the *Gorgias* (481d) Socrates claims to be the lover [*erōn*] of both Alcibiades and philosophy; in virtually the first mention of *erōs* in the *Symposium* (173b), Apollodorus refers to Socrates' disciple Aristodemus as the greatest *erastēs,* or active lover,[29] of Socrates among the men of that time, thereby establishing an enlarged meaning of erotic desire from the very outset of the dialogue.[30] In the *Republic* (501d) philosophers are said to be *erastai* of being and truth, inasmuch as it is the philosopher's nature to love [*eran*] the kind of learning that reveals something of eternal being (485a–b); earlier in the same work, the philosopher's *erōs* is expected to beget understanding [*nous*] and truth (490a–b).[31] In the *Timaeus* (46d) the physicist is similarly described as an *erastēs* of understanding [*nous*] and knowledge [*epistēmē*]. In the *Phaedo* (68a) death brings the philosopher to a place where he may expect to find what he has loved [*ērōn*] all his life—namely, wisdom [*phronēsis*]—and therefore the lover

28. Quoted by Friedländer, I, 45; cf. Xenophon *Symposium* 8.16–18. See, generally, Bruns (supra n.4) 26–30, on Xenophon's reception of Plato's erotic doctrine; also, Foucault, 256–57.

29. Cf. *Phaedrus* 249e: *kai hoti tautēs metekhōn tēs manias ho erōn tōn kalōn erastēs kaleitai.*

30. Cf. Gagarin (supra n.21) 23n., and Dover, 157, on this passage (for a list of other mature men "stung" by Socrates, see Plato *Symposium* 218a–b). Similarly, Aristippus is called an *erastēs* of Socrates and the Aleuadae *erastai* of Gorgias in the *Meno* (70b), while Socrates refers to himself and his friends as *erastai* of Protagoras in the *Protagoras* (317c). For other examples in Plato of *erastēs* used in the sense of "admirer" or "fan," see *Protagoras* 343a; *Euthydemus* 276d, 303b; *Philebus* 23a. The meaning of the word *erastēs* had already been extended in the period when Plato was growing up: see esp. Thucydides 2.43.1; Sophocles *Oedipus Rex* 601 (*all' out' erastēs tēsde tēs gnōmēs ephyn*); and Euripides *Heracleidae* 377–78 (*ō polemōn erasta*).

31. See Vlastos, 19 n.53; Dover, 156–57.

[*erōn*] of wisdom is more eager to die than those who have merely desired [*epethymoun*] to meet their loved ones in the beyond; furthermore, Socrates confesses that he and his friends desire and claim to be *erastai* of wisdom [*phronēsis*] (66e). In the *Phaedrus* (266b) Socrates declares himself an *erastēs* of divisions and collections (the methods of dialectic)—although earlier he acknowledges that he is also an *erastēs* of speeches (228c).[32] Socrates repeats his self-characterization in the *Philebus* when he says he is always an *erastēs* of the proper method (16b), and at the end he speaks eloquently of the natural power of our soul to love [*eran*] truth (58d); in the *Theaetetus* (169c) he fully avows his terrible *erōs* of intellectual gymnastics. In the first book of the *Laws* (643e) true education is defined as that which makes one an *erastēs* of becoming a perfect citizen, while in the fourth book (711d) the possibility of political amelioration is made to depend on the rulers' *erōs* of temperate and just institutions; hence, it was reasonable for Plato to hope that Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, would attain to a love [*erōs*] of the best life (*Epistle* 7.339e). Even Xenophon records Socrates' claim to be a *synerastēs* (or joint-*erastēs*) with Athens of those who are good by nature and zealous in their pursuit of excellence (*Symposium* 8.41). Only the transcendent objects of knowledge are passive insofar as they move us by eliciting our desire: as Aristotle puts it in the twelfth book of the *Metaphysics* (1072b3), the final cause produces motion in the same way as an *erōmenos*.[33] This kind of language, far from merely reflecting the jocular, if philosophically tendentious, *façon de parler* in vogue among the intimates of Socrates' circle (as Dover is tempted to believe)[34] expresses the profound conviction that we must all of us be active, desiring lovers. Both the colloquial and philosophical dimensions of Plato's usage often make themselves felt in an individual passage: at *Symposium* 203c3–4, for example, when Diotima calls the god Eros an *erastēs*, she means not only that he is, because of the peculiar circumstances surrounding his birth (*hama physei*), an enthusiast on the subject of beauty (*erastēs . . . peri to kalon*), but also that desire, by its very nature (*hama physei*), is active and aggressive in the pursuit of its object.

III. EROTIC RECIPROCITY AND THE METAPHYSICS OF DESIRE

There is indeed no role for passivity in the pursuit of truth. No one who is already wise "loves wisdom" (that is, *philosophizes*) any more than one who is

32. Socrates goes on to pray that Phaedrus (whom he also calls an *erastēs* of Lysias) may, with the aid of philosophical speeches, live simply for *Erōs*—if only Lysias himself can be converted to philosophy (257b); in the meantime, Lysias remains the *paidika* of Phaedrus (236b, 279b), while Socrates claims Isocrates for his own *paidika* (279b): see de Vries (supra n.5) 181, ad 257b4–5.

33. Insofar as the Forms are the ultimate objects of desire, and insofar as our relationship with them is not reciprocal, "the reciprocity between human beings," as Irving Singer observed in a private letter to me, "must be interpreted as a joint pursuit for an ultimate oneness that is not itself reciprocal." For a similar argument, see Enrique Rivera de Ventosa, "El Amor personal en la metafísica de Platón," *Helmantica* 26 (1975) 495–521.

34. Dover, 156–57. See, further, supra n.30.

totally ignorant and self-satisfied; only those individuals are philosophical who desire and strive for wisdom (*Symposium* 203d–204a). Plato's language is designed to emphasize the active, restless character of the desire that is common to the passionate paederast and the aspiring philosopher. Sexual desire, insofar as it is aroused by that measure of transcendent beauty instantiated in a beautiful body, is a low-order form of philosophical activity: every sexual impulse to possess another person physically—ultimately an impossible and therefore a limitless longing[35]—represents (to the extent that it is stimulated by beauty) an inchoate expression of our metaphysical desire to make the good our own forever, to become immortal.[36] Mortal as we are, we can achieve immortality only by procreation (or creativity), by striving to make what is best in us a perpetually living force.[37] "All men are pregnant,"[38] Diotima declares, "but our nature cannot give birth in ugliness, only in beauty" (206c). We need beauty in order to procreate, and only desire can bring us into the presence of beauty:[39] it is an utter sophistry to maintain that we can seek beauty without desiring it, led purely by a *doxa epi to ariston logōi agousa,* a "judgement guiding us rationally towards what is best," as Socrates fleetingly pretends in the *Phaedrus* (237e).[40] Rather, as we learn in Book IX of the *Republic,* the

35. Cf. Proust (supra n.5) I, 234: "l'acte de la possession physique—où d'ailleurs l'on ne possède rien"; I, 364: "désirer la possession, toujours impossible, d'un autre être."

36. Cf. Herman L. Sinaiko, *Love, Knowledge, and Discourse in Plato* (Chicago 1965) 90: "Thus, to see beauty in another human being and to make him or her one's beloved remains the mark of the true philosopher, but to the degree that any man finds beauty in another person he is partaking of the 'blessed' life of the philosopher"; Samuel Scolnicov, "Reason and Passion in the Platonic Soul," *Dionysius* 2 (1978) 35–49, esp. 45–46: "the knowledge of the good is not mere knowledge but it is a unified activity of the soul, which includes cognition, desire and creation. At the lowest level, it presents itself as sexual attraction, in which too there is a minimum of cognition, and physical procreation; at the higher level it appears as philosophical knowledge, whose necessary consequence is political and educational activity"; see, generally, Jon Moline, "Plato on the Complexity of the Psyche," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 60 (1978) 1–26, esp. 10–13. See also Nussbaum, 158, who argues that Alcibiades experiences his sexual desire for Socrates "as a kind of epistemic aim."

37. Voegelin (supra n.25) 13; cf. Irwin, 167: "Like other people, [the pregnant lover] wants to create whatever will preserve for ever what he values most."

38. For a defense of this translation, see Vlastos, 21n., 424; M. F. Burnyeat, "Socratic Midwifery, Platonic Inspiration," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (London University) 24 (1977) 7–16, esp. 14n.5; cf. Clay (supra n.4) 124–25; J. S. Morrison, "Four Notes on Plato's *Symposium,*" *CQ* 14 (1964) 42–55, esp. 51–55; Harry Neumann, "Diotima's Concept of Love," *AJP* 86 (1965) 33–59, esp. 39; Paul C. Plass, "Plato's 'Pregnant' Lover," *SymbOslo* 53 (1978) 47–55; James M. Edie, "Expression and Metaphor," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 23 (1963) 538–61, esp. 553–57.

39. Bruns (supra n.4) 22.

40. On this passage, see Hackforth (supra n.5) 41–42; Thomas Gould, *Platonic Love* (New York 1963) 113–16; Drew A. Hyland, "*Erōs, Epithymia,* and *Philia* in Plato," *Phronesis* 13 (1968) 32–46, esp. 42; Friedländer, III, 224–25; Kenneth Dorter, "Imagery and Philosophy in Plato's *Phaedrus,*" *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 9 (1971) 279–88, esp. 282–86; Irwin, 238–39; the most forceful arguments in support of the interpretation followed here are advanced by Malcolm Brown and James Coulter, "The Middle Speech of Plato's *Phaedrus,*" *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 9 (1971) 405–23. On the place of the irrational in Plato's thought, and in the *Phaedrus*

rational faculty in the soul has its own kind of appetite[41] and its own brand of pleasure (580d–585e; cf. *Timaeus* 88a–b); according to the *Laws,* the virtues themselves must be accompanied by *erōs* and *epithymia* (688b). Our erotic impulse is successful, however, not when it is temporarily gratified through sexual release but when it brings us into contact with the sort of individual who is able by virtue of his own beauty to call forth our deepest insights.[42] *Pace* Socrates at *Theaetetus* 155d, philosophy begins not in wonder but in desire.

Diotima concludes (*Symposium* 204c) that the nature of *erōs* more closely resembles the nature of the *erōn* (the lover) than that of the *erōmenos* (the beloved). *Erōs* is not static: unlike what we sometimes mean today by "love," it is not a stable condition but a movement of the soul driven by need and deprivation toward productivity and self-realization;[43] it is the name we give to the desire and pursuit of the whole (*Symposium* 192e). To be an *erastēs,* an aggressor in love, is to begin to make progress in the quest for immortality—or, as Socrates puts it in a moment of greater earnestness in the *Phaedrus,* to begin to grow the wings of the soul. Just as one cannot desire another person without desiring that portion of transcendent beauty embodied by him (and available in purer form in the objects of intellectual beauty), so also one cannot seek wisdom without first being possessed by the *mania* of erotic desire. Wisdom will not come to us of its own accord: we have to desire it in order to pursue it. Beauty evokes our desire; of all the objects of intellection, beauty alone is immediately accessible to our senses, whereas "in the earthly likenesses of justice and temperance and all other prized possessions of the soul there dwells no lustre" (*Phaedrus* 250a–d; cf. *Statesman* 285e).[44] It is the lover

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in particular, see the excellent discussion by Hermann Gundert, "Enthusiasmos und Logos bei Platon," *Lexis* 2 (1949) 25–46; also W. J. Verdenius, "Der Begriff der Mania in Platons *Phaidros,*" *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 44 (1962) 132–50; Josef Pieper, *Enthusiasm and Divine Madness: On the Platonic Dialogue Phaedrus,* trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York 1964); generally, E. R. Dodds, "Plato and the Irrational," *JHS* 65 (1945) 16–25; Dodds (supra n.6) 207–35, esp. 230 n.51, for references to earlier work on this question. Cf. Irwin, 164–67, 170–74, 233–41; Moline (supra n.36) 15–22.

41. Grube (supra n.3) 135–36; Scolnicov (supra n.36) 42–43; Irwin, 191–95, 233–41, 244–46; Richard Patterson, "Plato on Philosophic Character," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* (forthcoming).

42. See Friedländer, I, 50–55; Sinaiko (supra n.36) 79–98.

43. Cf. Singer (supra n.4) 55–56, 89; Nussbaum, 145–52. Hence Lebeck (supra n.7) 269, commenting on Plato's imagery in the *Phaedrus,* observes: "The lover, moved by mania, is somehow more closely in touch with the natural motion of the soul than the nonlover"; cf. Roger Hornsby, "Significant Action in the *Symposium,*" *CJ* 52 (1956–57) 37–40, on the unity of erotic and psychic motion. See also Gould (supra n.40) 116–19; Sinaiko (supra n.36) 65–68; and cf. Levy (supra n.4) 289–90. I have not been able to consult B. J. Bardsley, "The Soul as Self-Moving Motion: The Synthesis of Madness and Sobriety in Plato's *Phaedrus*" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas 1975).

44. Bruns (supra n.4) 20: "Deshalb ist der von der körperlichen Schönheit Ergriffene, ohne es zu wissen, der höheren Welt näher gebracht"; Sinaiko (supra n.36) 68: "Physiologically this [sight of the beloved] is merely an act of visual sensation, but humanly it is far more than that; for in some degree it reminds man of the transcendent beauty, 'beauty itself,' which he once beheld

seeking beauty, not the beloved incarnating a share of it, who is the more divine (*Symposium* 180b). Socrates' unconventional analysis of the dynamic of attraction in a paederastic relationship reveals, beyond all its psychological acuity, an underlying philosophical purpose: it is designed to equip *both* partners with the requisite erotic response to the stimulus of beauty—with the capacity to become more divine. We cannot all be (physically) beautiful, but we all can and do desire beauty. By granting the beloved access to a direct, if reflected, erotic stimulus and thereby including him in the community of lovers, Plato in effect elaborates the Socratic precept that philosophy is the business of everyone inasmuch as all men are responsible for cultivating their souls.[45] If Plato's erotic theory escapes—as I believe it does—the charge of promoting the exploitation of desired persons and objects,[46] it does so not because *erōs* aims, in Plato's view, at the moral improvement of the *erōmenos*[47] (although such improvement is bound to be an *incidental* result of the Platonic lover's manic activity) but because both lover and beloved, aroused alike by their visions of an identical beauty emanating (apparently) from each other and driven by the intensity of their separate desires to new labors of visionary creativity, make *simultaneous* and *reciprocal,* though *independent,* progress toward the contemplation of the Forms.[48]

It is now permissible to speak of the lover and beloved as two lovers—although Plato himself is never so explicit—for they experience alike the passion of *erōs*. Moreover, the interests of both lovers fully converge and so, in theory at least, neither is significantly subordinate to the other.[49] As Socrates

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directly in the 'place beyond the heavens.' When this reminiscence occurs, then in a quite concrete sense the man who experiences it, 'beholds . . . and feasts' on the 'Being which truly is' in the very act of ordinary visual perception. Thus, according to the myth, the transcendent character of the contemplative act means that any ordinary sensory experience of a soul within the physical universe may also be transcendent." Cf. 81–82; Pieper (supra n.40) 76.

45. See Vlastos (supra n.21) 19–21. Cf. Sinaiko (supra n.36) 82–83 (divinely inspired love is "the single, all-inclusive motive in the lives of all men": 83) and 90–91 ("To understand why a human being is different in kind from all other possible earthly objects of love and is also the particularly appropriate object for the philosopher," it is necessary to appreciate the importance of "the mutuality and reciprocity possible between two friends [*sic*]" enabling each to be "moved by that desire for transcendent reality which lies at the heart of the individual human condition": 90); also, Versenyi (supra n.14) 197.

46. Dover, 161–62, and Vlastos, 30–33, make substantially this accusation. Cf. also Neumann (supra n.38) 40–41, who observes, "one can only conclude that this passive role is not natural, if all yearn to engender the beauties of moderation and justice *in others*" (40).

47. As Irwin, 167, 169, claims, following the interpretation of Richard Kraut, "Egoism, Love, and Political Office in Plato," *Philosophical Review* 82 (1973) 330–44. Their view was anticipated by R. Hackforth, "Immortality in Plato's *Symposium*," *CR* 64.2 (1950) 43–45 cf. also Plass (supra n.38).

48. Cf. Foucault, 262–64, on the connection in Plato's thought between erotic reciprocity and the democratization of philosophical activity within the community of lovers. I hope to argue in greater detail against the Kraut–Irwin view of the erotic aim in a separate paper.

49. Cf. R. H. S. Crossman, *Plato To-day,* rev. ed. (New York 1959) 133; Sinaiko (supra n.36) 100–101: "finally, even this distinction between the lover and the beloved breaks down

sets out to demonstrate in his celebrated palinode in the *Phaedrus, erōs* affords an equal and identical benefit to both lover and beloved (245b): through the madness of *erōs* each is dear to the other (253c), and thanks to *erōs* each will have wings like the other's (256d–e).[50] The reciprocal erotic stimulus, then, not only provides the lovers with an objective assurance of mutual advantages, it also mobilizes the transcendental force that is needed, apparently, to shatter the binding habits of personal self-interest and to motivate each lover to include another human being within the charmed circle of his own self-regard. Erotic reciprocity thereby solves an important and pressing problem in Greek ethics. It bridges the gap between individuals, harmonizing the claims of self and other and integrating the traditional "competitive" virtues of heroic self-sufficiency with the "co-operative" virtues of civic obligation; it reconciles, if only within the narrow boundaries of the erotic union, these two rival standards of moral value whose clash is a typical feature of scarcity societies, ancient and modern alike.[51] "To create existential community through developing the other man's true humanity in the image of his own—that is the work of the Socratic Eros," according to Eric Voegelin. "The Idea of the Good, evoked in the communion of the dialogue, fills the souls of those who participate in the evocative act. And thus it becomes the sacramental bond between them and creates the nucleus of the new society."[52]

IV. EROTIC AND DIALOGIC RECIPROCITY

Voegelin's emphasis on the communion of the dialogue reminds us that it is in conversations, such as the conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades,

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when, in a successful love affair, each becomes the lover of and the beloved for the other." We should not, however, exaggerate the significance of erotic reciprocity for Plato's model of philosophical inquiry. It does not introduce rival sources of authority into the Socratic community—at least, not in practice—nor does it inject an element of genuine pluralism or relativity into Plato's epistemology. On the contrary: because the content of the beloved's vision of beauty—whatever its actual origin—is identical to that of the lover's, erotic reciprocity in Plato's formulation does not threaten the unity of knowledge or the determinacy of the goal of philosophy. But it does set Plato's outlook apart from other, more traditionally hierarchical methods of handing down knowledge and, in principle, it anchors a mode of access to truth in the existential situation of every human being, of every lover. By promoting an ideal of reciprocity in *erōs,* in other words, Plato implicitly locates the source of his authoritarianism in the metaphysical structure of his philosophy rather than in its system of practice.

50. Cf. Hackforth (supra n.5) 94; Versenyi (supra n.14) 197.

51. For the distinction between competitive and cooperative virtues as it applies to ancient Greece, see Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility* (Oxford 1960) 6–7 and passim. For the modern analogue, cf. Ernestine Friedl, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece,* Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology (New York 1962) esp. 75–91; John K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (New York 1963).

52. Voegelin (supra n.25) 13; see also Friedländer I, 54–55, 90; Singer, 73–75. Conventional *erōs,* by contrast, can be socially divisive: see the subtle discussion of Pantheia's role in the *Cyropaedia* by W. R. Newell, "Tyranny and the Science of Ruling in Xenophon's 'Education of Cyrus,' " *Journal of Politics* 45 (1983) 889–906, esp. 900–05.

that the reciprocal bond of *erōs* is forged. The Platonic lover, obedient to Diotima's instructions, not only refrains from physically possessing his desired object (even when that object is a beautiful body), but strives to beget *logoi kaloi,* "beautiful speeches," in its presence (*Symposium* 210a). As Dover has pointed out, Plato "regards philosophy not as an activity to be pursued in solitary meditation and communicated in *ex cathedra* pronouncements by a master to his disciples, but as a dialectical progress which may well begin in the response of an older male to the stimulus afforded by a younger male who combines bodily beauty with 'beauty of the soul.' "[53] We must not forget that *dialectic,* Plato's name for the philosophical method, originally meant "conversation" in Greek;[54] the word implies that philosophical inquiry proceeds by a reciprocal exchange of questions and answers.[55] Books can neither answer questions nor ask them, Socrates says in the *Protagoras* (329a); the written word is inert (*Phaedrus* 275d–e). Wisdom cannot be communicated in discursive, propositional form—it cannot flow from one person to another like water through a string (*Symposium* 175d; cf. *Republic* 518b–d).[56] Each person must discover it for himself or herself, must give birth to it and make it his or her own child. But human contact can help (cf. *Protagoras* 348c–d), for in the dialectical process of intimate conversation an erotic spark may leap from one person to another as the soul discovers a beautiful and desirable place in which to give birth to the *logoi* quickening within her.[57] As Plato writes in the *Seventh Letter,*[58]

53. Dover, 12, and cf. 164. See also Friedländer, I, 51–52, 68–69, 79, 91, 141, 168; Verdenius (supra n.40) 139–41; Guthrie, III, 442–49; and cf. Georges Lapassade and René Schérer, *Le Corps interdit: Essais sur l'éducation négative* (Paris 1976).

54. See Terrence Irwin, trans., *Plato: Gorgias,* Clarendon Plato Series (Oxford 1979) 110–11 ad 447c. Xenophon's Socrates proposes a different, rather fanciful etymology, however (*Memorabilia* 4.5.12): see Guthrie, III, 440; Plato toys at times with another (equally implausible) one, according to Verdenius (supra n.40) 147 n.68. On the obscene meaning of *dialegesthai,* see Henderson (supra n.13) 155 (cited by Nussbaum, 172); cf. Page duBois, "The Homoerotics of the *Phaedrus,*" *Pacific Coast Philology* 17.1–2 (1982) 9–15, who sees in dialectical *diairesis* and *synagōgē* "a model of erotic contact and separation" (10)—a view subsequently elaborated by duBois (infra n.62) 95–96.

55. Gould (supra n.40) 58–67; Sinaiko (supra n.36) 18–21; for the most recent restatements of this familiar point, see Arthur A. Krentz, "Dramatic Form and Philosophical Content in Plato's Dialogues," *Philosophy and Literature* 7 (1983) 32–47, esp. 40–42; Kenneth Seeskin, "Socratic Philosophy and the Dialogue Form," *Philosophy and Literature* 8 (1984) 181–94. On *erōs* as a dialectical force, see Jaeger (supra n.4) 193; Friedländer, I, 31, 51–54; Gundert (supra n.40) 44; Sinaiko (supra n.36) 117–18; and the excellent discussion by Jerry Stannard, "Socratic Eros and Platonic Dialectic," *Phronesis* 4 (1959) 120–34.

56. See, generally, Friedländer, I, 156, 166; Tarrant (supra n.7); Guthrie, III, 488.

57. Cf. Bruns (supra n.4) 22: "Aber das Individuum bedarf zu der Vollendung dieses Triebes einer Ergänzung, eines Mediums, welche es nur in einem zweiten Individuum findet, *wofern dieses schön ist*"; Jaeger (supra n.4) 184.

58. For a survey of the ongoing scholarly controversy over the meaning and authenticity of the *Seventh Letter,* see Guthrie, V, 399–417.

> I do not, however, consider the attempt to speak of this matter a good thing for men, except for some few who are capable of discovering it themselves with little indication; of the rest, it would fill some with an unjustified contempt in a highly unbecoming fashion, others with a lofty and vain presumption, as if they had learned some sacred mystery. . . . For the matter itself does not at all admit of verbal expression like other subjects of study; rather, as a result of a long period of intercourse devoted to it and a common life,[59] suddenly—like light kindled by a leaping flame—it is born in the soul and thereafter nourishes itself. . . . When each of these things—names and definitions, visual and other sense-perceptions—are laboriously brought together in the friction of comparison, closely examined in an atmosphere of good will and by an ungrudging[60] exchange of questions and answers, wisdom [*phronēsis*] about each flashes out, and understanding [*nous*], as one strains[61] to the limit of human capacity (341e–342a, 341c–d, 344b–c).

The Platonic dialogue is true to this model of philosophical inquiry. Plato, of course, did not invent the dialogue-form, nor was he the only disciple of Socrates who composed Socratic dialogues. But he was perhaps the only one who fully understood the reciprocal erotic dynamic of a Socratic conversation and he employed the dialogue-form to illustrate its workings. For in Plato's hands the dialogue-form itself represents an attempt to recapture the original and authentic erotic context of philosophy—the exchange of questions and answers from which emerges, dialectically, an image of excellence: the lover's beautiful speeches. By its very form, then, the Platonic dialogue aspires to

59. This phrase (*all' ek pollēs synousias gignomenēs peri to pragma auto kai tou syzēn*) has been variously understood and rendered: "rather after a long period of attendance on instruction in the subject itself and of close companionship" (Post); "as a result of continued application to the subject itself and communion therewith" (Bury); "long-continued intercourse between pupil and teacher in joint pursuit of the object they are seeking to apprehend" (Morrow); "only after long partnership in a common life devoted to this very thing" (Hamilton); "only out of much converse about the subject, and a life lived together" (Guthrie). I do not doubt that *synousia* refers to communion with other human beings rather than with *to pragma auto,* but in my translation I have tried not to prejudice the issue. For other examples of Plato's use of *synousia* in this sense, see F. Novotný, ed., *Platonis Epistulae commentariis illustratae,* Opera facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Masarykianae Brunensis 30 (Brno 1930) ad loc., who adduces *Gorgias* 461b and *Laws* 12.968c as the closest parallels, though see also *Phaedrus* 239b (cited by Verdenius [supra n.40] 139) and the opening of the *Symposium,* especially 172a–173b, where the word occurs five times in connection with Agathon's dinner-party. Obviously, the subject of such *synousiai* remains *to pragma auto.*

60. Plato's strictures against *phthonos* deserve a separate treatment; suffice it to say that *phthonos* is no less out of place in an erotic relationship (*ou phthonōi oud' aneleutherōi dysmeneiai khrōmenoi pros ta paidika: Phaedrus* 253b; cf. 239a) than it is in the heavenly choir (*Phaedrus* 247a; *Timaeus* 29e) or in the life of the mind (*en philosophiai aphthonōi: Symposium* 210d). See Sinaiko (supra n.36) 71–72; de Vries (supra n.5) 164 ad 253b7–8. Cf. Patterson (supra n.41).

61. Whether one accepts, with Wilamowitz and Bury, the emendation of Eva Sachs (*synteinonti*), or the attractive suggestion of Novotný and Franz Egermann (*synteinontôn*), the sense of the passage is not greatly affected. If one were to retain the reading of the manuscripts (*synteinōn*), one would have to translate, with Guthrie, "and *nous* stretching human powers to their limit."

engage the reader—by inviting his sympathetic identification with the characters and his intellectual participation in their discourse—in a give-and-take, a mutual exchange of ideas, an open-ended discussion.[62] It seeks, in other words, to awaken *erōs* in the reader—to arouse, in particular, his hermeneutic *erōs*, "the desire of the text." Or rather, since literary interpretation is but a means to understanding, and no piece of writing in itself is a very serious matter,[63] it would be more accurate to speak of hermeneutic *erōs* in Plato's conception as "the desire of the *idea* implicit in a text"—a striving toward something objective. Without such desire or striving or "(counter-)love," without participating in such a reciprocal exchange, the reader will not be able to interpret a Platonic dialogue and will find it baffling, pointless, incomprehensible. It is the function of the Socratic *aporia,*[64] and it is characteristic of Plato's writings in general, to promote in the reader an inner dialogue that extends and continues the dialogue in the text.[65] For thinking itself, or *dianoia,* is, according to the Eleatic Stranger in Plato's *Sophist* (263e), an interior dialogue without sound carried on by the soul; in the *Theaetetus* (189e–190a), Socrates defines *dianoia* as speech (*logos*) which the soul carries on with itself, adding, "The soul, when it is thinking, seems to me to be doing nothing else but conversing (*dialegesthai*), asking itself questions and answering them, and saying yes or no."[66] Erotic reciprocity, then, mirrors the dynamic process of thought: it reflects and expresses the distinctive, self-generated motion of the rational soul.

V. CONCLUSION

It may now be possible to understand why Socrates, as Plato portrays him, chooses to spend so much of his time among the young. As Paul Friedländer argues,

62. Friedländer, I, 165–66; Sinaiko (supra n.36) 15–16; de Vries (supra n.5) 20; Lebeck (supra n.7) 288–89; most recently, Morriss Henry Partee, *Plato's Poetics: The Authority of Beauty* (Salt Lake City 1981) 176–85. An important cautionary note, however, is sounded by Harry Berger, Jr., "Facing Sophists: Socrates' Charismatic Bondage in *Protagoras,*" *Representations* 5 (1984) 66–91, who emphasizes the difference between reading a Platonic dialogue "grammatologically as a text, and reading it logocentrically as a discussion to be overheard" (68); cf. duBois (supra n.54). See, generally, Ronald Hathaway, "Explaining the Unity of the Platonic Dialogue," *Philosophy and Literature* 8 (1984) 195–208 who also surveys earlier scholarship on Plato's use of the dialogue-form.

Page duBois, "Phallocentrism and its Subversion in Plato's *Phaedrus,* "*Arethusa* 18 (1985) 91–103, echoing duBois (supra n.54) 10, pushes to an extreme the line of interpretation taken here when she calls the *Phaedrus* "a drama of sexual encounter . . . between the reader and the text" (95). For all the celebrated seductiveness of great literature, I do not believe that anyone can plausibly claim to have had a specifically *sexual* encounter with the *text* of a literary work.

63. Some recent overviews of this complex issue can be found in Friedländer, I, 113–24; de Vries (supra n.5) 18–22; Guthrie, IV, 1–3; Partee (supra n.62) 184–85.

64. See Versenyi (supra n.14) 197–98.

65. See Gould (supra n.40) 66–67; Pieper (supra n.40) 101–02.

66. See Moline (supra n.36) 14–15.

> Socrates can, indeed, seek only in the process of a common conversation; and this search is a perennial task, never completed for anybody, including himself. Yet does not Charmides, still in the process of developing, look to Socrates as to a man who has already attained perfection? Does not Socrates, though never standing still in his quest for knowledge, indeed represent perfection in every moment of his existence? And does not Socrates need Charmides? Indeed, is not even Charmides, as a youth, perfect in his own natural growth? Thus the peculiar seduction lies precisely in this gentle and concealed dialectical tension: irony is the net of the great educator.[67]

Plato refuses to separate—he actually identifies and fuses—the erotics of sexuality, the erotics of conversation, and the erotics of philosophical inquiry. Reciprocity provides a crucial link between these different, but equally authentic, species of desire; it guarantees their essential unity and it furnishes an infallible clue to their common nature. When Alcibiades declares, "We shall in all likelihood reverse the usual pattern [*metabalein to schēma*], Socrates, I taking your role and you mine" (*Alcibiades Major* 135d), he proclaims his allegiance to a law higher and proportionately mightier than the conventional etiquette of Athenian society. For there is indeed something transcendental about mutual desire: it overleaps the barriers that fence in our separate selves and releases us from the isolation of our individual identities. Plato's philosophical treatment of erotic reciprocity therefore lends itself to the metaphysical conceits devised around it by the poets—by Donne in "The Exstasie" and "The good-morrow," for example, and by the Romantics, especially Shelley. But the poet whose native transcendentalism may have brought him closest to an independent appreciation of the Platonic outlook is Robert Frost, as these familiar lines so memorably testify:

> Eyes seeking the response of eyes
> Bring out the stars, bring out the flowers,
> Thus concentrating earth and skies
> So none need be afraid of size.
> All revelation has been ours.

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67. Friedländer, I, 141. See *Alcibiades Major* 124c.



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THE FAILING MALE GOD: EMASCULATION, DEATH AND OTHER ACCIDENTS IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

GIOVANNI CASADIO

Summary

The purpose of this paper is threefold. Starting from a new analysis of some selected sources but also from a reappraisal of the highlights of scholarly literature, it aims to reassess the category of the Mediterranean "dying and rising gods," or "deities subject to vicissitude." A first conclusion is that in spite of past and present criticism this category holds it own and is still valuable for the work of the historian of religions. Secondly it is argued that an evaluation of some significant details in the parallel stories of Attis, Adonis, Osiris (and, *mutatis mutandis*, those of Dionysus and Mithras) demonstrates that deep-seated human urges may determine the formation of recurring mythical motifs. In order to clarify the background of this process, some Freudian formulas (the castration complex, the fear of death vs. the fear of castration) may be put to the test and yield profitable results. Another, "meta-critical" implication of this discussion is that our ways of collecting data, making comparisons, and suggesting solutions may be deeply conditioned by personal concerns.

> Vergleiche entscheiden nichts, aber sie können machen dass man sich heimisch fühlt.
>
> S. Freud, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 15, p. 79

> C'est en effet dans le mythe que l'on saisit le mieux, a vif, la collusion des postulations les plus secrètes, les plus virulentes du psychisme individuel et des pressions les plus impératives et les plus troublantes de l'existence sociale.
>
> R. Caillois, *Le mythe et l'homme*, Paris 1938, 13

> A comparison is a disciplined exaggeration in the service of knowledge... Comparison provides the means by which *we* 're-vision' phenomena as *our* data in order to solve *our* theoretical problems.
>
> J.Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, Chicago 1990, 52

Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt: three lands which lie on the eastern side of the Mediterranean and facing each other hold the sea in their grip.

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In these three lands three deities have their roots who bear a close resemblance to each other and have had very similar fates both in the myths told about them and in the critical speculation on ancient religions carried out by academic research. These three deities are Attis (of Phrygian origin), Adonis (from Phoenicia) and Osiris (native of Busiris in the Nile Delta, but who spread quickly to the whole of Egypt).

The first feature which these three deities have in common is that they embody a male ideal and one which cannot be detached from, is inconceivable without its female "tender second half." As such, these gods are the ideal partners (lovers and loved ones alike) of female deities, Cybele, Astarte, Isis, who are culturally conditioned manifestations of a widespread archetype of the feminine. The archetype underlying these three hypostases of female deity is that of woman's inborn dangerousness. This quality reveals itself at the very moment when the passionate, protective and, as a consequence, possessive tenderness of the lover, or sister, or mother, on reaching its high-point, wounds and destroys the male hero in his inmost self. Owing to this dramatic event, the characteristic feature of these gods — and this is a feature which sets them apart from other male deities unshakeable in their Olympian omnipotence — is that they die a violent death in the flower of their youth (or even before, at the blossoming of adolescence) because of a fault or irregularity in their sexual behaviour. The female figure, the direct or indirect cause of her consort's demise, weeps and gives herself up to despair. But she also takes action and by the most varied means, from supplication to magic, manages within certain limits (temporarily or partially) to re-establish the god's vitality and to renew the sacred *gamos*.

All this belongs to the conceptual sphere of the myth. In cult the roles of these gods are notably different, and yet it is still possible to discern a common course. While we are well informed of Osiris' central importance in Egyptian cult starting from the second half of the third millennium BC (*Pyramid Texts* of the Fifth Dynasty), we can only form more or less attractive hypotheses on the Anatolian and Syrian prehistories of Attis and Adonis. Their stories are known to us

only by way of comparatively late, Greek sources. Adonis is alluded to for the first time in a Sapphic ode of the sixth century, but Attis appears only in the fifth century. Thereafter the Osiris and Attis cults took a common course, in so far as both of them — beginning in the third century BC and under the decisive action of the Eleusinian model and the determined work of the Eumolpid Timotheus — evolve to the point of taking on the contours of mystery cults with personal initiation rites and a specific conception of salvation. The mystical element in the Adonis story (his pathetic vicissitudes connected with vegetation life), however, does not seem to have given rise to an initiation cult nor even to have enjoyed diffusion over the whole Mediterranean world as was the case with the Attis-Cybele and Osiris-Isis mysteries (called, respectively, the Metroac and Isiac mysteries).

Attis, Adonis and Osiris have, indeed, suffered similar fates from the very beginning of comparative historical-critical research on the subject of religion. Leaving aside the forerunner Plutarch, who classified these deities (along with Dionysus and Core-Persephone) together as *daimones*, the Jacobin Charles-François Dupuis (1742–1809) in his book *Origine de tous les cultes, ou, Religion universelle* (Paris 1794–95) interpreted Attis, Adonis and Osiris (and together with them Tammuz, Dionysus and Mithras, other gods who are tortured, mutilated, wounded and murdered), "as different manifestations of the same deity (i.e. the solar Good God of Light)," celebrated at the winter solstice, "when men saw the Sun stop in its withdrawal and begin to return, again, towards them."[1] Later the three gods were the object of an immensely learned and poetical treatment at the hands of James George Frazer (1854–1941). Right from the first edition (1890) of *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*, the Phrygian, Phoenician and Egyptian gods, together with their obvious companions, Dionysus (the wine spirit) and Core (the corn spirit), became embodiments of the omnipresent "vegetation spirit" in its vicissitudes of "death and resurrection." "Under the names of Osiris, Adonis, Tammuz, Attis and Dionysus, the Egyptians, Syrians, Babylonians, Phry-

[1] J.Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, Chicago 1990, 31.

gians, and the Greeks represented the decay and revival of vegetation with rites which, as the ancients themselves recognized, were substantially the same."[2] In the second edition in three volumes (1900) and in the third in twelve (1911–15), the interpretative principle remained unchanged in spite of an enormous increase in the amount of historical data and ethnographic material collected. A whole volume is even devoted to the "Dying (and rising god)" in his diverse manifestations as a vegetation spirit. This appears originally as a separate work and is entitled significantly: *Attis, Adonis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion* (1906, 1907 and finally 1914). The Attis, Adonis and Osiris cults are here conceived as particular manifestations of a single "oriental religion" which has not yet been subjected to Hellenistic remoulding.

In the epoch-making works of Franz Cumont (*Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 1906 and, fourth edition, 1929), Raffaele Pettazzoni (*I misteri: saggio di una teoria storico-religiosa*, 1924) and the dissenting members of the "Myth and Ritual School" (from S.H. Hooke to E.O. James and G. Widengren), the category of the Mediterranean "dying and rising gods," and with it the seasonal pattern of the spirit dwelling in vegetation, have enjoyed various and well known "fortunes." Even more famous, however, are the "misfortunes" brought about by the combined efforts of a long line of scholars who have set out from the most varied premises to eliminate the category. The Dominicans R. de Vaux and M.J. Lagrange and the Jesuit K. Prümm, although they were all serious philologists, were guided by clearly discernible apologetic motives, whereas H. Frankfort, P. Lambrechts, S.G.F. Brandon, A. Brelich, U. Bianchi, C. Colpe and W. Burkert, some of the most influential religious historians of the 20th century, adopt alike a reductive approach on the basis of merely rational grounds. But it is above all at the hands of Jonathan Z. Smith that to this category have been dealt the most devastating blows, so that it has, to use his own words, "been [finally] exploded."[3]

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[2] J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, London 1890, I 278–279.

[3] Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 100.

Although many (though not all) of the arguments advanced by these scholars seem well founded, it cannot be accepted, in my opinion, that the category of gods "subject to vicissitudes,"[4] where the god dies, but also, in specific ways and in certain circumstances, returns to life, should be labelled "an old fossil" and as such be "of more interest to the history of scholarship than to the history of religions."[5] The experience which this history of conflicting interpretations has given us is certainly instructive, but a fresh look at the documentary evidence is nevertheless possible. Above all, it should be noted that this mythico-ritual pattern contains a dyadic structure which stands out with indisputable clarity. Apart from the obvious element of sacred marriage and the dubious one of resurrection, two basic events mark the mythical personality of these three young gods: emasculation and death. These two events, moreover, seem to be the two faces of the same coin: the depotentiation of divine life and its inevitable repercussions on the life of the cosmos, which seems to imitate the vicissitudes of the divine body. Hidden behind the apparent simplicity of a univocal scheme, suggesting uniformity in the psychological situations and symbolic mechanisms, lies the complexity of diverse cultural responses. The sequence of these two events (which are two eminently catastrophic events in the life of a man) diverges, the bond with the life and death of nature is variable and so does the perceivable relation between microcosm and macrocosm. It is worthwhile examining then one by one the three cases of these gods "subject to impotence and death (or death and impotence)."

Attis

The earliest tradition about this god known to us is perhaps not the one most faithful to its Phrygian origin, but it became the standard version in Alexandrian and, under its influence, Latin poetry. According to

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[4] In Ugo Bianchi's terminology (e.g. in U. Bianchi [ed.], *Mysteria Mithrae*, Leiden-Roma 1979, 5).

[5] Smith, s.v. *Dying and Rising Gods*, in M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York-London 1987, IV 526.

it the young Attis mutilates himself because he has sexually betrayed his mistress Cybele. With a sharp flint he strikes off the heavy sack containing his testicles, the organs which, in his opinion, have led him to sin.[6] More widespread, however, is the version which represents the angered Cybele herself as the personal avenger of her offended honour.[7] In any case, the Great Mother always appears as the author of the castration, whether she carries out this not difficult operation in person or entrusts its execution to the victim himself by instilling into him a form of self-destructive and self-punishing *mania.* In both cases the male hero yields only his virility and survives to enact his new role as a worshipping servant. He is no longer the bull endowed with a bold and erect member, but a tame bullock at the side of his overpowering mistress and master.

The most widespread (and, perhaps, most genuine) legend shows features which are in part different. In Pausanias' opinion (VII 17, 10) it was associated with a λόγος ἐπιχώριος of Phrygian origin and according to the Christian Arnobius (*Adv. nat.* V 5) it was developed along Hellenistic patterns by the Eumolpid theologian Timotheus to the point of becoming the standard ἱερὸς λόγος of the Phrygian mysteries as these spread throughout the Mediterranean world. The daemon Agdistis (who together embodies the sexual drives of the *Meter* and the wild Phrygian Zeus) brings about Attis' *mania* out of jealousy, and not vengeance for a real infidelity. The young shepherd Attis on his part *cuts off his genitals* under a pine tree and *dies of haemorrhage.*[8]

The examination of the different classes of sources suggests that there were almost certainly two mythical traditions. Both were equally

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[6] Catullus LXIII 4–8: *Stimulatus ibi furente rabie vagus animis devolsit ilei acuto sibi pondere silice; itaque ut relicta sensit sibi membra sine viro, etiam recente terrae sola sanguine maculas niveis citata cepit manibus leve tympanum.* Cf. Ovid *Fast.* IV 237–44; Sallustius *De diis et mundo* IV 7.

[7] Ps. Lucian *De Syria dea* 15; Minucius Felix *Octav.* 22, 4; Hippolytus *Ref. omn. haer.* V 7, 13; Lactantius *Divin. Inst.* I 17, 7; Fulgentius *Mythol.* III 5.

[8] Pausanias VII 17, 12; Arnobius *Adv. nat.* V 7.

early and genuine, but not easily reconcilable with each other. The tradition which appealed to the less theologically committed Hellenistic poets portrayed Attis as the goddess's acolyte who by castrating himself tamed *i mal protesi nervi*, to use Dante's words, and any future upsurge of libido. A loyal servant and priest, he was to remain forever at the side of his Great Mother. As is clear to the ancient sources themselves (Ovid, Lactantius, cf. notes 6 and 7) it is on this tradition's version of the Attis story that the ritual of self-castration is based to which the *galloi* of Cybele subjected themselves. Just as the priest-eunuchs of the Great Mother do not die in spite of this bloody operation, so neither does the hero, who, as lover of the goddess, constitutes the primordial mythical model of the *gallos.*

The other typically Phrygian tradition of Pessinus, in the version reformulated by the Greek Timotheus towards 300 BC, served as mythical and theological support for the Cybele and Attis mysteries, which developed in the Hellenistic age under the influence of the Eleusinian model. Here the Phrygian god bleeds to death because he emasculates himself not only by mutilating his scrotum and testicles, but he also cuts off his entire genital apparatus (the *aidoia* or *genitalia* in the Greek and Latin sources). Like the deaths of Persephone, Dionysus and Osiris, Attis' death is needed to give dramatic significance and symbolic projection to the setting of mystery cults.

To sum up: Attis can castrate himself alone at the instigation of the Mother or can be castrated by her in the mythical vision that establishes the ritual practice of self-castration. By this act her chosen followers showed their will to become *galloi*, sons and lovers of the Great Goddess. By their very imitation of his act, they identified themselves with the beloved first-born son of Cybele and could in consequence take the name of Attis, just as the votary of Bacchus took the name of Bakchos at the moment of initiation. In the theology of the mysteries Attis has to die, just as in all likelihood did the male member of the divine couple (Kybebe/Kubaba and Attis or Papas or Adamna) which played a central part in the primitive Phrygian cult. Undeniably, however, from the literature in which the myth is expressed, as well as from the ritual relating to the priesthood (and thus to the highest

level of initiation), and from the standard iconography, one gets the impression that the focal point of the Attis story is the (voluntary) act of castration rather than the (involuntary) event of his death.

In fact, as has been shown by Rousselle,[9] who provides a persuasive and copious supply of documentary evidence, and as medical experience confirms, the removal of the testicles after puberty, when the physiological and psychic characteristics of manhood have already been acquired, does not bring with it the loss of desire. Moreover, erection of the penis and ejaculation of seminal fluid (without spermatozoa, of course) are still possible, as the prostate gland and the seminal vesicles continue to function as before. The effects would not be much different from those caused by the less brutal operation of vasectomy: one is no longer able to procreate, and the secondary sexual characteristics are inhibited, but one does not lose the sexual potency connected with the male hormones produced by the endocrine glands (the suprarenal or adrenal glands, in particular). However, although we cannot but feel esteem for the painstaking study carried out by this scholar, the fact remains that (as the ancient Taoist masters were well aware[10]) the scrotum is the factory that produces, along with the sperm, a male hormone (testosterone) which is a powerful promoter of sexual energy. Even granting that *galli* and *archigalli* engaged in a certain sexual activity and, besides homosexual relations to which they were naturally inclined as *effeminati*,[11] had close dealings with young unmarried girls and matrons faithful to the Metroac church (Martial III 81, 3–6: *ore vir es*; Basil of Ancyra, *De virginitate*, PG XXX 796), and even were publicly married in some cases, it is necessary to acknowledge that human

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[9] A. Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity*, Oxford 1988, 122–128. (French edn.: Paris 1983.)

[10] Cf. M. Chia-M. Winn, *Taoist Secrets of Love*, Santa Fe 1984, 68–71.

[11] Firmicus Maternus *Mat.* I 150, 21; II 150, 13; II 271, 5; Manetho Astrol. *Apotelesmatika* III 395; Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* III 14 (172, 15): "The men become *malakoi* and eager to have unnatural congresses and the functions of women, and are dealt with as pathics, though privately and secretly"); etc. In the Latin *Liber Hermetis Trismegisti* ed. by W. Gundel in 1936 the *galli* are called *molles muliebria patientes* (F. Cumont, *L'Egypte des astrologues*, Bruxelles 1937, 133, n.2).

mythopoeic consciousness is not based on the evidence of medical case histories. As a matter of fact, according to a widespread way of thinking (not least in the Mediterranean world), the *impotentia generandi* is symbolically identical with the *impotentia coeundi*, and so the castrated Attis in mythical terms represents the drama of the man who alone condemns himself not only to sterility, but also to impotence and passive submission to the other sex.

If, therefore, we are to come to grips with the Attis myth and religion, which enjoyed diffusion all over the Mediterranean for a thousand years or more, it is of particular interest and importance to try to determine what sense the castration motif might have had both originally and in subsequent developments of interpretation. An account of the various attempts at interpretation, besides allowing us to approach the "truth" of this myth gradually, will offer at the same time a meaningful sample of the reductive theories that have dominated the studies in the history of religions during the twentieth century.

To begin with, a glance at the most important interpretations given in late antiquity will be interesting. These clearly have no scholarly intent, but aim at a Gnostic and mysteriosophic appropriation of the myth. According to the Naassene Gnostics "the mutilation of Attis means that he was separated from the low earthly regions of creation and carried up on high to the eternal essence, where there is no female and no male, but a new creature, a new man, who is androgynous."[12] This interpretation from the second century AD reappears, freed of its metaphysical projections, but not of its Gnostic imprint, in various contemporary writers. For Julian the Apostate (362 AD), the castration of Attis means "a pause in the rush towards the infinite."[13] Stripped of every allegorical and metaphysical projection, the event of the castration is, in Julian's words, regarded as an incitement to *metriotes*, to *enkrateia* (to be understood in the Greek and Platonic sense as "self-control") and in the end to *epistrophe* (the conversion of the soul to God and the world of ideas). Likewise, for his contemporary and

[12] Hipp. *Ref.* V 7, 15.

[13] Julian *Orat. mat. deor.* 167c.

coreligionist Sallust, Attis, taken as the Platonic demiurge who leaves a trace of the intelligible in the sensible world, frees himself of the power to procreate in order to recover communion with the gods, "because it is necessary to put a curb on *genesis* and avoid the degeneration of the supreme realities."[14]

For Hugo Hepding, who paid homage to his teacher A. Dieterich by writing what is still, a century from its first appearance, the most complete (and in many points the most convincing) study of the Attis myth and cult, the problem was solved at the very outset by simply removing it. The introduction of castration into the Attis cult was, in his opinion, due to Semitic influence (Dea Syria of Hierapolis), and the myth of Attis' castration took its origin as an *aition* from the practice of the *Galli*.[15] Without wishing to indulge in malicious insinuations, one cannot help suspecting that anti-Semitic prejudice was also at work in Dieterich's pupil, as well as an almost unconscious desire, in a Germany at the beginning of the century, to relieve the Indo-European Phrygians of the questionable privilege of having invented such an apparently disgusting and reprehensible practice.

The great Franz Cumont was a pioneer in this field, too, and, even before Hepding assembled the sources for the Attis cult in his article on "Attis" in Pauly-Wissowa (1895). In his Michonis and Hibbert Lectures, which are still an essential point of reference for research on the oriental religions in Roman paganism, he tried to justify the Phrygians' "excessive and degrading demonstrations of an extreme worship" without having recourse to the expedient of assuming a Semitic loan. Surprisingly enough, "the sacred ecstasy, the voluntary mutilations and the eagerly sought sufferings" reveal, in his view, "an ardent longing for deliverance from subjection to carnal instincts, and a fervent desire to free the soul from the bonds of matter."[16]

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[14] Sallust *De diis et mundo* IV 9.

[15] H. Hepding, *Attis. Seine Mythen, sein Kult*, Giessen 1903, 128, 161–162, 217–218.

[16] F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris 1909^2 (Eng. tr. London 1911), 50–51.

This anachronistic and trivializing interpretation of cult practices in terms of mystical and ascetic motives seems to stand in clear contrast to the general impression received from the sources, however much they may be biased in their open hostility towards the Phrygian cult. The Neoplatonists themselves (Origen aside) preferred to restrict these motives to the high level of mythic representation. If we were in a position to ask the priests of Cybele or the Pessinus Attis himself for their opinions (their voices have of course been inexorably lost for ever, apart from the ineloquent epigraphic evidence), they would doubtless be quite puzzled and, if they had by chance read Plato, would cry out: "Nothing to do with Attis!"

Just like all historians of religions at the beginning of this century, Raffaele Pettazzoni too paid his debt to the prevalent model of the bond between (animal) fertility and (plant) fruitfulness. Through successive and ever bloodier mutilations, the *gallus* willingly removed from himself his accumulated energies to transfer them to a languishing nature: "Il sangue, lo sperma sono gli elementi vitali per eccellenza ... Perciò erano naturalmente i più atti a conferire nuove forze alla natura intorpidita." The emasculation, which is, in a mild form, a kind of death, contributed (as the offering of human lives as victims did at other times) to the awakening and revivification of nature.[17] But, as clear as Attis's connections with vegetation are, the gift which the young man makes of his *vires* is to a maternally ruthless woman and not to nature or the earth.

In one of his early works, Arthur Darby Nock set out the problem of the motives behind the "self-mutilation" practised in the cults of Cybele, the Dea Syria and other great fertility goddesses with already characteristic precision. Rejecting the explanations offered by Cook, Rose and Farnell, he suggests seeing the practice of castration as "a means of ensuring ritual purity."[18] The eunuch deliberately mutilates himself to achieve, like a young girl or boy, that particular

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[17] R. Pettazzoni, *I misteri*, Bologna 1924 (rpt. Cosenza 1997), 106.

[18] A.D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford 1972, 14 (1st edn. 1925).

sanctity that will allow him "to serve through his whole life the object of his devotion."[19] Sexual contact is a cause of pollution, so it is only by abstaining from it that the priest can make himself worthy of approaching the deity. "The importance of the individual's self-castration lies not so much in the act as in the life which follows it."[20] Attis, who is the prototype of these priests, has, in the same way as Origen, acted to force self-control upon himself so as not to waste the energy that is to be devoted to the cult of his goddess. In spite of the epigraphic and ethnographic evidence adduced, this interpretation is clearly anachronistic and ethnocentric. (As it seems to me, the British scholar was influenced above all by the model of celibacy laid down for Catholic Priests. In a country like Great Britain, where Catholicism is a minority creed, this model cannot but attract especial attention.)

In one of his last works, and the only one that strives for a synthesis, Uberto Pestalozza proclaimed what had for him the meaning of an existential truth. At the very advanced age of 82, he was writing after a life spent in the passionate study of the Great Goddess, or Potnia. The primitive meaning of the myth seemed clear to him, who identified without hesitation the Asian Great Goddess with the *terra mater.* (The fact is that this identity, although it also appeared to be a fact to the stoicizing Varro, cannot at all be taken for granted in the case of the primitive Asian goddess, who is a Rhea, not a Gaia.)[21] This is once again the model of the fertility of nature, whose development can be traced from Frazer to Pettazzoni. "Nature" is here objectified as the Earth, which must be renewed and strengthened through the male sacrifice, the sacrifice of that force which the male members of society experience as a quintessence of macrocosmic potency (*vires* in Latin are "forces," but also "testicles," and *potentia*, in all of the languages derived from Latin, denotes the ability to have sexual intercourse). The only difference is that the attitude of the goddess and the consequent ritual process are interpreted anthropologically in terms of gender

[19] *Ibid.* 9.

[20] *Ibid.* 12.

[21] U. Pestalozza, *Eterno femminino mediterraneo*, Venezia 1954, 91.

psychology owing to the peculiar and in a sense more modern *forma mentis* of the scientist Pestalozza.

Carsten Colpe, in an attempt to identify the specific character of the Attis myth in relation and in contrast to the Adonis and Osiris myths,[22] focuses his attention on the *sense* of Attis' castration. It does not consist in a "Weibwerdung," that is in the assimilation of the characteristics of the opposite sex so as to identify oneself and almost to merge with the female deity, but rather in the "Aufhebung der Mann-Weib-Polarität." The same motives are at work in the ritual: "in Wirklichkeit kann der Grund für die Selbstkastration nur der gewesen sein, dass das doppelte Geschlecht der Gottheit auch bei ihren Verehrern wiederherstellt werden sollte." The castration of Attis (in polar opposition to that of his ancestor Agdistis, who was by his very nature bisexual) is, therefore, nothing other than a means to re-establish the primordial androgyne. Although Colpe finds support for his interpretation in ancient literature (especially in Catullus), in Anatolian prehistory (Adamna, epithet of Attis, is probably a variant of Adamma, epithet of the Great Mother in her androgynous hypostasis), and in the modern psychology of religion (H. Sundén), the fact remains that the ancients looked upon Attis (and likewise the *gallus*) as a *semivir*, an *effeminatus*, not as an androgyne or a hermaphrodite. That both Attis and Cybele are "ursprünglich androgyn" is true only at the deep structure level of the myth as reflected in the symbolism of the mysteries and perhaps in the Anatolian prehistory of the two figures. The notion of androgyny does not, in my opinion, exhaust all the possible meanings of the myth of Attis' castration. Catullus' Attis, it is true, appears as a manic-depressive who has lost his sexual identity (*ego mulier . . . ego puer*: *carm.* LXIII 63), but the real *galli* after the operation certainly preserved the characteristics of their original sex or acquired those of the opposite sex when predisposed by nature to sexual inversion.

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[22] "Zur mythologischen Struktur der Adonis-, Attis-, und Osiris-Überlieferungen," in *Lisan mithurti: Festschrift Wolfram von Soden*, ed. W. Röllig, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, 23–44, esp. 33–44.

Michel Meslin, familiar with the ideas of post-Freudian psychoanalysis on this subject (B. Bettelheim and certain other developments in France), looks for a deeper meaning and even a lesson in the castration of Agdistis (who, in his opinion, is tantamount to the Great Mother Cybele) and Attis.[23] The emphasis of the myth is on the absolute necessity of a castrating education, "qui seule peut normaliser les rapports Mère-Fils en provoquant un investissement normal qui tienne compte de la spécificité des sexes." (This, it seems, would refer to the castration of Agdistis.) "Mais en même temps, ce mythe révèle la catastrophe que provoque la conduite d'une mère trop aimante et toute entière à son fils attachée." (This seems to refer more specifically to the castration of Attis.) And the lesson drawn from it (since all myths can be interpreted not only allegorically but also anagogically) is peremptory and effective: "il invite chacun à se définir dans son être propre comme dans ses relations avec autrui."[24] This interpretation misses the mark not so much because it is conditioned by a reading "di tipo apertamente psicoanalitico"[25] as because it empties the act of Attis and the *galli* of all its potential dramatic and subversive meaning. The values of religion (of religion in general and of this religion in particular) cannot and must not coincide perfectly with the values of civil ethics and are not always directed to creating a balanced individual in harmony with himself and the other members of his society.

Walter Burkert provides an explanation of the ritual which he himself defines as "functional":

> Castration puts a man outside archaic society in an absolutely irrevocable way; being neither man nor woman, but 'nothing,' he has no place to go. He has no choice but to adhere to his goddess; and 'awe will spread' around him. Irrespective of motivations, the mere act makes apostasy impossible.[26]

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[23] "Agdistis ou l'androgynie malséante," in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, Leiden 1978, II 765–76.

[24] *Ibid.* 775–76.

[25] D.M. Cosi, *Casta Mater Idaea: Giuliano l'Apostata e l'etica della sessualità*, Venezia 1986, 28.

[26] W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley — Los Angeles — London 1979, 105.

Such an interpretation cannot be refuted. The loss of sexual identity is one of those situations which are reflected in very concrete, psychically and socially important facts. This approach seems better grounded than any explanations based on symbolic realities ("becoming a female," according to Farnell, and "turning bisexual," according to Colpe). But whoever is unsatisfied with interpreting the myths as simple αἴτια of ritual patterns will not find in this explanation a sufficient foundation for the mythical datum of Attis' castration.

With Aline Rousselle and Dario Cosi we are back to the domain of metaphysical aetiology. In the first case, metaphysics in psychological terms:

> The act of castration has two meanings: the return to childhood, which makes the castrated male the perfect victim for Saturn, and the adult whose *pneuma* can be purely psychic, since there can be no further loss of the vital seed. The practices described in the life of Elagabalus mark the return to a pre-pubertal condition...[27]

Cosi gives us metaphysics in ascetic terms with Malthusian ends: The ideal sense of this practice, coincident with its physiological effect, would be that of obstructing any immoderate sexual activity, "di limitarne o di abolirne la consistenza." But he adds an important qualification: "non la sessualità in quanto tale si vuole arginata o impedita, ma il suo risultato, la generazione dei figli."[28]

Finally, two attempts from Scandinavia to grasp the central concerns of this myth using the tools of structural analysis. Jörgen Podemann Sörensen[29] sees a process at work in the Attis myth which is somehow circular: "When an end is put to sexual reproduction this may likewise be seen as a return to that stage [i.e. 'the primeval level'], where life comes from stone [as in the story of the procreation of Agdistis] and where the male-female relation is not yet relevant to the creation of life." Emasculation and death would therefore lead back to the original

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[27] Rousselle, *Porneia*, 122.

[28] Cosi, *Casta Mater Idaea*, 20–21.

[29] "The Myth of Attis: Structure and Mysteriosophy," in *id.* (ed.), *Rethinking Religion*, Copenhagen 1989, 23–29, esp. 27–28.

wild state. Binary oppositions are doubtless present in every myth, and specifically that of Attis, but, as a rule, any interpretation which applies Lévi-Strauss' methodology neglects the historical context of the myth and its connection with the ritual pattern. Britt-Mari Näsström, however, draws our attention to other polar oppositions. In particular, she notices the polar opposition between life and death, correlated with that between chaos and cosmos. Just as sexual swelling (ὀργάω) is a sign of life, so castration (τέμνω) is a sign of death. The moral of the myth, in line with Neoplatonic interpretations but also with "the secret rites of the mysteries," is, in her opinion, the following: "Desire is a necessity for life, but uncontrolled it will lead to chaos and decay for the individual soul. Death on the other hand will bestow a higher reality."[30] Remarks: It is certain that the *galli* of the Phrygian Great Mother did not normally die from castration (even if impotency is a sign of death near at hand) and so could not be reborn. Nevertheless, it is a fact that in the last days of paganism (376 AD) a *tauroboliatus* (not a *gallus*) can say of himself, after having undergone the blood-bath, that he has been *in aeternum renatus.*[31] (And, of course, rebirth implies a preceding death.)

A century of learned and acute reflection has taught us a great deal about the sense of this crucial and irreversible gesture, the pivot of this ecstatic-orgiastic cult which broke out violently in the arid and rocky lands lying in central Anatolia in an age certainly much earlier than our earliest Greek and Latin sources. If we carefully consider the main features of the myth, it turns out to be the story, taken to a grotesque extreme, of the violent antagonism, arrogance, and even depravation which fundamentally dominates dealings between the two sexes when the urgency of libido is not curbed by the recognition of the partner's personal integrity. Zeus' purely ejaculatory sexual drive (and Zeus is Attis' *alter ego*) finds its outlet in his narcissistic copulation with the rock (*voluptatem in lapidem fudit*).

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[30] B.-M. Näsström, *O Mother of the Gods and Men: Some aspects of the religious thoughts in emperor Julian's Discourse on the Mother of the Gods*, Lund 1990, 64.

[31] *CIL* VI 510.

The refusal of penetration by the powerful superwoman Cybele, who cannot accept the domination presumed by the erect male member (*ithyphallos*), leads to the mutilation, or rather depotentiation, of that threatening and, to her, superfluous organ. In spite of the rhetorical declamations of Arnobius' Attis (*tibi Agdesti haec habe, propter quae motus tantos furialium discriminum concitasti*), the Great Goddess, who tames and yokes lions, is either sexually self-sufficient — in so far as she is androgynous — or she contents herself with a different sexuality in which roles are reversed, and where her many lovers, Attis and the band of *galli*, play a part which is passive but not without potential sexual meaning. Like another avatar of the Anatolian Great Mother, Artemis of Ephesus, who is closely similar to her and likewise surrounds herself with sexually handicapped priests-servants-lovers, Cybele considers the pendent signs of virility trophies which she can at most use as the beads of a necklace to hang around her neck as an ornament for her maternal breast. As a matter of fact, other forms of sexuality, which indicate the subjection and passivity of her partner, suit her model of femininity. These are the forms which the *gallus* of Martial adopts when he does his best to be a *vir* using his *os* (*Epigr.* III 81, 6). Even the little finger (*digitorum minimissimus*), which lives on in the dead body of Attis and wiggles continuously (*perpetuus solus agitetur e motu*: Arnobius *Adversus nationes* V 7) can play a role and acquire a meaning in such an atmosphere, in which it is perhaps possible to detect the mythopoeic presence of female fantasy, or rather female fantasy relived and remodelled in the male imagination. Some scholars[32] have thought that the finger, which "ja von jeher eine sexuelle Symbolik vertritt," must be regarded here as a "Phallus-symbol." Others, however,[33] have sensibly objected that the epithet *minimissimus* is not suitable for a part of the body which is neither very small nor unimportant. In actual fact, Attis' finger can

[32] E.g. V. Haas, *Hetitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen*, Mainz 1982, 188–89.

[33] D.M. Cosi, "Salvatore e salvezza nei misteri di Attis," *Aevum* 50 (1976) 42–71, esp. 62, n.128.

have a sexual function just as a finger — not as a phallic symbol but as a phallic substitute. The privilege granted to Attis by the supreme god through the intercession of the Great Mother cannot be considered so insignificant if the body of the handsome Attis remains evergreen, with his hair growing continuously like the needles of a fir tree, or if his smallest member continues to possess a vitality which eternalizes the wagging function which is seemingly its characteristic. This function of swinging back and forth slackly but sensually seems distinctive of a tamed virility slave to a dominant female nature and — as we shall see in a later context — one not disdainful of the prohibited pleasures of necrophilia.

Adonis

Whereas the Phrygian Attis can trace his family tree back to the incestuous desire felt by a son (Zeus) for his mother (Rhea-Cybele), the Phoenician and Cypriot and, in any case, Semitic Adonis owes his birth to the unnatural love of a daughter (Myrrha) for her father (Cinyras). The deviant sexual behaviour of parents or ancestors which gives rise to the existence both of Attis and Adonis is therefore of the same order, and this is already a meaningful analogy in the pedigree of these two deities. Both live out their short seasons seducing and being seduced by goddesses whose vitality is overpowering and in whose presence they play the colourless role of fading gigolos, of partners without clout. And in the end a violent death, with the spilling of much blood which generates attractive but unproductive flowers (respectively the violet and the anemone), strikes both of them down before they reach adulthood.

Sappho of Lesbos (fl. c. 600 BC) was the first poet to bewail the death of the delicate (*abros*) Adonis and to describe the ritual mourning of the women.[34] Tradition has it that the invention of the catalectic dactylic dimeter or adonius goes back to this poetess (cf. Sappho, fr. 168 Lobel-Page). The metre is called so because it seems to reproduce the measures of the *ephymnion* which was sung as a refrain

[34] Fr. 140 Lobel-Page.

of invocation in the women's lament over Adonis' death. But, at least in the few verses that have come down to us, the poetess does not allude to the cause or the circumstances of his death. Although the legend of Adonis' death in a boar hunt is certainly attested in literature only from the 3rd century BC, and in iconography only from the 2nd century BC, it soon became the official version and the only important one, so far as cult is concerned, on Cyprus no less than at Byblus. The first author to describe the tragic story in some detail is Bion of Smyrna (fl. c. 100 BC): "The handsome Adonis is lying in the mountains, wounded in the thigh by a tusk, by a white tusk in his white thigh, and, while Kipris [i.e. Aphrodite] grieves, he is breathing out his last."[35] Ovid (*Metam.* 10.715–16) is even more explicit: "The ferocious boar attacks, it thrusts its teeth deeply into his groin and knocks him down to death in the sand" (*Trux aper insequitur totosque sub inguine dentes / abdidit et fulva moribundum stravit harena*). Before he dies in the embrace of his disconsolate Aphrodite, the handsome Adonis is deprived of the main attribute which made him the ideal lover and object of desire both to the two goddesses and to a male god such as the ambiguous Dionysus. As regards its place and manner, the wound inflicted on Adonis, is, in its basic structure and also in its deep meaning, equivalent to castration, performed, in this case with the teeth instead of a sharp instrument as in the case of Attis. Similarly the Hurrian god Kumarbi bites off the genitals of the sky god Anu with his teeth. At the core of the myth, there is thus an assault on male sexual integrity which once again has death as its immediate corollary. The Adonis myth gives voice to a basic anxiety of the male individual on the primitive myth-making level, whether the boar simply stands for the wild beast which ravages crops or somehow embodies the wild ogre who tears young heroes to shreds when they are too virile and enterprising.

To avoid misunderstanding and so as not to give the impression that we wish to draw from a single aspect of the Adonis file an all-encompassing explanation of the mythical and ritual complex surrounding this hero, let us say right away that, if we insist on

[35] *Epit. Ad.* 7–9.

this aspect of the Adonis legend (the fact that the main event in his story focuses on the violent breaking off of his life in close connection with the violent smothering of his virility), it is merely our intention to highlight a feature in the myth (and one which is by no means secondary, but which in our opinion has so far been unjustly overlooked) which links him even more intimately to his companion Attis.

In essence, Adonis is neither a sun god (Dupuis) nor an overly successful seducer, because he is too perfumed (Detienne), nor even a failed hunter (Piccaluga). Adonis, in the thousand-year long course of his cult, is essentially a "dying god," or, in more sophisticated terms, a "god subject to vicissitude." And, in certain cultural contexts and at a certain moment in history, he is also a "rising god." This notion, unpopular as it is with modern scholars, nevertheless has a solid basis in fact. In the same ideological context must also be placed the event which comes immediately before his death and in some way conditions and characterizes it: his castration. The meaning of this event, which as a deep structure underlies the further developments in his myth, can be confirmed by two indications, one drawn from the sphere of the myth itself and the other from the rite.

Let us begin with the myth. The earliest reference to the singular post-mortem destiny of Adonis seems to come, remarkably, from Sappho, if the very late (16th century AD) evidence of Natalis Comes[36] is to be trusted: "Sappho has left a written record that the dead Adonis was laid out among lettuces by Venus" (*scriptum reliquit Sappho Adonim mortuum fuisse a Venere inter lactucas depositum*). However, already at the beginning of the 4th century BC the poets of Middle Comedy had taken their cue from this myth for producing witty sayings. Eubulus, in *The Impotents* (Ἄστυτοι) says: "Don't put lettuce (θριδακίναι) on the table before me, wife, or you will have only yourself to blame. For in that plant, the story goes, Kypris once laid

[36] *Mythol.* V 16 = Sappho fr. 181 Gallavotti = fr. 211, b, III Lobel-Page.

out Adonis when he died; therefore it is dead men's food."[37] Amphis is even more explicit in his *Lamentation* (Ἰάλεμος):

> It was among the lettuce-plants, plague take them! Why, if a man not yet sixty should eat them when he desires commerce with a woman, he might twist and turn the whole night long without once accomplishing his desires, wringing his hands against stern fate instead of acting like a man (literally: "rendering his service": ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας).[38]

Comic poets of the 4th century BC are thus familiar with the myth of Aphrodite who lays the dead Adonis down in the lettuce patch. And they also know that in popular belief eating lettuce leads to impotence. The reasoning of Eubulus and Amphis appears to be as follows. Since lettuce has received Adonis' body, it has become food for the dead. An explanation thus is given to the effect that lettuce makes men impotent, that is, sexually dead. Shortly thereafter, Hellenistic poets reveal this detail of the myth in all seriousness. Callimachus (in the first half of the 3rd century BC) simply mentions that "Aphrodite hid Adonis in the lettuce patch,"[39] without making it clear whether he was dead or alive. Nicander of Colophon (2nd century BC), explaining the word *brenthis* as the Cypriot term for lettuce in his *Glossai*, adds that Adonis (in a story which is evidently set in Cyprus) sought refuge in the lettuce patch "from the wild boar which killed him."[40] The two Hellenistic poets, who are also learned theologians (especially Callimachus), are well aware that the story of Adonis ending his days in a lettuce-bed must have a deeper meaning. The best account of what Nicander and Callimachus must have read into the myth of Adonis' death is provided by Athenaeus.[41] He knew that a certain type of lettuce is called "eunuch" by the Pythagoreans and, with superior linguistic malice, *astytis* ("impotent") by women, "for it has diuretic properties and makes men ἔκλυτοι ['without energy'] πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια." In

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[37] Eubulus fr. 14 Kock.

[38] Amphis fr. 20 Kock.

[39] Callimachus fr. 478 Pfeiffer.

[40] Nicander fr. 120 Schneider = p. 218 Gow-Scholfield.

[41] Athenaeus *Deipn.* II 69 e-f.

general, he adds, "lettuce is wholesome, cooling, a good regulatory and soporific, juicy, and checks sexual desire." It is therefore conceivable, Athenaeus observes, that the poets mean to say "allegorically that all those who eat lettuce constantly are ἀσθενεῖς, inefficient in sexual intercourse (ἀφροδίσια)."

In the myth, therefore, as it was known to Sappho and certainly to the comic poets, the young Adonis is castrated by a raging wild boar. But his ensuing state of impotence is marked by his coming into contact with the debilitating lettuce. If, however, we press Callimachus' text a little further, we can also infer that Adonis dies because he has by now become impotent. If Adonis throws himself into the lettuce patch (Nicander), it is as if he alone castrates himself; if Aphrodite plunges him into it (Callimachus), on the other hand, it is as if he is castrated by his lover. This double possibility, in fact, is known to us from the Attis myth. "In each case the seducer is dispossessed of his powers of seduction, whether through the effect of the lettuces or through a violent death."[42] In other words: "For Aphrodite's lover, death and impotence coincide."[43] To sum up: Just as Attis, the hero Adonis also turns out to be a loser on the occasion of his meeting with an overpowering potnia like the Phoenician Aphrodite of Cyprus. And just like Attis he is a loser in his manhood, which is co-essential with his life itself.

There is no evidence that the priests of the Phoenician love goddess practised ritual castration like the *galli* of Cybele, at least as far as cult practice in the Graeco-Cypriot area is concerned. Nor is there any evidence as regards the Phoenician and then Hellenistic cult of Baalat or Astarte or Aphrodite, for the presence of emasculated priests, guardians of the temple, such as can be found for the *galli* of Atargatis, who serve in the temple of the Dea Syria at Hierapolis-Bambike. A shared cult of the male god of Byblus and the great goddess of northern Syria is attested, however, in an area far removed from the two cults' place of origin, at Dura-Europos, a caravan city on the Euphrates on

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[42] M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis: Spices in Greek Mythology*, Hassocks 1977, 70. (Orig. French ed. *Les jardins d'Adonis*, Paris 1972.)

[43] *Ibid.* 68.

the border between Syria and Mesopotamia, between the Roman and Sassanian empires. In this centre, which was a home to sanctuaries of almost all the cults active in the Roman empire (the Jewish and Christian ones included) during the Antonine period, the Syrian deities enjoyed a privileged position. Curiously enough, inscriptions inform us that Adonis was worshipped in the temple of Atargatis, while, conversely, Atargatis possessed a cult site in the sanctuary of Adonis, erected around 152 AD. However cautious we may wish to be, we cannot help concluding that Adonis has not only entered the temple of the Dea Syria but has also felt the influence of her cult and has adopted the sado-masochistic vocation which leads her more active followers to express radically the wildest impulses of their erotic and religious excitement.

Let us now go back to the Phoenician environment where the cult of Adonis and Baalat originates. Aphaca is a secluded site in the mountains of Lebanon at the source of the reddish river which takes its name from the young dying god Adonis. And it is here that "Aphrodite joined in love with Adonis for the first and last time" (*Etym. Magn.* s.v. *Aphaka*). At that spot stood a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite and Adonis which was famous in antiquity and attracted crowds of pilgrims as well as curious tourists.[44] In this kind of rural branch office of the urban cult of Byblus, besides various prodigies consisting mainly of fireworks around a sacred pond, most notable was the presence of men who "after having repudiated the dignity (σεμνόν) of their (virile) nature tried to win the favour of the goddess through the 'women's' sickness."[45] In other words, men served in the temple of Aphrodite who had emasculated themselves in honour of the goddess and who, as eunuchs or *galli*, were available (as can be deduced from what follows in the report) for secret (and probably paid) meetings with women who, desirous of forbidden pleasures, haunted the temple as ardent followers of the goddess and her *paredros*. The situation which Eusebius describes in the 4th century was certainly the result of a

[44] Lucian *De Dea Syria* 9.

[45] Eusebius *De vita Const.* III 55, 3.

custom, the castration of the priests of Adonis, which went back in time at least two or three centuries, when in the Syro-Anatolian areas, unified once and for all under the Roman empire, interference between the cults of the great goddesses and their listless partners was an everyday occurrence.

On the basis of several indications, at the mythical and ritual levels, Adonis, therefore, appears as the manifestation of a failing virility which can be revitalized thanks to and in favour of a lady goddess with cruel demands. And it is a manifestation which conforms to certain patterns not because it derives inevitably from some kind of naturalistic archetype, but because of a historical situation involving the mutually fertilizing meeting of Greek and Semitic cultures.

Osiris

When we turn to Egypt, where concern with the afterlife dominated thought and action, we must expect to find a considerably different conception of the "dying god." This is indeed the case, although the differences affect the deep structure of the conception less than is usually admitted and in any case tend to disappear in the Hellenistic and Roman ages of universal syncretism. In the first place, the relationship between Osiris and his partner Isis, at least originally, is not at all one of dependence like that between Attis, Adonis and their partners. These are mother goddesses who supervise the fortunes of the *bios* and the *kosmos* and at the same time are jealous lovers with cruel demands. Secondly, the god's connection with fertility and vegetation, and with useful vegetation in particular (corn, specifically barley), is far more deep-rooted and explicit than in the case of the two Asian gods. Thirdly, as compared with the meagre and problematical sources concerning the resurrection of Attis and Adonis, the revivification or resuscitation procedures of Osiris are remarkably complex, though fully and unmistakably attested. A dead god and a god of the dead, he is also a "rising god." In the words of W.B. Kristensen: "Osiris is the god of death who at the same time conquers death and reveals him-

self as the lord of spontaneous life."[46] The Egyptologist W. Helck has stated that several features add up to a real similarity between Adonis and Osiris. His aim is to demonstrate the Syrian origin of the Egyptian god in connection with the story of the adventures of Isis in Byblos (Plut. *Is. Os.* 15–16):

> They are both shepherd-gods and in both myths a main motif is the search of the Loved One for the dead god, whom she then bewails and ritually buries; in both, also, the continued life of the deceased in the earth shows itself in the sprouting vegetation. In Egypt ... the animal that kills the god is anthropomorphized, while the form of the Loved One is doubled and becomes less erotic (in Isis and Nephtys) and the death of the god is interpreted with reference to the annual disappearance of the fertile earth under the waters of the Nile, only to re-emerge creatively.[47]

Keeping in mind the unquestionable similarities and the not less basic differences between the mythical and ritual complex of Osiris on the one hand, and those of Attis and Osiris on the other, we may ask the question whether Osiris appears in the myth as an emasculated and not only as a dead god. The answer cannot be simple, because in the myth Osiris is indeed emasculated by his brother and enemy Seth, but this happens only after his death and only in Greek sources of the Ptolemaic and Roman age, where the influence of other cultures may be suspected. Diodorus of Sicily (c. 80–20 BC) states:

> Osiris' *aidoion*, according to the Egyptians, was thrown by Typhon into the Nile because no one of his accomplices was willing to take it. Yet Isis thought it as worthy of divine honours as the other parts, for, fashioning a likeness (*eidolon*) of it, she set it up in the temples, commanded that it be honoured, and made it the object of the highest regard and reverence (*sebasmos*) in the mystic rites (*teletai*) and sacrifices (*thysiai*) accorded to the gods.[48]

About 120 AD Plutarch of Chaeronea informs us of the events leading up to this story:

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[46] W.B. Kristensen, *Life out of death*, Louvain 1992, 7. (Eng. tr. of the 2nd Dutch ed. [1949]; orig. Norwegian ed. *Livet fra døden*, Oslo 1925.)

[47] Résumé by J.G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, Leiden 1980, 29.

[48] Diod. I 22, 6.

> Typhon, when he was hunting by night in the moonlight, came upon it (the box containing Osiris' body). He recognized the body, and having cut it into fourteen parts, he scattered them. When she heard of this, Isis searched for them in a papyrus boat, sailing through the marshes... The only part of Osiris which Isis did not find was his male member (*aidoion*); for no sooner was it thrown into the river than the lepidotus, phagrus and oxyrhynchus ate of it, fish which they most of all abhor. In its place Isis fashioned a likeness (*mimema*) of it and consecrated the phallus, in honour of which the Egyptians even today hold festival.[49]

Simplifying brilliantly, though in a partisan spirit, the Christian Hippolytus (*Ref. omn. haer.* V 7, 23) sums up as follows the essence of the Isis mysteries: "Nothing else than the pudendum (αἰσχύνη) of Osiris which was snatched away and sought for by her of the seven stoles and black garments (i.e. Isis)."

The specialists are divided as to the interpretation of this mythical detail, which appears to contradict the earliest Egyptian sources. These sources are not only unaware of the story of the phallus swallowed up by the fish, but do not even mention "an earlier wilful dismemberment."[50] It may well be that this story goes back to "non-religious Egyptian tales,"[51] the folkloric background to which *The Tale of the Two Brothers* belongs. Here the main protagonist is said to have had his male member cut off and cast into the river. Other scholars have suggested the possibility "of an intrusive Greek element" and pointed to the well-known story of Cronus' revolt against Uranus.[52] Leaving aside the question of how and when the story of Osiris' loss of his sexual organ originated, its sense seems very clear. Seth's act appears as an application of the *ius talionis.* With the cutting off and destruction of the phallus Seth takes his revenge for Osiris' adultery with his wife Nephtys. And his aim in the operation of dismemberment is to prevent the reanimation of Osiris by destroying the wholeness of his body. Moreover, it does not appear that the story as handed down by

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[49] Plut. *De Is. Os.* 18, 357b–358b.

[50] H. Frankfort, cited in H. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, Leiden 1967, 1977², 91.

[51] Te Velde, *ibid.* 83.

[52] J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's* De Iside et Osiride, Cardiff 1970, 343.

the Greek sources is irreconcilable with the genuine Egyptian tradition. A papyrus says that Osiris' phallus was found and placed in Mendes.[53] Inscriptions at Mendes and Edfu confirm that this divine relic was kept and venerated at Mendes, Diospolis Parva and other sites.[54] The *membrum virile* was of course reproduced in an imperishable substance, and the identical copy of it, the ἐμφερὲς ἄγαλμα (Plut. *Is. Os.* 36, 365c), was sacred and venerable for the very reason that it had been consecrated by Isis. Finally, the operation performed by the goddess takes on the characteristics of a veritable act of fetishism, in the two senses of the term: that typical of the *psychopathia sexualis*, according to which erotic interest is directed intensely and exclusively towards a bodily part or an inanimate object, and that peculiar to the founders of comparative religious studies (starting from Ch. De Brosses), who saw a religious expression at the primitive level in the veneration of a manufactured object.

In the Egyptian texts which are most genuine and go back furthest in time (3rd millennium BC) Isis' obsessive attachment to her deceased consort's manhood is revealed in a no less peculiar form. Instead of an expression of fetishism we find an act of necrophilia. The evidence is explicit and chronologically uninterrupted from the Fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic age. In the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts* (632a-d) we read: "Thy sister Isis has come to thee, joyous through love of thee. She places for thee thy phallus on her vulva. Thy seed comes forth into her, so that she is equipped as Sothis [Greek Sirius]. It is Horus Sopd who comes forth from thee as Horus who is in Sothis."[55] Amen-Mose's *Hymn to Osiris*, on a stele from Thebes, now in the Louvre (18th Dynasty: 1550–1306 BC), states that Isis is she who "revives the weariness of the Tired One, takes in his seed and bears an heir."[56] A relief in the temple of Sethos I (19th Dynasty: 1305–1290 BC) at Abydos shows Isis as a falcon having union with the prostrate

[53] *Ibid.* 343, n.3.

[54] *Ibid.* 440.

[55] *Ibid.* 353.

[56] *Ibid.*

Osiris. He is dead (lying on the lid of a sarcophagus), but strikingly ithyphallic.[57] Of a later date (belonging to the Ptolemaic age: 330–30 BC) is *Pap. Louvre* 3079 (*Glorification of Osiris*). Isis herself speaks proudly in the first person using the style of Greek aretalogies of the Roman age to describe her special activity: "I have played the part of a man though I am a woman, in order to wake thy name here on earth. Since thy divine seed was in my body I have conceived him (i.e. Horus)." It would be difficult to be more explicit. "The suggestion is that Isis, having succeeded in reviving the dead Osiris, was in a way responsible for both aspects of the sexual act."[58] The testimony of the Greek Plutarch is the last, and characteristically reserved. In *Is. Os.* 19, 358e, he says laconically that Isis "having had sexual intercourse with Osiris after his death, bore Harpocrates." But in *Is. Os.* 17, 357d, he gives us to understand that his Graeco-Egyptian sources were far more detailed on the subject. After the lucky find of the λάρναξ at Byblus, Isis finally opens the chest and "pressing her face to that of Osiris, she embraces him and begins to cry." Behind the words ἀσπάσασθαι and δακρύειν a more intimate act may be discerned, leading to the conception of Horus. The reason for the terrible punishment suffered by the son of the king of Byblus, incautious voyeur of an uncanny sacred marriage, thus becomes clear.

To sum up, in the story of Osiris the castration motif is not particularly significant (as it is, on the contrary, in the tale of his brother Seth). Moreover, the removal of the genitals, involving the end of sexual life, is not *tout court* to be identified with a castration which brings about an impairment of the vital energy produced by the testicles. This holds true even less in the case of Osiris, who seems to be equipped with a *membrum virile* truly *semper virens*. However, what is striking in this fundamental example of Egyptian myth-making — and was discreetly repressed by the Greek observer — is the leading and in all respects peculiar role played by the goddess Isis. Not only is

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[57] H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago 1948, fig. 18; L. Manniche, *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt*, London — New York 1987, fig. 51.

[58] Griffiths, *Plutarch's* De Iside et Osiride, 353.

she successful, through magical arts and unutterable tonic treatments, where Cybele and Astarte/Aphrodite failed, and not only does she manage to revitalize her husband's *membrum virile*, whether it had been lost or appeared to be dead from a physiological point of view, but, as is insistently underlined by the Egyptian and ably omitted by the Greek sources, she is the one to take the initiative in the copulation *in extremis*. And it is once again Isis who assumes the dominant position, a position which in Egypt as in most cultures is usually reserved for the man, as one of the sources does not fail to notice ("I have played the part of a man").[59] This is an inversion of the geometry of copulation that has symbolic reflexes at a psychological and anthropological level and appears shocking to the collective consciousness of several cultures (compare, for example, the attitude of Calandrino in the third *novella* of the eighth *giornata* in Boccaccio's *Decameron*). In our opinion, this feature is related to other aspects of the Egyptian world-view, and in particular to the fundamental and well-known cosmogonic representation of the sky as a female (Nut) arching over the male earth (Geb) in order to copulate and procreate the young gods. And above all it seems to us in keeping with the role of women in Egyptian society, a role of almost complete equality with men, which remained in varying degrees steady for over three millennia.[60]

An Outsider from the West: Dionysus

It is clear that the Greeks, as much as and even more than the other peoples of the Mediterranean *Kulturkreis*, were fascinated and obsessed by the image of the *membrum virile*, the only one of the parts of the body which seems to enjoy a life of its own, possessing as it does a motive power which does not depend on a message from the brain. One has only to consider (even quantitatively) the vast

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] Cf. Ch. Desroches Noblecourt, *La femme au temps des Pharaons*, Paris 1986, 228–239 ("L'Egypte est, dans l'Antiquité, le seul pays qui ait vraiment doté la femme d'un statut égal à celui de l'homme": 228) and 424–25 (bibl.). Foreigners like the Greek Herodotus (II 35) were obviously shocked by this unpredictable situation.

number of documents put together by H. Herter in the eighty or more columns dedicated to the word *phallos* and connected terms (Phales, Phallen, *phallophoria*, etc.) in the encyclopaedia of Pauly-Wissowa. Apart from the certainly pre-Hellenic Priapus, Dionysus is the god around whom the greatest and most formidable part of Greek fantasies about the phallus are gathered. And for the majority of Greeks the phallus appears as a veritable ἄγαλμα τῷ Διονύσῳ.[61]

The phallus is not a mere appendix of the body as are other extremities and protuberances. For a Greek man, the male genital organ possesses a personality of its own and on that account performs a function in the religious, magical and apotropaic spheres. The paradigmatic expression of this idea is, in visual art, the phallus-bird, a living creature which has the size and shape of an erect penis, with the scrotum clearly in view, but also the wings and claws of a bird and an eye in place of the cleft in the glans.[62] Its clearest association with the god Dionysus in a theatrical context is to be found in the Karystion monument on Delos. At the base of a colossal stone phallus, dedicated by Karystion in the third century BC, appears a frontal phallus-bird in relief commemorating the *phallagogia* or πομπὴ τοῦ φαλλοῦ which every year took place at the Delian Dionysia. Well-known passages of Aristophanes and Plutarch, as well as representations on pottery, provide evidence for the phallus procession in Attica on the occasion of the rustic Dionysia and other festivals.[63] Semos of Delos attests the presence of *phallophoroi* and *ithyphalloi* on the stage in Sicyon,[64] while in the Hellenistic and Roman ages the *phallophoros* or the *phallophoria* carried on a wagon becomes an indispensable ingredient of Dionysian ritual. On the other hand, in the Bacchic mysteries, which took shape at a time well before that of their greatest diffusion

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[61] The evidence is collected by H. Herter, s.v. *Phallos*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* 19:2 (1933) 1681–1748, spec. 1701–1710 (Dionysoskult).

[62] Cf. Herter, *ibid.* 1723–1728.

[63] Cf. Herter, *ibid.* 1674–1676 and 1703–1706; G.M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting*, Ann Arbor 1992, 129, 158, and 169.

[64] Cf. Herter, *ibid.* 1678–1680.

throughout the Hellenistic world, the mystical phallus, in all likelihood planted in the ground, performed an essential function in the initiation of the *mystai* who wanted to relive an experience of the god most intensely.[65] There is an absolutely certain connection between the initiation phallus, for which there is evidence in the mystery cult of Lerna, but which was perhaps also taken over in the Hellenistic and Roman *Bacchanalia* of the second century BC, and the phallus which rises (whether uncovered or concealed by a cloth) in the midst of the fruit in the *liknon*, the sieve or winnowing fan that appears as a characteristic symbol of Dionysus on monuments not earlier than the Hellenistic age.[66] In the cult of Dionysus, the *liknon* can turn up in a secularized version, so to speak, simply overflowing with fruit as a symbol of plenty. But it can also contain the mask or head of the god (*chous* in the Vlastos collection) or the god himself in his epiphany as a child (Campana reliefs), and this image reflects, of course, the ineffable story of the *pathe* developed in the Orphic tradition.[67] But the *liknon* which was taken over in the mysteries and came close to becoming the very ideogram of the Bacchic *telete*, wonderfully represented in the wall-paintings of the Villa Item at Pompei, is the basket overflowing with fruit and containing an erect phallus, "nicht mehr nur ein Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit, sondern nun auch der Wiedergeburt oder des seligen Lebens nach dem Tode."[68]

The phallus of the Dionysian mysteries has, therefore, the appearance of a *membrum* violently separated, almost torn from the rest of the body. Is this proof that Dionysus was conceived, at least within certain cult layers, as a castrated god, or even as a god completely deprived of the genital organ? This is the view of K. Kerényi, in whose

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[65] Cf. Herter, *ibid.* 1706–1707, and G. Casadio, *Storia del culto di Dioniso in Argolide*, Roma 1994, 284–312, esp. 305–307 (cult at Lerna).

[66] Cf. Herter, *ibid.*, 1707–1709, and M.P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic Age*, Lund 1957, 21–37.

[67] Cf. Nilsson, *ibid.* 26–27 and fig. 4 (Choes-jug from the Vlastos collection), 108–109 and fig. 29 (Campana relief), 38–45 (Dionysos Lyknites in the Orphic tradition). Also U. Bianchi, *The Greek Mysteries*, Leiden 1976, figs. 82 and 89 (with captions).

[68] Herter, *op. cit.* 1707.

opinion the phallus, "*pars pro toto* of indestructible life," is mythically devoured by the women who in this way snuff out "the male sex of their species." "They killed the indestructible, the god, but only seemingly, for they preserved and reawakened him periodically, in every second year. This was the content of their great mysteries."[69] Such a categorical statement, which also does away with any distinction between the ritual *orgiasmos* of the maenads and the liturgical practice of the *mystai*, finds very little support in the sources. As I have pointed out elsewhere,[70] only in the cult of the Cabiri and Corybantes mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 2.19.4–5) Dionysus' *aidoion*, placed inside a *kiste* (and not in a *liknon*), is at the centre of mythical speculation admitting a mysteriosophical interpretation. "For this reason," Clement adds, "probably some people want to give Dionysus the name of Attis, because he is deprived of his genitals." If the *scholium* to this passage can be relied on, one is asked to believe that Dionysus' member found its way into the *kiste* because it had been put there after the *sparagmos* inflicted on him by the Titans. It cannot be mere chance that the goddess who takes it upon herself to gather the scattered limbs of the god is Rhea, the mother of the gods. Nor can it be an accident that Rhea, too, like Isis in her own myth, is unable to recover, alone of all his limbs, his *membrum virile.* In the Hellenistic age, the relations of Dionysus with the Phrygian mother of the gods become closer and closer, and inevitably the Greek god, above all in his child-like manifestation, ends up by being assimilated to Attis, whereas the Phrygian god in theosophical speculation is felt to be the local expression of Dionysus himself.[71] As a result of this syncretistic merging of the two deities, the idea of emasculation, which in the Dionysus myth was only

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[69] Ch. Kerényi, *Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life*, London 1976, 260–261. Cf. M. Jameson, "The Asexuality of Dionysus," in *Masks of Dionysus*, ed. Th.H. Carpenter and Ch.A. Faraone, Ithaca-London 1993, 44–64, esp. 45, n.2; R. Schlesier, "Mixtures of Masks: Maenads as Tragic Models," *ibid.* 89–114, esp. 109–110, n.76.

[70] Casadio, *Storia del culto culto di Dioniso in Argolide*, 312, n.136.

[71] Cf. G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Interpretazioni gnostiche e misteriosofiche del mito di Attis," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions presented to Gilles Quispel*

virtual (his tendency to be a passive partner and his female potentiality are well known),[72] wins a place for itself in the religious psychology of his initiates.

The attitude of a Greek may be symptomatic here. Lucian , on a visit to Syria, sees the gigantic phalluses set up at the temple entrance as a sure sign that the god has passed by.[73] And that is not all. He finds, or believes that he finds, an inscription which runs: "These phalluses, I, Dionysus, dedicated to Hera, my stepmother." The wife of Zeus, a maternal figure, has taken the place of Rhea, the mother of the gods. And naturally, in so far as she is a stepmother *par excellence*, she is most fit for the role of the castrating woman, to whom her stepson Dionysus dedicates the multiplied image of his sacrificed virility.

An Outsider from the East: Mithras' Bull

The type of the "Great Goddess" who is at once Great Mother and *femme fatale* plays even less of a role in the mysteries of Mithras than in Dionysiac mysteries, where the figures of the loving mother Semele and the maternal lover Ariadne appear. The god Mithras himself does not belong to the category of the "dying gods" nor even, strictly speaking, to that of "gods subject to vicissitudes." Nevertheless, there appears in Mithraism a figure of "dying god," who is at the centre of a vicissitude of suffering and death, and this vicissitude is the source of life and salvation for the whole of creation. This "dying god" is, of course, the bull sacrificed by the living god Mithras.

There is no need to stress the centrality of the tauroctony in the Mithras cult, either in the myth as a validating event connecting the *telos* with the *arche* or in the ritual as a sacrifice with an eminently

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on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday, Leiden 1981, 376–411, esp. 389–390, notes 47 and 49.

[72] Cf. Casadio, *Storia del culto culto di Dioniso in Argolide*, 295–308 (the love story with Prosymnus); and, more generally, *id., Il vino dell'anima. Storia del culto di Dioniso a Corinto, Sicione, Trezene*, Rome 1999, 115–117 (with the textual evidence and bibliography), and 208–211 (with the visual evidence).

[73] Lucian *De Dea Syria* 16, cf. 28.

soteriological meaning. It should be noted, however, that the protagonists responsible for the action carried out on the bull (equivalent in meaning to a sacrifice, but taking the form of a deadly act of aggression) are two in number: the dagger of Mithras rips open its veins and sets going the blood-letting process which will end with the death of the bull, whereas the scorpion grips the bull's genitals at their base, in the very place where its life throbs. The god is doubtless the main actor in the sacrifice. He brandishes his weapon, and the red blood, the primary sign of life, gushes out. But the scorpion's role is not negligible. Though, unlike the action undertaken by Mithras, which has been fully studied and made the object of the most elaborate (and sometimes the most far-fetched interpretations), the action to which the scorpion devotes itself with cruel and meticulous efficiency has as a rule been overlooked or simply compared to the parts played by the dog and the snake. These animals, however, perform an activity whose significance is very different: the absorption of the vital substance in its most striking manifestation, the red fluid of the blood.

What is the role of the scorpion in the Mithraic bull sacrifice? It can hardly be denied that the scorpion, in so far as it coincides with the sign of the zodiac Scorpio, fits with a precise function into the complex astronomical and astrological pattern formed by the sequence of scorpion, snake, crater, lion, dog, etc.[74] But the astrological code, undoubtedly at work in the mind of the brilliant "inventor" of the mysteries and, in all likelihood, passed on with other ingredients of arcane discipline to the upper echelons of the Mithraic hierarchy, certainly did not exhaust all the many meanings of this central icon of the Mithraeum, on which the eyes of the initiates gazed fixedly during group liturgy. The scorpion which gropes about like a sinister brigand armed with tentacles under the undefended groins of the proud quadruped is not only a sign of the zodiac. He is an executioner like Mithras himself, and, just as the god does on a different level, he commits an apparently maleficent deed, but one which is guided by

[74] Cf. R. Beck, "Mithraism since Franz Cumont," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II 17:4 (1984), 2002–2115, esp. 2080, n.123.

providence. What then is the scorpion doing? What can be the sense of its action? As is clear from countless representations which almost exactly reproduce the same iconography with minimal variations, the scorpion seizes the bull's bulging round scrotum with his chelas, used as in nature like pincers. It is difficult to believe that its intentions are beneficent and aimed at promoting fertility, as Campbell and Hinnells maintain.[75] On the other hand it is not possible to see the action of the scorpion clinging to the bull's scrotum as the attempt to take possession of the source of life by drinking the sperm of the divine animal, as is held by the majority of interpreters.[76] The Mithraic theologians, who were able astronomers and certainly well versed in the natural sciences, could not have been so ignorant of physiology and anatomy as to believe that the scrotum was the reservoir of the sperm. On the contrary, when it is shown at all, as in the bull sacrifice in the Vatican Museums,[77] the seminal fluid is discharged from a drooping penis. But the scorpion does not seem to be at all interested in the semen, attracted as it is by the huge globe that seems to offer itself to its greedy mouth. Actually, the nippers help the scorpion to seize its prey and to bring it within reach of its mouth after it has annihilated it with the poisonous sting of its tail. And without assuming, as does F. Cumont, that the scorpion really intends to "dévorer les parties génitales,"[78] the viewer gets the distinct impression that the claws of the scorpion are performing what appears to be their natural function of not only grasping but also of cutting. If then the nippers of the scorpion are in fact cutting nippers, the final result will be the severing of the scrotum, and so castration.

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[75] L.A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, 26–27; J.R. Hinnells, "Reflections on the Bull-slaying Scene," in *Mithraic Studies*, ed. J.R. Hinnells, Manchester 1975, II 290–312, esp. 298–300.

[76] After Cumont, Lommel and Turcan, R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Königstein 1984, 94.

[77] M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae*, The Hague 1956–1960, No. 548.

[78] *Les mystères de Mithra*, Brussels 1913^3, 137.

The scorpion's role in the bull sacrifice seems, therefore, to be that of inflicting another death on the bull (or at least of threatening it), the death of its vital energy, located in the central organ of its virility and fertility. If we consider that the scorpion is the animal and the sign of the zodiac connected with the third level of the Mithraic hierarchy, that of the *miles*, we can imagine that the soldiers of Mithras, not without emotional involvement, focused their attention on the exploits of their patron saint. Moreover, the Scorpio and the Mithraic *milites* fall quite significantly under the protection of Mars, both as a god and a planet, and the aggressive and destructive nature of this god may be of significance here. To see the bull's castration, the aggression against the virility of the highest emblem of virile potency, as the other side of the Mithraic sacrifice accords with the ideology of the military caste, within which, as is well-known, a considerable part of the initiates of the Mithraic brotherhood was recruited. It was of course an ideology centring upon masculine values and thus prone to be obsessed by the terror of the loss or absence of virile potency.

Conclusions

At the end of our excursion through these myths and rituals of the ancient world, which we have selected and interpreted but not, we think, distorted, it is our distinct impression that the constants outnumber the variables. But this result should not lead us to hasty conclusions and broad generalizations. The writer of this paper believes in the existence of psychological archetypes which express themselves in cultural and individual "idiolects," concurring in the formation of historical phenomena, but is considerably more sceptical about the possibility of identifying ideal types (or typologies) which might serve to explain individual phenomena. On the whole, therefore, he prefers to let the facts speak for themselves. However, a comparison with some famous paradigms worked out by the father of psychoanalysis may have a certain heuristic value.

As is well known, according to Freud the idea that the woman, whose genital apparatus is flat and without the bulge of the phallus, is a castrated man gave rise to the male castration complex (*Kastra-*

tionskomplex). Contrary to popular belief, however, neither the motif of the "castrating woman" nor even the much more concrete notion of the "castrating mother" appears in Freud. The threat of castration (*Kastrationsdrohung*), brought against the little boy who has taken up playing with his penis, comes from both parents. And, indeed, "If the threat is delivered by the mother or some other female she usually shifts its performance on to the father — or the doctor."[79] So, neither Attis nor Adonis nor Dionysus, whose virility is threatened in different ways by different woman figures, fit the Freudian model. For the fear of castration (*Kastrationsangst*), according to Freud, is not fear "vor einer Kastration *durch* die Frau sondern eine Angst vor der Kastration als Angleichung *an* die Frau."[80] The Freudian model of the woman as a castrated man is confirmed unexpectedly, though *a contrario*, by the ritual practices and popular feeling about the castration of the *galli*, both in myth and in ritual. According to Lucian, after castration, Attis takes on the appearance (*morphe*) of a woman and puts on women's clothes.[81] Likewise, it is said of the *galli* of the Dea Syria that, to imitate the hero Combabus, they emasculate themselves and become womanish (θηλύνονται).[82] Lucian himself seems to have been present at one of these happenings: the novice, after emasculating himself with a sword, "takes up female attire and women's ornaments."[83]

A less famous Freudian formula, but one equally important for the history of religions, aims at explaining the attitude of the unconscious towards the (unknown) experience of death:

> I am therefore inclined to adhere to the view that the fear of death should be regarded as analogous to the fear of castration and that the situation to which the

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[79] *Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse* (1915) = *Standard Edition*, 16 (1963) 369.

[80] R. Schlesier, *Mythos und Weiblichkeit bei Sigmund Freud*, Frankfurt am Main 1981, 1990², 170; cf. 126.

[81] *De Dea Syria*, 15.

[82] *Ibid.* 27.

[83] *Ibid.* 51.

> ego is reacting is one of being abandoned by the protecting super-ego ... so that it has no longer any safeguard against all the dangers that surround it.[84]

As we have seen, an oscillation between the idea of death and the idea of castration — as a threat, a fear, an ineluctable event — is found in all the mythico-ritual complexes examined. In the case of Attis, the oscillation is revealed by the presence of two mythical variants. In the case of Adonis, death also means castration, which is not expressed in the narrative, but only alluded to through the motif of the lettuce which causes impotence. In the myth of Osiris there is almost identity between the vital force and the virile potency restored by the Isiac ritual of reanimation. In the (Orphic or Cabiric) mysteriosophical vision, Dionysus' phallus is at the centre of a plot in which life alternates with death, which in turn alternates with rebirth. Finally, in Mithraic ideology, the risk of the loss of male potency is iconographically equated with the risk of the destruction of life's source. In general, apart from specific cultural differences, it will be recognized that in the world-view common to the ancient Mediterranean peoples,[85] castration is conceived, in the same way as death, as a dramatic event which stops, or threatens to stop, the flow of life.

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[84] *Hemmung, Symptom und Angst* (1926) = *Standard Edition*, 20 (1959) 130. For further developments of this idea in the history of the psychoanalysis after Freud, see A. Green, *Le complexe de castration*, Paris 1990, esp. the conclusion, 117–123 ("Sense du complexe de castration").

[85] The idea that impotency is equal to death is explicitly emphasized by Greek and Roman sources: see D. Sider, "Heraclitus in the Derveni Papyrus," in *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*, ed. A. Laks and G.W. Most, Oxford 1997, 129–148, esp. 145, n.47.



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THE PHALLOS-BIRD IN ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREEK ART

par John Boardman

There are only two monsters which Greek artists allow to intrude in mortal scenes, and both in their way serve to express mortal ambitions. One is the satyr whose attendance on the god of wine, who was never quite an Olympian, gains him admission to mortal occasions, but who otherwise seems to express peculiarly male sexual aspirations. The other is the phallos-bird, whose associations are exclusively female, or with satyrs.[1]

This article explores the genesis of the iconographic type and its use through the sixth and fifth centuries BC. As with other images, it can serve a diversity of purposes, but in the Late Archaic period and for a while later it appears to be used by artists in a very special way and to express a very special attitude to female sexuality. Its later history, though vigorous, is relatively less informative.[2] I begin with a list of representations known to me.

CATALOGUE

Dates are conventional, approximate.

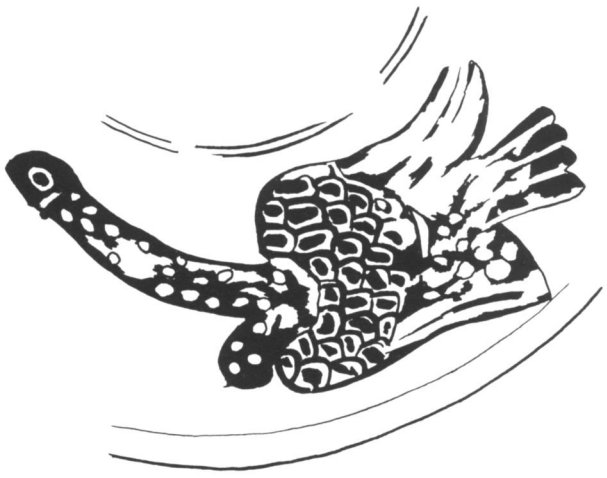
EARLY, NON-ATTIC

1. Parian ("Melian") dish, from Delos (fig. 1). *Exploration archéologique de Délos,* X, pl. 4, No. 28. Phallos-bird with spread wings and tail, no legs (glans with eye) beside the usual "Melian" cup spirals. About 600 BC.

2. Corinthian pyxis with convex sides. Palermo. Mentioned in H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia,* 1931, 91. *Non vidi.*

1. There are only two possible additions. The hippalektryon, but it remains always open to question whether the males seen with the beast are not heroic, even if anonymous, and some seem divine: see now *LIMC,* V, *s.v.* (D. Williams). And Eros who in the second half of the fifth century intrudes on scenes with women who, if not certainly mortal, cannot usually be demonstrated to be immortal.

2. There is an extensive literature on the subject, mainly passing references. Most useful are: *RE,* XIX, 1938, *s.v.* "phallos", 1723–8 (R. Herter); A. Greifenhagen, *WZRostock,* 16, 1967, 451, and *RM,* 85, 1978, 79, n. 74; C. Bérard, *Ant. Kunst,* 9, 1966, 94–5.



1. Cat. 1. Parian dish. Delos Museum, from Delos. *Drawing Marion Cox.*

* D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-painting,* 1988, 660, alleges one on the Middle Corinthian column crater, Berlin 1147, where there is a phallos-man as a shield device. The bird is not mentioned in other descriptions of the vase, as in Furtwängler's Berlin catalogue, or Payne, *op. cit.,* 317, No. 1170, nor is it apparent in illustrations.

ATTIC VASES

Red-figure unless otherwise stated.

With a naked woman

3. Black figure kyathos. Berlin 2095; *ABV,* 610, 1, Group of Berlin 2015; *Add*², 142; H. Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands,* 1925–8, III, 76. A naked girl rides a phallos-bird which has body and legs (glans with eye, no scrotum). About 500 BC.

4. Cup (fig. 2). Rome, Villa Giulia 57912; *ARV*², 72, 24, by Epiktetos. G. Koch-Harnach, *Erotische Symbole,* 1989, 167, fig. 35. I. A naked girl rides a phallos-bird which has body and legs (glans with eye, no scrotum). Inscribed HIPPARCHOS (lacking *kalos* here, but he was the painter's favourite). Myth scenes outside (Achilles and Memnon; Herakles and Busiris). About 510 BC.

5. Cup fragment (fig. 3). Rome, Villa Giulia; *ARV*², 163, 10, by Paseas; J. D. Beazley, *Campana Fragments in Florence,* 1933, pl. Y, 1. I. A naked woman holding a piece of dress over her right arm, holds a phallos-bird on her extended left hand. Its glans is fashioned as a head, with mouth open and tongue extended, to kiss her lips. Myth scenes outside (Herakles and Geryon; Artemis). About 520–510 BC.

6. Amphora (fig. 4). Paris, Petit Palais 307; *ARV*², 279, 2, Flying-Angel Painter; *Add*², 208; *CVA,* pl. 12, 6; K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality,* 1978, R414 (ill.); J. Boardman,



2. Cat. 4. Cup by Epiktetos. Rome, Villa Giulia 57912. *Photo DAI Rom 57.684.*

Athenian Red Figure Vases; Archaic Period, 1975, fig. 176; E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus,* 1985, 84, fig. 77; A. Dierichs, *Antike Welt,* 19, 1988, Sondernummer, 38, fig. 56. A naked woman moves left holding a phallos-bird, with body and legs (glans with eye) in the crook of her left arm. With her right hand she lifts the cloth from a basket in which two phalloi (also eyed, one with a red glans) are seen, perhaps also to be taken for phallos-birds. The other side shows a naked woman holding a phallos. About 490 BC.

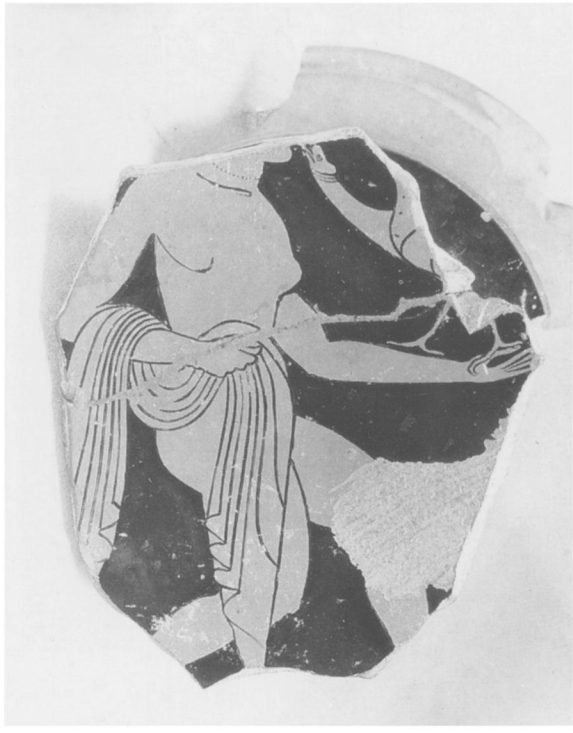
7. Lekythos. Dion Museum 6941, from Pydna; *Eros grec* (Athens/Paris, 1989), 150–1. A naked woman on all fours, head turned frontal. Hovering behind her bottom, and touching it, a phallos-bird, with no body or legs. About 470–450 BC.

8. Skyphos. Munich inv. 8934; *MJBK,* 18, 1967, 247–8, fig. 8; M. Robertson, in *Studies in honour of A. D. Trendall* (ed. A. Cambitoglou), 1979, pl. 34, 3–4; Keuls, 81, fig. 69. A. A winged vertical phallos (glans with eye) rises from the ground, balancing a *kanoun* on its head. Branches at either side, and at the left a small three-legged table supporting a skyphos or bowl (Robertson calls it a lekane). This scene must be taken with : B. A naked female dwarf, wreathed, holding a large skyphos. Later fifth century BC.

9. Pyxis lid (fig. 5). Athens, National Museum 2510 (Collignon, 1600*bis*); G. Vorberg, *Glossarium eroticum,* 1932, 131 ("Judgement of Paris?"). A spread-winged phallos seen from above, posed with three vulvae. Graffiti: PHILONIDES HAULETIS AEMONI. Later fifth century BC.

With dressed women

10. Cup (fig. 6). Berlin, 1966.21; A. Greifenhagen, *WZRostock,* 16, 1967, 451–2, pl. 26, and *RM,* 85, 79–80; *Cambridge Ancient History,* Plates to Vol. IV, pl. 185. Two



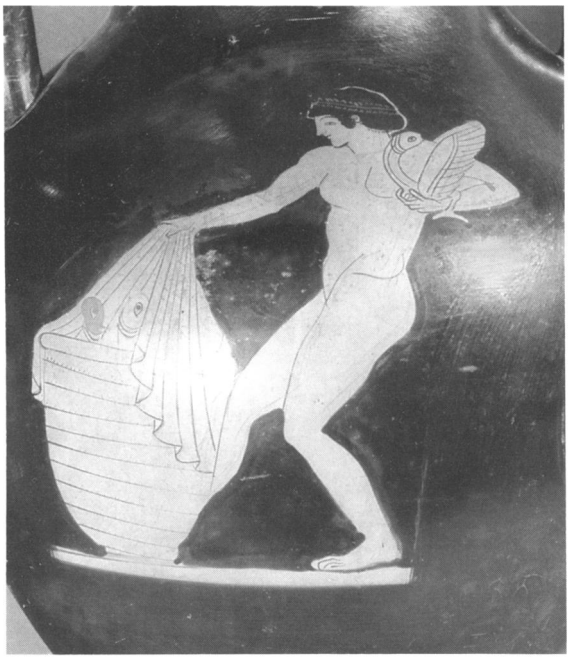
3. Cat. 5. Cup fr. by Paseas. Rome, Villa Giulia. *Photo DAI Rom 37.668.*

dressed women, back to back, are busy bending over rectangular block-like tables, apparently preparing food. *Kalos* is written on the edge of one table. Above and between them a phallos-bird, with legs and body (no scrotum or eye). About 500 BC.

11. Black figure lekythos (fig. 7). Athens, National Museum 471 (Collignon, 887). *ABV,* 502, 100, Class of Athens 581; H. Heydemann, *Griechische Vasenbilder,* 1870, pl. 5, 7. A woman seated on a folding stool facing right, before her a basket. Facing it and her a phallos-bird with raised wing, with body and legs and what appears to be a smaller erect phallos at the base of its phallos-neck (glans with eye). A second woman walks towards it from the right. Early fifth century BC.

12. Pelike. Athens, Agora P 27396; Agora Handbook, *Birds of the Athenian Agora,* 1985, fig. 43; Koch-Harnach, *op. cit.* (cat. 4), 167, fig. 34. A. A dressed woman bends down with hands stretched towards the head of a phallos-bird with body and legs (glans with eye, no scrotum) that turns towards her. B. A similar woman hurries forward, apparently to be taken as part of the same scene. About 460 BC.

13. Oinochoe (fig. 8). Oxford, 1971.866; M. Robertson, in *Studies in honour of A. D. Trendall* (ed. A. Cambitoglou), 1979, 129–34, pl. 34, 1–2, recalling the Phiale Painter; V. Dasen, *OJA,* 9, 1990, 197, fig. 14; J. H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter,* 1990, 38–9, pl. 143. A male dwarf skips forward from the left towards a partly muffled woman who also seems to



4. Cat. 6. Amphora
by the Flying-Angel Painter.
Paris, Petit-Palais 307.
Photo Museum.

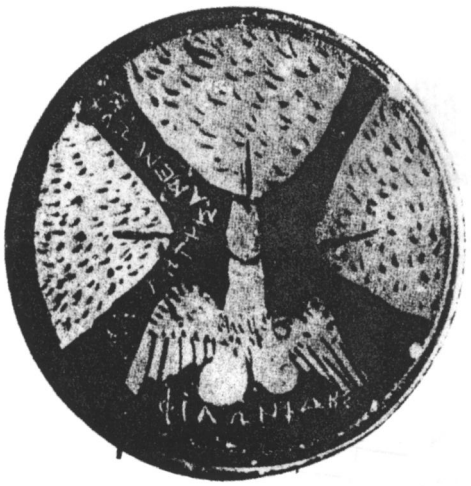
execute a dancing step. Above, flying towards the woman, is a phallos-bird with no body or legs. About 440–430 BC.

With a satyr or satyrs

14. Cup (fig. 9). Brussels A. 723; *ARV*², 317, 5, Proto-Panaetian Group; *CVA*, ii, pl. 11 (64), 1*d*; F. Lissarrague *in* D. M. Halperin *et al.* (eds), *Before Sexuality*, 1990, 74, fig. 2.13. In a group of dancing satyrs one rides (high, with legs drawn up like a modern jockey) a phallos-bird which has body and legs. The satyr balances himself with a stick and holds reins attached to the glans (partly obscured by another satyr's legs). On the other side of the cup a mortal komos. Krates is repeatedly praised as *kalos* on both sides. About 510 BC.

15. Skyphos. Boston 08.31*c*; E. Vermeule, *Ant. Kunst*, 12, 1969, pl. 11, 4–5; G. Vorberg, *Über das Geschlechtsleben im Altertum*, 1925, pl. 8; H. Hoffmann, *RA*, 1974, 206, fig. 11; Keuls, *op. cit.* (cat. 6), 77, fig. 63; Lissarrague, *op. cit.* (cat. 14), 73, fig. 2.11–12. A. A satyr stands bending slightly forward, hands on hips. Behind him a small phallos-bird with legs and folded wings (glans with eye) "looks" up beneath his tail. B. A large phallos-bird with body and legs, wings raised, ejaculates. About 460–450 BC.

16. Oinochoe. Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection 401; *Eros grec* (Athens/Paris, 1989), No. 79. A naked satyr (he seems to have a pointed ear but his tail is hidden) rides a phallos-bird which has legs but no body. He holds a branch with leaves and berries in red and white (?). In *Eros grec* the rider is taken for a man. Later fifth century BC.



5. Cat. 9. Pyxis. Athens, National Museum 2510. After Vorberg.

Alone

17. Pyxis lid. Athens, Acropolis 573; *ARV*², 312, 2, Painter of Acropolis 573; E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis*, II, pl. 44; Vorberg, *op. cit.* (cat. 9), 501 below. Standing facing right with raised wings, with body and legs (glans with eye). Before it, at the border, an uncertain object roughly resembling the usual way of showing an athlete's arybal-los and sponge. About 500 BC.

18. Pyxis lid. Bonn inv. 344; *CVA*, i, pl. 27, 1, 2. As the last but more poorly drawn and apparently without an object before it, though there is room for one and the surface is abraded. About 500 BC.

19. Pelike. Lausanne 3250; *Para*, 355, Geras Painter; C. Bérard, *Ant. Kunst*, 9, 1966, 96, pl. 22, 3; E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death*, 1979, 174, fig. 26; F. Lissarrague, *Hephaistos*, 2, 1980, 101, fig. 19. B. A phallos-bird with raised wings (no eye) stands on the rim of a laver. A. A satyr attacks a herm with an axe. About 480–470 BC.

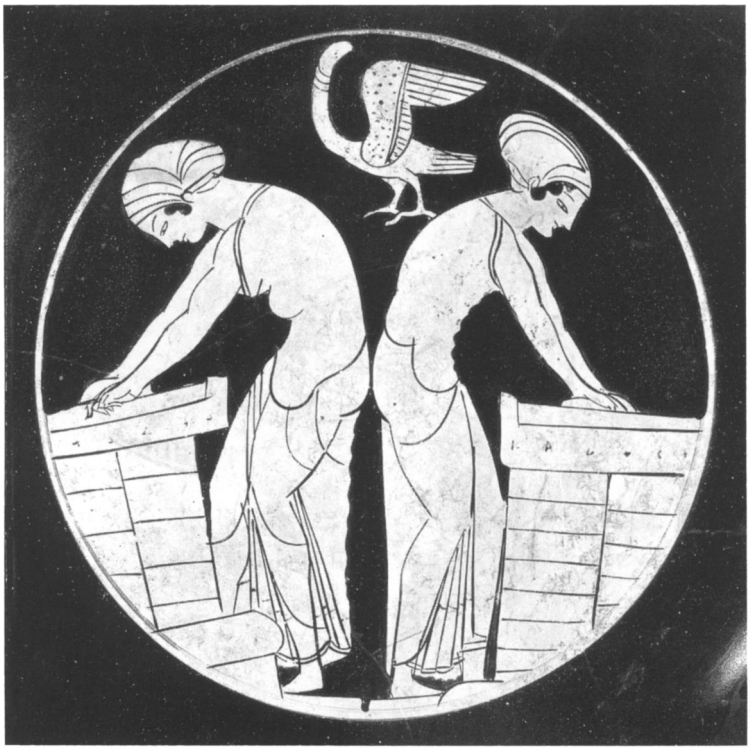
Other contexts

20. Pelike fragment. Once Arndt Collection, Munich (drawing in Beazley Archive). A small phallos-bird with body but no legs (glans with eye) flies right over the rearing body of a dog (copulating?).

As a decorative device

21 on a chariot; 22 on a *kottabos* stand; 23–27 as shield device.

21. Cup. Athens, Ephoreia III, O 11. Onesimos (Williams); *BCH*, 94, 1970, 908, fig. 49; J.-J. Maffre, *RA*, 1972, 224–5, fig. 2; B. A. Sparkes, *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical* (ed. C. G. Boulter), 1985, pl. 29; D. Williams, *Jb. Berl. Mus.*, 18, 1976, 12. A phallos-



6. Cat. 10. Cup. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1966.21. *Photo Museum.*

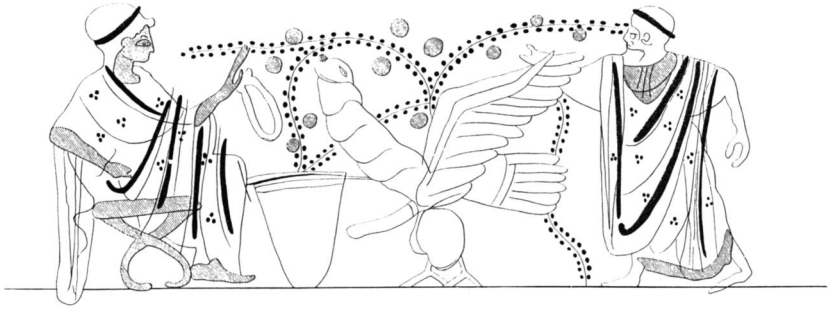
bird, with raised wings, body, but no legs, decorates the body of a chariot drawn by satyrs in a gigantomachy involving Dionysos. About 500 BC.

22. Cup. Private Collection. Apollodoros; F. Lissarrague, *Un Flot d'Images,* 1987, 79, fig. 68. A phallos-bird stands with raised wings, with body and one "leg" as the finial to a *kottabos* stand (labelled KOTABOS) in a symposion scene. About 500 BC.

23. Volute crater fragment (fig. 10). Berlin 2181 and Rome, Villa Giulia; *ARV*², 23, 4, by Phintias. Shield device of a warrior in a fight: a whirligig of three phalloi and three wings. About 510 BC.

24. Cup. Berlin 2307; *ARV*², 341, 77 and 1646; *Add*², 219; Antiphon Painter; *AA,* 1968, 648, fig. 11. Shield device of a hoplitodromos: displayed phallos-bird with tail, no legs. 490–480 BC.

25. Amphora (fig. 11). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86AE190.6 +575; Eucharides Painter; F. Brommer, *Getty Vases,* 1, 1983, 116–8, fig. 2. Satyr players as warriors holding peltae. One pelta has a phallos with spread wings, in the round, as a shield device. The phallos is just apparent in *ibid.,* fig. 2*a,* but not acknowledged by Brommer. Its presence is confirmed by a joining fragment, since recognised, to which Elizabeth Langridge kindly drew my attention and which is shown in the photograph published here. Another satyr's



7. Cat. 11. Lekythos. Athens, National Museum 471. After Heydemann.

pelta has phalloi as devices but also a phallos in the round (without wings; shown *ibid.*, fig. 2*b*, which is upside down). Both peltae also have animal-skin "aprons". 480 BC.

26. Hydria. London, British Museum E 167; *ARV*², 571, 77, Leningrad Painter; *CVA*, 6, pl. 79, 1*a*; *LIMC*, I, Amazones No. 86*a*, pl. 451. Herakles Amazonomachy, a trumpeter with shield device: phallos with raised wing, no body or legs. 470 BC.

27. Neck amphora (fig. 12). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.867; *Burlington Magazine*, 1972, 403, fig. 67. Young warrior in Thracian dress holding a pelta with a phallos-bird, with spread wings, but no body or legs, as shield device (also a smaller phallos and a horn-cup as subsidiary devices). About 470–460 BC.

ORIGINS AND NATURAL HISTORY

Some common but not invariable features may be observed. The creature is usually, but not always, given a bird body. It is sometimes simply a phallos with wings and no body or legs (thus when in flight on cat. 1, 9, 13, 20, 26, 27). The scrotum is almost always shown, at the base of the neck and not at any other anatomically more plausible part of the animal body. There is usually an eye on the glans,[3] except where the creature is used decoratively, and even a mouth on cat. 5.

The usual body type is long ovoid with a very short tufty tail.[4] In these respects it exactly resembles the artists' rendering of swans, and we must conclude that the artists conceived it as a deviant swan. It is often assumed, and hotly argued by Hoffmann, that the bird part is that of a cock but, however it may be treated in later years, in our period it never displays the characteristic cock's tail feathers, nor are its legs spurred. The feet occasionally

3. G. Devereux, who takes the detached phallos as "the phantasmatic (autonomous) phallos encountered in psychoanalytical clinical practice", does not find it easy to understand why phalloi should have eyes (*JHS*, 93, 1973, 43–3, n. 36).

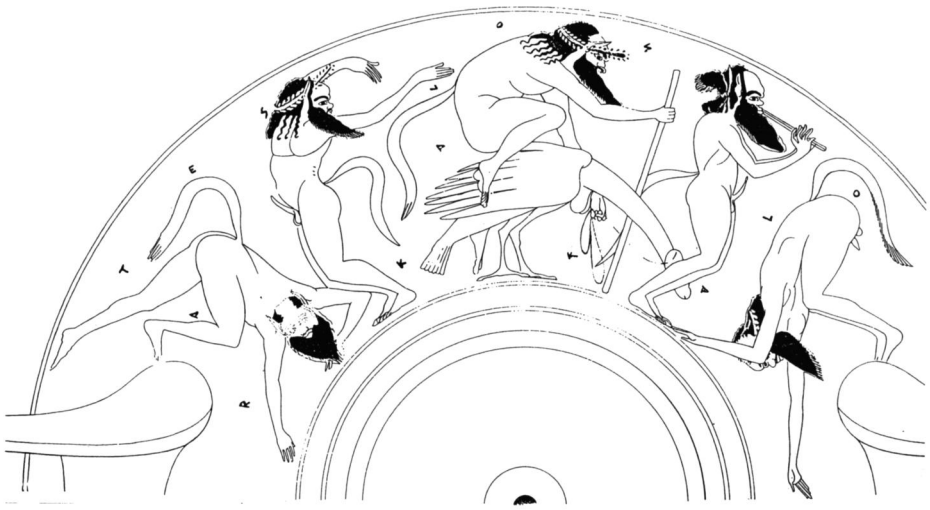
4. A longish tail only on the odd cat. 11 and 3.



8. Cat. 13. Oinochoe. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.866. *Photo Museum.*

look more prehensile than webbed,[5] but no more so than many in representations of swans. The desire to associate it with a cock is explained by a misguided wish to find in Antiquity a parallel for the two English uses of the word, fowl and penis. Etymologists, however, derive the latter use of the word from its third application, as a water spout, tap or faucet ("stop-cock"), which may have been suggested by the crest-like presence of a handle above the spout-beak. There is the same double use in German of *Hahn* for spout and fowl (but not for penis). Moreover, in all the rich Greek verbal imagery for the male sexual organ birds are hardly ever used (only the sparrow !), and cocks never. The swan's long neck and red beak, as well as its (and the similar goose's) association with Aphrodite (and later, more intimately, with Leda) was probably enough to recommend it, though it is possible, indeed likely, that

5. Notably on cat. 5.



9. Cat. 14. Cup of the Proto-Panaetian Group. Brussels, Musées Royaux A 723. After Hartwig.

the physical congruity suggested its role in myth with heroine and goddess, rather than *vice versa*.[6]

The idea of isolating a part of the human body and giving it independent life and motive power is uniquely applied to our creature. Why wings? Are they perhaps the prime motivation for the conceit rather than the swan, whose neck might then have been perceived as the most appropriate model? The erotic associations of wings are not insignificant but not enough to explain them here.[7] I think it quite possible that the appearance of wing-like pubic hair, the inevitable setting for the phallos, might have been enough to suggest an avian quality for the whole organ.

The creature appears first on a Parian dish dedicated (presumably) at the Heraion on Delos (cat. 1). The rest of the decoration is the customary double spirals, so the image has no context, and the only comparable example of the shape with figure decoration, from the same source, carries two stags.[8] We are unable to explain its significance on this vase, but it is to have a distinguished later history on Delos. The Corinthian example (cat. 2) is unpublished. Thereafter, the creature appears in our period only on Athenian vases, from about 520/10 BC

6. For H. Hoffmann's championing of the cock-derivation see *RA*, 1974, 205–6. Hoffmann himself pointed out to me the refutation by J. Halverson, in *Man*, 12, 1977, 528. See also J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, 1975, 113–30 for the many euphemisms in Attic comedy, 128–9 for wings and the sparrow. The cock is a common love-gift, not for any necessary erotic symbolism in this period, but as an agonistic plaything, like the other common love-gift, a hare. Leda's association with a swan appears first in Euripides.

7. See Henderson, *op. cit.*, 128–9, citing W. Arrowsmith in *Arion*, 1, 1973, 164–7, where the point is perhaps laboured. The phallos-bird appears in art before a winged Eros in art or literature (perhaps Sappho; see *LIMC*, III, p. 851, 933–4) and the earliest positively identified Eros (mid-sixth century; *LIMC*, II, Aphrodite 1255) is wingless.

8. *Delos*, X, pl. 4, No. 27.



10. Cat. 23. Volute crater by Phintias. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 2181. *Drawing Marion Cox.*

on, most of them earlier than about 470 BC except for cat. 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 27 (eight out of twenty five Athenian vases). There appear to be no fourth-century examples in Athenian red figure.

BEHAVIOUR

The creatures may be ridden by a solitary naked woman (cat. 3, 4) or a satyr, on cat. 14, where the head is harnessed and a satyr komos is going on around; a later satyr also rides on cat. 16. Riding as a metaphor for intercourse is a commonplace. The Archaic examples recall both the solitary hippalektryon-riders of much the same date, but these are all ordinary males, and the groups of male riders of various animals, also of this date, but these are clearly mummers and sometimes accompanied by a piper. Neither parallel is illuminating.

Other scenes with naked women are more intimate: the kiss on cat. 5 and the bird carried on cat. 6 where the basket before the woman may hold more (or *olisboi*). Here they are favoured pets rather than controlled mounts. Cat. 6 may be compared with a vase on which a naked woman holding an *olisbos* seems about to climb into a similar basket-full.[9] On the later cat. 7 intercourse a tergo is threatened or promised; and on the near contemporary cat. 8 the bird is offered a triple choice of disembodied vulvae.

With dressed women on cat. 10 and 11 the scenes are purely of domestic activity—food preparation and the wool basket with the bird hovering or standing like a pet, a role even more apparent for the creature on the later cat. 12. To consider the hovering first; the bird

9. Syracuse 20065; Dover, *op. cit.* (cat. 6), R1071 (ill.); *CVA*, 1, pl. 7.1.



11. Cat. 25. Amphora by the Eucharides Painter. Malibu, J.-Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.1190.6 + 575. *Photo Museum.*

may be unseen but is perhaps not unthought, and it might be that the reciprocating action of the women's arms had an erotic connotation—for instance in a song that could well accompany such work. "In diesem Symbol die Wünsche des Mädchens zum Ausdruck gebracht sind" (Greifenhagen). Another hovering bird appears approaching a dancing woman (though in odd pose) on the later cat. 13. A dwarf is approaching and dwarfs had a certain erotic reputation.[10] In this case while the flight of the bird and implied activity comes from the dwarf's side, the artist is most probably implying that the idea personified by the bird is the woman's, given the bird's otherwise exclusive pertinence to women. On cat. 8 a naked female dwarf approaches a phallos-bird-stand where the setting is not immediately clear; the *kanoun* basket gives a hint of ritual, perhaps, but nothing specific.

With satyrs, apart from the riders already noted (cat. 14, 16) there is an early classical skyphos where one seems threatened while the beast ejaculates on the other side (cat. 15).

Other appearances pose no particular questions. Attending coupling dogs on cat. 20 seems an extension of human behaviour. The subject is a natural apotropaic one, like the

10. Dasen, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 9, 1990, 202–3. For the muffled dancer see J. H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter*, 1990, 38–9; and, with satyrs, *BCH*, 115, 1991, 266–72. One on a red figure column crater from Sindos executes the same step as ours, before a youth: *Sindos* (eds A. D. Despoini *et al.*), 1985, 30.



12. Cat. 27. Neck amphora. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.867. *Photo Museum.*

phallos alone, while the shape is well suited to being a shield device especially for a pelta, and it appears so for heroes or mortals (cat. 23 as a whirligig, 24, 26, 27) and for satyrs (cat. 25); also on a satyr chariot (cat. 21), on a *kottabos* stand (cat. 22) and on a laver (cat. 19). Alone it decorates pyxides (cat. 17, 18) which are generally taken to serve women's toilet, and the busy example on cat. 9 is also on a pyxis.[11]

INTERPRETATION

In association with women the phallos-bird may appear active, or potentially so, when they are naked, or as hovering or pet-like intimations of sexuality when they are dressed. With the naked women it may be taken as an animated version of the *olisbos* which many are seen holding on vases by the same painters.[12] It represents the satisfaction of female sexuality through heterosexual activity, physical or imagined, without the intervention of a live

11. The pyxis is the shape of the Eleusinian cista which has been thought to contain models of *aidoia*; there may be a connection or reference in the decoration of cat. 9.

12. On one cup an *olisbos* seems treated almost as tenderly as the bird on our cat. 5: *Glimpses of Excellence* (eds N. Leipen *et al.*, 1984), 13, No. 9. It was not, probably, only a plaything for *hetairai*, and Aristophanes (not always to be taken literally, of course) lists *olisboi* with a woman's boudoir jewellery (fr. 320 K; fr. 332 Kassel/Austin).

complete male. The need is acknowledged and the gratification is implied in what seems to be a mainly sympathetic manner, given that the inventors or employers of the image were presumably men. There seems nothing either voyeurish or particularly vicious in the kiss on cat. 5. On the *kottabos* stand (cat. 22) the bird is indeed a male target but hardly inimical.

As a disembodied expression of a woman's sexual desires, as interpreted by men, the phallos-bird parallels the satyr who, in this period especially, seems to be the embodied expression of male sexual desires. But it has often been observed that the satyr's desires are generally thwarted and rarely consummated. So a satyr might well be puzzled by an apparent threat from a phallos bird (cat. 14). When the satyr rides one in a lively satyr komos (cat. 15) it is exceptionally provided with reins, as though this embodiment of female sexuality had been tamed, but equally clearly it is detumescent, and so is as incompetent or unfulfilled as many a satyr, requiring a woman's touch. Exceptionally the satyr may seem to usurp the role of the phallos-bird, when he makes love to a naked woman (not a maenad, it seems) who is also holding the preferred *olisbos,* which the satyr is impersonating.[13]

It would probably be possible to find other interpretations, but only by denying the apparent mood and context of the images. If correct, it seems to imply in this period a frank acknowledgement of female sexuality, and recognition of the need for its satisfaction by women without men, both in the bordello and at home.[14] It is not particularly easy to read in the creation of such images any overt or suppressed expression of male fear of female sexuality such as may have inspired the arts of other periods.[15] If cat. 10 evokes an erotic song of the kitchen it is in keeping with the rich bawdy of other female groups, down to latterday fishwives, something which has always answered comparable male group behaviour.

On the whole the explanation sits well with what we see otherwise of much (not all) sexual activity on vases of this period and later in Aristophanic verse, but obviously cannot be extended to explain attitudes and behaviour throughout Greek Antiquity. The Late Archaic vase scenes attest a variety of male attitudes to women and to women's observed behaviour and assumed fantasies, which are not readily reconciled into any unified male view of the sex war. The phallos-bird seems to imply frank male recognition of female sexuality, rejecting the male. The rejection of satyrs by maenads might even be the male response to female sexuality through an unjust implication of frigidity.[16] Homosexual scenes and autoerotic (male and female) are presented sympathetically or without apparent comment; heterosexual ones likewise, but for one or two slightly vicious bordello capers. We are denied any opportunity to judge the woman's view of all this and likely to approach such a matter with

13. Boston 08.30*a*; *ARV*^{2}, 135; *Ant. Kunst,* 12, 1969, pl. 10.1; Lissarrague, *op. cit.* (cat. 14), 79, fig. 2.24.

14. "Respectable wives" is a cliché we should not too readily admit in our attempts to assess ancient society.

15. Possibly over-argued for the late nineteenth/early twentieth century in B. Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity,* New York/Oxford, 1986.

16. See S. McNally, The Maenad in early Greek art, *Arethusa,* 11, 1978, 101–35, but not for this explanation of the relationship. She finds the late Archaic contretemps between satyr and maenad more positively hostile.

prejudice. Late Archaic Athens was an unusual place, it seems, to which modern mores might more readily relate than to most periods of Antiquity.

OTHER TIMES AND PLACES

It is not my intention here to explore the remaining history of the creature in comparable detail, but some account of its record both elsewhere and later will serve to highlight the exceptional treatment it was accorded by artists in Athens in the sixth and fifth centuries.

The Dionysiac phallos-bird

The unusual use of the creature which has been explored in the earlier part of this article becomes less common through the fifth century and seems not to be found in the fourth. The decline proceeds *pari passu* with that of the satyr as a roughly comparable symbol of male sexuality. The association of the phallos-bird with the satyr has been seen to be important, but it was based on this special function of the satyr rather than on his role as a servant and attendant of Dionysos. From the fourth century on one aspect of its life is strictly Dionysiac but in a wholly theatrical context. It seems to disappear from Athenian vases and in South Italy appears once on an Apulian vase in the company of a comic actor.[17]

Its clearest association with Dionysos of the theatre is on Delos. The phallos alone as a Dionysiac symbol and monument has a long history. On the basis of the colossal stone phallos dedicated by Karystios on Delos in the third century there is a frontal phallos-bird in relief, its legs apparently those of a cock.[18] At the Delian *Dionysia* fragmentary inscriptions suggested to Vallois that a wooden winged phallos was made and floated out to sea. Burkert makes associations here with ideas of ritual castration.[19] This may be just but we may recall the early association of Dionysos with a ship, and the great phallos carried on what looks like a ship mount on an Athenian sixth-century cup.[20] Both ships and phalloi have eyes, to see where they are going. (Incidentally, swans swim better than cocks.) But Vallois' interpretation of the texts has been challenged as an over-imaginative reading of what may have been no more than an *amaxa* carrying a phallos.[21] That our earliest representation of a phallos-bird appeared on a vase found on Delos may be just coincidental.

17. Harvard Univ., once Curtius Coll.; A. D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, ed. 2, 1967, No. 182, pl. 11*d*; *The Art of South Italy* (ed. M. E. Mayo), 1982, No. 121; Konnakis Group, Gnathia crater fragment, about 350 BC.

18. *BCH*, 31, 1907, 504, fig. 18.

19. In *Homo Necans* (English ed.), 1983, 70–1. See also R. Vallois, *BCH*, 46, 1992, 94–112 on the ritual for which there is evidence from the end of the fourth century to the mid-first. The creature is otherwise well represented on the island; see *BCH* Suppl. 1, 1973, 329–34.

20. Florence 3897; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 1932, pl. 22; J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Grecia*, 1975, 40; *ibid.*, 47 for the Karystios dedication.

21. P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, 1970, 314–7. See *ibid.*, pl. 15.1 for a Hellenistic relief showing a winged figure with grotesque head being pursued by a phallos-bird.

In Etruria

The exceptional treatment of the phallos-bird in Athens is echoed only once in Etruscan art, on a red figure vase of the fourth century where a naked woman "bends to pick up a winged phallus which flutters towards her like a young pigeon" (Beazley).[22] "The youth who hastens up on the reverse of our vase is ithyphallic" *(ibid.)*: the answer to the maiden's prayer, it may be. Other Etruscan usage, Archaic and later, offers some odd distortions of the Greek model with no suggestion of understanding its special role in Athenian art.[23] In the circumstances it seems likely that the red figure vase just described is a close copy of an Athenian vase scene.

Later

In the post-classical world the cock begins to take on an erotic connotation and the phallos-bird may take on the aspect, mainly the tail feathers, of the fowl, and its legs, as it does on the Delos monument (above).[24] Its later life as an amulet or lucky symbol is expressed in dozens of gem intaglios and bronzes and "apotropaic" signs on walls. In Hellenistic Greece it is still also shown as a woman's pet.[25] Its trivial and entertaining qualities are well characterised by Emily Vermeule: "That typically Greek invention... a playful and witty animal—the pecker, *to poulaki*, le oiseau que les femmes adorent, das Vögelchen."[26]

John BOARDMAN,
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

22. J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, 1947, 143, Funnel Group No. 15; A. de Ridder, *Cat. des vases peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1902, pl. 25, No. 875.

23. N. J. Spivey, *The Micali Painter*, 1987, 8, No. 6 (citing a Pontic vase also, and the Tomba del Topolino). In red figure, A. Greifenhagen, *RM*, 85, 1978, 78-80. Also on an Etruscan scarab known to me from an impression in Oxford. Compare the creature on Vienna 318; E. T. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death*, 1979, 175, fig. 27 "as a soul-bird in poetic reverie", sporting a human head, two human arms and a cock's tail. Spivey, *op. cit.*, 53, fig. 7, shows a black figure satyr being threatened by a phallos, which is perhaps really a phallos-bird, as on our No. 15.

24. See L. Y. Baird, Priapus Gallinaceus: the role of the cock in fertility and eroticism in Classical antiquity and the Middle Ages, *Studies in Iconography*, 7–8, 1981–2, 81–111.

25. *E.g.*, the intaglio, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien*, I (E. Zwierlein-Diehl), 1973, No. 31.

26. *Op. cit.*, 173. The subject continued to interest western artists, almost always as a woman's plaything: see W. Kaulbach's illustration to Goethe's "Wer kauft Liebesgötter", Lo Duca, *Histoire de l'Erotisme*, 1969, 184.



The Gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon
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THE GODS ON THE EAST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

(PLATES 61–66)

EVERY CREATIVE MONUMENT, ancient or modern, grows forth from a rich, distinctive play of tradition and innovation. Not even the most revolutionary art can start wholly afresh. And conversely, even in a period as tradition bound as the Greek, it was a very rare artist indeed who merely copied. The greater the creative mind of the artist, of course, the more fascinating this play.

The study that follows is concerned with tradition and innovation on the Parthenon frieze.[1] Starting from a few passages or aspects of the frieze that draw on well-established iconographic traditions, it undertakes first to interpret a number of rather exceptional aspects of the frieze iconography. It goes on to try to uncover broad principles that underlie the design. And finally it attempts to employ these principles in defense of a view on the frieze that, if still the *communis opinio*, has yet come under increasing scholarly attack: that the celebrants of the Panathenaia are indeed mortal Athenians.[2]

[1] This study is developed from a subchapter in my doctoral dissertation (*Nike and the Cult of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis*, diss. Institute of Fine Arts, New York University 1979). Dissertation research was conducted at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens from 1974 to 1978, and it is a great pleasure to acknowledge the hospitality and support of the School staff, in particular the successive directors during those years, James R. McCredie and Henry R. Immerwahr. For permissions for study and for their interest and advice, I am grateful to George Dontas, former Ephor of the Akropolis, and Maria Brouskari of the Akropolis Museum. I thank the following for the funding of research: the United States Educational Foundation for Fulbright Fellowships to Greece for 1974/75 and 1975/76; the American School for the Eugene Vanderpool Fellowship, 1976/77; and the Archaeological Institute of America for the Olivia James Traveling Fellowship, 1977/78.

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A number of scholars have read this manuscript in draft form: at the Institute of Fine Arts, Evelyn B. Harrison and Peter H. von Blanckenhagen and at the University of Chicago, Arthur W. H. Adkins, James Redfield, Ian Mueller, and Elizabeth Asmis. My warmest thanks to each of them for their advice and criticism.

[2] For a critical review of past research on the Parthenon frieze, see F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries*; see also B. S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1981, pp. 76–79. Practical constraints have led me to refer to studies from 1981 on in footnote only, important among them H. Kenner, "Die Göttergruppe des Parthenonostfrieses," *Anz. Österr. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 118, 8, 1981, pp. 273–308, and E. Simon, "Die Mittelszene im Ostfries des Parthenon," *AthMitt* 97, 1982, pp. 127–144. Soon expected are the papers from a symposium held at Basel in the spring of 1982. Among presentations there, three have particular bearing on the thesis of this article: J. Boardman, "The Subject of the Parthenon Frieze: Current Questions and Answers"; W. Gauer, "Was geschieht mit dem Peplos?"; and E. Harrison, "Time in the Parthenon Frieze." See *Internationaler Parthenon-Kongress, Basel, 4.–8. April 1982, Programm*, with brief summaries.

Works frequently cited below are abbreviated as follows on p. 290:

THE ASSEMBLY OF OLYMPIAN GODS

The Ordering of the Gods

The passage of the frieze with the strongest iconographic tradition behind it is the seated assembly of Olympian gods on the east frieze (Pl. 61:a–c). Our study begins with a close examination of that assembly, and in particular two three-figure groups within it, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros (Pl. 62:a) and the winged female figure (I will be establishing her identity as Nike), Hera, and Zeus (Pl. 63:b). The most pertinent iconographic precedents for this assembly as a whole are on Attic black- and red-figured vases of the later 6th and earlier 5th centuries; representations of the Olympians assembled for some specific event, the Introduction of Herakles, for example, or together as if simply to socialize.[3] The latter, the "social gatherings", are of a class referred to by the Germans as *Daseinsbilder*, that is to say, representations for their own sake, rather than as illustrations of myth or other significant narrative.[4] The most important of these vases are, in black figure, an amphora by Exekias in Orvieto[5] and a pyxis potted by Nikosthenes in Florence[6] and in red figure, Sosias' cup in Berlin[7] and a cup by Oltos in Tarquinia.[8] Looking at the vases with the

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Boardman, "Another View" = J. Boardman, "The Parthenon Frieze—Another View," *Festschrift für F. Brommer*, Mainz 1977, pp. 39–49
Brommer, *Parthenonfries* = F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries*, Mainz 1977
Bulle (Roscher) = H. Bulle, "Nike," in Roscher, III, i, Leipzig 1897–1902, cols. 305–358
Diels-Kranz = *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, H. Diels and W. Kranz, edd., 6th ed., I, Berlin 1951
Furtwängler, *Eros* = A. Furtwängler, *Eros in der Vasenmalerei*, Munich 1874
Greifenhagen, *Eroten* = A. Greifenhagen, *Griechische Eroten*, Berlin 1957
Guthrie, *HGP* = W. K. C. Guthrie, *History of Greek Philosophy*, III, *Fifth-Century Enlightenment*, Cambridge 1969
Guthrie, *Plato* = W. K. C. Guthrie in *Collected Dialogues of Plato*, E. Hamilton and H. Cairns, edd., Princeton 1961
Jaeger, *Theology* = W. Jaeger, *Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, Oxford 1947
Michaelis = A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Leipzig 1871
Müller = C. W. Müller, "Protagoras über die Götter," *Hermes* 95, 1967, pp. 140–159
Nestle = W. Nestle, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1942
Nilsson, *GGR*^{3} = M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, 3rd ed., Munich 1967
Pemberton = E. G. Pemberton, "The Gods of the East Frieze of the Parthenon," *AJA* 80, 1976, pp. 113–124
Robert, *Hermeneutik* = C. Robert, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik*, Berlin 1919
Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze* = M. Robertson, *The Parthenon Frieze*, New York 1975
Roscher = W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884–1937

[3] On these vases, see most recently H. Knell, *Die Darstellung der Götterversammlung in der attischen Kunst des VI. und V. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, diss. Freiburg, Darmstadt 1965; also P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée du Delphes*, Paris 1936, pp. 349–354.

[4] For the term, see particularly N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Zur Eigenart des klassischen Götterbildes*, Munich 1959.

[5] Conte Faina 78, *ABV*, p. 144, no. 9; W. Technau, *Exekias*, Leipzig 1936, pls. 12:b, 13.

[6] Museo Archeologico Etrusco 76931, *ABV*, p. 229; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, "Die Götterversammlung der Sosias-Schale," *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*, 1960, pls. 6, 7.

[7] S.M. 2278, *ARV*^{2}, p. 21, no. 1; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), pls. 8, 9.

[8] M.N. RC 6848, *ARV*^{2}, p. 60, no. 66; P. E. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B. B. Shefton, *History of Greek Vase*

gathering on the frieze in mind, one sees immediately two aspects of the design that set the frieze apart: the first is how the seats are arranged; the second, who sits next to whom. The seating arrangements on the vases are invariably kept simple: the gods sit either one behind the other, in pairs one facing the other, or in pairs side by side.[9] The Parthenon groupings are significantly more complex, with unexpected variations in figure arrangement, in spacing, and in the association of one figure with the next.[10] One does not find this for every group, or perhaps better, it is clearer in some groups than others. Hera, Zeus, and the attendant winged figure are a traditional group of three with parallels on vases.[11] Compare the gods to their left, however (Pl. 61:b). Ares is beside Demeter, to judge at least from the fact that his feet overlap her stool, but he is back behind her farther than seems natural, and the two lean away from each other, Ares back, Demeter forward. If side by side, they are hardly a couple in the proper sense. In front of them Dionysos faces right, toward Demeter, knees interlocked with hers. (It is rather more than that in fact. She has her knees between his.) He is turned away, to the left, and leans his arm on Hermes' shoulder, the two back to back. The gods Ares, Demeter, Dionysos, and Hermes do not fall easily into pairs; they appear rather as one complex and varied group. Of the Olympians facing right, Athena and Hephaistos form a simple pair. In front of them, however, the gods are in one long row: four seated one overlapping the next, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite, and one standing, the boy god Eros. This second group, the four Olympians and Eros, appears to be made up of two subgroups; in that perceptible internal division it is unlike the group from Hermes to Ares on the left: Apollo turns to Poseidon, they form a group of two; and Artemis has her arm in Aphrodite's, with Eros they form a group of three.

Concerning who sits next to whom there are puzzles as well. Athena and Hephaistos, paired on the frieze, are never so represented on vases. Hephaistos was attracted to Athena in myth, in the story of the birth of Erichthonios, but she shunned his affection, and on the frieze, in fact, she would seem to be protecting her virginity with her aegis down over her lap.[12] One does not expect Artemis, a virgin goddess, next to Aphrodite, the goddess of love, and vases never show them sororizing. Nor is it easy to understand Ares' place by Demeter. On vases he is most often seated with Aphrodite.

History of Scholarship on the Ordering of the Gods

The anomalies and distinctive features of the divine gathering have been a frequent

Painting, London 1962, figs. 100–104.

[9] Cf., as well, the gatherings on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury and the east frieze of the Hephaisteion, with seatings essentially comparable to the vases. Siphian Treasury, de la Coste-Messelière, *loc. cit.* (footnote 3 above); Hephaisteion, S. von Bockelberg, "Die Friese des Hephaisteion," *AntP* 18, 1979, pp. 23–48.

[10] Concerning the identification of the gods on the frieze, see below, p. 292.

[11] For example, amphora, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2304, *ARV*^{2}, p. 220, no. 1 (Nikoxenos Painter); FR, pl. 158; stamnos, Paris, Louvre, G 370, E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* I, Paris 1922, pl. 138; also the cup by Sosias cited in footnote 7 above.

[12] On the position of the aegis, see A. S. Murray, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London 1903, pp. 91–92, and more recently, Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze*, text to plate East IV–VI. Only its snakes are preserved, lying along Athena's left forearm. The aegis itself would have been indicated in paint. For more detailed comment, see Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 260, note 57.

subject for study in Parthenon scholarship. In particular, we can note that there have been repeated attempts to find some limited program or design principle that might account for and explain them.

The point of departure for this scholarship is the realization of Adolf Furtwängler that the seated gathering is formed exclusively of Olympians.[13] Subsequent scholars have almost invariably accepted his view,[14] and indeed we may stand confident that he is correct. We may note, further, that when the naming is restricted to Olympians, the identification of the individual twelve is largely straightforward: the identifications accepted by the field, those I have used above, follow Furtwängler. Before Furtwängler, scholars assumed that the selection of gods was more diverse, and, in particular, a number argued that the gathering was a grouping of major gods, minor gods, and heroes arranged topographically according to their worship on the Akropolis and beneath its cliffs.[15]

After Furtwängler, the next study of major importance is that of Carl Robert,[16] and indeed here the history of our problem proper begins. Robert, accepting Furtwängler's identifications, addressed two questions that arose naturally from them: why were these twelve Olympians selected for representation? (As Robert notes, there is no evidence for a select canon of twelve at this time.) And what is the significance of the arrangement? He arrived at a complex interpretation built at least in part on the earlier topographical theories. Seven of the twelve, he suggests, appear in deference to significant cults on or near the Akropolis: Athena (Athena Polias), Hephaistos and Poseidon (worship in the Erechtheion), Artemis (Artemis Brauronia), Aphrodite (Aphrodite Pandemos), Dionysos (Dionysos Eleutherios), and Ares (Areopagus). Of the remaining five, three are selected on the strength of the epic tradition, Zeus, Hera, and Hermes, and two as eminent gods of the Athenian polis, Apollo and Demeter. Seating, as Robert then sets forth at length, is determined in a complex series of positional correspondences between gods of the three groups.

There are two significant studies of the divine assembly after Robert. The first is by E. G. Pemberton, published in 1976,[17] the second by A. Linfert, 1979,[18] and both depend in good part on the lines of investigation Robert sets forth. For Pemberton, as Robert, the selection has three bases. Six gods, those seated to the right, Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite, are chosen for their political associations. (Compare

[13] A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, Berlin 1893, pp. 190–192.

[14] Exceptions are G. Elderkin, "The Seated Deities of the Parthenon Frieze," *AJA* 40, 1936, pp. 92–99 (gods and Athenian heroes), M. Robertson, "Two Question-Marks on the Parthenon," *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to P. H. von Blanckenhagen*, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1979, pp. 75–78 (tentatively suggesting that the figure normally called Dionysos may be Herakles), and Kenner, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), pp. 276–289 (in place of Demeter, Hekate).

[15] C. O. Müller, *AdI* 1, 1829, pp. 221–226; C. Petersen, *Feste der Pallas Athene in Athen*, Hamburg 1855, pp. 22–24; A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, Leipzig 1864, pp. 192–196. For a brief summary of these early theories with additional bibliography, see Michaelis, p. 261.

[16] Robert, *Hermeneutik*, pp. 21–35.

[17] Pemberton, pp. 113–124.

[18] "Die Götterversammlung im Parthenon-Ostfries und das attische Kultsystem unter Perikles," *AthMitt* 94, 1979, pp. 41–47. I have omitted from discussion H. Knell, "Zur Götterversammlung am Parthenon-Ostfries," *Antaios* 10, 1968, pp. 38–54, an attempt to explain the anomalies of the gathering compositionally and aesthetically without regard to their content.

Robert: Apollo and Demeter as eminent gods of the polis.) Three, Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter, are chosen for their importance in rural Attica. (Compare Robert: Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Artemis, Aphrodite, Dionysos, and Ares for their prominence on or near the Akropolis.) And three, Zeus, Hera, and Ares, for their Panhellenic significance. (Compare Robert: Zeus, Hera, and Hermes on the strength of the epic tradition.) Coexisting with this three-part system, Pemberton posits a second system of identifications by cult: each of the twelve appears in a specific cult guise. The second system, like the first, has ties with Robert, but they are somewhat less strict. Robert claimed a link to cult for the seven of the twelve gods worshipped on or near the Akropolis. Pemberton claims a tie for all twelve and in the process brings an extensive number of new cult sites into consideration, cults from the Akropolis, the city at large, the Attic countryside, and the Ionian East. No less important, Pemberton understands the link to cult in a new way. Robert believed that cults affected the selection of gods for representation but not the representation of the gods themselves. He saw the depictions on the frieze as typical and poetic. "*Nicht eine bestimmte Kultform des Gottes soll der Beschauer vor sich sehen, sondern das ganze Wesen der Gottheit, wie es in der Phantasie der Dichter und des Volkes lebt, soll ihm zum Bewusstsein kommen.*"[19] And again, "*so wäre es doch grundverkehrt, auch die Figuren des Frieses mit . . . Kultbeinamen zu bezeichnen und von Artemis Brauronia, Dionysos Eleutherios, Aphrodite Pandemos oder gar Athene Polias zu sprechen*" (*loc. cit.*). Pemberton's view is directly counter to this: the gods appear each "in a specific cult guise,"[20] each as worshipped at a specific cult site. The change is from a view that the gods were *selected for representation* on the basis of cult to one that they *represent* cults.

The recent study by Linfert accepts Pemberton's view that the gods appear in cult guise, and that the cults involved extend from Attica to Ionia. He postulates in addition that the gathering involves layers of topographical meaning. To cite one part of that interpretation, he suggests that the group Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite embodies on one level cults of the Akropolis and vicinity: of Poseidon in the Erechtheion, Apollo Hypoakraios, Artemis Brauronia, and Aphrodite in the cave sanctuary at the foot of the north cliff; they embody on a second level cults of southeast Athens near the Illissos: Poseidon Helikonios, Apollo Pythios (and Delphinios), Artemis Agrotera, and Aphrodite *en kepois*; and finally they embody prominent cults of Ionia.[21]

The theory of cult guise, which is perhaps the single most important departure in these two recent studies, has itself a minor history in Parthenon scholarship. Pemberton is the first to apply the concept to the gathering as a whole. Before that, discussion had been confined to the figure of Artemis, taking rise from a distinctive aspect of that goddess's iconography. Artemis appears on the frieze in a loosely fitting chiton which she holds in place on her right shoulder but which slips down off her left, revealing her shoulder down to her breast. This is a motif connoting fecundity or eroticism,[22] and is, in fact, a conspicuous

[19] *Hermeneutik*, p. 35.
[20] Pemberton, p. 113.
[21] Linfert, *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), pp. 43–44.
[22] For further discussion of the motif, see p. 296 and footnote 62 below.

instance where Robert's blanket iconographic interpretation is wrong: the predominant portrayal of Artemis in poetry is as a chaste maiden goddess; on the frieze she appears in a role or guise that is unmistakably atypical.

Furtwängler was the first to identify the figure as Artemis (before that the commonly accepted appellation was Peitho), and in proper defense of the identification he undertook to explain the anomalous disposition of the dress. Noting that the slipping chiton occurred also on the Artemis of Gabii and that the Artemis of Gabii was very likely a copy of Praxiteles' cult statue of Brauronian Artemis, Furtwängler suggested that the frieze Artemis had been influenced by the conception of Artemis in that cult.[23] Buschor, in his 1961 study of the frieze, accepted the idea,[24] and from there it has taken on a life of its own. Simon modifies it slightly, suggesting that the aspects are rather those of Artemis Eukleia than Brauronia.[25] Pemberton prefers Agrotera to Eukleia,[26] and finally Linfert suggests the combined titles Brauronia, Agrotera, and Ephesia.[27] When these last two scholars attempt to identify cult titles throughout the gathering, disagreements continue. To Pemberton Aphrodite is Pandemos, as in the shrine at the south foot of the Nike bastion, to Linfert she is as worshipped at the base of the north Akropolis cliff, *en kepois* by the Ilissos, and in Aphrodisias. To Pemberton it is Apollo Patroös, to Linfert Hypoakraios, Pythios, and Delphinios. And so it goes.

In noting the disagreements of these interpretations, points of weakness become clear. To begin with Robert, he cannot be correct in his view that the gods are portrayed in typical and poetic form, as "*das ganze Wesen der Gottheit, wie es in der Phantasie der Dichter und des Volkes lebt.*" One case on which we have touched, Artemis' slipping chiton, opposes it forcefully. The chiton in this context cannot be other than a pointed and specific iconographic allusion. Further, as the present study will make clear, his view is hardly more correct for the other divine representations. The iconography of nearly every god contains one or another singular aspect.

Might the theory of cult guise explain these iconographic departures? It hardly inspires confidence that scholars have disagreed so broadly on the epithets involved, first with regard to Artemis and now in the two most recent studies, on all twelve. The investigation to follow will, in fact, yield a number of observations that counter this theory, leading us to suggest an alternative way to understand the various iconographic anomalies that give it shape.[28]

A first reaction to the present study may find it overly subtle and intricate. As will become apparent, it uncovers a program for the frieze that rests on a surprisingly complex and sophisticated use of imagery. We need, I feel, to make a firm distinction in this regard between the larger program on the one hand and individual iconographic usages on the other. The program over all is rather simple, structured around a unifying theory, a very

[23] Furtwängler, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), p. 191, note 1.
[24] E. Buschor, *Der Parthenonfries*, Munich 1961, pp. 22–23.
[25] E. Simon, *Götter der Griechen*, Munich 1969, p. 178.
[26] Pemberton, p. 177.
[27] Linfert, *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), pp. 43–44.
[28] Below, p. 301. For comments critical of the theory of cult guise, see already Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 261, note 64; p. 262, note 66; p. 262, note 72.

few core ideas. In rendering that theory in visual form, however, images are brought together (one could almost say that theses are built up from them) in a manner that involves iconographic planning for the frieze on a significantly higher level than had been thought hitherto. I harbor no doubts about that level of planning. It needs to be appraised, however, knowing that, at least in the present state of research, it stands without parallel elsewhere on the Parthenon. There can, in truth, have been but few equals elsewhere in Greek art.

Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros

East VI, on which the figures Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros were carved, is a late casualty among frieze slabs (Pl. 62:a).[29] It was intact and well preserved when drawn by "Jacques Carrey" in 1674 (Pl. 62:b);[30] before the later 18th century, however, perhaps in the explosion of 1687, it split at the figure of Aphrodite, and the left fragment from Poseidon to Artemis fell. The fallen portion was moved to safety by Ludwig Ross in 1836, little damaged, and is now in the Akropolis Museum. The half that remained *in situ* did not fare so well. A cast taken in 1787 by Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel shows the upper body of Aphrodite already missing. By the early 19th century the figure of Eros and what remained of Aphrodite were missing as well, and the Eponymous Heroes to the right were fragmentary and badly damaged. What remains of the Eponymous Heroes is now in London. Some few fragments, stray finds, have turned up since the 19th century, including a part of Aphrodite's head and, most recently, a fragment showing Artemis and Aphrodite arm in arm.[31] The cast shown in Plate 62:a is a composite in the Skulpturhalle, Basel, incorporating the casts of all known extant fragments and the Fauvel cast.

There are two aspects of the three-figure group that merit special attention: the depiction of Aphrodite and Eros as mother and son, and the portrayal of Artemis as sister goddess to Aphrodite. That Aphrodite and Eros appear on the frieze as mother and son has often been noted.[32] Aphrodite has her outstretched arm resting lightly on Eros' shoulder, directing his attention to some part of the procession, and he leans against her leg and rests his hand above her knee. The bond that unites them is twofold, comprised of filial dependence on his part and casual pedagogy on hers. Nurture and instruction, *τροφὴ καὶ παιδεία*, are essential and readily understood aspects of childrearing,[33] and we react to the two as mother and son through the evocation of these aspects, that is through her pointing and his hand on her knee, perhaps more than anything else.[34] Aphrodite's pose has further importance in

[29] On the history of the slab, see Michaelis, p. 259.

[30] On the Carrey drawings, see *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures*, T. Bowie and D. Thimme, edd., Bloomington 1971.

[31] G. Despinis, «Ένα νέο θραῦσμα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνατολικὴ πλευρὰ τῆς ζωφόρου τοῦ Παρθενώνα», Τιμητικὴ προσφορὰ στὸν καθηγητὴ Γ. Μπακαλάκη, Salonica 1972, pp. 35–42.

[32] E.g., K. Schefold, *Klassisches Griechenland*, Baden-Baden 1965, p. 123; Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze*, text to plate East IV–VI.

[33] On *trophe* and *paideia* as aspects of childrearing in antiquity, Plato, *Alcibiades* 1.122B; cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* X.9.9.

[34] In this regard note also the handling of the sunshade. Normally it is a feminine attribute denoting delicacy and high station (cf. Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1500–1501, with scholion, on the carrying of parasols for *kanephoroi*; and cf. in vase painting, skyphos, Berlin, S.M. 2589, *ARV*², p. 1301, no. 7; FR, pl. 125, satyr holding

the iconography of this group. The figure is fragmentary, unfortunately, missing much of the torso and thighs, but the pose can be reconstructed on the combined evidence of the extant fragments and the Carrey drawing. Aphrodite is rendered in the Carrey drawing as sitting upright, back straight, in her seat. The extant fragments support that rendering in general; at the same time they help to pinpoint areas where the draftsman has introduced an element of distortion. Perhaps most important, the fragments show Aphrodite's right shoulder lower than her left, not higher as in the drawing; we need to imagine her, thus, not bolt upright but slightly more at ease. On one point the testimony of the Carrey drawings and the extant fragments is in full accord. Aphrodite was not lounging, that is, leaning back and using her right arm as a prop. That bearing would be inconsistent with her lowered right shoulder, attested, as we have said, in the fragments, and with an aspect of her sister goddess's pose as well, the position of Artemis' left leg, attested in the drawing and the fragments both. Had Aphrodite been lounging back, her weight would have been resting down on Artemis' left leg. To the contrary, however, that goddess's leg is casually tucked back under her chair, with only the ball of the foot touching the ground. There could be no weight on it. In short, the frieze designer takes care that we see the signposts clearly: Aphrodite is not disposing herself languidly. She is relaxed and at ease but maintaining a proper and upright bearing. Her dress forms an important complement to this. Nowhere is there a hint of immodesty. The fragments and the Carrey drawing both show the goddess with a broad veil covering her head, and she has a chiton with neckline high and in place.

To recover what the artist intended in the representation of this goddess we have to respond as much to what he eschews as to what he depicts. Two prominent iconographic motifs lay open to him had he wished to emphasize Aphrodite's female sexuality, her qualities as a goddess of love. One would have been to show her chiton slipping off one shoulder, down to or revealing a breast;[35] the other would be through languor, some hint of the supine.[36] He uses neither. The omission of these two motifs is more striking yet in that one of the two appears prominently just to Aphrodite's left. The chiton of virgin Artemis slips down, while Aphrodite's is up and in place. We might well miss the particular propriety of

parasol over the Basilinna). On the frieze, in contrast, the attribute is Eros', not Aphrodite's. He is holding it over and shading not her but himself. This suggests two things: on the one hand Love's delicacy, on the other that the young god is not waiting on Aphrodite, attending her, but rather is one deserving especial consideration and attention. This also is in the nature of a child.

[35] The following is a select history of the motif: it occurs elsewhere on the frieze in the figure of Artemis; in the pediments, East K and M (F. Brommer, *Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel*, Mainz 1963, pls. 47, 49); and, soon after, in freestanding sculpture, e.g., Leaning Aphrodite (H. Schrader, *Phidias*, Frankfurt 1924, figs. 185–190), Berlin Aphrodite (C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, III, *Katalog der griechischen Skulpturen des fünften und vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin 1928, no. K 5, pls. 6, 7), Aphrodite Doria Pamphili (R. Calza, *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj*, Rome 1977, no. 12, pl. 10), Agora Aphrodite (E. B. Harrison, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 373–376, pl. 82), Hera Borghese (Helbig[4], IV, no. 2262, P. Zancani Montuoro, *BullComm* 61, 1933, pp. 27–58), Venus Genetrix (Schrader, *op. cit.*, fig. 283; F. Hiller, *Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur griechischen Statue des späten 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Mainz 1971, pl. 1).

[36] Compare, for example, Zeus and Dionysos on the frieze (for Zeus, see below, p. 304) and Parthenon pediment East M (Brommer, *loc. cit*). Freestanding sculpture: "Olympias" (A. Delivorrias, *AthMitt* 93, 1978, pls. 1–11) and again the Leaning Aphrodite.

Aphrodite's bearing seeing it alone and in isolation. With Artemis as a foil it is unmistakable. Far from emphasizing the goddess of love's sexual and erotic character, the frieze designer has kept it in check. There is an evident reason. Recall the gestures that bind Aphrodite and Eros together as mother and son, Aphrodite's arm on Eros' shoulder, pointing, his hand on her knee. Aphrodite's upright bearing is in conformity with this, that is, her appearance and demeanor support and confirm that she is a matron, that she is Eros' mother.[37]

The thought of Eros as Aphrodite's son is a commonplace of the late Classical and Roman eras. In the period of the Parthenon, however, it is rather unusual and as such worthy of attention. Consider first the literary tradition. As established by a wealth of testimonia, the dominant view of Eros down through the 5th century was as a primal force of nature, a being who came into existence early in the history of the cosmos.[38] The tradition was shaped above all by Hesiod. In the *Theogony*, Eros, Chaos, Ge, and Tartaros are the four earliest gods. As the first of the pantheon, they generate themselves, they have no parentage (*Theogony*, 116–122). Later in the cosmogony, when Aphrodite is born from the sea foam from Ouranos' severed member, Eros joins her and becomes her attendant (*Theogony*, 201–202). Reflections of this tradition occur in later Archaic theogonies and Orphic poetry,[39] and significantly more important, in the cosmologies of the pre-eminent West Greek philosophers Parmenides and Empedokles.[40]

The tradition of Eros as Aphrodite's son by comparison is weakly attested.[41] There are four testimonia down through the 5th century: late sources cite Sappho as referring to Eros' birth twice, making him on one occasion son of Ge and Ouranos,[42] on another, son of Aphrodite and Ouranos.[43] A fragment of Simonides makes Eros son of Aphrodite and Ares.[44] And there is an echo of the tradition in two fragments of Pindar.[45]

Although incidental to the argument that follows, it is worth noting that these latter

[37] Cf., for example, representations of matrons in red figure: woman seated before her husband, head veiled, spinning, alabastron, Berlin, S.M. 2254 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 557, no. 123; J. D. Beazley, *Pan Painter*, Eng. ed. rev. 1947, Mainz 1974, pl. 29:1); woman seated, veiled, maid standing, lekythos, Honolulu, Academy of Arts 2892 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 844, no. 153 [Sabouroff Painter]; D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, Oxford 1975, pl. 28:1); seated woman spinning, small boy behind her, hydria, Munich, Antikensammlungen SL 476 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1083, no. 2 [Painter of Athens 1943]; *CVA*, Munich 5 [Germany 20], 232 [947]:1). On the evolution of the type, Götte, *Frauengemachbilder in der Vasenmalerei des fünften Jahrhunderts*, diss. Munich, Aachen 1957.

[38] On this cosmogonic tradition see Hesiod, *Theogony*, M. L. West, ed., Oxford 1966, pp. 195–196; W. Fauth, "Eros," *Der kleine Pauly* II, 1967, cols. 361–363; and A. Lesky, *Vom Eros der Hellenen*, Göttingen 1976, pp. 9–17.

[39] Pherekydes, Diels-Kranz, B 3, A 11; cf. Akusilaos, Diels-Kranz, B 1, B 3, and Ibykos, *Poetae melici Graeci*, D. L. Page, ed., Oxford 1962, frag. 43 (31 B.); from the Orphic tradition, *Orphicorum fragmenta*, O. Kern, ed., Berlin 1922, frag. 28.

[40] Parmenides, Diels-Kranz, B 13; Empedokles, *ibid.*, B 17, on *philotes*.

[41] See F. Lasserre, *La figure d'Éros dans la poésie grecque*, Lausanne 1946, pp. 135–136; and for the coexistence of this poetic tradition with the cosmogonic, O. Waser, "Eros," *RE* V, ii, 1907, col. 487.

[42] *Sappho et Alcaeus*, E.-M. Voigt, ed., Amsterdam 1971, frag. 198a (schol. Apollonius Rhodius, III.26b).

[43] *Ibid.*, frag. 198b (schol. Theocritus, *Idyllia* XIII.2); cf. Pausanias, cf. Pausanias, IX.27.3.

[44] Page, *op. cit.* (footnote 39 above), frag. 70 (43 B., 24 D.).

[45] Cf. Pindar, frag. 122, line 4, *ματέρ' ἐρώτων οὐρανίαν*; Bacchylides, *Epinicia*, 9(8), line 73, B. Snell and H. Maehler, edd., Leipzig 1970, *μ]ατ[έρ' ἀγ]νάμ[π]των ἐρώτων*.

four testimonia form a coherent tradition. To judge from the alterations in the genealogy from one passage to the next, that tradition is younger than the cosmogonic and a branch off from it. One of Sappho's two genealogies is essentially cosmogonic, Eros as son of Ge and Ouranos, Earth and Heaven; the other departs from it by half, son of Heaven and Aphrodite. The Simonides fragment, Eros as son of Aphrodite and Ares, makes a full break.[46] It is noteworthy, further, that these four fragments are all from lyric poetry; most likely the tradition originated as no more than a casual poetic metaphor for the idea that Aphrodite engenders love.

Were a properly schooled Greek of the 5th century asked to comment on Love's genealogy, he would most likely think first not of the god's parentage by Aphrodite but rather of the genealogical tradition of Hesiod and the philosophers. The clearest testimony for this is Phaidros' speech in Plato's *Symposium* (178a):

> He [Aristodemos] told me that the speech of Phaedrus began with points of this sort—that Love was a great god, among men and gods a marvel; and this appeared in many ways, but notably in his birth. "Of the most venerable are the honours of this god, and the proof of it is this: parents of Love there are none, nor are any recorded in either prose or verse. Hesiod says that Chaos came first into being—
>
> and thereafter rose
> Broad-breasted Earth, sure seat of all for aye,
> And Love.
>
> Acusilaus also agrees with Hesiod, saying that after Chaos were born these two, Earth and Love. Parmenides says of Birth that she 'invented Love before all other gods'."[47]

Although Phaidros appears in the dialogues as a lively and intelligent young man, there is something of the commonplace in his speech here. In initiating the encomia of the symposium, he is keeping to established and expected bases. At the same time, however, he is not above making a slip, perhaps either for effect or more likely through genuine oversight: he refers to the cosmogonic genealogy as if it were the sole tradition on Eros' birth ("parents of Love there are none, nor are any recorded in either prose or verse"). In context we would think Phaidros dull if what slipped his mind, or what he omitted, were other than a minor tradition. Eros' birth from Aphrodite was certainly known in the 5th century, at least by those who knew well their Sappho, Simonides, and Pindar. But the tradition can hardly have been current or strongly felt.

To return now to the visual monuments. Representations of Aphrodite and Eros in the 6th and first half of the 5th centuries conform to three distinct iconographic traditions. In the first tradition, the broadest and most diverse of the three, Eros, or not infrequently Erotes, appear as diminutive, youthful figures, notably smaller in scale than their patron goddess, Aphrodite. They show themselves by their actions to be the goddess' subservients and perhaps might best be described as daimonic attributes. Often they hover in the air

[46] Also breaking from the cosmogonic genealogies but independent of the tradition here described, Alkaios, *Poetarum lesbiorum fragmenta*, E. Lobel and D. Page, edd., Oxford 1955, Z 3 (Eros as son of Iris and Zephyros). On that passage see further D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford 1955, pp. 269–272.

[47] Trans., W. R. M. Lamb (Loeb Classical Library).

around Aphrodite, as for example on a well-known Judgment of Paris by Makron.[48] In other depictions an Eros perches on the goddess' shoulder or outstretched arm.[49]

The remaining two iconographic traditions are far narrower. One consists of a series of black-figured representations of Aphrodite holding Eros and Himeros in her arms. The best known of these is a fragmentary mid-6th-century plaque from the Akropolis, and there are some few further representations on Attic vases roughly comparable in date.[50] Eros and Himeros have a youthful appearance not markedly different from the Erotes of the first tradition. It is clear from Aphrodite's embrace, however, that we are to understand the two as her children.

The third tradition is comprised of a small group of representations of the Birth of Aphrodite in which Eros stands opposite the goddess and receives her.[51] Eros is youthful, as in the first two traditions, but appears as a full-sized figure. The earliest examples of the type are from the generation before the Parthenon,[52] and representations continue into the third quarter of the century,[53] the most prominent example being the Birth of Aphrodite on the base of the Zeus at Olympia.[54]

[48] Berlin, S.M. 2291, *ARV*², p. 459, no. 4; *CVA*, Berlin 2 [Germany 21], 84–86 [1013–1015]. Cf. the following representations of the same myth, Athens, Agora Museum P 4952 (C. Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst*, Zurich 1951, K 144; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *op. cit.* [footnote 4 above], pl. 18:a), diminutive Eros attends Aphrodite; amphora, London, B.M. E 289 (*ARV*², p. 653, no. 6 [Charmides Painter]), same; pyxis, Athens, N.M. 14,908 (*ARV*², p. 924 [close to the Wedding Painter]), diminutive Eros with pitcher and phiale flies to Aphrodite, seated. On Eros in representations of the Judgment of Paris, see further Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 13 and J. E. Harrison, "The Judgment of Paris," *JHS* 7, 1886, pp. 208–209. Compare also the skyphos, Boston, M.F.A. 13.186 (*ARV*², p. 458, no. 1 [Makron]), the abduction of Helen, with Helen, crowned by Aphrodite from one side, by a diminutive Eros from the other; cup, Florence, M.A. 75,409 (*ARV*², p. 835, no. 1 [Lyandros Painter]), seated woman, perhaps Aphrodite, with two diminutive Erotes hovering above her. Caryatic mirror supports showing Aphrodite framed by flying Erotes are in a related tradition, for example, Boston, M.F.A. 04.7 (M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Greenwich, Conn. 1971, no. 352); M.F.A. 98.667 (*ibid.*, no. 355); Athens, N.M. 7576 (E. Langlotz, *Fruehgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nuremberg 1927, pl. 25:b). On the type, F. Schaller, *Stützfiguren in der griechischen Kunst*, Vienna 1969, pp. 145–146, nos. 96–99, 129:1, 131:1, 2, and 132:1; L. Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece*, Mainz 1981, nos. 9, 13, 19–21, 27, 32, 42–44, 46, 48, 55, 58, 60, 62, 64, 68–70, 74, 77, 83–85, 87, 88–90.

[49] As for example on Parthenon metope North 25 (F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon*, Mainz 1967, pl. 105), diminutive Eros on Aphrodite's shoulder; Lokrian relief (H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs*, Mainz 1968, pl. 1), Eros with lyre on Aphrodite's arm. On these and further Magna Graecian representations, W.-D. Albert, *Darstellungen des Eros in Unteritalien*, Amsterdam 1979. Reflections of this tradition in red figure: skyphos fragment, New York, M.M.A. 07.286.51 (*ARV*², p. 806, no. 1 [follower of Douris]), Aphrodite with Eros flying from her; oinochoe, Rome, Vatican (*ARV*², p. 1173 [Heimarmene Painter]), same.

[50] Akropolis plaque, B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* I, Berlin 1925, no. 2526, pl. 104. For the list of vases, most recently, Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, p. 75, with further references.

[51] On these, see E. Simon, *Geburt der Aphrodite*, Berlin 1959, pp. 39–46; and more recently C. Bérard, *Anodoi*, Rome 1974, pp. 153–160.

[52] Pyxis, New York, M.M.A. 39.11.8 (*ARV*², p. 924, no. 34 [Wedding Painter]; Simon, *op. cit.*, fig. 23); pyxis, Ancona, Museo Civico (*ibid.*, figs. 24, 25); hydria, Genoa, Museo Civico 1155 (*ARV*², p. 917, no. 206 [Painter of Bologna 417]; Simon, *op. cit.*, fig. 28).

[53] Hydria, Syracuse, M.N. 23912, (*ARV*², p. 1041, no. 11 [Manner of Peleus Painter]; Simon, *op. cit.* [footnote 51 above], fig. 29).

[54] Pausanias, V.11.3. For a likely reflection of the representation, see J. Fink, *Thron des Zeus in Olympia*,

Consider now the relation of these types to the literary traditions on Eros. As we might expect, the visual monuments reflect the cosmogonic tradition more strongly than the lyric. The third iconographic type, the Birth, adheres explicitly to that tradition, in particular to the verses of Hesiod: Eros joins Aphrodite as she rises from the sea foam (*Theogony*, 201–202). The first iconographic type, while to be sure it is not a literal illustration of cosmogonic mythology, conforms to that tradition in important respects. Most important, it portrays Eros in spritelike or daimonic form and relates him to Aphrodite as an attendant or attribute. Only the second type, found on the mid-Archaic plaque and related vases, conforms to the lyric version, Eros as Aphrodite's son.

We are in a position now to see the Parthenon iconography in perspective. The Archaic plaque and related vases, the closest precedents for the representation of Aphrodite and Eros as mother and son, antedate the frieze by roughly a century. It matters little here whether the frieze designer formulated his iconography with reference to a surviving Archaic example or, as is far more likely, with reference solely to lyric sources. Important rather is his sharp departure from the iconographic and mythological traditions that prevailed in his day.[55]

In the decades that follow the Parthenon, Eros' portrayal as Aphrodite's son becomes ever more frequent in Attic art. On the east frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike, Eros stands between Aphrodite and a female figure, perhaps Peitho, his left arm on his mother's shoulder, his right hand in Peitho's: a boy in the care of women.[56] A terracotta mold of about the same date, an impression from a helmet cheekpiece, shows a female figure leaning against a pier, Helen, or more likely Aphrodite, with Eros pressing close.[57] And in Attic vase painting from the end of the 5th century, Aphrodite suckles Erotes.[58] We here have

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Munich 1967, p. 15, pl. 1:1 (silver medallion from Galaxidi).

[55] The following are isolated precedents for the Parthenon rendering: (1) Eros as a young boy. The realistic representation of young boys begins in the early 5th century, for example, the young attendant on the skyphos by the Brygos Painter, Boston M.F.A. 10.176 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 381, no. 173; L. D. Caskey, *AJA* 19, 1915, p. 134, fig. 4). Among these representations are Erotes, pyxis, New York, M.M.A. 07.286.36 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 890, no. 173 [Penthesileia Painter]; Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, fig. 17); and perhaps already in the boyish features of the face, askos, Brunswick (Maine), Bowdoin College 23.30 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 480, no. 339 [Makron]; J. D. Beazley, *AJA* 25, 1921, p. 329, fig. 3). (2) Aphrodite and Eros represented on the same scale. Apart from representations of the Birth, I know of only one example earlier than the frieze: the pyxis by the Penthesileia Painter cited above (Judgment of Paris). The boy Eros stands before Aphrodite but without indication that he is her son.

[56] C. Blümel, *JdI* 65–66, 1950–51, p. 153, fig. 13; E. G. Pemberton, *AJA* 76, 1972, pl. 62, fig. 5.

[57] G. Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 41, 1926, pl. 5; K. Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn* (*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* I), Berlin 1967, fig. 253:b.

[58] Calyx-krater, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 523 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1415, no. 1 [Meleager Painter]). Compare also these representations: cup, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 491 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1270, no. 17 [Kodros Painter]), Aphrodite with her hand on Eros' shoulder; cup, Jena, University 390 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1511, no. 1 [Jena workshop]), Eros in Aprhodite's lap, playing the harp. Non-Attic representations of Aphrodite suckling Erotes: South Italian aryballos, Taranto, M.N.A. 4530 (Arias-Hirmer-Shefton, *op. cit.* [footnote 8 above], fig. 238, pp. 389–390, where the motif is discussed further). Cf. terracotta statuette from the second half of the 5th century, Reggio, M.N. 607c (E. Langlotz, *Ancient Greek Sculpture of South Italy and Sicily*, New York [1965], fig. 96), Aphrodite holding Eros in one arm. Aphrodite and the infant Eros are also frequently represented on late 5th- and 4th-century finger rings, e.g., J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings,* New York [1970], nos. 713, 718, 734, 737.

something of significant interest. The portrayal of Aphrodite and Eros as mother and son on the frieze is not following and working within an established iconographic tradition. Rather it is forming a tradition anew.

The frieze designer fails to make use of the motif of the slipping chiton for Aphrodite, as we have seen. He uses it instead for Artemis, that is to say, a sexual or fertility motif for a virgin goddess. It is now necessary to investigate this in more detail. Artemis is called a maiden goddess foremost on the basis of her portrayal in poetry. Her virginal character is already well established in Homeric epic and continues to dominate literature up to and through the Classical period. There is a different, and to a significant degree contrary, conception of the goddess that coexists with this, however: Artemis as a power of fertility and vegetation. In contrast to the maiden aspect, it finds its broadest attestation in cult, only rarely elsewhere.[59] The two sides of Artemis' character are echoed faithfully in the visual arts. In mythological scenes and other representations influenced by them, Artemis is the "poetic" goddess, the maiden. Allusions to powers of fertility are confined almost exclusively to cult statuary.[60] The question, then, is whether the slipping chiton is indeed a cultic reference. As mentioned before, Furtwängler thought to find in the figure a reflection of Artemis Brauronia; Simon, Artemis Eukleia; Pemberton, Artemis Agrotera; and Linfert, Brauronia, Agrotera, and Ephesia. Were this study to be confined to the motif in isolation, it might be difficult, perhaps, to put these claims aside. When the depiction of Artemis is viewed against that of Aphrodite and Eros immediately to the right, however, the weight of argument shifts significantly. For the depiction of Aphrodite and Eros as mother and son is, as we have seen, without cultic significance. It is drawn from poetry. We could hold to the view that Artemis appears in cult guise notwithstanding. The gathering, however, then becomes an admixture of gods, some in cult guise and others not. This suggestion has never been put forth, and indeed it hardly seems attractive. The alternative is to lay aside the theory of cult guise entirely: the motif of the chiton establishes that the Artemis present on the frieze has sexual or fertility powers, but it means no more than that. Such powers would be equivalent to powers attested broadly in her cults but not a reference to any one cult in particular.

Artemis' powers of fertility cover a rather varied spectrum, from the flowering of trees to the flourishing of wildlife to venereal rites.[61] On the basis of the chiton arrangement alone we might take her as present in relation to any or all of these. She is seated close to Aphrodite, however, and has placed her hand on Aphrodite's arm. Let us, then, following the language of the frieze, look to aspects of the goddess that bring her close to Aphrodite, interpreting the one in relation to the other: Artemis, as goddess of fertility, in relation to Aphrodite, mother of Eros. The aspects, clearly, are of Artemis as protector of the mother in

[59] L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* II, Oxford 1896, pp. 443–444; Nilsson, *GGR*[3] I, pp. 486–495.

[60] Most notably the Ephesian Artemis, for which see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, Leiden 1973; *idem*, in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift F. K. Dörner*, Leiden 1978, pp. 324–358; cf. also the Artemis of Gabii, referred to above, p. 294 (G. E. Rizzo, *Prassitele*, Milan 1932, pls. 94–98.)

[61] On the sexual rites, see particularly Farnell, *op. cit.* (footnote 59 above), p. 445; dedication of breasts and vulvae, A. Philadelpheus, *BCH* 51, 1927, pp. 155–163.

childbirth and as guardian of young children,[62] functions, one might add, that are particularly well attested in Attic cult.[63]

It is necessary at this point to take stock of characteristics of the three-figure group of Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros that set it apart from earlier divine groups. First, the gods are represented in narrowly defined aspects, aspects that can be, and in fact often are, at variance with traditional iconography. If Artemis had been represented on the frieze as a maiden, the ancient viewer would have understood her to be present in a usual and typical form. When she appears hand in hand with Aprhodite, chiton slipping from her shoulder, she appears with reference to one side of her full being only, the goddess in possession of powers of fertility, protector of childbirth and guardian of young children. Aphrodite is a related case. She is present not as an overtly sexual goddess, the power of love, but narrowly and atypically defined as the mother of Eros. Eros is no longer simply a youthful daimon. He is a child in the company of his parent, a son.

It is necessary to note, second, that the iconography of any one figure cannot be understood in isolation. We are led by the iconography to consider each god's aspect as it relates to the accompanying members of the group; and were one figure to be left out of consideration, the meaning of the whole would not be clear. We have already seen this for Aphrodite and Eros. Their roles are complementary. It is no less true for Artemis. Her sexual portrayal is prompted by and directed toward the group of Aphrodite and Eros to her right. She is their protector and guardian. Artemis, protector of the mother and child, beside Aphrodite and Eros, mother and son, presents us with a three-figure exemplar: the Olympians as protectors of the bearing and raising of children.

Nike, Hera, and Zeus

East V, the slab on which the figures of Zeus, Hera, and the standing winged figure were carved (Pl. 63:b), is in the British Museum save for its upper left-hand corner. The corner fragment (Pl. 63:a) was found in late 19th-century excavations of the Akropolis built

[62] The frieze Artemis has been seen in this context already by Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 25 above), p. 178, and Despinis, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), pp. 41–42. Cf. also L. Kahil, "L'Artémis de Brauron: rites et mystère," *AntK* 20, 1977, pp. 97–98; *eadem*, "La déesse Artémis: mythologie et iconographie," *XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London, 3–9 Sept. 1978, Acts*, London 1979, p. 85. In recent research Evelyn Harrison has been able to clarify the iconography of the slipping chiton yet further; cf. "Two Pheidian Heads: Nike and Amazon, " *The Eye of Greece* (Festschrift M. Robertson), Cambridge 1982, pp. 86–87. She has found that the meaning of the chiton differs according to which side of the body is revealed. The dress slipping from the right shoulder is a sexual allusion, from the left an allusion to motherhood or care of the young. It may be noted that the relation of Artemis to Aphrodite here posited fits very closely with this interpretation.

[63] For Artemis in these aspects, see L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* I, Berlin 1894, p. 319; Nilsson, *GGR*[3] I, pp. 492–495. Relevant Attic cults: protector of young children, Arkteia at Brauron (L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, p. 207, with full citation of ancient sources); dedication of children's garments to Artemis Brauronia (*IG* II[2], 1514, lines 28, 40, 58; 1518, line 55; see here T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia Found in Athens*, Stockholm 1972, p. 12); Hesychios, *s.v.* Κουρεῶτις. Childbirth: garments of women who died in labor dedicated to Iphigeneia at Brauron (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 1462–1467; cf. schol. Kallimachos, *Hymn to Zeus*, 77; schol. Apollonios Rhodios, 1. 288; Hesychios and the Suidas, *s.v.* Λυσίζωνος.

into a Byzantine repair of the south Akropolis wall and is now in the Akropolis Museum.[64] It owes its fine state of preservation to that provenience; the remaining heads on the slab were systematically defaced toward the end of the Turkish occupation.

The protagonists of the group, Zeus and Hera, form a traditional divine pair, the king of the gods and his consort, but here as elsewhere in the gathering the iconography goes beyond what is expected and conventional. Consider first Hera. The goddess turns back to Zeus and with a broad, two-handed gesture holds open her veil. As has been noted already by a number of scholars, Hera in performing this act appears before Zeus as his bride.[65] They are partners in the *anakalypteria*, the ritual unveiling that precedes the leading of the bride to her new home.[66]

The idea that Hera and Zeus were partners in marriage was well-established in antiquity. Their nuptials were commemorated in yearly festivals at Hera's Argive and Samian sanctuaries and at a number of smaller cult sites, including sanctuaries at Athens, Plataia, Elis, and Knossos.[67] The festival is attested under a variety of names, as the Ἱερὸς γάμος, Θεογάμια, and Γαμηλία at Athens, and as Ἡραῖα, Ἡράσια, and Ἡρόχια elsewhere.[68] Although it is likely that the form of the ritual, as the name, varied a good deal from cult site to cult site, scattered references suggest that an important element they held in common was

[64] Akropolis Museum 855 (C. Waldstein, "The Newly-Discovered Head of Iris from the Frieze of the Parthenon," *AJA* 5, 1889, pp. 1–8; further references, M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Athens 1974, p. 140).

[65] A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III, ii, Cambridge 1940, p. 1053; E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, Berlin 1953, p. 60; Pemberton, p. 116; cf. E. Buschor, *Phidias der Mensch*, Munich 1948, pp. 31–32. On the motif see most recently M.-L. Säflund, *East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, SIMA* 27, Göteborg 1970, p. 105.

[66] *Anecdota graeca*, I. Bekker, ed., Berlin 1814-1821, p. 390, Ἀνακαλυπτήρια: δῶρα διδόμενα ταῖς νύμφαις, ὅταν πρῶτον ἀνακαλύπτωνται ἐν ἑστιάσει τῶν γάμων, τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τοῖς ἑστιωμένοις ὁρώμεναι. For further references, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Anakalypteria," *RE* I, ii, 1894, cols. 2031–2032; for the position of the unveiling within the marriage ritual, L. Deubner, *JdI* 15, 1900, pp. 146–151, and for a recent interpretation based on vase painting, J. H. Oakley, *AA* (*JdI* 97), 1982, pp. 113–118. The frieze designer in using unveiling as a symbol of the bride is drawing on a well-established iconographic tradition. From the Archaic period, the bride is often shown in vase painting holding her veil, at times holding it out, for example, Thetis on the François Vase, Florence, M.A. 4209 (*ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; FR, pl. 2; and the following wedding processions, hydria, Heidelberg, 72/1 (I. Krauskopf, *AA* [*JdI* 92], 1977, p. 14, figs. 1, 2); hydria, Boston, M.F.A. 89.562 (*ibid.*, p. 19, fig. 17); Corinthian column-krater, Rome, Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 126 (Arias-Hirmer-Shefton, *op. cit.* [footnote 8 above], pl. XI). Hera's gesture, although broader and more emphatic, stands in that tradition. Compare also later examples: wedding procession, loutrophoros, Berlin, S.M. 2373 (*ARV*², p. 1322, no. 20; *AZ* 40, 1882, pl. 5); Laertes and Antikleia, Apulian volute-krater, Munich, Antikensammlungen 3268, Arias-Hirmer-Shefton, *op. cit.*, fig. 236. On the gesture of unveiling in relation to the *anakalypteria*, see M. E. Mayo, *AJA* 77, 1973, p. 220.

It has often been noted that the Hera on the frieze wears a wreath, possibly the willow sacred to her at Samos. This is very likely a further bridal reference; cf. Plutarch, *Moralia. Coniugalia praecepta*, 2: ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ τὴν νύμφην κατακαλύψαντες ἀσφαραγωνιᾷ στεφανοῦσιν. On the wreaths and diadems worn by brides in red figure, Ch. Lécrivain, "Matrimonium," Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* III, ii, Paris 1904, p. 1649; compare M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1981, pp. 75–81.

[67] For references and more detailed discussion, Farnell, *op. cit.* (footnote 59 above), I, Oxford 1896, pp. 184–192; S. Eitrem, "Hera," *RE* VII, ii, 1912, cols. 392–396; Cook, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), pp. 1032–1065; more recently, K. Kerényi, *Zeus und Hera*, Leiden 1972, pp. 76–92.

[68] Deubner, *op. cit.* (footnote 63 above), p. 177; Photios, *s.v.* Ἱερὸν γάμον; schol. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 780; further W. Drexler, "Hera," Roscher, I, ii, 1886–1890, col. 2099.

a ritual re-enactment of the marriage ceremony.[69] On occasion, the mythical marriage is evoked in poetry, lightly by Aristophanes (*Aves*, 1731–1742), who conjures up the image of Eros as best man and the Fates as guardians of the wedding chamber, in another, more decorous context by Theocritus (*Idyllia* XVII.131–134), who imagines Iris draping and perfuming the gods' wedding couch on the eve of their nuptials. The representation of Hera and Zeus on the frieze needs to be understood against this mythical and ritual background. Hera assumes on the frieze the role of bride in the *hieros gamos*.[70]

There is a significant comparison to the frieze representation on a sculpted metope from the early Classical temple of Hera at Selinous, a depiction of Zeus and Hera's union on Mt. Ida.[71] On the metope Hera stands, drawing aside her veil with her left hand, while Zeus sits before her in a reclining pose. He has reached up and, having her firmly by the wrist, pulls her down to him. The Zeus on the Parthenon is far more restrained (the two are not, after all, on Mt. Ida), but one can detect here too that the god has claims to his bride. The hint of languor in his bearing, his arm casually and comfortably draped against the backrest, betokens sexual receptivity.[72]

The third figure of the group, the youthful winged female, has presented something of an enigma in previous Parthenon scholarship. As Brommer has noted, she is the one figure in the divine gathering not yet persuasively identified.[73] If we have hopes of elucidating her role within the group, we first need to establish who she is.

The uncertainty in the identification is between Iris,[74] the personified rainbow and messenger of the gods, and Nike, the goddess Victory.[75] Nothing manifest in the figure's appearance suggests one rather than the other. Both Nike and Iris have wings, and both,

[69] *Ibid.*, cols. 2100–2102; Farnell, *op. cit.* (footnote 59 above), p. 185; cf., for example, Diodorus Siculus, V.72.4, *λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τοῦ τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κνωσίων χώρᾳ γενέσθαι κατά τινα τόπον πλησίον τοῦ θήρηνος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἁγίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομιμεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν.* Also Augustine, *de civitate D.* VI.7.

[70] So already Buschor, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), p. 32; Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), p. 63.

[71] Palermo, M.N.A. (Langlotz, *op. cit.* [footnote 58 above], fig. 105); on the connection of the metope to the *hieros gamos*, see most recently W. Fuchs, "Zu den Metopen des Heraion von Selinus," *RömMitt* 63, 1956, pp. 110–111.

[72] For the motif of the arm draped over the back of the chair see the comments of E. B. Harrison, *apud* P. H. von Blanckenhagen, "Puerilia," *In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel: Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities*, Mainz 1976, p. 40, note 19. Harrison is concerned there with the significance of the female in this pose, the "lady in a receptive mood", but much that she says can be applied as well to Zeus. On the relaxed pose of the Parthenon Zeus, see particularly Cook, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), I, Cambridge 1914, p. 91.

[73] Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pp. 259, 260.

[74] As suggested, for example, by A. Flasch, *Zum Parthenon-Fries*, Würzburg [1887], pp. 61–64; Murray, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), p. 161; Robert, *Hermeneutik*, p. 26; Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), pp. 58–65; Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 260.

[75] For example, Michaelis, p. 255; F. Studniczka, *Die Siegesgötten*, Leipzig 1898, p. 20; A. H. Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London 1910, p. 53; and more recently Pemberton, p. 121. For identifications of the figure in early Parthenon scholarship see Michaelis, pp. 262–263. The figure has on occasion been called Hebe, most recently by C. Kardara, «*Γλαυκῶπις—Ὁ Ἀρχαῖος Ναὸς καὶ τὸ θέμα τῆς ζωφόρου τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*», *Ἀρχ Ἐφ*, 1961, p. 129. This is unlikely to be correct, however, for Hebe is rarely, if ever, represented with wings in Greek art.

like the frieze figure, can be depicted in full-length dress.[76] Nike invariably wears full-length dress after the Archaic period. Iris, in contrast, is at times shown in a knee-length chiton, the garment of an active figure and thus an allusion to her role as messenger. And this might, as some scholars have suggested,[77] be an indication that the frieze depicts the former rather than the latter. But there are sufficient securely identified representations of Iris in full-length chiton to make it clear that the attire is not unusual for her,[78] and in the end one has to conclude that dress does not provide a secure basis for deciding between the two.

The figure's placement, beside Hera rather than Zeus, has also been used as an argument,[79] but again, the indications are too circumstantial to be decisive. It has been noted that of the two deities, only Iris has a well-developed tie to Hera: in late 5th- and 4th-century poetry Hera and Iris appear as mistress and handmaiden.[80] To judge from this, it ought to be she who stands by Hera. Nike's tie, in contrast, is to the king of the gods, as attendant and attribute of his divine hegemony.[81] Were Nike present, it has been pointed out, one would expect her to stand by Zeus.

When one reviews previous scholarship on the problem, it is surprising how little attention has been paid to the gesture of the figure. The corner fragment in Athens shows it clearly (Pl. 63:a): the figure's hair is unbound, and she holds a roll of it in her left hand, in the act of placing it up on her head.[82] The hair across the forehead looks at first like a child's way of wearing bangs, gathered and swept from one side to the other.[83] A close look at the head in the museum makes it clear, however, that this was not what the artist intended. Rather the locks come forward over the forehead from both sides. A separate section of hair is combed forward and to the side in front of the left ear. We are hardly confronted with a

[76] For the iconography of Nike, see particularly Bulle (Roscher), and more recently F. W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen*, Mainz 1964, pp. 58–62; for the Archaic period, C. Isler-Kerényi, *Nike: Der Typus der laufenden Flügelfrau in archaischer Zeit*, Erlenbach/Zurich 1969. See for Iris, M. Mayer, "Iris", Roscher, II, i, 1890–1894, cols. 320–357.

[77] J. Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, 4th ed., I, Leipzig 1893, p. 444; Smith, *loc. cit.* (footnote 75 above); Bulle (Roscher), col. 340.

[78] For example, the François Vase (cited footnote 66 above); Iris carrying the infant Hermes, hydria, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2426 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 189, no. 76 [Kleophrades Painter]); Iris attacked by satyrs, cup, London, B.M. E 65 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 370, no. 13 [Brygos Painter]).

[79] Flasch, *op. cit.* (footnote 74 above), p. 62; Robert, *Hermeneutik*, p. 26; cf. more recently Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze*, text to plate East IV–VI; Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), p. 127.

[80] Euripides, *Herakles*, 822–874; Kallimachos, *Hymn to Delos*, 228–232.

[81] Hesiod, *Theogony*, 383–388; Bacchylides, *Epinicia*, 11(10).1–7 (B. Snell and H. Maehler, edd., Leipzig 1970). The tie to this god is strengthened as Nike enters the imagery of the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia as a personification of athletic victory; see F. Imhoof-Blumer, "Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen," *NZ* 3, 1871, pp. 24–25; A. R. Bellinger and M. A. Berlincourt, *Victory as a Coin Type* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 149), New York 1962, p. 3, pl. I:1. Zeus at Olympia by Pheidias, Pausanias, V.11.1.

[82] The gesture is noted and described by Waldstein, *op. cit.* (footnote 64 above), p. 5; also Brouskari, *loc. cit.* (footnote 64 above). The middle finger of the left hand is well preserved, visible above the roll of hair; the third and little fingers are partly broken away.

[83] Cf., for example, the Sounion relief, Athens, N.M. 3344 (R. Lullies, *Greek Sculpture*, rev. ed., New York 1960, fig. 96); Eleusis relief, Athens, N.M. 126 (*ibid.*, fig. 172).



FIG. 1. Restored drawing of winged figure (Nike)

hairstyle here. The depiction, rather, is of a young woman in the act of putting up her hair. Having combed it out in sections, she is now placing it up on her head, starting at the back. There are no close parallels for this stage of the toilet in red figure,[84] but the rendering is sufficiently clear as it stands.

It is necessary to attend now to how the figure disposes her right arm. She has it down across her body and holds her hand with the two middle fingers bent under (Pl. 64:a). The hand is battered and chipped, but again there can be little doubt about the rendering: a fold of the chiton is interrupted by the first and fourth fingers and not by the second and third.[85] Originally the figure must have held some object, and one thinks, of course, of an attribute. There remain at least some clues concerning that object. Since there are no holes for attachment, it cannot have been of bronze. It must have been added in paint.[86] And further, since the figure bends her wrist lightly, almost languidly, and grasps the object in but two fingers, it must have been of negligible weight. It can hardly, thus, have been a kerykeion. The only plausible restoration is a ribbon, a taenia (Fig. 1).[87] Our figure is placing her hair up on her head with her left hand, and she holds the ribbon with which she will tie it in her right, in readiness. If this restoration is correct, then we have secured the identification, for the taenia is a well-established attribute of Nike, the fillet

[84] At a different stage in the preparation of the hair but comparable in showing a section of hair combed down in front of the ear: woman tying on a fillet, late 5th-century pyxis, *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, London 1904, no. I 56, pls. XCVII, C.

[85] The middle fingers stop after the first knuckle, but surely the artist intended us to understand them as bent under. The most likely explanation is that he miscalculated the available relief depth and ended up flattening and curtailing his rendering. The gesture is best understood if we imagine the figure holding her thumb lightly against her middle fingers. Compare the left hand of Hegeso on the Hegeso Stele, Athens, N.M. 3624 (Lullies, *op. cit.* [footnote 83 above], fig. 187).

[86] For the adding of details in paint, see Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 209. None of the ancient painting on the frieze survives, but originally it must have been extensive, including, as here, painting over carved relief. Compare, for example, figures West 12, South 112–114 (Michaelis), East 36 (Athena's aegis).

[87] Previous scholars restoring a taenia: Michaelis, p. 255; Overbeck, *loc. cit.* (footnote 77 above); and Studniczka, *loc. cit.* (footnote 75 above).

with which she decorates the victor;[88] it is a ribbon, that is to say, serving in two roles at once, as an attribute, there to make clear to the viewer the figure's identity, and as part of the motif of her toilet. We can note further that the double role provides an explanation for the lack of a close parallel on vases. Women shown fixing their hair on vases invariably have the taenia already partly in place, wrapped around the head and held at the ends, ready to tie.[89] Had the frieze designer shown the figure thus, the motif of the toilet would have been clear, but the taenia's identity as an attribute would not. Only with the taenia down and away from the head is its double role, accessory and attribute, established.

Before we take the problem of this figure's identity as solved, we need to consider a previous theory that has enjoyed considerable influence. In the study *Opfernde Götter*, Erika Simon draws a parallel between the frieze group and early Attic red-figured representations of Zeus and Hera holding phialai, attended by a standing winged figure with a pitcher.[90] In the past, scholars have considered the vase depictions genre: the gods on Olympos being served nectar by Nike or Iris.[91] Simon suggests rather that they are mythological, Zeus and Hera taking their marriage vows on the waters of the river Styx. The *Theogony* (782–788) recounts that Zeus appointed Iris to bring water from the Styx for the swearing of *horkoi*, divine oaths. Picturing the marriage vows as Stygean oaths, Simon suggests that the winged figure on the frieze, Iris, alludes by her presence to Zeus and Hera's nuptial vows. In such a reconstruction the taenia would play no part. Simon suggests, rather, that Iris is putting her hair and dress in order, "*ordnet sie sich Haar und Gewand*,"[92] having just flown back from reconnoitering the festival.

Simon's proposal is open to a number of objections. First, her description of the winged figure's activity is hardly convincing. The action of the left hand is not a minor pushing into place of stray locks, that is, a gesture appropriate to touching up one's appearance. As we have seen, the hair is unbound and combed out. It seems no more likely that the figure is in the act of straightening her dress with the right hand. Were that the motif, one would expect the dress folds to be displaced, and they are not. There is a more important objection, however. Simon fails to establish that *horkoi*, and thus on the divine plane the waters of the Styx, had any role in marriage ritual. Greek marriage was secured in an agreement between the groom and the bride's guardian, her *kyrios*. There was no pledge between the bride and groom. And in the agreement between the groom and *kyrios* there is no indication that oaths played a part. The agreement is an ἐγγύη, a term denoting the giving of a pledge of surety

[88] On that attribute, see Bulle (Roscher), cols. 330–331.

[89] Compare, for example, the pyxis by the Washing Painter (Pl. 64:b); a similar representation by the same painter, nuptial lebes, Athens, N.M. 14,790 (*ARV*², p. 1126, no. 4). Further representations of women tying up their hair: cup, Rome, Villa Giulia 25,006 (*ARV*², p. 819, no. 39 [Telephos Painter]); lekythos, Vienna, private coll. (E. Reisch, *Strena Helbigiana*, Leipzig 1900, p. 249, fig.; also the pyxis cited in footnote 84 above; courtesan unbinding her hair: stamnos, Brussels, Musées Royaux A 717 (*ARV*², p. 20, no. 1 [Smikros]); Danae, calyx-krater, Leningrad, Hermitage 637 (St. 1723) (*ARV*², p. 360, no. 1 [Triptolemos Painter]); Atalanta, calyx-krater, Bologna, M.C. 300 (*ARV*², p. 1152, no. 7).

[90] Simon, *loc. cit.* (footnote 65 above). In a study (footnote 2 above) that appeared after the completion of my text, Simon implicitly abandons these views, p. 127.

[91] For example, G. Pellegrini, *Museo Civico di Bologna: Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti*, Bologna 1912, no. 161, p. 54; E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* III, Paris 1922, no. G 370, p. 237; *CVA*, Louvre 3 [France 4], III I *d*, text to pl. 10:1.

[92] Simon, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), p. 63.

or guarantee.[93] In short, one is left to doubt that a scene of Zeus and Hera swearing nuptial oaths on the Styx was ever contemplated in antiquity; there is no indication that it was ever represented.

The winged figure ought to share a close thematic relation to the *hieros gamos* on her right, if not as a bearer of Stygean oaths, then in some other way. And in fact the answer is not far to seek. Toward the middle of the 5th century, some decade before the carving of the frieze, bridal iconography begins a significant new departure with the representation of the bride and her companions at home in their apartments, the *gynaikeia*.[94] The tradition has its roots in domestic scenes depicted on women's vases, predominantly lekythoi, from the first half of the 5th century, and as the representations continue on lebetes gamikoi, loutrophoroi, and kalpides in the third quarter of the century, they evolve into three closely related types: the bride surrounded by bridesmaids bearing gifts, the bride in the company of musicians, and the bride and her companions at their toilet. It is in relation to the third of these, the preparation for the nuptials, that Nike's relation to Hera and the *hieros gamos* becomes clear. She is a bridesmaid, *paranymphos*.[95]

A pyxis in Würzburg by the Washing Painter can serve as an illustration of this iconography (Pl. 64:b).[96] The bride is seated on a couch in the center, tying on her hairband, and on both sides are bridesmaids, one holding a loutrophoros, an allusion to the nuptial bath, the other lifting her himation into place. On a roughly contemporary epinetron depicting the wedding of Harmonia, only the bridesmaids are actively engaged in preparation (Pl. 65:a).[97] The bride sits passively at the center, comforted by Kore. Peitho stands just to the bride's left, in the position of Nike to Hera, and checks the fall of her dress in a hand mirror. And on the right stands Hebe with her hands up adjusting her hairband. Precisely this tradition lies behind the frieze: the bridesmaid at her toilet, alluding to the preparation of the bride for her nuptials.

There is a particularly close parallel to the frieze representation on a cup in Berlin, a scene of Helen in preparation for her departure with Paris (Pl. 65:b).[98] The date would seem to be soon after the frieze, perhaps *ca.* 430, and the vase painter may well have been looking back to the Nike-Hera group for inspiration. As there, only the handmaiden is engaged in the toilet. She adjusts her hairband with one hand, in a gesture close to Nike's, and holds a mirror in the other. Both her activity and her mood are in contrast to that of

[93] On the ἐγγύη or ἐγγύησις and marriage, see most recently A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, I, *Family and Property*, Oxford 1968, pp. 1–9.

[94] See Götte, *op. cit.* (footnote 37 above), pp. 35–37.

[95] For the relevance of nuptial iconography to the frieze representation, see already Pemberton, p. 121, note 77.

[96] Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 541 (*ARV*², p. 1133, no. 196); E. Langlotz, *Martin von Wagner-Museum: Griechische Vasen*, Munich 1932, no. 541; S. R. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis*, Chicago 1978, pp. 125–126. The vase was damaged in the Second World War; I show it here in an older photograph.

[97] Athens, N.M. 1629 (*ARV*², p. 1250, no. 34 [Eretria Painter]). On the identification of the figures, see particularly B. Schweitzer, *Mythische Hochzeiten: Eine Interpretation des Bilderkreises an dem Epinetron des Eretriameisters*, Heidelberg 1961.

[98] Berlin, S.M. 2536 (*ARV*², p. 1287, no. 1 [Painter of Berlin 2536]); L. B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène*, Paris 1955, no. 15, pp. 61–62.

Helen, who sits motionless and brooding. This contrast of mistress and maid is emphasized also on the frieze but in a different form. Nike, the young girl, looks out away from Hera, her attention caught up in the festival procession. Her mistress is the older woman, worldly and blasé, turning away from the event to her husband.

There is one final problem to be dealt with if the identification as Nike is to be secure. Does the deity appear suited to the role of the frieze figure? Were there associations surrounding Nike in the Classical period that made her an appropriate attendant to the bride? For the Roman period, at least, there is an important parallel. Nonnus in portraying the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia places Nike in the role of *thalamepolos*, the maid of honor in charge of preparing the bridal chamber (*Dionysiaca* V.107–112). No equivalent testimony survives from the Classical period, no intimation either in prose or poetry that the role would have been appropriate at an early point in this deity's development. To attempt to trace it back requires an argument that is of necessity more indirect.

The view that Nike's role in the Greek pantheon is broader than that of a simple personification was first set forth by Hedwig Kenner in an article entitled "Flügelfrau und Flügeldämon."[99] Her thesis takes as its point of departure the representations of winged females on lebetes gamikoi and nuptial lekanai. From the mid-5th century these vessels regularly show a winged female under each handle, flanking the central scene of the bride and bridesmaids; a well-preserved lebes in Hanover can serve as representative of the type (Pl. 66:a–c).[100] On the greater number of these vases the winged figures are portrayed bearing nuptial gifts. The Hanover lebes, for example, depicts one holding a jewelry box and taenia, the other a taenia and kalathos. The bridesmaids in the central scene bear similar gifts, and it is natural to see the winged figures and the central figures as, at least in some sense, in analogous roles. On others of these vases the winged figures carry sets of torches, an allusion to the nocturnal leading home of the bride by the groom.[101] They behave in ways equivalent to that of a bridesmaid or maid of honor, but, as the presence of the wings and the position of the figures on the vases make clear, they are being placed at a certain distance from the wedding. They join in the festivities but from a spirit realm. Scholars studying the iconography of the victory goddess have invariably called the winged females Nikai, noting that their portrayal is very similar to that of the winged figures, the Nikai, on lekythoi and alabastra, on women's vases in general, from the first half of the 5th century.[102] The

[99] *JOAI* 31, 1939, pp. 81–95.

[100] Kestner Museum 1966.116 (*CVA*, Hannover 1 [Germany 34], 41 [1673]). On the development of the iconography, see Götte, *op. cit.* (footnote 37 above), pp. 38–41. Among the earliest examples of the type, from around 450 B.C.: Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1520 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 516 [near Mykonos Painter]; *CVA*, Bonn 1 [Germany 1], 12 [12]:4, 14 [14]:4); Berlin, S.M. 2404 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 841, no. 70 [Sabouroff Painter]; A. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, Berlin 1883–1887, pl. 68:1); Brussels, Musées Royaux A 1380 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 841, no. 74 [Sabouroff Painter]; *CVA*, Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], 12 [127]:9, 14 [129]:2).

[101] Cf. representations of the torch-lit nuptial procession: e.g., cup, Berlin, S.M. 2530 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 831, no. 20 [Amphitrite Painter]); loutrophoros, Berlin, S.M. 2373 (cited footnote 66 above). Nuptial torches borne by the mother of the bride: Euripides, *Medea*, 1027, *Phoenissae*, 344; Apollonius Rhodius, IV.808. For winged figures in relation to the marriage procession, Prückner, *op. cit.* (footnote 49 above), p. 20, discussing his Lokrian relief Type 3.

[102] P. Knapp, *Nike in der Vasenmalerei*, Tübingen 1876, p. 79; Bulle, (Roscher), col. 309; Bernert, "Nike,"

difficulty has been not the identification (the earlier figures are often labeled) but to understand why a personification of victory should be appearing so frequently on women's vases, on nuptial vases in particular. Paul Knapp, in the first comprehensive iconographic study of Nike, suggested that she personifies the sexual conquest, the captivation of the male,[103] and the explanation has been taken up in the subsequent studies of the goddess by Bulle and Bernert.[104] Kenner accepts that the figures are Nike but understands their presence differently. As they appear on these vases, she suggests, they are *daimones*, minor beings at the fringes of the mortal sphere; it is their good will, their blessings on the marriage that are being looked to.[105]

At the turn from the 6th to the 5th century, when Nike first appears on red-figured vases, she has already a distinct iconography. She is a graceful, delicate being, most often floating, weightless and nearly motionless.[106] She shares these flying and floating poses with Eros,[107] and in other respects as well their representations in the late Archaic and early Classical periods are closely bound together.[108] They appear in similar contexts: on lekythoi, alabastra, and other women's vases, and as attendant figures to karyatic mirror

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RE XVII, i, 1936, col. 292; W. Fuchs, "Nike," *EAA* V, 1963, p. 466. A. Brueckner ("Athenische Hochzeitsgeschenke," *AthMitt* 32, 1907, p. 107) puts forth an alternative identification: Eos, the dawn. That personification, however, unlike Nike, does not appear in multiples. It would make little sense to show two Dawns flying in from opposite sides of a scene.

[103] Knapp, *loc. cit.*; anticipated by Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 49.

[104] Bulle (Roscher), col. 309; Bernert, *loc. cit.* (footnote 102 above).

[105] Kenner, *op. cit.* (footnote 99 above), pp. 94–95. In the discussion that follows I depart from Kenner's thesis in a number of respects. I will be entering into a detailed re-examination of that thesis elsewhere, in a forthcoming study of the Athena Nike sanctuary. In brief, Kenner maintains that the daimonic nature of the goddess has its roots in an early folkloric association with afterlife and wind spirits.

> Nike als reine Personifikationsgottheit hat nichts zu tun mit jenen dunklen Flügeldämonen des griechischen Volksglaubens. Ihre Gestalt entstammt der helleren Sphäre des abstrahierenden griechischen Geistes und stellt sich ihm als ein lichtes, verklärtes Symbol dar. Freilich ist es möglich, dass das weitumspannende griechische Denken, das die Dinge von ihren extremsten Seiten, von ihrem positiven und negativen Pol zu betrachten liebte, nicht nur an die Nike des Seigers, sondern auch an die Nike des Besiegten dachte. Für den Unterlegenen wäre die Siegesgöttin schwärzester Unglücksdämon (*ibid.*, p. 90).

Kenner sees this putative dark side of the goddess as ruinous, a carrier off of good things, and in this sense akin to a Harpy, Siren, or Boread. She is led to this conclusion, first, because the Archaic iconography of Nike compares closely with that of afterlife and wind spirits, the Boreads, for example, and second, her more important reason, because of the association that exists in antiquity between marriage and death. The death of a young unwedded female, as a divine intervention, connoted a chthonian "marriage", the *kore* called by Pluto. It is thus that lebetes gamikoi came to be common maidens' grave offerings. Kenner suggests (p. 94) that Nikai, as chthonic spirits, represent the transfer of funerary usages and associations to the marriage vase.

[106] For the type, Isler-Kerényi, *op. cit.* (footnote 76 above), pp. 43–45; also B. Eckstein-Wolf, "Zur Darstellung spendender Götter," *MdI* 5, 1952, pp. 62–64. It first appears in the early work of the Berlin Painter, for example, Panathenaic amphora, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 386 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 197, no. 2); lekythos, Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg 4.08 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 211, no. 189).

[107] E.g., amphora, Naples, M.N. RC 63 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 198, no. 18 [Berlin Painter]); lekythos, Gela, M.C. *ex* coll. Navarra-Jacona (*ARV*^{2}, p. 384, no. 219 [Brygos Painter]). On the iconography see Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 15.

[108] On ties between Nike and Eros, see particularly Bulle (Roscher), cols. 308, 309; R. Pagenstecher, *Eros und Psyche*, Heidelberg 1911, pp. 35–38; Bernert, *loc. cit.* (footnote 102 above).

supports.[109] They engage in similar activities.[110] And they share attributes.[111] In the discussion that follows one of these attributes is of particular importance: both figures are portrayed on occasion holding long, flowering tendril scrolls.[112] Scholars have recognized that Eros' holding of such scrolls alludes to Love as a power of fertility, a daimonic force that causes living things to be attracted to one another and so to flourish and bear fruit.[113] We should stop to note, as well, how an iconography of this type takes shape. Its origin is in a rather primitive process of association whereby thoughts and perceptions attending the noun to be personified, *eros* in this case, are taken up by the artist and transformed into characteristics and attributes of the personification.

Similar processes and associations, associations attending the word *nike* in this case, contribute to changes in the iconography of the victory goddess: victory is kind; victory is gracious and gladdening. Under the guidance of these and similar thoughts, Nike becomes in early red figure a graceful and genial winged female. That she is shown on occasion holding tendril scrolls is but an extension of the same: victory is fruitful; victory makes one flourish. In the popular mind the victory goddess, like Eros, gathers unto herself the characteristics of a fertility daimon, a fosterer of growth and fruition. In some few cases we are actually shown Eros and Nike in juxtaposition as complementary beings. An early Classical red-figured astragalos by the Syriskos Painter, for example, portrays Eros holding flowering tendrils on one side, Nike with palmette scrolls on another.[114] A mirror support in London is decorated with a representation of Eros and Nike rising up from a flower, she flying left, he right.[115]

When Nike is drawn into nuptial iconography from the mid-5th century, she carries

[109] As mirror supports: Erotes, see footnote 48 above; Nikai, *op. cit.* (footnote 84 above), no. A 8, pl. XLV; detail, K. A. Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, Berlin 1921, fig. 25; Schaller, *op. cit.* footnote 48 above), no. 100; Congdon, *op. cit.* (footnote 48 above), no. 33, pls. 29–31.

[110] E.g., as musicians: Nike, see Bulle (Roscher), col. 326; Eros, Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 17; M. Wegner, *Musikleben der Griechen*, Berlin 1949, pp. 196, 198, 216; Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, pp. 16–21. Carrying implements of cult: Nike, Eckstein-Wolf, *op. cit.* (footnote 106 above), pp. 73–74; Eros, *ibid.*, p. 74, with additions, Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, p. 70.

[111] Most prominently the taenia and wreath, proper to Nike but also held occasionally by Eros: Eros with taenia, e.g., lekythos, Boston, M.F.A. 10.180 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 384, no. 218 [Brygos Painter]); stamnos, London, B.M. E 440 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 289, no. 1 [Siren Painter]); wreath, cup, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2669 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 818, no. 26 [Telephos Painter]); further references, Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 15. Attributes shared by both but less frequent in their iconography: torches, Nike, Bulle (Roscher), col. 331; cf. footnote 101 above; Eros, Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, p. 70; kerykeia, Nike, pelike, Berlin, S.M. F 2166 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 288, no. 5 [Argos Painter]); Eros, Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, pp. 47–50; and for a further attribute see the next footnote.

[112] Eros, Furtwängler, *Eros*, p. 15; Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, pp. 7–13; Nike, amphora, Philadelphia, University Museum 31.16.11 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 198, no. 15 [Berlin Painter]); oinochoe, London, B.M. E 513 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 210, no. 184 [Berlin Painter]); lekythos, Palermo, M.N. V 699 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 211, no. 188 [Berlin Painter]).

[113] See particularly Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, pp. 24–26.

[114] Rome, Villa Giulia 866 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 264, no. 67; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases*, Cambridge, Mass. 1919, II, pp. 442–443).

[115] London, B.M. 1923.5-14.1; Greifenhagen, *Eroten*, p. 36, fig. 28. On the identification of the figures, *ibid.*, p. 38. Greifenhagen proposes as an alternative that the two may be Iris and Zephyros. Since both Eros and Nike appear elsewhere as mirror supports, however, they are the more likely. A winged youth and maiden, possibly Eros and Nike, draw Aphrodite's chariot on a Lokrian relief (Prückner, *op. cit.* [footnote 49 above], pl. 2, p. 23, with further references).

her daimonic associations with her. It is not impossible that, in flying under each handle of the lebes gamikos, Nike brought a smile to the bride with the thought of a marital conquest. She brought, more surely, long-established connotations of good fortune and fertility, the successful marriage rich in offspring. The last step, from the lebetes to the Parthenon frieze, is but a small one. The frieze designer has taken Nike's newly developed association with marriage and elevated it to a mythical plane. From a deity hovering out beyond the mortal *paranymphoi*, she is brought in to serve as *paranymphos* proper. In putting up her hair, she acts as do the mortal bridesmaids on contemporary vases.

To better appreciate Nike's role in the three-figure frieze group, it helps to think her away for a moment. With or without a bridal attendant, Hera's identity as bride in the *hieros gamos* is clear. But what of Zeus? His languor intimates that he possesses the bride, that he is husband. Were this a two-figure group, however, it would be far from clear that his role as consort predominates, that he is appearing on the frieze as this above all else. Nike attending Hera as *paranymphos* intensifies the reference to the *hieros gamos* twofold, with respect to Hera first, as bridesmaid to the bride, but also with respect to Zeus. The contemporary viewer would have appreciated immediately the anomaly in seeing Nike away from her expected place, not by Zeus, connoting his sovereign rule over the gods, but by Hera: not the Victory of Zeus, the Victory of the Bride. Hera and Zeus are a divine couple, thought of on the frieze as seated side by side. In this respect, and this respect only, Nike attends Zeus also. She stands beside the two as husband and wife. The iconography of the whole is the victory of marital union as seen in the archetype, the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera.

There are close ties between this group's iconography and that of Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros just examined. Here, as there, the gods are portrayed in narrowly defined aspects. Zeus and Hera are bride and groom in the *hieros gamos*. Nike is *paranymphos*. And here, as there, the group functions as an integral unit, not as three figures in casual juxtaposition. The iconography of any one cannot be understood in isolation. They are parts, rather, in one coordinated iconographic "statement".

A Hypothetical Program

The assembly thus far examined presents, in one group, the Olympians as protectors of the bearing and raising of children, and in the other, the Olympians as the model for and protectors of marriage. Typical mythological characteristics and affiliations have been placed to the side. They are no longer of primary concern. In their place has come a concern with societal institutions: marriage; the family. We cannot yet know whether the iconography of these two groups has bearing on the interpretation of the rest of the gods. Let us take simply on assumption that we have found something key. The following may stand as a hypothetical program: the frieze presents an Olympian pantheon in a set of divine groups that mirror the essential institutions of civilized society.

Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter. Athena and Hephaistos

That the divine gathering is indeed structured around the idea of societal institutions

finds ready support in two further frieze groups: the triad Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter, and the pair Athena and Hephaistos. To this point two institutions have been studied: marriage and the family, in which, broadly speaking, all members of the polis partake. There is, however, a second complex of institutions, each entered into by only some part of the citizenry. Broadly put, these are technological and professional institutions, the trades and skills. On these two larger institutional classes, social on the one hand, technological on the other, society's stability and material well-being depend.

Ancient society drew one distinction above all with regard to skills. It separated those of the country, that is agricultural skills, from those of the city, namely artisanship, the work of the *demiourgoi*.[116] The triad Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter and the pair Athena and Hephaistos reflect these two classes respectively. Hephaistos is a smith god, the god of metallurgy, and Athena is a prominent patroness of craft.[117] Hermes is a herding god,[118] Dionysos a god of wine, and Demeter a guardian of crops: animal husbandry, viticulture, and agriculture.

The iconography of the two groups first examined took care to delineate that the group members were closely tied to one another, portraying thereby that they shared a common aim. An equivalent visual bond is unmistakable in the second two groups. For Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter it is expressed in their social familiarity and intimacy (Pl. 61:b). Demeter has her knees between those of Dionysos, and Dionysos leans back against Hermes. For Athena and Hephaistos (Pl. 61:c) we see it through reference to the one myth that brings the two most closely together, Erichthonios' birth.[119] Here lies the significance of

[116] Among early indications of that distinction, which develops in importance through the Archaic period, note Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia*, 13.2 (on the selection of archons by faction in the constitution *ca.* 579 B.C.); on the difficulties of the passage, see P. Rhodes, *Commentary on the* Aristotelian Athenian Politeia, Oxford 1981, pp. 182–184. For further references, see M. I. Finley, *Ancient Economy*, Berkeley 1973, pp. 41–42, with particular regard to the relative value placed on the two.

[117] Nilsson, *GGR*[3] I, p. 439; H. Jessen, "Ergane," *RE* V, ii, 1907, cols. 428–430.

[118] Nilsson, *GGR*[3] I, pp. 505–506.

[119] For the testimonia on the myth, Preller and Robert, *op. cit.* (footnote 63 above), p. 198, note 2. The most important among them is Eratosthenes, [*Cat.*] 13 (Euripides, frag. 925, *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta* I, A. Nauck, ed., Leipzig 1889):

> λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· Ἥφαιστον ἐρασθέντα Ἀθηνᾶς βούλεσθαι αὐτῇ μιγῆναι· τῆς δὲ ἀποστρεφομένης καὶ τὴν παρθενίαν μᾶλλον αἱρουμένης ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κρύπτεσθαι, ὃν λέγουσι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι Ἡφαιστεῖον. ὃς δόξας αὐτὴν κρατήσειν καὶ ἐπιθέμενος πληγεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῷ δόρατι ἀφῆκε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, φερομένης εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς σπορᾶς· ἐξ ἧς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσι παῖδα, ὃς ἐκ τούτου Ἐριχθόνιος ἐκλήθη.

Representations of the birth on Attic vases antedating the Parthenon, stamnos, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2413 (*ARV*[2], p. 495, no. 1 [Painter Munich 2413]), *ca.* 460; hydria, London, B.M. E 182 (*ARV*[2], p. 580, no. 2 [Oianthe Painter]). On these representations recently, see K. Schefold, *Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich 1981, pp. 48–57. A reconstruction first proposed by S. Karouzou, *AthMitt* 69–70, 1954–1955, pp. 79–94, and strengthened by E. Harrison, *AJA* 81, 1977, pp. 137–139, 265–287, would place the original of a relief in the Vatican showing the birth of Erichthonios on the base of Alkamenes' cult statues in the Hephaisteion. Alkamenes may well have been led to his choice of myth by the east frieze of the Parthenon. At any rate, the reconstruction of the base accords with the myth's relevance to Athena and Hephaistos as gods of craft. For citations of the myth in relation to the Hephaisteion, see Pausanias, I.14.6; Augustine, *de civitate D.* XVIII.12.

Athena's holding her aegis down over her lap. Hephaistos turns back to the maiden as if he were her spouse, and she has her aegis down as guard of her virginity and shrinks back from him ever so slightly.

There remain three in the Olympian gathering whose placement is yet to be discussed: Ares, seated by Demeter, and allied thus to the agricultural group; and the pair Poseidon and Apollo, seated left of and in a row with Artemis and Aphrodite. Their treatment, however, will require that we first investigate the principles structuring the program that I have proposed for the gathering. The program draws on two concepts that have a distinctly philosophical cast: the idea that civilization has discrete institutional bases, and the idea that these bases give structure to the pantheon. Both concepts, in fact, have a defined place within the intellectual history of antiquity.

THEOLOGIES OF THE SOPHISTS

The Scholarship

The modern understanding of pre-Socratic philosophy in general, and Sophistic theology in particular, rests on a painstaking interpretation of fragments. An examination of a number of these primary sources will lead to the conclusion that the theology of Protagoras bears close relation to the frieze, but it may be best not to begin the analysis there. The Sophist's views, attested in isolated, seemingly contradictory sources, have over the years given rise to broadly divergent interpretations, and in pursuing the argument, it will be necessary to choose among them. I am guided in these choices by the writings of three scholars, two who are renowned for their work on the pre-Socratics, Werner Jaeger and W. K. C. Guthrie,[120] and one who has devoted careful study to my subject precisely, C. W. Müller.[121] The reasons for following the three will be more apparent, however, if we have first examined surviving work from philosophers roughly contemporary with Protagoras and in large part dependent on him.

In the lists of *atheoi* passed on by Hellenistic and Roman writers there are, besides Protagoras, three 5th-century names that regularly appear: Diagoras of Melos, Prodikos of Keos, and Kritias.[122] There survive no writings of significance by the first of these, but Prodikos, a Sophist and Protagoras' younger contemporary, and Kritias, a devotee of philosophers and infamous member of the Thirty, are both known in fragments, and these provide substantial testimony on theological speculation in the second half of the 5th century.

Prodikos

Later sources cite Prodikos as the author of a treatise explicating the origins of the traditional pantheon; he was remembered in particular for the statement that man first deified elements of his environment that fostered life, such things as the sun, the moon,

[120] *Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, Oxford 1947 (= Jaeger, *Theology*); *History of Greek Philosophy*, III, *Fifth-Century Enlightenment*, Cambridge 1969 (= Guthrie, *HGP*).

[121] "Protagoras über die Götter," *Hermes* 95, 1967, pp. 140–159 (= Müller).

[122] Compare, for example, Cicero, *de natura deorum* 1.63; Sextus Empiricus, *ad. Mathematicos* IX.50.

rivers and marshes, and fruits (e.g., as quoted by Sextus Empiricus, *ad. Mathematicos* IX.52, *τὸ ὠφελοῦν τὸν βίον ὑπειλῆφθαι θεόν, ὡς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ λίμνας καὶ λειμῶνας καὶ καρποὺς καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοιουνῶδες*). This philosopher applies the idea of benefit equally to the deification of the Olympians: bread is worshipped as Demeter, wine as Dionysos, water as Poseidon, fire as Hephaistos (*op. cit.*, IX.18), *διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν ἄρτον Δήμητραν νομισθῆναι τὸν δὲ οἶνον Διόννυσον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα, τὸ δὲ πῦρ Ἥφαιστον καὶ ἤδη τῶν εὐχρηστούντων ἕκαστον.*[123]

A modern student of religion would see Prodikos' two explanations of deification as different in kind. To picture the sun and the moon as divine beings is a simple act of personification. The deification of Olympians, however, while perhaps not wholly independent of personification, is yet significantly more complex. In poetic usage fire can be referred to as Hephaistos, wine as Dionysos.[124] More generally, however, the Olympians were considered to have dominion over broad spheres and skills. Hephaistos is a guardian of metallurgy, Dionysos of viticulture and the use of wine. Although extant sources leave somewhat ambiguous the degree to which Prodikos emphasized this distinction, a papyrus fragment from the 1st-century B.C. Epicurian Philodemos, at least, suggests that he gave it significant weight. The fragment, which refers to Prodikos via a citation of Persaeus of Kition, has the Sophist defining religion as an evolution by stages. First came belief in things beneficial in their natural state, fresh waters and fruits, for example, and then the discoverers and teachers of skills, Olympians such as Dionysos and Demeter:

> *Περσα[ῖος δὲ] δῆλός ἐστιν . . . [ἀφανί]ζω[ν] τὸ [δ]αιμόνιο[ν] ἢ μηθὲ[ν ὑπ]ὲρ αὐτοῦ γινώσκων, ὅταν ἐν [τ]ῷ Περὶ θεῶν μὴ [ἀπίθ]ανα λέγῃ φαίνεσθαι τὰ περὶ <τοῦ> τὰ τρέφοντα καὶ ὠφελοῦν[τ]α θεοὺς νενομίσ[θα]ι καὶ τετειμῆσθαι πρῶτ[ο]ν ὑπὸ [Προ]δίκου γεγραμμένα, μ[ε]τὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺ[ς εὑρ]ό[ν]τας ἢ τροφὰς ἢ [σ]κέπας ἢ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας [ὡς Δ]ήμητραν [κ]αὶ Δι[όννυσον].*[125]

Prodikos means something quite specific by "discoverers" (*εὑρόντας*), as is made clear in a passage of Minucius Felix: they are deified men, heroes of the past. *Octavius* XXI.2, *Prodicus adsumptos in deos loquitur qui errando inventis novis frugibus utilitati hominum profuerunt.*

The fragments allow no more than a glimpse at what was, no doubt, an extensive and carefully developed theology, but even as fragments they reveal distinctive Sophistic trains of thought. Prodikos is concerned with men's beliefs, the Sophistic term is *τὰ νομιζόμενα*, not absolutes, *τὰ ὄντα*; he considers the pantheon a working of the human mind. Further, his analysis is based on man's evolution from the natural to the civilized state.[126] The growth of the pantheon mirrors the growth of civilization.

[123] For the assembled fragments, see Diels-Kranz, B 5.

[124] E.g., *Iliad* II.426 (Hephaistos) and Euripides, *Bacchae*, 274 (Dionysos).

[125] Philodemos, *de pietate*, col. 9, T. Gomperz, ed., Leipzig 1866, p. 75. On the two stages of religious development in Prodikos, Nestle, p. 354; M. Untersteiner, *I Sophisti*, 2nd ed., Milan 1967, II, p. 16; Guthrie, *HGP* III, p. 239; contra, H. Gomperz, *Sophistik und Rhetorik*, Leipzig 1912, p. 113, note 251.

[126] On the Sophistic idea of progress, see particularly W. K. C. Guthrie, *In the Beginning: Some Greek Views on the Origins of Life and the Early State of Man*, London 1957, pp. 80–94, and E. R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress*, Oxford 1973, pp. 8–13.

Pre-Sophistic Theology: Xenophanes

The *Silloi* of Xenophanes embody the earliest known philosophical speculation on the origin and nature of the traditional Olympian pantheon and indeed are the single instance of such speculation known to antedate Sophism.[127] They may help to place the work of Prodikos in perspective. The *Silloi*, dating from the early 5th century, set out the thesis that men conceive of gods in their own image. Xenophanes observes that the gods give birth and are born; they speak with human voices and dress in human clothes. If we could know the animals' gods, he suggests, we would find that horses have horse gods, that cows worship cows:

> ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόες <ἵπποι τ'> ἠὲ λέοντες
> ἢ γράψαι χείρεσσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἅπερ ἄνδρες,
> ἵπποι μέν θ' ἵπποισι βόες δέ τε βουσὶν ὁμοίας
> καί <κε> θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον καὶ σώματ' ἐποίουν
> τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ καὐτοὶ δέμας εἶχον <ἕκαστοι>.[128]

Xenophanes is heir to the inquiries of the Ionian natural philosophers, and his concern with the traditional pantheon is a logical outgrowth of their views on matter, origins, and causes.[129] If the true godhead resides in such causes, as was implicit in Milesian thought, whence springs the belief in a traditional pantheon? Xenophanes approaches his problem not from an interest in the established gods *per se*. In exposing their anthropomorphic basis, rather, he is clearing the way for belief in a god of a higher order, a god revealed through philosophy.[130] The fragments of Prodikos, in contrast, betray no opposition between philosophical and traditional divinities. They take up the problem of the latter only, gods of popular belief, not to expose them as false but to understand more closely the process by which they came to be. The inquiry is concerned not so much with the form of the gods, their anthropomorphism, as with their functions and powers.

Kritias

The skills of Hephaistos and Demeter to which Prodikos refers imply a stable social order, cooperation, specialization, and in the case of agriculture, a fixed abode. There is no hint that the concept of socialization itself had an important place in Prodikos' theology. A lengthy fragment from the satyr play *Sisyphos* by Kritias, however, establishes it as indeed a concern of other Sophists of the time. Sisyphos recounts in the fragment how man came to be civilized:[131] in early society men ruled by brute force and the strong imposed their will on the weak unjustly. Then laws were instituted. Good men were upheld and bad men punished but only the bad who could be caught. Finally "a shrewd and subtle mind discovered

[127] For a theory of the divine contemporary with the first generation of Sophism but independent of it, see Demokritos, Diels-Kranz, A 75, for which see further footnote 171 below.

[128] Diels-Kranz, B 15; cf. B 14.

[129] See particularly Jaeger, *Theology*, pp. 38–54. On the divine in Milesian philosophy, see Guthrie, *HGP* I, pp. 87–89, 127–132.

[130] See here particularly Diels-Kranz, B 23–26.

[131] Sextus Empiricus, *ad. Mathematicos* IX.54; Diels-Kranz, B 25.

mortal fear of the gods, so that evil doers might be afraid even in their secret actions, words, and thoughts."

ἦν χρόνος, ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος
καὶ θηριώδης ἰσχύος θ' ὑπηρέτης,
ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἆθλον οὔτε τοῖς ἐσθλοῖσιν ἦν
οὔτ' αὖ κόλασμα τοῖς κακοῖς ἐγίγνετο.
κἄπειτά μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι νόμους
θέσθαι κολαστάς, ἵνα δίκη τύραννος ᾖ
<ὁμῶς ἁπάντων> τήν θ' ὕβριν δούλην ἔχῃ
ἐζημιοῦτο δ' εἴ τις ἐξαμαρτάνοι.
ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ τἀμφανῆ μὲν οἱ νόμοι
ἀπεῖργον αὐτοὺς ἔργα μὴ πράσσειν βίᾳ,
λάθρᾳ δ' ἔπρασσον, τηνικαῦτά μοι δοκεῖ
<πρῶτον> πυκνός τις καὶ σοφὸς γνώμην ἀνὴρ
<θεῶν> δέος θνητοῖσιν ἐξευρεῖν, ὅπως
εἴη τι δεῖμα τοῖς κακοῖσι, κἂν λάθρᾳ
πράσσωσιν ἢ λέγωσιν ἢ φρονῶσί <τι>.[132]

Since Kritias is something of a camp follower, not a Sophist in his own right, it is hard to know what in the passage is original to him and what derivative.[133] Underlying the speech is a thesis that turns the traditional understanding of human laws and standards on its ear. Laws, *nomoi*, are not a gift of the gods, divinely sanctioned and ordained. They are conceptions of right and wrong shared by the community, and it is rather first in order to enforce these conceptions that the gods, the *theoi*, take rise. The claim that "a shrewd man discovered mortal fear of the gods that evil doers might be afraid" asserts, in effect, that the divine conception of right and wrong mirrors and responds to the human.[134] One recognizes immediately two elements in Kritias' formulation in debt to Sophistic theology: the portrayal of the gods as products of the human mind, **νομιζόμενα**, and the link between divine belief and man's evolution from a natural to a civilized state. Kritias shares both theses with Prodikos, however different their approaches in other respects. The element newly introduced is the tie between human belief in the gods and socialization. Implicit in Sisyphos' argument is the idea that the gods, imaginary beings, are necessary to stable society. Believed to enforce social behavior, behavior in accord with the *nomoi* of the community, they lead men to act socially of their own volition.

Protagoras

There is a broad consensus that Protagoras of Abdera first introduced the trains of thought that characterize Sophistic theology, and specifically in two treatises, **Περὶ θεῶν**, *Concerning the Gods*, and **Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως**, *On the Original State of*

[132] Diels-Kranz, B 25, lines 1–15.

[133] On possible sources, see particularly Nestle, pp. 414–420. Demokritos (Diels-Kranz, A 75, B 30, B 264) and Prodikos are most frequently mentioned. Cf. also Antiphon, Diels-Kranz, B 44 (*OP* 1364, frag. A).

[134] Cf. for the idea, Euripides, *Hecuba*, 800; Plato, *Leges*, 889e.

Man.[135] These treatises' absolute dates, even their relative placement within the Sophist's career, have been matters of disagreement. A tradition preserved by Diogenes Laertius[136] and accepted by modern scholars,[137] holds Περὶ θεῶν to be the first work Protagoras performed in public. On that testimony, the treatise would have been in the Sophist's curriculum already at the time of his first sojourn at Athens, years from roughly the mid-century to late in the decade of the forties.[138] Less evidence survives for dating Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως. Most scholars hold that the myth of creation in the *Protagoras* (Plato, 320d–322d) quotes it or reflects it closely,[139] and the dialogue's dramatic date, *ca.* 433, has thus been used as a *terminus ante quem.*[140]

Of these two treatises only one indisputable fragment survives, the introductory sentence of Περὶ θεῶν (Diels-Kranz, B 4). This fragment, the myth of creation, and a passage of the *Theaitetos* (Plato, 162d = Diels-Kranz, A 23) form the central testimonia to Protagoras' theology. I quote the first and last of the three here, leaving the more lengthy creation myth for treatment at a later point (pp. 321–324 below).

The opening lines of Περὶ θεῶν are these:

> Περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὔθ' ὡς εἰσὶν οὔθ' ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν οὔθ' ὁποῖοί τινες ἰδέαν· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι ἥ τ' ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
>
> Concerning the gods I am unable to discover whether they exist or not, or what they are like in form; for there are many hindrances to knowledge, the obscurity of the subject and the brevity of human life.[141]

The second fragment, from the *Theaitetos*, occurs within a colloquy between Theaitetos, an earnest youth of school age, and Sokrates concerning Protagoras' dictum *homo mensura*, "man is the measure of all things." Sokrates has interposed the question whether a man can be as wise as a god and frames what he imagines Protagoras might reply:

> 'Ὦ γενναῖοι παῖδές τε καὶ γέροντες, δημηγορεῖτε συγκαθεζόμενοι, θεούς τε εἰς τὸ μέσον ἄγοντες, οὓς ἐγὼ ἔκ τε τοῦ λέγειν καὶ τοῦ γράφειν περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς εἰσὶν ἢ ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν, ἐξαιρῶ.'
>
> 'You good people sitting there, boys and old men together, this is all claptrap. You drag in the gods, whose existence or non-

[135] See most recently K.-M. Dietz, *Protagoras von Abdera*, Bonn 1976, pp. 140–142.

[136] IX.54.

[137] On the dating, see for example, A. Lesky, *History of Greek Literature*, 2nd ed., New York 1966, p. 344.

[138] On Protagoras' residence at Athens during the 440's, see further pp. 337–338 below.

[139] On this point see footnote 159 below.

[140] On the treatise's date, see most recently, M. L. West, "The Prometheus Trilogy," *JHS* 99, 1979, p. 147. Among its reflections, in addition to the creation myth, West points to Sophokles, *Antigone*, 332–372 (dated to or before 442 B.C.). On the dramatic date of the *Protagoras*, see recently Guthrie, *HGP* IV, p. 214.

[141] Translation, Guthrie, *HGP* III, p. 234.

> existence I expressly refuse to discuss in my speeches and writings, and you count upon appeals to the vulgar such as this.'[142]

Scholarly differences of opinion concerning the Sophist's theology are rooted, above all, in different valuations of the first of these two fragments, B 4. We need to begin there, and in particular with a turning point in literature on the problem, a reinterpretation of the fragment introduced by Jaeger in his public lectures, the Gifford Lectures of 1936.[143] Up to that point B 4 had been thought to offer a concise overview of Περὶ θεῶν, that is to say, the treatise was thought to revolve around the problem of knowledge of the divine. In Theodor Gomperz' view, for example, it encompassed a refutation of the theologies of Protagoras' predecessors;[144] in the view of Wilhelm Nestle, a philosophical assault on popular belief.[145] It was believed to have culminated, in any case, with a demonstration of the impossibility of knowing God. Jaeger cast B 4 in a decidedly different light. He saw it not as introducing lines of argument, in the spirit of a topic sentence, but rather as backing away from arguments. It prepared the way, he felt, for a treatise that pursued a fully different line of inquiry.[146]

Jaeger was moved to this view, above all, through what he came to understand as a unity in the scope and direction of Protagoras' thought. In particular he saw logic in removing Περὶ θεῶν from the context of a philosophical confrontation, of an attack on the philosophies of nature and being. He drew attention, first, to the fact that neither the language nor tone of B 4 seems suitable to a refutation. There is no pointed or categorical denial of the possibility of coming to know the divine. Rather Protagoras expresses his personal lack of success in the inquiry (οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι), the difficulties, the obscurity, his lack of time. Following Jaeger these become the words of a man who wields irony like a razor's edge: in the guise of personal modesty he is, in effect, pushing the pre-Socratic tradition of theological speculation aside as unproductive. In its stead, Jaeger proposed, Protagoras initiates an investigation of the phenomenology of religion, the origin, evolution, and value of divine belief.

In the passage of the *Theaitetos*, Sokrates pictures Protagoras as pushing aside questions of ontology: the gods are beings "whose existence or nonexistence I expressly refuse to discuss in my speeches and writings." This had been difficult to interpret in accord with older views on Περὶ θεῶν.[147] It becomes quite intelligible, however, with regard to Jaeger. The Sophist, in taking up problems of religious belief, τὰ περὶ θεῶν νομιζόμενα, is here placing the question of absolutes, true gods, outside his ken.

Jaeger's is a reinterpretation with broad consequences; it is important to us, in

[142] Translation F. M. Cornford, *Collected Dialogues of Plato*, E. Hamilton and H. Cairns, edd., Princeton 1961, p. 868.

[143] Jaeger, *Theology*, pp. 172–190. The lectures were printed only after the War, in 1947.

[144] *Griechische Denker*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1903, p. 361.

[145] Nestle, pp. 277–282.

[146] Jaeger, *Theology*, p. 189.

[147] Cf., for example, the explication of Nestle, p. 278.

particular, however, as central to the problem of whether Περὶ θεῶν attacked and attempted to refute traditional religion. In Jaeger's view, now very closely echoed by Guthrie and Müller,[148] it did not.

One might raise two objections to Jaeger, neither serious perhaps but deserving mention. The first concerns the trial of Protagoras at Athens. *Vitae* of the Sophist state that he was forced to flee the city under an indictment for impiety brought by Pythodoros, son of Polyzelos, a member of the Four Hundred.[149] According to tradition, Περὶ θεῶν was cited in the indictment, specifically the one fragment that survives, B 4. A few scholars, Nestle among the most prominent,[150] have taken the indictment to strengthen a claim that the treatise held state religion up to attack. As a counter, however, we can note that while the inference is possible, it is neither necessary nor binding. In the climate of late 5th-century Athens, the views espoused in the opening of the treatise alone were sufficient to sustain a trial; they encompassed the implication that the existence of state gods was incapable of proof. The indictment, as best we know, made recourse only to the treatise's opening, not to other arguments within. Thus there is no warrant to judge from the words cited the tone and scope of the work as a whole.

The second problem concerns the transmission of the text. When quoted by Philodemos and Cicero in the 1st century B.C.,[151] and consistently thereafter, B 4 is taken as a crux of the Sophist's theological views. Jaeger's evaluation of the fragment as unrepresentative of the treatise's scope and direction and the weight given it in late Classical tradition are in direct opposition. It is reasonable to believe, *ex silentio*, that B 4 is all of Περὶ θεῶν to survive into the 1st century and that later tradition judged it paradigmatic solely on this basis. But that answer serves only in part. To assay the relation of B 4 to the treatise, one needs to know why and in what context it was excerpted. This question is the focus of Müller's recent study of Περὶ θεῶν, and in lengthy, careful argument, he brings it to a convincing solution.[152] Müller draws attention to the close tie in late sources between B 4 and the Sophist's trial for impiety. Almost always the two are cited in close proximity. The three major contexts for that pairing, catalogues of atheists, enumerations of Attic trials for impiety, and biographies of the Sophist, are, as Müller shows, most consistently explained as stemming from a single source. It would be an Atthidographic rather than a philosophic work and would have cited B 4 as one part in a brief description of the terms of Protagoras' indictment. Already when first cited the fragment had lost its proper philosophical context.

To come back now to the lines of Jaeger's argument, the treatment of Protagoras' theology in the Gifford Lectures entailed two significant scholarly departures. The first is the revaluation of B 4. We must turn now to the second, Jaeger's interpretation of the creation

[148] Guthrie, *HGP* III, p. 235; Müller, p. 146. Cf. now also G. B. Kerferd, *The Sophistic Movement*, Cambridge 1981, p. 168.

[149] E.g., Diogenes Laertius, IX.52; Philostratos, *Vitae sophistarum* I.10.3; for further sources and alternate traditions, E. Derenne, *Les procès d'impiété*, Liège 1930, pp. 54–55.

[150] Nestle, p. 278.

[151] Philodemos, *de pietate*, col. 22, lines 1–8, ed. T. Gomperz, Leipzig 1866; Cicero, *de natura deorum* I.63.

[152] Müller, pp. 155–159.

myth, *Protagoras*, 320d–322d. By far, most studies of the Sophist have dealt with this myth in one form or another. Before the Gifford Lectures, however, it had been considered largely in the context of Protagoras' views on society. Jaeger is the first to make it a central source on Sophistic theology, and indeed he frames much of his argument around it.[153]

The myth, which is related by Protagoras in the course of a colloquy with Sokrates on political virtue, traces the history of man from genesis to the establishment of cities and civilization. As it opens, the time of creation is approaching, and the gods have given shape to man and the animals within the earth in a mixture of earth and fire. They are ready then in form, but they lack appropriate powers and attributes, and the gods delegate Prometheus and Epimetheus to distribute these. Caving in to his brother's entreaties, Prometheus lets Epimetheus do the distribution on his own. We are treated then to a fine account of how species of animals balance one another, each with the natural endowments sufficient to ensure survival. To some species Epimetheus gives strength without speed; to others speed, or flight, or an ability to hide. Predators are made few in number, prey prolific. Each has a protection against the elements, fur, hide and hooves, feathers, and so forth. A problem only arises through oversight: in his enthusiasm, Epimetheus uses up all the available powers on the animals and holds back nothing for man. When Prometheus comes to inspect his brother's work, he finds man "naked, unshod, unsheltered, and unarmed." Prometheus, unsure of how to make good the error, hits upon the idea of stealing something from the gods for man, *ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρί*, fire and knowledge of *technai*, which he takes from Hephaistos and Athena. The myth continues (322a):

> Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θείας μετέσχε μοίρας, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν ζῷων μόνον θεοὺς ἐνόμισεν, καὶ ἐπεχείρει βωμούς τε ἱδρύεσθαι καὶ ἀγάλματα θεῶν· ἔπειτα φωνὴν καὶ ὀνόματα ταχὺ διηρθρώσατο τῇ τέχνῃ, καὶ οἰκήσεις, καὶ ἐσθῆτας καὶ ὑποδέσεις καὶ στρωμνὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκ γῆς τροφὰς ηὕρετο.
>
> Since, then, man had a share in the portion of the gods, firstly, because of his divine kinship, he alone among living creatures believed in gods and set to work to erect altars and images of them. Secondly, by the art which they possessed, men soon discovered articulate speech and names, and invented houses and clothes and shoes and bedding and got food from the earth.[154]

The kinship with god to which Protagoras refers, *τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν*, can hardly be genealogical descent. At the beginning of the myth (320d) it is related how man, like the animals, is fashioned of earth and fire. Rather the kinship will be metaphoric, residing in a shared possession, *ἡ θεία μοίρα*, technology.[155] As a point of reference, we can also note that the thesis to this point has elements in common with that of Prodikos. The two theses are not identical. Prodikos holds that belief in the gods preceded the discovery of *technai*. In a first stage of development, man deified aspects of his environment. In his second stage, however, Prodikos is derivative: he, like Protagoras, places *technai* and the worship of Olympians

[153] Jaeger, *Theology*, pp. 175–190.
[154] Translation based on Guthrie, *Plato*, p. 319.
[155] See particularly Guthrie, *op. cit.* (footnote 126 above), p. 141, note 1.

together. Prodikos' perspective is consistently anthropocentric. Progress depends on the discovery of technological skills, with the discoverers receiving worship then as gods. In contrast, Protagoras has gods as prime movers, present in the myth from the start. As has been pointed out, however, this depends on Protagoras' decision at this point in the dialogue to theorize in the form of a fable, *μῦθον λέγειν*, rather than through reasoned argument, *διεξελθὼν λόγῳ* (320c).[156] When the mythical causes in the *Protagoras* are placed aside, the two theological formulations are strikingly close: both understand belief in the Olympians and man's development of technologies as parallel phenomena.

The myth of the *Protagoras* continues:

> Οὕτω δὴ παρεσκευασμένοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν σποράδην, πόλεις δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν· ἀπώλλυντο οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διὰ τὸ πανταχῇ αὐτῶν ἀσθενέστεροι εἶναι, καὶ ἡ δημιουργικὴ τέχνη αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν τροφὴν ἱκανὴ βοηθὸς ἦν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν τῶν θηρίων πόλεμον ἐνδεής—πολιτικὴν γὰρ τέχνην οὔπω εἶχον, ἧς μέρος πολεμική—ἐζήτουν δὴ ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ σῴζεσθαι κτίζοντες πόλεις· ὅτ' οὖν ἀθροισθεῖεν, ἠδίκουν ἀλλήλους ἅτε οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν πολιτικὴν τέχνην, ὥστε πάλιν σκεδαννύμενοι διεφθείροντο. Ζεὺς οὖν δείσας περὶ τῷ γένει ἡμῶν μὴ ἀπόλοιτο πᾶν, Ἑρμῆν πέμπει ἄγοντα εἰς ἀνθρώπους αἰδῶ τε καὶ δίκην, ἵν' εἶεν πόλεων κόσμοι τε καὶ δεσμοὶ φιλίας συναγωγοί. ἐρωτᾷ οὖν Ἑρμῆς Δία τίνα οὖν τρόπον δοίη δίκην καὶ αἰδῶ ἀνθρώποις. —Πότερον ὡς αἱ τέχναι νενέμηνται, οὕτω καὶ ταύτας νείμω; νενέμηνται δὲ ὧδε· εἷς ἔχων ἰατρικὴν πολλοῖς ἱκανὸς ἰδιώταις, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δημιουργοί· καὶ δίκην δὴ καὶ αἰδῶ οὕτω θῶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἢ ἐπὶ πάντας νείμω; —Ἐπὶ πάντας, ἔφη ὁ Ζεύς, καὶ πάντες μετεχόντων. οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιντο πόλεις, εἰ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν μετέχοιεν ὥσπερ ἄλλων τεχνῶν.
>
> Thus provided for, they lived at first in scattered groups; there were no cities. Consequently, they were devoured by wild beasts, since they were in every respect the weaker, and their technical skill, though a sufficient aid to their nurture, did not extend to making war on the beasts, for they had not the art of politics, of which the art of war is a part. They sought therefore to save themselves by coming together and founding fortified cities, but when they gathered in communities they injured one another for want of political skill, and so scattered again and continued to be devoured. Zeus therefore, fearing the total destruction of our race, sent Hermes to impart to men a sense of shame and a sense of justice, so as to bring order into our cities and create a bond of friendship and union.
>
> Hermes asked Zeus in what manner he was to bestow these gifts on men. 'Shall I distribute them as the arts were distributed—that is, on the principle that one trained doctor suffices for many laymen, and so with the other experts? Shall I distribute justice and shame in this way, or to all alike?'
>
> 'To all,' said Zeus. 'Let all have their share. There could never be cities if only a few shared in these virtues, as in the arts.'[157]

[156] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[157] Translation based on Guthrie, *Plato*, pp. 319–320.

Man's development is here conceived in two stages: belief in the pantheon comes first, in parallel with the acquisition of technology; cooperative action, the basis of civilized life, comes after and is made possible only through the presence (that is to say a developing consciousness) of δίκη, justice, and αἰδώς, shame. The myth calls on us to think of these last two as complementary, the one a standard of values, the other a motive force or volition. Justice represents the development of a sense of right and wrong, and shame serves as an impetus away from the latter and toward the former.[158] They function together, the one as a moral system and the other as a means by which men will want to act in accord with it.[159]

Later in the dialogue, Protagoras returns to the second stage of his myth presenting now a *logos*, a reasoned argument. He asks rhetorically if there is not some one thing that all citizens must share if a polis is to exist and continues in answer (325a):

> τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ ἓν οὐ τεκτονικὴ οὐδὲ χαλκεία οὐδὲ κεραμεία ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ ὅσιον εἶναι—καὶ συλλήβδην ἓν αὐτὸ προσαγορεύω εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν.
>
> This one essential is not the art of building or forging or pottery, but righteousness, moderation, and holiness of life—what I would collectively call 'manly virtue'.[160]

One misses in the literature on the *Protagoras* a discussion of how the gifts of Zeus in the myth, the pair *aidos* and *dike*, relate to the triad of the *logos: dikaiosyne*, *sophrosyne*, and

[158] Such a view of *aidos* has a particularly Homeric flavor; on the use of the term in Homer, see C. E. von Erffa, Αἰδώς *und verwandte Begriffe, Philologus*, Suppl. XXX, ii, 1937, pp. 36–43; E. R. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley 1951, p. 18.

[159] This is the point, perhaps, to broach the question of the creation myth's authenticity. Implicit in Jaeger's treatment is the premise that this dialogue passage presents an accurate reflection of the Sophist's thought, free from intentional or careless interpolations. Jaeger does not take up this problem directly, but it has been often discussed. The recent treatment by Guthrie (*HGP* III, pp. 63–64) holds to what has become now the dominant view, that the myth is a substantially accurate quote from Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως. There have been other voices, however. To translate from Müller's recent opinion (Müller, p. 140), for example, the passage "fuses to an integrity the Platonic and the Protagorean (with the possible influence of pre-Socratic ideas of other derivation). It may be possible to separate out the parts in a given case, but for the whole it appears impossible."

One's checks on authenticity are, first and foremost, a compatibility with the preserved writings of the Sophist and second, a more general compatibility with Sophistic interests and trains of thought. The ties with the theology of Prodikos and with *Sisyphos* are important in regard to the second. Müller, notwithstanding the position he takes, makes a valuable contribution with regard to the first. He suggests (Müller, p. 143) that the phrase διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένεια has been included in the passage to emphasize a correspondence between a perceived pantheon and perceiving mankind. "If one strips the thought of its mythical form and understands it 'anthropologically', the relation remains, be it kinship or similarity, only its aspect is reversed.. . . The relatedness of god and man means no other. . .than that conceptions of the divine are projections and reflections of the mortal." It is the concept of *homo mensura* applied to theology. He disarms with this the objection of P. Friedländer (*Platon*, 3rd ed., I, Berlin 1964, pp. 378–379, note 7) that the phrase is unprotagorean. On the whole the evidence for authenticity is strong.

For a broad review of scholarship on this problem, see E. A. Havelock, *Liberal Temper in Greek Politics*, New Haven 1957, pp. 407–409. See further on *homo mensura*, footnote 229 below.

[160] Translation based on Guthrie, *Plato*, p. 321.

to hosion einai. In the context of the dialogue it is clear that the two stand in parallel.[161] Looking ahead to the relevance of Protagoras' theses to the frieze, that parallelism is important in particular for its effect on how we understand the third of the *logos* terms: piousness, "holiness of life". Even without strict analysis, certain things are apparent. In moving from myth to reasoned argument Protagoras shifts his point of view. The divine gifts of the former become qualities of human behavior in the latter. In place of *dike*, justice, comes *dikaiosyne*, a capacity for justice. Allowing for that shift, the role of pair and triad in the maintenance of social cooperation ought to be equivalent, that is, *sophrosyne*, the capacity for control, and *to hosion einai*, piety, ought to represent here a capacity for *aidos*.[162] Of the triad, the one that could and clearly in this context calls to be thought of as a motive for human action is *to hosion einai*. That is, it is being thought of as a quality of character that impels one toward just and away from unjust action.

We noted that the first stage of the creation myth shares elements with the theology of Prodikos. There are ties in this second stage to Kritias. In *Sisyphos* cooperative action develops in two steps. Men are first constrained from wrongdoing by the institution of laws, that is, the fear of legal punishment. Consequently they are just in the open and unjust in secret. Belief in the gods constitutes the second step, serving to restrain secret wrongdoings. The role of divine belief in *Sisyphos* is equivalent to Protagoras' *to hosion einai*: an internal basis for action in accord with *dike*. There are other important parallels as well. In both myths an initial, imperfect form of society fails through an inability to constrain wrongdoing. In both the final stage is reached via the concepts of justice and divinity. Sisyphos places the institution of justice in a stage before belief in the gods, the creation myth after. But in constructing this part of his satyrical argument, Kritias is doing little more, in essence, than rearranging elements of a pre-existing analysis.

Finally, before leaving the *Protagoras* we need to examine one of its key concepts: *politike techne*, "political skill", or more broadly conceived, "the art of living in the polis". The dialogue is constructed around the question of whether *politike techne* can be taught, and it explores that problem in the context of a distinction between *politike techne* on the one hand and limited, technical skills on the other. The latter are the province of specialists. The former is partaken of by all; the life of the polis depends on all sharing, in some measure, capacities for justice, self-control, and piety: *dikaiosyne*, *sophrosyne*, and *to hosion einai*. The creation myth is recounted by Protagoras in an effort to clarify that distinction. Its two stages refer to the acquisition of limited and political *technai* respectively.[163]

At a later point, arguing now through *logos*, Protagoras enters briefly into how members

[161] See in particular, G. B. Kerferd, "Protagoras' Doctrine of Justice and Virtue in the *Protagoras* of Plato," *JHS* 73, 1953, p. 43.

[162] Compare on this passage H. North, *Sophrosyne* [*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* 35], Ithaca, N.Y. 1966, p. 87. On *sophrosyne* as dependent on *aidos*, cf. Thucydides, 1.84.3, with the annotation A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* I, Oxford 1956, p. 249. On *aidos* in relation to piety, Hesiod, *Theogony*, 1179–1182; and see further von Erffa, *op. cit.* (footnote 158 above), pp. 69–70, 140–141.

[163] Explicitly *Protagoras*, 321d, 322b. On the relation of *aidos* and *dike* to *politike techne*, see particularly A. W. H. Adkins, "Ἀρετή, Τέχνη, Democracy, and Sophists: *Protagoras* 316b–328d," *JHS* 93, 1973, pp. 5–12.

of the polis come to acquire *politike techne*. In contrast to technical skill, passed on through a specific, narrow course of instruction, *politike techne* is instilled through the very social bases of the state itself, beginning from the *oikos*, the instruction of the mother and father (325c), and ending with the *politeia*, instruction in the laws of the state (326c).

PROTAGOREAN THEOLOGY AND THE GODS ON THE FRIEZE

Civilization and its Pantheon

A particularly discouraging consequence of Jaeger's theses concerning B 4 is that they make extremely difficult any reconstruction of the arguments and positions of Περὶ θεῶν; in his view B 4 stands apart from the thesis subject proper. As that scholar's work makes clear, rather, the Sophist's theology survives through and essentially only through the dialogues of Plato, drawn (here at least most agree) not from Περὶ θεῶν but from Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως. That we come away from the *Protagoras* with a sense, at least, of the Sophist's views on the divine is because he conceives of the evolution of man and the pantheon as closely related. In explicating the one, he is at the same time setting out his thoughts on the other.

The indirect, highly fragmentary nature of the philosophical sources needs to be borne in mind as we proceed to tie the Sophist's theology to the frieze. As one might expect, in fact, there are points where we will have to negotiate around considerable gaps in our knowledge.

Earlier I put forth a hypothetical program for the divine gathering (p. 312 above): it presents a pantheon in groups that mirror the essential institutions of civilized society. I drew attention, further, to the twofold concept there embodied: that civilization has discrete institutional bases and that these bases parallel the pantheon in structure. Neither of these concepts is explained or argued directly in the creation myth; it would be outside the nature of a *mythos* if they were. Both, however, are implicit to its setting and development. Protagoras sets out the institutional bases of political life in the context of man's evolution from savagery. First came limited *technai*, encompassing agriculture and craft,[164] and then *aidos* and *dike* (*politike techne*), the bases of cooperative action. The myth does not allude to the institutional bases of *politike techne*. We can note, however, that elsewhere in the dialogue (325c–326e) Protagoras does turn to this matter, however briefly, and we can assume that in other writings, most likely Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως, he treated it in more detail.

Equally clear in the myth is the correspondence between civilization's bases and the pantheon. The relation is conceived again in the context of man's development. Passage 322a in particular carries that import: ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρί gives rise equally to technological skills and belief in gods. The two stand in parallel. The idea of civilization and its pantheon in parallel occurs again in the fragments of Prodikos and in *Sisyphos*. Prodikos holds that the Olympians are apotheosized discoverers of *technai*, and Kritias pictures

[164] For the subsuming of agriculture under the concept of *techne*, see specifically *Protagoras*, 322b. Cf. Philodemos, *de pietate*, col. 9, quoted p. 315 above.

divine justice as an imagined projection from *nomoi*. This can serve as a valuable beginning at least: the creation myth and the frieze share two concepts; the concepts occur elsewhere in the Sophistic tradition, in the theologies of Prodikos and Kritias; and finally, and quite important, there is no trace of either in prose or poetry earlier than that of the Sophist.

Ares and Demeter

The positions of three gods remain to be explained: Ares, Poseidon, and Apollo. Ares is seated by Demeter overlapping her to a degree but behind, with the two appearing to diverge (Pl. 61:b). She presses forward while he rocks back. We may suppose, again, that Protagoras related the arts of agriculture and war in one of his lost writings. If only in passing, however, the creation myth intimates that he saw a particular connection between the two. In passage 322b Protagoras places the art of war, *polemike techne*, apart from the other limited *technai* (the term in the text is *demiourgike techne*) in alone being of a political nature: πολιτικὴν γὰρ τέχνην οὔπω εἶχον, ἧς μέρος πολεμική.[165] *Polemike techne* is separated from the other restricted *technai* in stage of development, coming after the institution of *aidos* and *dike*, while the others come before. At the same time, however, *polemike techne* forms their complement, providing the protection and security on which they depend. The relevant sentence of the myth is this: "Their technical skill, though sufficient aid to their nurture, did not extend to making war on the beasts, for they had not the art of politics, of which the art of war is a part."

The step that lies ahead is to equate the relation-yet-distance of *polemike techne* and the other limited *technai* in the myth to the tie-yet-distance of Ares and Demeter on the frieze. That equation appears perhaps straightforward at first sight. In fact it embodies a set of rather complex iconographic usages, and before we embrace it, we may benefit by examining these in more detail. The program presented the designer with a necessary and unavoidable challenge, the translation of temporal concepts into visual form. If the equation made above is correct, then he will have negotiated this challenge by recourse to analogies, in essence visual similes. For the passage under consideration his larger problem was to depict Ares' twofold relation not to Demeter specifically but to limited *technai* in general. Ares' pairing with Demeter, rather, enabled a particular visual solution, a substitution of themes. It allowed him to put in place of temporal separation the idea of a conflict in sphere of interest. On the one hand Ares' tie to Demeter is fully representative of the war god's tie to the other limited *technai*. The art of war provides the settled conditions only through which can agriculture flourish. On the other hand, the two gods partake of a distinctive distance. In Classical antiquity agriculture and war, Demeter and Ares, asserted conflicting claims on the same individual. Hoplite warriors were drawn from the ranks of farmers. War took the farmer from his fields and yet more pointedly, engaged him in razing the crops of his enemy; when invading a territory it was established hoplite tactics to despoil the harvest. War and agriculture, in short, provided the citizen with two roles that, if interdependent, were in a profound sense inimical.

I am suggesting, then, that the overlapping but leaning apart of Demeter and Ares is

[165] On the distinction of *politike* and *polemike techne* in this passage, see particularly Adkins, *op. cit.* (footnote 163 above), pp. 10–11. For the art of war considered as a *techne*, cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1094a.

intended to allude on the first level to the relation of agriculture and war. That level stands in for a second, still more abstract relation: Ares' distance by stage of development from limited *technai* in general.

Two further iconographic usages depend closely on this reading. To make clear the abstract nature of the distance between these two gods, the designer had to foreclose any simple narrative interpretation of their leaning away. That is, we are not to understand Demeter and Ares as literally shrinking back from one another. They are a pair or team, not enemies. The designer skirts this ambiguity by integrating the parting into the representation of each. Ares appears in a momentary pose, rocking back in his seat, his hand around his knee.[166] He conveys thereby a sense of the impatience and restlessness proper to a god of war. Demeter huddles forward, her chin in her hand, as if in mourning for Persephone.[167]

Poseidon and Apollo

No literary source helps with the last pairing, Poseidon and Apollo. Working backward from what I take to be the program, however, one can now ask whether anything that appears necessary to the depiction is yet missing. The gods considered to this point have embodied limited *technai* (Athena, Hephaistos, Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, and Ares) or *politike techne* as it is rooted in the family (Zeus, Hera, Artemis, and Aphrodite). None is a protector of the *politike techne* or *arete* of the community, a god to oversee, at the opposite end of the scale from the *oikos*, the *politeia*, political and communal ethics (cf. *Protagoras*, 326c).[168] Apollo has this role *par excellence* in the 5th century.[169] Let us hypothesize, thus, that he will be so appearing on the frieze. We have then to search out an ethical context for his tie to Poseidon.

If I may indulge in a paradox for a moment, the relevance of ethics to Poseidon is in how little relevant it is. He is the least ethically developed of the Olympians. The character of the phenomena he oversees, catastrophes of nature, earthquakes, floods, and sea storms, and his character in myth are closely interwoven. He is first and foremost an arbitrary destroyer.[170] If ethics links Poseidon and Apollo, then it can only be by way of contrast. They belong at opposite ends of an ethical spectrum.

A distinguishing characteristic of Protagoras' theology, of the Sophistic tradition of thought over all, in fact, is its recasting of the concept of ethics in temporal terms. Man comes to develop an ethical consciousness (*aidos* and *dike*) only gradually, and it is thus only gradually that he conceives his gods in ethical roles. Where would be Poseidon's place in

[166] An important iconographic precedent is the representation of Ares in the seated gathering on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (de la Coste-Messelière, *op. cit.* [footnote 3 above], pl. XXXIII). The god sits with his shield up at his side and his right foot drawn back under his chair, as if about to stand. Based closely on the pose of the Parthenon figure is the 4th-century Ares Ludovisi, Helbig[4] III, no. 2345, M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age,* rev. ed., New York 1961, fig. 103.

[167] On this motif, G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*, Berlin 1965, pp. 136–145; for its relation to Demeter, cf. [Homer], *Hymnus ad Cererem*, 197–204.

[168] On the equivalence of the terms *politike techne* and *politike arete* as used in the *Protagoras*, see Adkins, *op. cit.* (footnote 163 above), p. 4; Plato, *Protagoras*, C. C. W. Taylor, ed., Oxford 1976, p. 75.

[169] K. Wernicke, "Apollon," *RE* II, i, 1895, cols. 14–15; recently F. Graf, "Apollon Delphinios," *Museum Helveticum* 36, 1979, pp. 9–10.

[170] Nilsson, *GGR*[3] I, p. 452.

such a temporal-ethical sequence? Toward its beginning, clearly. His social spheres of interest are negligible. He corresponds, rather, to what is perhaps man's most primitive sense of the divine, a fear of natural forces.[171]

As man progresses, his pantheon undergoes a corresponding growth and change. There never comes a stage, however, where an early god such as Poseidon is cast away. A fear of earthquake and flood persists even in civilized society. Rather at most such a god will gradually diminish in stature as new gods come to the fore. We arrive thus at the following: in pairing Poseidon and Apollo the designer is bringing together the "oldest" and "youngest" of the Olympians, gods pertaining to the extreme ends of the Protagorean scheme.

In the one other passage which conveys the idea of temporal separation, the pairing of Demeter and Ares, the designer makes recourse to a visual analogy, substituting a distance by sphere of interest for separation in time. He enters into two analogous substitutions in the present passage. First and most important, he draws an equation between temporal placement in the Protagorean scheme and physical age. Poseidon, the god who comes earliest in the pantheon, the one who had "been around the longest," appears aged on the frieze. The signs are tactfully and subtly handled, but they are unmistakable (Pl. 61:c).[172] The god sits just slightly humped over. He appears just slightly emaciated and caved in. His musculature lacks tone. His hair is thin and, judging by its texture, somewhat grizzled. And prominent subcutaneous veins run down his hand. He forms an obvious contrast with Zeus, mature, virile, and at the height of his powers.

It should be noted that the signs of age in this representation are without parallel in other representations of Poseidon in Greek art. His normal physiognomy and appearance are that of a mature male, of equivalent age to Zeus. Neither is there any parallel in poetry. Indeed for an Olympian to grow old directly contradicts the poetic idea of immortality. Rather this representation best makes sense as an artist's singular attempt to portray the Sophistic view on divine evolution.[173]

Beyond the need to fix Poseidon into the scheme of the pantheon as an individual, achieved through the portrayal of his age, the designer needed to clarify his temporal relation to Apollo. The second visual simile of the passage addresses that aim. In particular it draws an equation between the idea of old age and grandfatherliness. Rather than portray Poseidon and Apollo as an independent two-figure group, as we might expect, the designer ranges the two with Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros in one long row. They are not a family group by genealogy. But as the eye moves from one figure to the next, from grandfather-like Poseidon, through Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite, to youthful Eros, inevitably and naturally the idea of a family comes to mind. The seating serves as but one more way to render

[171] For the forming of divine beliefs from a fear of natural forces, unattested in fragments of Protagoras, cf. Demokritos, Sextus Empiricus, *ad. Mathematicos* IX.24 (Diels-Kranz, A 75): *ὁρῶντες γάρ, φησί, τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις παθήματα οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθάπερ βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς κεραυνούς τε καὶ ἄστρων συνόδους ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἐκλείψεις, ἐδειματοῦντο, θεοὺς οἰόμενοι τούτων αἰτίους εἶναι.*

[172] For detailed photographs of this figure, see particularly Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pls. 178, 180.

[173] Among the springs of this singular usage note the traditions concerning aged dwellers of the sea, among them most particularly Halios Geron, as reviewed recently by P. Brize, *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros und die frühe griechische Kunst*, Würzburg 1980, pp. 66–105.

the element of time visual. Specifically, the traditional mythic idea of divine generations is being made to stand in for the Protagorean concept of the pantheon's development by stages.

The Program of the Olympian Gathering

I have to this point interpreted the placement of all twelve of the seated Olympians, and particularly important, there is now a consistent context by which to understand their iconographic anomalies. Briefly and in conclusion it is necessary to consider the planning of the whole. The design of this twelve-figure pantheon is structured around the distinction of limited and political *technai*, corresponding to the two stages of the creation myth. Six are present as protectors of limited *technai*, six of *politike techne*; and of the four groupings, two pertain to the former, two to the latter. One limited *technai* group is four-figure, one two-figure; one *politike techne* group is four-figure, one two-figure. And finally, the designer pairs the two classes of *technai* reciprocally (Pl. 61:a). The two-figure *politike techne* group and the four-figure limited *technai* are to one side of the peplos scene, the two-figure limited *technai* and the four-figure *politike techne* to the other. On the south: *politike techne*, Hera and Zeus; limited *technai*, Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, and Ares. On the north: *politike techne*, Poseidon (*anomia*), Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite; limited *technai*, Athena and Hephaistos.

That these groupings are indeed fundamental to an understanding of the whole is made clear in the composition. Within each of the two six-figure gatherings there is one major compositional break, between Ares and Nike on the south, and Hephaistos and Poseidon on the north. It falls, that is, in each case at the meeting of the two classes of *technai*. Ares and Hephaistos are each positioned back from the slab joint some five or six centimeters allowing a narrow but noticeable strip of background (it would have been blue in the original) to show between them and the gods on their proper left.

To see how conspicuous is this gathering's break from tradition, consider its precedents, and in particular the precedents for the most profound of its departures, the grouping of gods by their function in human society. The tying of minor deities to Olympians on the basis of function is common enough: the Graces attend Aphrodite, the Muses Apollo. To so join one Olympian to another, however, is far more rare and before the Parthenon occurs only in a narrative context. We can consider by way of illustration the precedents for pairing Athena and Hephaistos. A few myths require the Olympians to act in concert each in a way that reflects his or her powers. In scenes of the birth of Pandora on vases, for example, Athena and Hephaistos stand to the fore as pre-eminent gods of craft.[174] Other myths give expression to cult ties which in turn are based on the gods' shared interests and functions. The pairing of Athena and Hephaistos in the birth of Erichthonios, for example, is thought to reflect the cult ties of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaisteia.[175] Without question the

[174] Calyx-krater, London, B.M. E 467 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 601, no. 23 [Niobid Painter]); possibly also the fragment, B.M. E 789 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 764, no. 9 [Sotades Painter]). Reconstruction of the base of the Athena Parthenos, W.-H. Schuchhardt, "Zur Basis der Athena Parthenos," *Wandlungen (Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking)*, Waldsassen 1975, pp. 120–130. For a review of representations of this myth, see recently Schefold, *op. cit.* (footnote 119 above), pp. 72–75.

[175] On this see Harrison, *op. cit.* (footnote 119 above), pp. 411–416. Add to the representations of the myth

Parthenon stands apart from these precedents. On the frieze the emphasis on divine function is independent of narrative and in no way occasioned by it. On the other hand, we have already looked at representations of the divine gathering removed or largely isolated from narrative, the *Daseinsbilder* (p. 290 above). They stand apart from the frieze as well. Their conception of Olympos is largely poetic.

We have isolated aspects of the gathering that depart sharply from tradition. I have shown the departures to presuppose a broad philosophical rethinking of the relation of gods and men. And finally, in reviewing the evidence and scholarship on the pre-Socratics, I have shown that prominent scholars trace this rethinking back to Protagoras. These scholars, first Jaeger, then Guthrie and Müller, have had to frame their arguments around problematic evidence, but their conclusions are reasonable and consistent, and in the last analysis, I think, convincing.

I want my reader to accept, then, that indeed the frieze and the theology of Protagoras are tied. How tight or loose might that tie be? Plainly it cannot be a distant, casual dependence based on broad acceptance of the Sophist's outlook. Evidence for the popularity and, closely connected to that, the popularization of Sophistic thought only begins in the late forties, becoming clearer toward the last quarter of the century.[176] In 447 B.C., when work on the Parthenon began, Protagoras had been resident at Athens perhaps at the most a few years. At that time only narrow segments of the population are likely to have been conversant with his teachings, and yet smaller circles will have been receiving his words in a positive light.[177] In such a climate, a tie between the frieze and the theology of the Sophist can hardly but be planned, intentional, and deliberate. That it was indeed so is confirmed by what one has come to see as the nature of the ties themselves. They are quite strict and exact. Protagoras' theology determines the selection of gods, their iconographies, their seating, and the design of the whole.

THE SUBJECT OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

The Procession to the Gods

Our knowledge of the gathering remains to be applied to a yet more central problem of the frieze: the nature of the procession, the frieze subject. Over the last generation there have

cited in footnote 119: kylix, Berlin, S.M. 2537 (*ARV*², p. 1268, no. 2 [Kodros Painter]); calyx-krater, Palermo, M.N. (*ARV*², p. 1339, no. 3 [near Talos Painter]).

[176] The following are references to *epideixeis*, large public lectures: Prodikos in the house of Kallias, Plato, *Axiochus*, 366c, and in the Lyceum, *Eryxias*, 397c; Hippias in the School of Pheidostratos, *Hippias major*, 286b; cf. Thucydides, III.38.7. On these references see further, Guthrie, *HGP* III, pp. 41–44. On the dissemination and effect of Sophistic thought, see particularly Nestle, pp. 448–528. Attic drama serves as a sensitive barometer of the public's awareness; cf., for example, the following passages of tragedy with Sophistic content: Sophokles, *Antigone*, 332–372 (*ca.* 442 B.C.); Euripides, *Medea*, 1078–1080 (431 B.C.); *Hippolytus*, 916–920 (428 B.C.); *Hecuba*, 799–801; *Suppliants*, 201–213; *Electra*, 357 (*ca.* 413 B.C.); *Phoenissae*, 499–502; *Bacchae*, 274–276. The *Clouds* of Aristophanes was performed in 423 B.C.

[177] For a discussion of the threat posed by Sophism to traditional concepts of aristocracy, see Guthrie, *HGP* III, pp. 250–266.

appeared three broad challenges to the widely held view that the frieze depicts mortal Athenians in the Panathenaia: In 1961 Chrysoula Kardara identified the frieze as a legendary rather than a contemporary event, the founding of the Panathenaia by Erichthonios.[178] In 1966 Ross Holloway proposed that the participants in the festival were not mortals but Archaic Akropolis dedications come to life and in procession to the gods.[179] And most recently John Boardman has identified the celebrants as the heroized dead of the battle of Marathon.[180] While these studies have each met with isolated criticism,[181] and while the present study indeed upholds the traditional interpretation in the face of them, the three are no less striking testimony to what remains the central anomaly of the frieze: that it portrays everyday ritual in a setting where all of Greek art would lead us to expect a scene of higher sanctity, of myth or legend. In elevating the procession on the frieze above the mortal, these studies are prompted foremost by how seemingly inappropriate and hubristic would be a scene of the everyday in this context.[182] The anthropocentric nature of Protagorean theology, however, and what I have found to be its close ties to the design of the gathering suggest a different approach to the frieze subject, that the analysis be built from the part to the whole: the Sophist's thought having illuminated the gathering, it may well clarify the nature of the program.

As in the study of the Olympian gathering, so in the study of the frieze procession, it is necessary first to examine its iconographic antecedents. Representations of processional worship in Archaic and Classical art share a consistent, well-established iconography. The scene first appears on Attic black-figured vases from roughly the mid-6th century and continues in red figure down to and beyond the time of the Parthenon.[183] The best known and illustrated of the vases are a late Archaic red-figured lekythos by the Gales Painter,[184] a representation of youths leading cows, and a Classical volute-krater by the Kleophon Painter, a procession to Apollo.[185] The subject appears frequently also on votive reliefs.[186] The majority of the *ex votos* are later than the Parthenon, first appearing in numbers in the late 5th century, but there are at least a few early examples, most prominently a painted plaque from Pitsa and a late Archaic Akropolis relief.[187] These representations vary in care of

[178] *Op. cit.* (footnote 75 above), pp. 61–158; cf. also K. Jeppesen, "Bild und Mythus an dem Parthenon," *ActaA* 34, 1963, pp. 23–33.

[179] "The Archaic Acropolis and the Parthenon Frieze," *ArtB* 48, 1966, pp. 223–226; the thesis is repeated in *A View of Greek Art*, Providence, R.I. 1973, pp. 124–132.

[180] "Another View," pp. 39–49. Boardman has returned to the subject of the frieze in the recent lecture cited in footnote 2 above.

[181] See Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pp. 147–150; on the theories of Kardara and Holloway, Boardman, "Another View," p. 43; and on Boardman, Ridgway, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), p. 77.

[182] Kardara, *op. cit.* (footnote 75 above), p. 116, and Boardman, "Another View," p. 43. In Holloway the view is in part implicit through his acceptance of Kardara. Cf. Holloway, *op. cit.* (footnote 179 above), p. 226.

[183] For a review of these representations, see L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* I, London 1931, pp. 10–11; Pemberton, pp. 122–123; and J. H. Kroll, "The Parthenon Frieze as a Votive Relief," *AJA* 83, 1979, pp. 349–352.

[184] Boston, M.F.A. 13.195 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 35, no. 1); Caskey and Beazley, *op. cit.*, pl. IV.

[185] Ferrara, M.N. di Spina T. 57 C VP (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1143, no. 1); N. Alfieri and P. E. Arias, *Spina*, Munich 1958, figs. 85–87.

[186] See U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs*, Berlin 1960, pp. 57–79.

[187] Plaque from Pitsa, Athens, N.M. (*EAA* VI, 1965, opp. p. 202 [*s.v.* Pitsa]); Akropolis relief, Athens,

execution and originality, as one might imagine, but they have a common organization. From one side approaches a line of worshippers, composed variously of musicians, male and female suppliants, youths leading sacrificial animals, and maidens with votive baskets. To the other side is some mark of their ritual destination, in most cases simply an altar. A few vases, and by far most of the votives, show one or a small group of deities receiving the procession, if an altar is shown, then from its far side.

The eastern portion of the Parthenon frieze takes this tradition as its basis.[188] The theme has been greatly enlarged upon and has been tied specifically to the Panathenaia through the representation of identifiable details, above all the peplos. But its relation to this earlier tradition remains clear. We can note further, however, that it also incorporates a number of singular iconographic departures. To recount this stretch of the frieze in brief, along the right and left sides of the cella approach elders with wreaths, musicians, water carriers, youths with sacrificial victims, and then, advancing in from the sides on the east, maidens with ritual bowls and other implements. Although on a grand scale, the representation follows the traditional pattern to this point. Then, however, come the Eponymous Heroes, set off from the procession by their slightly larger scale, next the Olympians, in two groups of six, and finally the Priestess of Athena with two Arrephoroi and the Archon Basileus holding the peplos with a young attendant (Pl. 61:a).[189]

There are two iconographic departures of major significance here, one of them straightforward and unambiguous, the other more complex and subtly expressed. To begin from the straightforward, on the votives and vases only one god or at most a small group of gods appears. As is clear in context, these gods are being honored within a given ritual at a particular cult site. The Parthenon procession, in contrast, is met by a full complement of heroes and Olympians, 24 figures in all. Athena, whom we know to have been the honored goddess of the Panathenaia, appears simply as one among that host, without prominence or precedence. That is the first anomaly. Nowhere else in Greek art do votive worshippers approach not one or a group of gods but a pantheon.

The second departure involves the role of the gods as spectators. The gods on the vases and votives are attentive and receptive to their worshippers; they stand opposite and look toward them. By contrast the divinities on the frieze appear physically and psychologically distant.[190] The separation is conveyed in part through the gods' failure to take interest in the ritual. Excepting a few figures (Aphrodite points, for example, and Nike gazes outward) the gods give the impression of being absorbed in their own affairs. Hephaistos turns to Athena, Apollo to Poseidon, Hera to Zeus, Dionysos to Hermes. This is no less true of the Eponymous Heroes. The outer hero for each of the two groups has his back turned to the procession, and the ten together engage in casual, relaxed conversation. Finally, the most

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Akropolis Museum 581 (Brouskari, *op. cit.* [footnote 64 above], fig. 94).

[188] As noted by Kroll, *op. cit.* (footnote 183 above).

[189] For debate concerning the identification of these figures, see Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, pp. 254–256, 263–270; and further, footnote 199 below.

[190] This point has been brought out most strikingly by P. H. von Blanckenhagen, in public lectures at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University in 1972 and in the Andrew W. Mellon Lectures at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. in 1976.

striking separation of divine from mortal occurs at the center. The gods have been placed with their backs to the culminating act of ritual, the presentation of the peplos.

History of the Scholarship

The one among these departures most often discussed in literature on the frieze is the relation of the gods to the peplos scene. The following major interpretations have been proposed. One scholar, A. H. Smith, has attempted to explain the gods' backs to the peplos as an awkwardness of composition. He suggests that the designer meant us to understand the peplos scene as "in front of the two groups of gods, who sit in a continuous semicircle."[191] Others have looked to an iconographic interpretation, with one scholar, G. F. Hill,[192] seeing temporal meaning in the arrangement and two, A. Furtwängler and P. Fehl,[193] topographical meaning. A fourth scholar, A. von Premerstein,[194] has seen a combination of temporal and topographical meanings.

Most scholars have understood the frieze to depict a narrative that unfolds over time, beginning from the west with riders bridling and mounting horses for the procession and ending at the east with the final ritual act. The first of the iconographic interpretations mentioned above, Hill's study, published in 1894, posits rather that all events take place simultaneously. Drawing attention to scenes of preparation on the west, Hill proceeds to interpret the east also as preparation and concludes that in the central scene the old peplos, just removed from the ancient image, is being folded and put away. This then provides his answer to the peplos problem. He notes that the old peplos would have been of minor importance within the ritual and suggests thus that the gods have turned their backs to it from lack of interest.

Von Premerstein, writing in 1912, shares one premise with Hill, that all events are simultaneous, but offers a different interpretation of topography. In the view of most scholars the events on the frieze occupy the length of the Panathenaic Way. The figures on the west are in the Kerameikos, the north and south friezes follow the procession through the Agora and the east is on the Akropolis. Von Premerstein locates the whole in the Agora. The Olympians, whom he equates with the Dodeka Theoi, and the Eponymous Heroes attend the procession as local gods of the Agora,[195] present to denote the place of action; and in the center, he suggests, the peplos, newly woven in the Agora, is being handed over to the high priest and priestess.

Finally, the theses of Furtwängler, 1893, and Fehl, 1961, share the premise that the gods assemble at a distance from the central scene. Furtwängler places the gods outside the Parthenon, the peplos scene within; Fehl places the gods on Olympos, the mortals on the Akropolis. Furtwängler frames his view with recourse to a significant correlate proposal:

[191] British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, *Catalogue of Sculpture* I, London 1892, p. 157; repeated, Smith, *op. cit.* (footnote 75 above), p. 51.

→ "The East Frieze of the Parthenon," *CR* 8, 1894, pp. 225–226.

[193] Furtwängler, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), pp. 183–192; Fehl, "Rocks on the Parthenon Frieze," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24, 1961, pp. 10–19.

[194] "Der Parthenonfries und die Werkstatt des panathenäischen Peplos," *JOAI* 15, 1912, pp. 1–35.

[195] On the Twelve Gods of the Agora, see H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, pp. 129–136; on the monument of the Eponymoi, *ibid.*, pp. 38–41.

that the Parthenon was built to house the ancient image of Athena as successor to the Old Temple. Epigraphical evidence establishes that the ancient image stood in the Erechtheion from the completion of that building in 406 B.C.[196] Furtwängler proposes, however, that there existed an earlier plan by which the image would have been placed with the Athena Parthenos in the east cella. He interprets the center of the frieze as the dedication of the peplos within the Parthenon and suggests that the designer denoted the gods' remove from that interior scene by placing it at their backs.

Fehl, in rejecting this interpretation and proposing instead that the gods are on Olympos, is led to posit a double shift of locales. As we follow the sequence across the frieze, the scene alternates from the Akropolis, where the procession takes place, to Olympos, where sit the gods; to the Akropolis, the peplos scene; to Olympos, the gods; to the Akropolis, the procession. Fehl suggests that the gods' inattentiveness is due to their distance from the festival; they are at ease in the comfort of their own home. And finally, avoiding an inconsistency, he interprets the ten male figures in front of the Olympians not as the Eponymoi (it would be anomalous for these chthonic heroes to be on Olympos) but as high-ranking members of the procession, marshals and civic heads.

Occasionally a scholar has adhered to one or another among these five theories.[197] On the whole, however, the proposals have not been found convincing, and rather, this iconography has remained uninterpreted and a puzzle.

It has been noted in objection to Smith that if the designer had wished to represent gods in a semicircle around the peplos, he would have sat them facing in. For the gods to be facing out in a semicircle makes little sense.[198] The weaknesses of the iconographic interpretations are less stark, but they can be characterized over all as a failure to take account of all the representation's salient features. The theories each focus on only certain anomalies, leaving others unexplained. The unambiguous weakness in Fehl's argument concerns the figures canonically called Eponymous Heroes. One could argue, perhaps, that these deities are other than the Eponymoi. On the basis of scale, however, they cannot reasonably be interpreted as mortals, as Fehl has done. They are larger than the marshals and thus, following the conventions of Greek iconography, are on a higher plane of being.[199] One might raise other points against Fehl's theory,[200] but on that alone it falls.

[196] See especially J. M. Paton, *Erechtheum*, Cambridge, Mass. 1927, p. 298.

[197] For example, following Hill, Robertson, *Parthenon Frieze*, p. 11; following von Premerstein, Boardman, "Another View," p. 47; following Fehl, Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 258.

[198] For this criticism, see already von Premerstein, *op. cit.* (footnote 194 above), p. 10, note 23.

[199] We should note that perceived rather than literal scale is telling here. The size of the Eponymoi (East 18–23, 43–46) is suggested, in part, by having the greater number of the figures lean on staffs, with the implication that if they straightened up they would stand a head taller than the mortals. Not height alone makes the figures seem larger, however, but also breadth and weight. The three Eponymoi who are not leaning (18, 20, and 23) thus seem no smaller in scale than those who are. Defending the identification of the Eponymoi, see U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen*, *AthMitt*, Beiheft V, Berlin 1976, pp. 202–214; and with particular reference to iconography, E. B. Harrison, "The Iconography of the Eponymous Heroes on the Parthenon and in the Agora," *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of M. Thompson*, Wetteren 1979, pp. 71–85. Questioning the relevance of scale, however, as well as the identification, Ridgway, *op. cit.* (footnote 2 above), pp. 78–79.

[200] On this see further Boardman, "Another View," p. 42.

A major objection to Furtwängler's thesis is that, while it provides an explanation for the gods facing out from the peplos, it leaves the matter of divine inattentiveness and indifference unexplained. The Olympians and the Eponymoi share in this indifference. Both turn their backs on mortals, the Olympians to the peplos, the Eponymoi to the procession. Furtwängler accounts for the Olympians turning their backs without regard to the Eponymoi, and more to the point, without addressing the phenomenon of indifference as a whole. Von Premerstein, viewing the gods as local divinities of the Agora, does no better here. Whether these be gods of the Agora or the Akropolis, one would expect them to take interest in the ritual around them.

Alone of the theories, that of Hill, the folding away of the old peplos, provides a consistent context for the gods' indifference. In his suggestion the moment deserving of their attention has not yet arrived. Few have found plausible, however, that this grand frieze, covering four sides of the cella, converges over the eastern portal in a trivial act.[201]

Protagorean Theology and the Program of the Frieze

Will the theology of Protagoras, my touchstone for the interpretation of the divine gathering in isolation, help with this broader stretch of the frieze as well? A key tenet in that theology is the correspondence between the form of the pantheon and the state of man. This correspondence has been examined here with reference to the Olympians, their reflection of limited and social *technai*. But it extends to all forms of divinization. I would suggest that we are thus to understand the presence of the Eponymoi: the designer has undertaken to symbolize divine-human correspondence at two levels, Olympian and heroic. The Eponymoi, the tutelary deities of the ten Athenian tribes, have been chosen as perhaps the clearest possible instance of a parallel between the heroic pantheon and civic structure. Representations of individual Eponymoi are not infrequent in the first half of the 5th century, and there is at least one early Classical sculptural group that gathers together several of the figures.[202] But the frieze marks the first time that the ten are brought together as a corporate body, and that can serve as important corroboration.

A second, no less essential aspect of Sophistic theology concerns the means by which the divine enters into the human realm. Protagorean theology retreats from any claim that *τὰ περὶ θεῶν νομιζόμενα* have a substance or presence apart from human perception. In contrast to the gods of poetry and popular belief, felt to act on man from without, the gods of Protagoras are a tendency of thought, working an effect from within. We can be reminded here of the role of *aidos* in the creation myth or Kritias' "mortal fear of the gods". Men may engage in worship, this worship forming in the view of Protagoras indeed a mainstay of civilized life, yet the gods remain unresponsive to prayer in a traditional sense. Rather, the effect of religion is inseparable from the act of believing, the latter being designated by the Sophist under the general heading "holiness of life", *to hosion einai*.

[201] On the implausibility, see von Premerstein, *op. cit.* (footnote 194 above), p. 10, note 24; Boardman, "Another View," p. 41.

[202] For a review of representations of the Eponymoi, see Kron, *op. cit.* (footnote 199 above); see further Thompson, *loc. cit.* (footnote 195 above). The Marathon monument at Delphi (Pausanias, x.10.1), which includes seven of the Eponymoi, is the one important antecedent to the frieze.

In the final stretches of the eastern frieze the artist is representing the worship of τὰ περὶ θεῶν νομιζόμενα; indeed once this is understood, his handling of iconography becomes clear. He undertakes to make visual the relation of the divine and human in Sophistic thought, first, by portraying the gods as aloof and self-concerned. Thus he alludes to the divine's lack of external effect. His displacing of the gods from the center adds strength to that allusion: that the gods have their backs to the ritual of the peplos heightens the sense of their being uninvolved. Finally, the displacement of the gods calls forth associations on two further levels. It suggests that the divine, lacking substance, remains imperceptible to man. The mortals advance in procession not to the gods but beyond them to the center. The gods are as if unseen and immaterial.[203] And last, and in the context of the full program by far the most important, it suggests that the gods are apparent rather than true objects of ritual. It makes visual a shift cardinal to the Sophist's thought, that at the center of religion is not the divine *per se* but the human act of piety.

Two questions remain to be addressed. First, why does a pantheon of heroes and gods receive the procession and not just Athena? And second, the very problem of the frieze subject: why is the depiction mortal ritual, not, as always hitherto, a scene of myth or legend? The narrative of the frieze unfolds on two levels of meaning. That is the key. The one level is the Panathenaia, the other, an interpretation of religion in the life of the polis, the theology of Protagoras. These two levels relate as something of body to spirit. The Panathenaia is serving as a vessel, a context through which to render philosophy in visual form.

Why a host of heroes and gods? The divine assembly itself holds the answer: through these figures the designer is portraying the nature and character of τὰ περὶ θεῶν νομιζόμενα.[204] And why a depiction of mortal ritual? It mirrors the shift from *to theion* to *to hosion einai*. Save for that shift, one could hardly have portrayed the new religion. But of course it is more than that. It proclaims the Parthenon a temple of the new order.

PROTAGORAS AT ATHENS

The Historical Evidence

We may be lulled at times into forgetting how thoroughly cleansed from the record of antiquity have been the teachings of the Sophists and their role within the *poleis* of the 5th century. Manuscripts of their work were rarely copied and seem hardly to have been in circulation by the end of the 4th century B.C.; and we are otherwise very little informed about their lives. To address the reasons for this weak tradition would lead us too far afield; most often it is attributed to the stature and authority of the rival schools of the Academy and Lyceum.[205] The mere fact of that fragmentary knowledge, rather, is what is relevant here.

[203] It can be noted that the gesture of marshal East 47 has been calculated to reinforce this impression. Facing left, he extends his hand in a signal, most likely a beckoning gesture, not to the Olympians and Eponymoi directly in front of him but across these figures to the line of maidens on their far side. For the maidens as the object of this gesture, see already Smith, *op. cit.* (footnote 191 above), pp. 162–163 (text to fig. 46).

[204] See pp. 329, 335 above.

[205] On this theory see particularly Guthrie, *HGP* III, pp. 51–54; also Dodds, *op. cit.* (footnote 126 above), p. 92.

The few substantive sources of biographical detail on Protagoras can be briefly told. First in importance are the dialogues of Plato, above all the *Protagoras* and *Theaitetos*.[206] I have already touched on a major incident recorded through the Atthis, Protagoras' indictment for impiety.[207] The Atthis, or possibly oral tradition within the Academy, has preserved a second fragment: Diogenes, quoting Herakleides Pontikos, states that the Sophist framed laws for the colony of Thourioi,[208] an Athenian foundation of 444/3. And lastly Plutarch, quoting Stesimbrotos, recounts an anecdote on the Sophist's relation to Athens' renowned first statesman, Perikles.[209]

These fragments are hardly a rich landscape in which to place these new findings on the frieze. It is nonetheless important to review them, noting where and in what respects the artistic and literary sources appear congruent. We can begin by examining the evidence for Protagoras' residence in Athens in the years the frieze was planned and carved.

Two fragments place Protagoras at Athens in the early third quarter of the 5th century, one a passing comment by the youth Hippokrates in the *Protagoras*; the other the fragment on Thourioi, referred to just above.

At the opening of the *Protagoras*, Sokrates recounts an early morning visit he received from Hippokrates. The youth, bringing word that Protagoras had recently arrived at Athens, wanted Sokrates to accompany him to where the Sophist was staying, the house of Kallias. This would be his first occasion to hear Protagoras, the youth said. Ἔτι γὰρ παῖς ἦ, ὅτι τὸ πρότερον ἐπεδήμησεν (310e). "Before when he came to Athens, I was still a child." This passing comment is the one explicit testimony to the Sophist's presence at Athens earlier than the dramatic date of the *Protagoras*.[210] In addition, clues about Hippokrates' age from elsewhere in the dialogue allow one to gauge that earlier visit's *terminus ante quem*. Protagoras' earlier stay ought to have come to an end not later than *ca.* 437.[211]

The foundation date of Thourioi has often been brought in connection with this earlier visit. Scholars have placed Protagoras at Athens in the years immediately before the founding of Thourioi, reasoning that he would have needed local standing and reputation to be entrusted with the colony's laws.[212] If we accept this inference, and indeed it seems reasonable, then Thourioi is evidence for the Sophist having been at Athens from perhaps *ca.* 445.

[206] E.g. *Protagoras*, 316c–317d, 318d, 320c, 328b, *Theaitetos*, 162d, 164e; for the full complement of references, see Diels-Kranz.

[207] P. 320 above.

[208] Diogenes, IX.50; Diels-Kranz, A 1; F Wehrl, *Schule des Aristoteles* VII, Basel 1953, p. 45, frag. 150, and p. 110.

[209] *Perikles*, 36.5; Diels-Kranz, A 10; F. Jacoby, *FGrHist*, 107 F 11.

[210] On the dramatic date of the *Protagoras* (*ca.* 433), see footnote 140 above.

[211] See here particularly J. S. Morrison, "The Place of Protagoras in Athenian Public Life (460–415 B.C.)," *CQ* 35, 1941, p. 4. Morrison places Hippokrates' age in the dialogue at between eighteen and twenty. The youth refers to himself at Protagoras' last visit as *eti pais*, perhaps thus not more than fourteen. The *terminus ante quem* = *ca.* 433 + 18 − 14 = *ca.* 437.

[212] Most explicitly, K. von Fritz, "Protagoras," *RE* XXII, ii, 1954, col. 909; in agreement on the dating, K. Freeman, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1959, p. 345. Other scholars concur in that dating, without specific reference to Thourioi, e.g., V. Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates*, London 1968, p. 332, "[He] came to Athens about the middle of the century." Morrison (*op. cit.*, p. 5) attempts to use Plato, *Meno*, 91e to locate the beginning of the first sojourn "not later than 453." He is alone in this, however, and the arguments he adduces are rather tenuous.

We have now to relate these years of residence to the chronology of the frieze. The carving of the earliest sculptures of the Parthenon, the metopes, began most likely in the first years of the building project, from 447/6.[213] If it is assumed that all the Parthenon sculptures were planned at this early date, and further, if it is assumed that the frieze, like Thourioi's laws, presupposes the Sophist's residence in the city, then there is evidence for Protagoras having been at Athens from perhaps *ca.* 448. The date is a few years earlier than that suggested by Thourioi, but given how fragmentary is the written record, this discrepancy is hardly significant or disturbing.[214] Rather, all things considered, the sculptural and literary evidence for Protagoras at Athens fits together quite well.

Protagoras and Perikles

According to ancient sources, the 5th-century rebuilding of temples on the Akropolis formed a central part in the Periklean political program.[215] Pheidias, the city's foremost sculptor, served as official overseer of the project.[216] We can well imagine, however, that Perikles took personal interest in the general progress of work, in the decorative program, and perhaps even in specific matters of design. It is important, thus, that we consider the ties between Protagoras and this politician.

No source relates the founding of Thourioi explicitly to Perikles. There are, however, significant circumstantial connections. In the view of most historians the colony formed part of a broader Periclean plan to draw western Greece into the Athenian sphere.[217] Yet more relevant, the exegete Lampon, a prominent partisan of Perikles, was one of the founders of the expedition and very likely its leader.[218] With this as a guide, one might suppose that the statesman at least approved Protagoras' involvement in the project. Perhaps more likely he explicitly arranged it.

Beyond this possible political tie, there is evidence that Protagoras was a personal friend to Perikles and a teacher and adviser to his family. We learn from the *Protagoras* (314e) that

[213] On the chronology of the sculpture, see recently F. Brommer, *Die Parthenon-Skulpturen*, Mainz 1979, p. 10. The thesis of R. Carpenter (*Architects of the Parthenon*, Harmondsworth 1970, pp. 55–67), which places a number of metopes within the Severe Style, has not been generally accepted.

[214] It may be noted that if the frieze was planned a few years later than the metopes this small discrepancy disappears. For the purposes of argument, one can take as the extreme lower limit for the planning of the frieze the fourth or fifth year of the building project, 444/3 or 443/2, when the cella walls were approaching completion. On the chronology of the Parthenon project, see particularly W. B. Dinsmoor, *AJA* 25, 1921, pp. 242–245. The fluting of the columns, 442/1, ought to mark the end of major construction in marble. On the carving of the frieze *in situ*, *idem*, *AJA* 58, 1954, p. 145, and recently E. B. Harrison, *AJA* 83, 1979, pp. 489–490.

[215] Most important, Plutarch, *Perikles* XII.1–7; XIV; XVII. In regard to these passages see further, R. Meiggs, "The Political Implications of the Parthenon," *Parthenos and Parthenon* (*Greece and Rome*, suppl. to vol. 10), Oxford 1963, pp. 36–45 (= *The Parthenon*, ed. V. Bruno, New York 1974, pp. 101–111).

[216] Plutarch, *Perikles*, XIII.4.

[217] See in particular V. Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," *AJP* 69, 1948, pp. 149–170; Gomme, *op. cit.* (footnote 162 above), pp. 367, 386–387. Both take issue with the earlier thesis of H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 52, 1932, pp. 217–219, who connects the foundation equally with Perikles and Thoukydides, son of Melesias.

[218] Diodoros, XII.10.3. On the ties of Lampon and Perikles, see F. Schachermeyr, *Religionspolitik und Religiosität bei Perikles* (*SBVienna*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 258, iii), 1968, pp. 25–31.

Perikles' sons, Xanthippos and Paralos, were in a small band of young noblemen who gathered around the Sophist on his second visit to the city. "When we were inside," Sokrates says, "we came upon Protagoras walking in the portico, and walking with him in a long line were, on one side Kallias, son of Hipponikos; his stepbrother Paralos, the son of Perikles; and Charmides, son of Glaukon; and on the other side Perikles' other son, Xanthippos; Philippides, son of Philomelos; and Antimoiros of Mende, the most eminent of Protagoras' pupils."[219] It is true, of course, that the sons' interest in Protagoras tells us little or nothing concerning the father. At the dramatic date of the *Protagoras*, Xanthippos and Paralos were approaching perhaps 30 and 25 years of age respectively.[220] They were thus more than old enough to be seeking out the Sophist of their own accord. A second passage, however, a fragment of Stesimbrotos quoted by Plutarch (*Perikles*, 36.5), does indeed draw the tie to Perikles directly. The fragment is part of an anecdote recalling a financial quarrel between Perikles and Xanthippos. Xanthippos had recently married a woman of taste, so we are told, and being eager to keep her properly and rather prodigal himself, he had begun to borrow from his father's friends. Perikles refused to back up these debts and even initiated a lawsuit against his son. It was then, thwarted, that the son took to belittling his father in public: "He held up to ridicule above all his private pastimes and the discussions he used to have with the Sophists. Once when some athlete in the pentathlon hit Epitimos of Pharsalos with his javelin without intending to, and killed him, Perikles spent the whole day with Protagoras in a quandary whether, according to the strictest reasoning, they ought to consider the javelin, the one who threw it, or the contest judges responsible for the misfortune." Stesimbrotos was no friend of Perikles, and it would not be surprising if he had polished and embroidered this account. The story of the javelin, however, contains too much specific detail to have been made up whole. It testifies, rather, to a genuine bond of friendship between the statesman and the Sophist.[221]

It is one matter for Perikles to have befriended Protagoras and for him to have developed a sincere interest in Sophistic thought. It is quite another to have embodied this thought in a public monument. It is the latter, the frieze program as an act of state, that is now a matter of concern. Perhaps above all what separates the frieze from the one other attested involvement of Protagoras in public policy, the framing of laws for Thourioi, is the different nature of the thought involved. To the public at large, the philosophy of religion

[219] Translation based on Guthrie, *Plato*, p. 314. I have altered the transliteration of proper names from the Latin to the Greek.

[220] Cf. *Protagoras*, 328d. For the testimonia on their lives, see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971, pp. 457–458.

[221] Compare also a fragment of Protagoras describing Perikles' conduct at the death of his sons in the plague, [Plutarch], *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 118e (Diels-Kranz, B 9):

> *τῶν γὰρ υἱέων νεηνιέων ἐόντων καὶ καλῶν, ἐν ὀκτὼ δὲ τῇσι πάσῃσιν ἡμέρῃσι ἀποθανόντων νηπενθέως ἀνέτλη. εὐδίης γὰρ εἴχετο, ἐξ ἧς πολλὸν ὤνητο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην εἰς εὐποτμίην καὶ ἀνωδυνίην καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖσι δόξαν· πᾶς γάρ τίς μιν ὁρέων τὰ ἑωυτοῦ πένθεα ἐρρωμένως φέροντα, μεγαλόφρονά τε καὶ ἀνδρήιον ἐδόκεε εἶναι καὶ ἑωυτοῦ κρέσσω, κάρτα εἰδὼς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἐν τοισίδε πρήγμασι ἀμηχανίην· τοῦτον γὰρ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν προσαγγελίαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν υἱέων οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐστεφανωμένον κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος καὶ λευχειμονοῦντα δημηγορεῖν Βουλάς τ' ἐξάρχοντ' ἀγαθὰς' πρός τε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιπαρορμῶντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.*

was a far more sensitive subject than the philosophy of law. Quite specifically, the *demos* found the rational investigation of the gods unsettling and frightening.[222]

It may be recalled that the philosophers themselves stood in a certain peril for their religious views. Ἀσεβείας κριθῆναι, διότι τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον ἔλεγε διάπυρον.[223] "They judged him impious for calling the sun a flaming mass of iron." Thus did the Athenians try, convict, and banish Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, perhaps in the late 430's.[224] They cited the opening lines of Περὶ θεῶν against Protagoras, as we have seen.[225] And they charged Sokrates with "not believing in the city's gods": θεοὺς οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει οὐ νομίζοντα, ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινά.[226] The *demos* knew well how to rid itself of what it feared, or did not like, or simply did not understand.

It may be remembered, further, that Perikles faced vocal opposition at Athens from the mid-5th century, the conservative faction of Thoukydides, son of Melesias.[227] Perikles' control of the city was never seriously at issue, but all the same, his enemies were ever on the lookout for some chink in his political armor, some false step they might use against him. Can we be right, then, in associating Perikles with the religious heterodoxy of the frieze, to see this statesman's will behind it? Or ought we to think rather that the political risks would have been too great, the act far too impetuous?

There is evidence that Perikles made recourse to Sophistic theology on at least one other public occasion, a funeral oration of the Samian War (440/39). The speech survives in but a fragment, a few lines of Stesimbrotos quoted by Plutarch (*Perikles*, 8), and philosophical tenets there form no more than the basis for a passing allusion. Notwithstanding, in the present context this testimony is of the very highest importance.

> ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτός φησιν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεούς· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὁρῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς ἃς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσιν, ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα· ταῦτ' οὖν ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.
>
> Stesimbrotos states that [Perikles], delivering from the speaker's platform an encomium on those killed at Samos, said that they had become immortal just like the gods. For we do not see the gods themselves; rather the honors they receive and the benefits they provide are our evidence for their immortality. Those who die for their country bestow and possess these as well.

[222] For a discussion of popular religion, see Dodds, *op. cit.* (footnote 126 above), pp. 140–155.

[223] Diogenes Laertius, II.12 (Diels-Kranz, A 1).

[224] For the several traditions concerning the trial, see Derenne, *op. cit.* (footnote 149 above), pp. 13–41. Trial and banishment, Diogenes Laertius, II.12. On the date, see Schachermeyr, *op. cit.* (footnote 218 above), pp. 75–89; R. Meiggs, *Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, pp. 435–436.

[225] P. 320 above. The dating is uncertain; Diogenes Laertius (IX.52) identifies the plaintiff as Pythodoros, son of Polyzelos, a member of the Four Hundred, and this has been used by scholars to place the trial *ca.* 411 B.C. or shortly before.

[226] *Apologia*, 24b.

[227] For a summary of this evidence, see G. Prestel, *Die antidemokratische Strömung im Athen*, Breslau 1939, pp. 50–51; see in particular the passages of Plutarch cited footnote 215 above.

W. Nestle has submitted this passage to detailed philosophical analysis and has drawn attention to three significant textual parallels for the thought there embodied: the opening lines of Περὶ θεῶν, the Protagorean myth of creation, and Prodikos.[228] Perikles begins as does the Περὶ θεῶν by denying an absolute knowledge of god. His οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὁρῶμεν is taken, as Nestle observes, from Protagoras' broader and more personal οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι. As Perikles proceeds to the bases of divine belief, he puts in apposition elements closely modeled on the twin clauses of *Protagoras*, 322a: Perikles' "benefits they provide", τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσιν, stands parallel to the acquisition of *technai* in the myth; "the honors they receive", ταῖς τιμαῖς ἃς ἔχουσι, to man's founding of cults and fashioning of images. If we shift the statesman's words from a divine to a human perspective, replacing "benefits they provide" with "benefits we experience", "honors they receive" with "honors we render", we find him to be stating, in essence, that the proof of the gods' immortality is the human perception of that immortality. He is applying the tenet *homo mensura* to religion.[229]

Beyond affirming that Perikles had knowledge of, indeed that he had a mastery of Sophistic thought, this fragment is valuable for what it shows of the statesman at work, his manner of presenting his knowledge to the public. Perikles steers his oratory clear of the theoretical and abstract, choosing rather to exemplify broad principles within a specific and narrow context. Further, and here one may indeed admire his subtlety, he draws on tenets of Protagoras without his argument becoming either impious or agnostic. This end he achieves through that shift of perspective we noted above. No question is cast on the gods' existence. To the contrary, their existence is a rhetorical means of offering comfort to the bereaved. At the same time, however, the statesman allows, even encourages his audience to measure his words by a personal standard, whether that the Samian dead live on as chthonic heroes, like military heroes of old, or simply that they are undying in our memory.

No more than the Samian *epitaphios* does the frieze undertake to attack traditional religion. In depicting Athenians at worship, instead it renders the city's piety manifest, and we can imagine most Athenians taking pride in the narrative simply at that level. To a few it spoke a language above this, carefully and judiciously phrased. Nothing blasphemous, no new or secret religion. Its aim, rather, was to endow time-honored religion with a new and higher meaning.

It is only natural to wonder who designed the frieze. Let me simply voice an opinion, wholly apart from argument: that the initial stages of planning were the result of a

[228] "Ein Echo aus Protagoras 'Περὶ θεῶν'?" *PhilWoch* 45, 1925, cols. 316–318. See further on this speech, F. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, 3rd ed., I, Leipzig 1887, p. 37; N. Loraux, *L'invention d'Athènes: Histoire de l'oraison funèbre dans la "cité classique"*, Paris 1981, p. 40. With reference to the form of the speech as a whole, see L. Weber, "Perikles samische Leichenrede," *Hermes* 57, 1922, pp. 375–395.

[229] On the relevance of *homo mensura* to Protagorean theology, see particularly Müller, pp. 143–144; cf. footnote 159 above. *Homo mensura* has itself been variously interpreted in modern scholarship. I have followed Guthrie (*HGP* III, pp. 183–188) and others, in taking it to express extreme subjectivism. For the opposing view that it refers to man's partial apprehension of the real, see F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge*, London 1935, pp. 33–36.; and von Fritz, *op. cit.* (footnote 212 above), cols. 916–917.

collaboration, between the frieze designer—one thinks of Pheidias here—Perikles, and Protagoras. The program's exceptional blending of artistry, subtlety, and intellect may, I feel, be best explained in that way.

If that collaboration was ever to have been a secret, it could hardly have remained so for long. And we can well imagine how offended were the conservatives of the city when they learned of it. In 438, the year of the dedication of the Parthenos and perhaps the final year of carving the frieze, Perikles' enemies attacked Pheidias, charging him with theft of public funds.[230] The sculptor fled Athens in the face of his trial or his sentence, and from the thirties, then, worked at Olympia on the gold and ivory Zeus.[231]

This attack can be understood in a number of ways. The sculptor may in fact have been engaged in theft. Or if the charges were politically motivated, they may have been directed against Pheidias as overseer of the entire building program on the Akropolis, not of the frieze in particular. Having come to know this monument somewhat better, however, it is difficult to think of its program and the exile as matters wholly apart. When the carving was visible in its full extent, the tools laid down, the scaffold removed, it fell to the sculptor to render account.

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[230] Schol. Aristophanes, *Pax*, 605, quoting Philochoros. See the commentary, F. Jacoby, *FGrHist*, 328 F 121, vol. IIIb, text pp. 484–496. For the completion of the frieze in 438 B.C. see Brommer, *Parthenonfries*, p. 171, with full citation of bibliography.

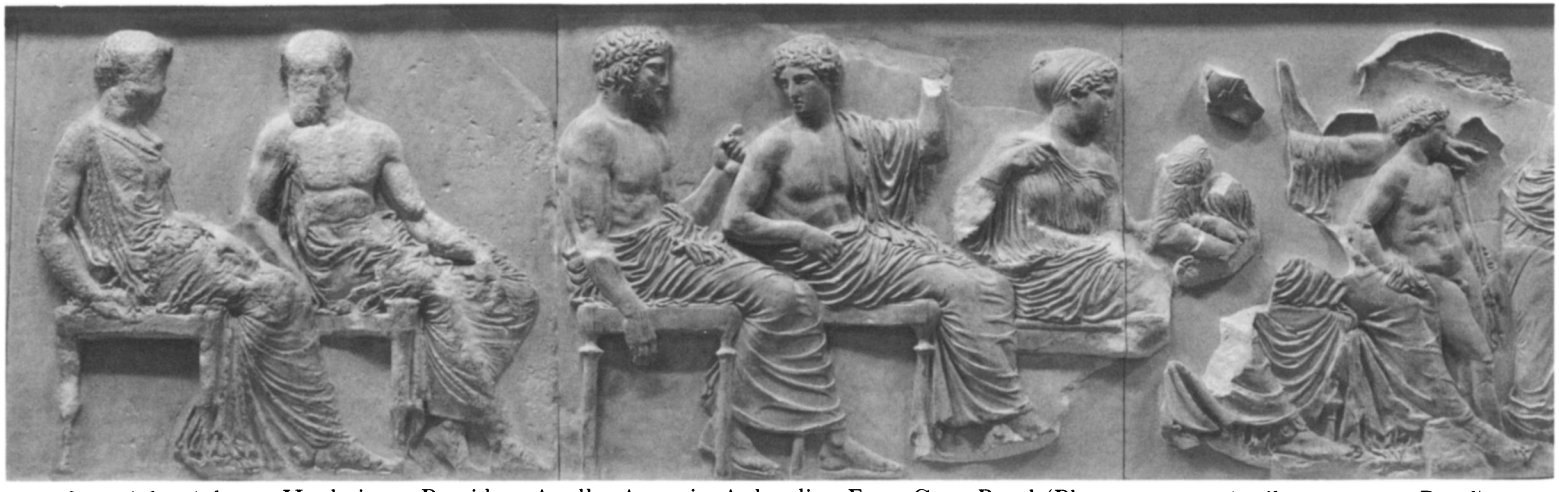
[231] For the dating of the Zeus, A. Mallwitz and W. Schiering, *OlForsch*, V, *Die Werkstatt des Pheidias in Olympia*, Berlin 1964, pp. 272–277; A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, Munich 1972, p. 263.



a. East Frieze, Olympian gods and the scene of the peplos. Cast, Basel (Photo D. Widmer)



b. Left to right: Hermes, Dionysos, Demeter, Ares, Nike, Hera, Zeus. Cast, Basel (Photo courtesy Antikenmuseum, Basel)



c. Left to right: Athena, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Eros. Cast, Basel (Photo courtesy Antikenmuseum, Basel)

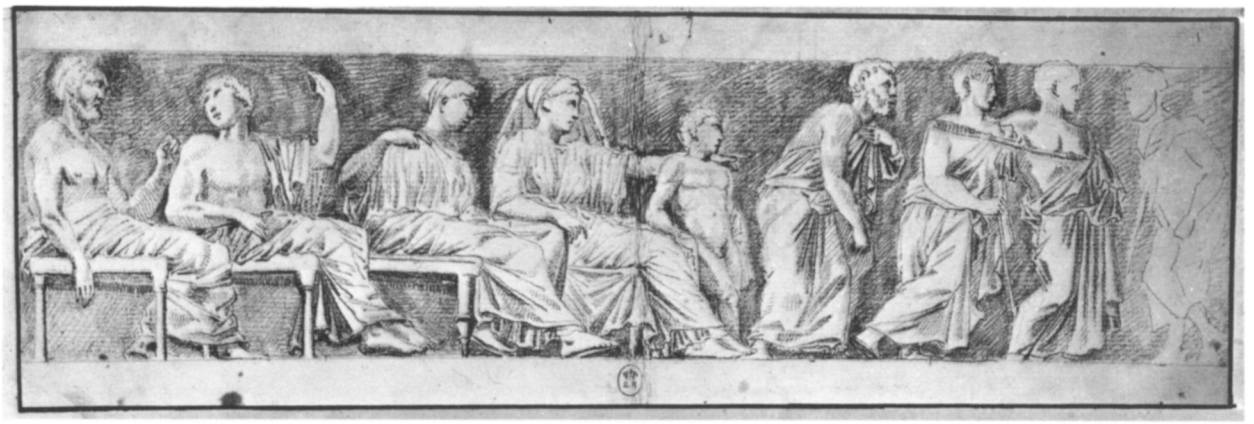
IRA S. MARK: THE GODS ON THE EAST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON

PLATE 61

PLATE 62



a. Artemis, Aphrodite, Eros. Cast, Basel (Photo courtesy Antikenmuseum, Basel)



b. Carrey drawing of the East Frieze (Photo Bibliothèque National, Paris)



a. Head of Nike (Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)



b. Nike, Hera, Zeus (Photo courtesy Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

PLATE 64



a. Right hand of Nike (Photo courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



b. Pyxis by the Washing Painter, Würzburg (Photo courtesy Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg)



a. Epinetron by the Eretria Painter, Athens, N.M. 1629 (Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens)



b. Detail of a cup, Berlin, S.M. 2536 (Photo courtesy of Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, Berlin)







a–c. Lebes gamikos, Hanover, Kestner Museum 1966.116 (Photo courtesy Kestner Museum, Hanover)



The Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Heroes, and Athletes
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THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA, HEROES, AND ATHLETES

ABSTRACT

The two pediments and twelve metopes adorning the Temple of Zeus at Olympia of ca. 470–456 B.C. have been the subject of scholarly inquiry since their discovery in the 19th century. These inquiries tend to treat the sculptural elements separately from each other, or largely detached from their Olympic context, and to interpret the sculptures as negative admonitions about *hubris* and consequent justice, or about *dike* and *arete*, or as political allegories. The present study examines the sculptures as a programmatic unity intimately connected with Olympia and the activities that occurred there and argues that, contrary to previous interpretations, the sculptures were created to serve as positive models to inspire and exhort Olympic athletes to deeds of honor and glory.

As Olympic competitors entered the site of Olympia in the second half of the fifth century B.C. (Fig. 1), they walked past a crowd of onlookers, merchants, Olympic officials, and religious officials, who were able to admire the stunning specimens of masculinity filing by.[1] As they walked past the west side of the Temple of Zeus, the athletes could look up to see sculptures in the pediment that depicted the Centauromachy, a myth instantly recognizable to them (Fig. 2). Rounding the south side of the sanctuary, the athletes entered the Altis and assembled before the Temple of Zeus.

1. Mary Ann Carolan, Eve D'Ambra, Richard Garner, and Corinne Pache generously offered their expertise on various drafts of this article, and Hans Rupprecht Goette read and commented extensively on the text and kindly provided additional bibliography. Goette also provided new photos of the sculptures, a task made possible with the permission and assistance of Klaus Herrmann, the Ephorate at Olympia, and the guards at the Olympia Museum. Norbert Eschbach shared his photos of the Göttingen lekythos and answered questions. Discussion generated by audiences at Wesleyan University, the AIA/APA meetings at San Diego in 2001, Yale University, the State University of New York at New Paltz, the Classical Association meeting at Leeds in 2003, the University of Edinburgh, and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Berlin was also helpful in pushing this work forward. Comments and criticism from the two anonymous readers sharpened the final product. And, as ever, Greg Barringer offered comments, advice, and support in innumerable ways. I am profoundly grateful to all of the above, whose suggestions and criticisms have improved this study and whose friendship and encouragement are deeply appreciated; whatever errors or omissions remain are my responsibility.

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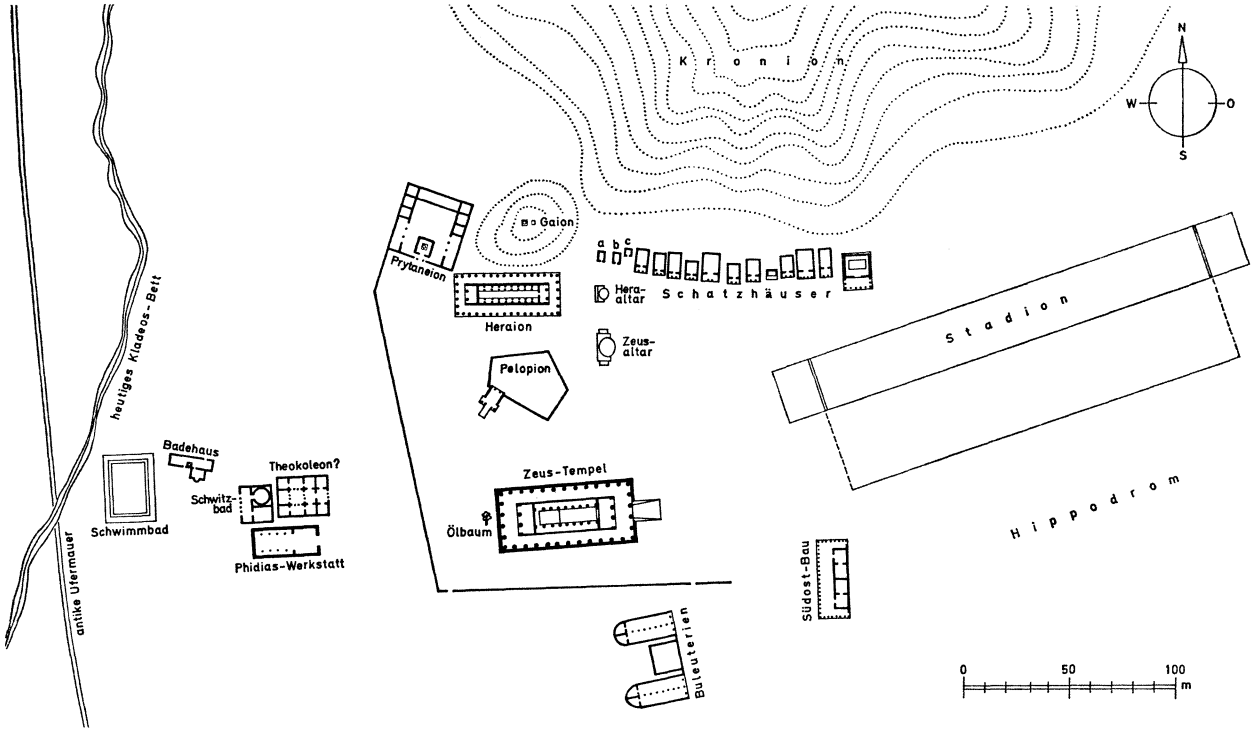


Figure 1. Plan of Olympia, ca. 450 B.C. After Säflund 1970, fig. 1; courtesy Åstrom Editions

Gazing down from the east pediment were figures of Pelops, Oinomaos, and Hippodameia—the key players in the myth of Pelops's chariot race with Oinomaos (Fig. 3). All around the competitors were votive dedications from successful athletes and cities, grateful for divine favor in athletics or in battle, respectively. Having taken their oath of fair play on pieces of sacrificed boar (ἐπὶ κάπρου κατόμνυσθαι τομίων) in front of a statue of Zeus in the Bouleuterion (Paus. 5.24.9), athletes made obligatory offerings to Zeus and to Pelops at the hero shrine to Pelops, the Pelopion (Paus. 5.13.8).[2] Many would have peered through the colonnade of the Temple of Zeus, where they could see the labors of Herakles depicted in metopes crowning the pronaos and opisthodomos of the temple (Figs. 4, 5), and, after ca. 430, catch glimpses of the magnificent, colossal, chryselephantine seated statue of Zeus within the cella.[3] What did these athletes see when they looked at the sculptures adorning the Temple of Zeus? What meaning did these myths and images convey to them? And what meaning did the patrons of the temple intend?

The meager architectural remains of the Temple of Zeus make it difficult to imagine this spectacle, but the sculptures from the temple survive in very good condition and have received the intense scrutiny of dozens of scholars since their discovery in 1831 and 1875.[4] Scholars have tended to treat the sculptures, the two pediments and twelve metopes, in isolation, both from each other and from the numerous activities at Olympia. The goal in this paper is to read the sculptures as a meaningful ensemble within the context of Olympia and its famous Panhellenic athletic games by examining not just the temple and its sculptures but also their physical and cultural context, an investigation that will entail discussion of three major

2. On worship at the Pelopion and its relationship to that of Zeus at the ash altar, see Burkert 1983, pp. 97–103. Tulunay (1998, p. 453) states that new excavations reveal Pelops's stature to have been nearly as great as that of Zeus at Olympia.

3. Sinn (2000, pp. 58, 69) claims that victorious athletes were crowned in the pronaos of the temple.

4. For a brief overview of the history of the excavations, see Pimpinelli 1994, pp. 350–351.



Figure 2. Temple of Zeus, reconstruction of west pediment by A. F. Stewart. Drawing Candace H. Smith; courtesy Smith and Stewart



Figure 3. Temple of Zeus, reconstruction of east pediment by A. F. Stewart. Drawing Candace H. Smith; courtesy Smith and Stewart

issues: athletics and its relationship to warfare and military victory, gender roles and premarital rites, and the use of Olympia as display place for deeds of glory that can exalt a man beyond his mortality to everlasting *kleos*. The result of this study is a new interpretation of the sculptures and their meaning for the ancient viewer.

The marble sculptures that adorned the stuccoed, limestone Temple of Zeus, constructed by Libon of Elis (Paus. 5.10.3), are some of the best known and most often seen monuments of antiquity.[5] The temple is securely dated to ca. 470–456 B.C. on the basis of historical events. The terminus post quem derives from Pausanias (5.10.2), who relates that the temple was erected by the city of Elis from the spoils of its conquest of neighboring Pisa, which Elis conquered ca. 470. The terminus ante quem is established by the evidence of the Spartans' dedication of a gold shield on the Temple of Zeus in commemoration of their defeat of Athenians and others at Tanagra (Paus. 5.10.4). The defeat occurred in 457 B.C., and

5. On the marble, see now Herrmann 2000. All the sculptures are of Parian marble, save the corner figures of the west pediment, which are of Pentelic marble and are thought to be repairs. See, e.g., Rehak 1998, p. 194.

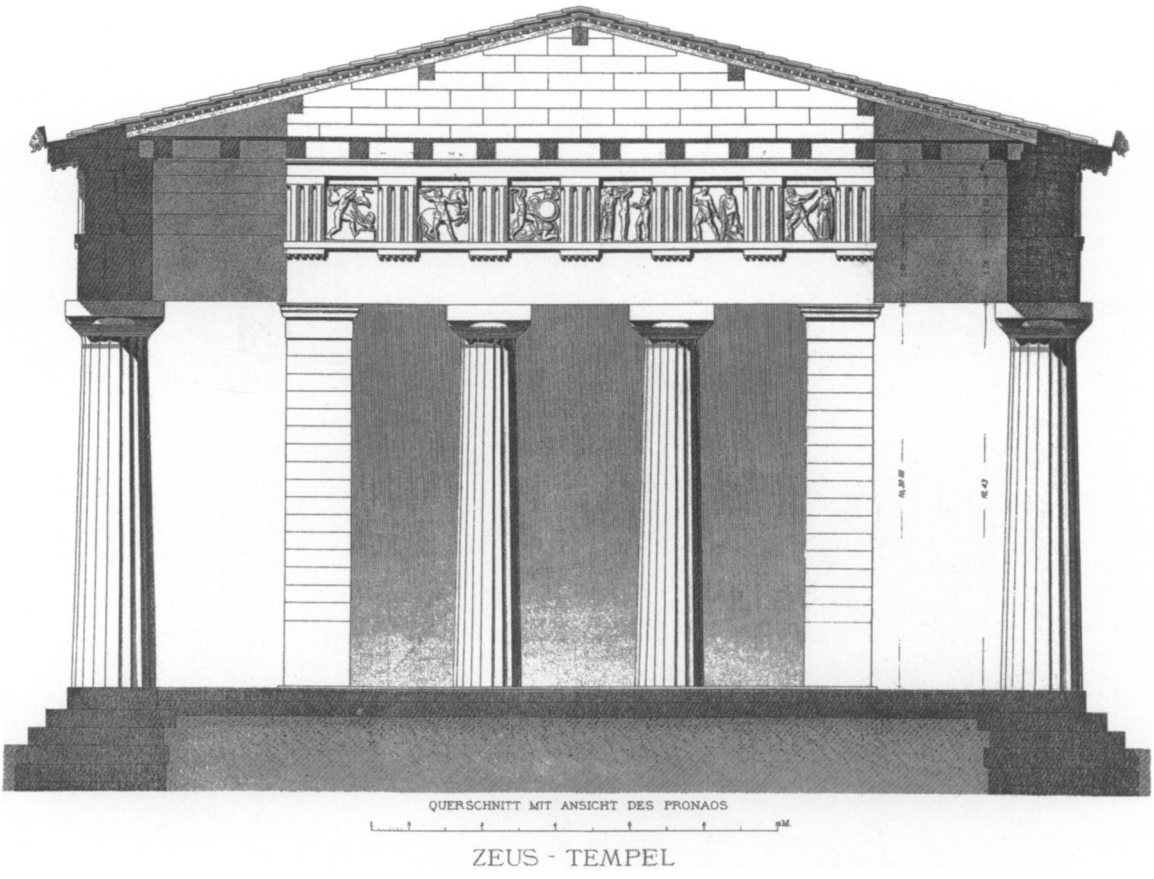


Figure 4. Temple of Zeus, reconstruction of east facade of the cella. After *Olympia* I, pl. X

because the Spartans placed the shield in the center of the temple's apex, the temple had to have been finished by that time. Although scholars cannot pinpoint the exact date of inception of the construction, the temple's creation followed upon general improvements to the site, including a renovation and enlargement of the *stadion* in the 470s and the introduction of a new roster of events and expansion of the athletic games from three to five days, innovations that seem to have occurred ca. 472.[6]

Twelve sculpted metopes of Parian marble, approximately 1.6 m square and carved with the labors of Herakles, graced the entablature of the pronaos and opisthodomos,[7] six per side (Figs. 5, 6). The completion of these labors guaranteed Herakles' immortality; he was apotheosized at the time of his death and is the only mortal to be honored in this fashion. Pindar (*Ol.* 6.67–69; 10.24–25, 57–59) and Pausanias (5.7.6–10) claim that Herakles founded the Olympic games, and Pindar specifies that he did so at the site of the Pelopion (*Ol.* 10.24–25), which, according to Pausanias (5.13.2), Herakles founded. Pausanias also reports that Herakles founded the central ash altar to Zeus at Olympia (5.13.8) and introduced the wild olive into Greece from the land of the Hyperboreans (5.7.7; also Pind. *Ol.* 3.11–18); these olive trees provided the victory crowns for the Olympic victors (Paus. 5.7.7; Pind. *Ol.* 3.11–18). Herakles thus has many claims on Olympia.

Both pediments, each ca. 26 m wide and 3.3 m high at center, presented a dazzling spectacle of sculpted figures, seen today at eye level in the Olympia Museum (Figs. 7, 8). The subject of the west pediment is the

6. Sinn (1994, p. 592; 1991, p. 50), who cites Felix Jacoby; Knell 1990, pp. 79–80. On the motivation for erecting the temple, see, recently, Pimpinelli (1994, pp. 402–405), who provides further bibliography.

7. This arrangement is unusual, found again only at the late-fifth-century Temple of Apollo at Bassai.



Figure 5. Temple of Zeus, reconstruction of the metopes. After *Olympia* III, pl. XLV



Figure 6. Temple of Zeus, metope of Herakles and the Cretan Bull. Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette

Centauromachy, the battle between the Lapith Greek men and the Centaurs at the wedding of Perithoos, king of the Lapiths (Figs. 2, 7).[8] The Centaurs, friends of mankind, had been invited to the wedding, where they became drunk and tried to rape the Lapith women. A fight broke out as the Lapith men, led by Theseus and Perithoos, tried to defend the women, and the Centaurs were soundly defeated. Scholars have argued over the placement of the various intertwined groups of energetic, struggling figures and have debated the identities of several players, particularly the three central males (Fig. 9).[9] Most scholars now agree that the central figure is Apollo;[10] the flanking figures are usually read as Theseus and Perithoos.[11]

Pausanias identifies the subject of the east pediment (5.10.6–8): the preparations for the chariot race between Pelops, who gave his name to the Peloponnese,[12] and Oinomaos, king of Pisa, for the hand of Oinomaos's daughter, Hippodameia (Figs. 3, 8). The basic elements of the myth can

8. On the myth, see *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 671–721, s.v. Kentauroi et Kentaurides (M. Leventopoulou et al.).

9. Tersini (1987, pp. 141–145) offers a recent discussion.

10. He presumably held a bow and arrow in his left hand (Tersini 1987, p. 141). Tulunay (1998, p. 454), however, thinks the bow was a fourth-century B.C. addition by someone who misunderstood the original figure, whom he recognizes as Anatolian Pelops holding a *kentron*. Pausanias (5.10.8) identifies him as Perithoos, and other scholars have adhered to this suggestion (e.g., Lapalus [1947, pp. 175–179]), but Herakles and a youthful Zeus Areios have also been proposed—by Kardara (1971), and earlier by Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Fritz Weege, and Franz Dornseiff (as reported in Lapalus 1947, p. 174). Sinn (1994, pp. 593–594) summarizes the various arguments and concludes that the figure is Apollo.

11. The heroes' poses are borrowed from the Athenian statue group of the Tyrannicides, the men credited with having overthrown Athens' tyranny in 510 B.C. The credit was misplaced, but the association stuck and the poses of the commemorative statues of 477, replacements for an earlier group, were quickly borrowed by other artists to signify "heroism" when applied to any figure, as they were, for example, on the friezes of the Hephaisteion and on vases. On the transfer of artistic motifs from Athens to Olympia, see, e.g., Raschke (1988, pp. 46–47), who posits that the Eleans appropriated Athenian symbols when they adopted a democracy along the lines of that of post-471 Athens.

12. See Howie 1991, p. 69, for Pelops as ruler of the Peloponnese, and Herrmann 1980, p. 59, for Pelops as a Peloponnesian hero. See also Lacroix 1976.



Figure 7. Temple of Zeus, west pediment. Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette

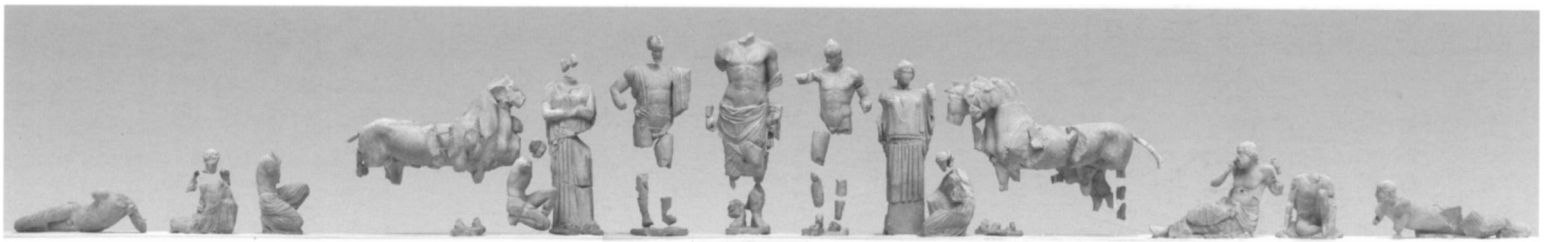


Figure 8. Temple of Zeus, east pediment. Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette

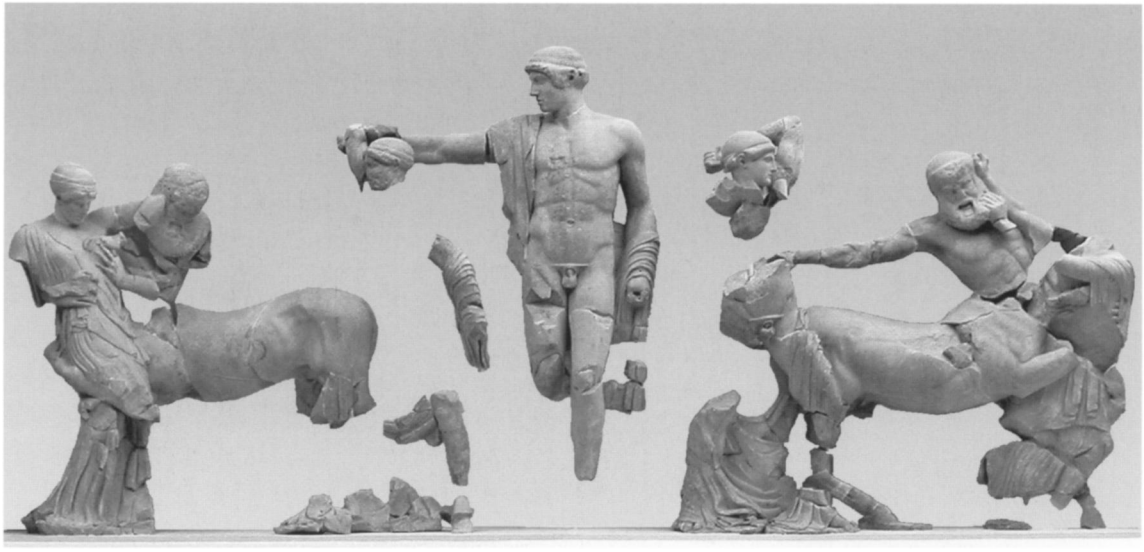


Figure 9. Temple of Zeus, west pediment, central figures. Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette

be summarized as follows. Oinomaos had invited suitors to vie for Hippodameia by competing with him in a chariot race. Thirteen had made the attempt and failed, costing them their heads.[13] Pelops was the fourteenth to compete, and he succeeded, winning both the hand of Hippodameia and the kingdom of Oinomaos.

Differing accounts of how Pelops won are preserved in written sources,[14] from which two distinctive variants emerge. The "divine favor" version claims that Pelops won with help from Poseidon, his erstwhile lover, who provided Pelops with special, infallible, winged horses. The earliest preserved written source for this version of the myth is Pindar, *Olympian* 1, composed ca. 476 B.C.[15] The "cheating" version maintains that Pelops bribed Oinomaos's charioteer to substitute wax for the metal linchpins of Oinomaos's chariot, so that, when the race began, the chariot fell apart and Pelops won.[16] The charioteer subsequently threw himself, or was pushed, off a cliff and, as he fell, he called down a curse on the house of Pelops—the famous curse of the house of Atreus, one of Pelops's descendants. Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F37), floruit ca. 440, provides the first attestation of this version of the myth, though it may have existed prior to this date.[17] Pelops is often credited with founding the Olympic games, which, according to legend, were instigated by this chariot race (Pind. *Ol.* 1.67–88). But Pindar and others also assign the foundation of the games to

13. A list of victims killed by Oinomaos is recorded in Hes. fr. 259 (M-W), but the circumstances of their deaths are not preserved.

14. For a complete account of the literary sources, see Howie 1991; *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 435, s.v. Hippodameia I (M. Pipili).

15. See Howie 1991 for Pindar's account. Bulle (1939, pp. 210–211) and Shapiro (1994, pp. 78–83) discuss the relationship between the poem and the Olympia sculptures, a connection made originally by Franz Winter in 1925.

16. Another account of this version, which has Hippodameia bribing the charioteer Myrtilos with sexual favors, is not attested until the Hellenistic period, although Howie (1991, pp. 92–104) speculates that it was known to Pindar's audience.

17. See, e.g., Säflund 1970, p. 119. Cf. Stewart (1983, p. 134), who thinks that the "cheating" version is Pherekydes' invention. Scholars in favor of an earlier date for an account involving the corruption of Myrtilos include Howie (1991, esp. pp. 57–59, 99–100); Hurwit (1987); and Giovanni Becatti in 1939 (reported in Säflund 1970, p. 36). Other ancient authors who recount this version or variants on it: Eur. *Or.* 988–1013; Ap. Rhod. 1.752–758 and the scholia *ad loc;* and Diod. Sic. 4.73, in which Oinomaos kills himself after Pelops wins the race by bribing Myrtilos.

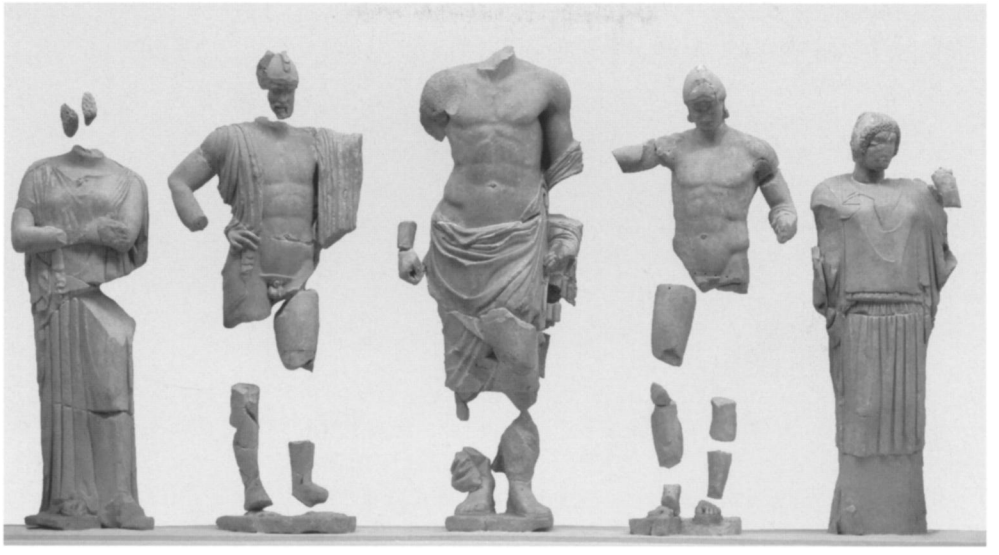


Figure 10. Temple of Zeus, east pediment, central figures. Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette

Herakles, as noted above, an attempt, some have suggested, to assert a clearly Dorian claim to the foundation of the games, since Herakles is a Dorian hero.[18]

Pausanias names several figures depicted in the east pediment, including those in the center who have been identified as follows: Pelops (G, the unbearded male) and Hippodameia (K) on one side of a centrally placed Zeus (H); Oinomaos (I, who is bearded) and his wife Sterope (F) on the other (Figs. 3, 10). But Pausanias's use of the terms "right" and "left" in describing what he sees is ambiguous, with the result that the original placement of the central figures and of others is in doubt, and he also misidentifies the sex of one figure (O). Thus the contribution of Pausanias's identification of the subject and of some figures is partially outweighed by the accompanying uncertainty about the placement of the figures, on which scholars have seized, producing over 70 reconstructions over the last century.[19]

The rendering of Zeus's neck muscles (see Fig. 10) suggests that he turned his head toward his right, perhaps bestowing divine favor on the protagonist, presumably Pelops, to that side, while his thunderbolt, the symbol of the justice he dispenses, would have been held in his left hand, perhaps an indication that Oinomaos was placed there. But this reconstruction is hypothetical, and the argument also has been made that Zeus's

18. See Sinn 1991, pp. 48–49. Zeus is also credited with having founded the games in honor of his victory over Kronos (Paus. 5.7.10). On the founding of the Olympic games and the first event(s), see Burkert (1983, pp. 94–96), who maintains that the *stadion* was "the preeminent *agon*" at Olympia (p. 96) but does not specify when this was the case. On the numerous equestrian elements of the myth of Oinomaos's chariot race, see Calame 1997, pp. 243–244; Howie 1991, p. 75.

19. The arguments are summarized in Trianti 2002; Kyrieleis 1997, pp. 13–14; and Tersini 1987, pp. 140–142. See also Stewart 1983, pp. 135–136; Säflund 1970, for a summary and another reconstruction; and Simon 1968. Note that the current arrangement of the figures in the Olympia Museum (Figs. 8, 10) differs from the reconstruction presented in Fig. 3.

uneasy gesture of gripping his garment with his right hand indicates that he looks at the object of his wrath.[20] As we shall see, the uncertainty concerning who is to the left and to the right of Zeus has influenced scholars' understanding of the pediment.

On each side of the central group is a chariot and seated or crouching figures: Pausanias (5.10.6–7) identifies two of the figures as charioteers, adding that Oinomaos's charioteer sits in front of his horses, but it is not clear which crouching figure should be placed in front of which set of horses. An old man on each side (L, N) is recognizable as a seer on the basis of his pose and appearance, and Pausanias reports that the corner figures (A, P), whose placement is certain, are personifications of local rivers.

Having completed this survey of the sculptures, we may turn to questions of interpretation: Why do these sculptures appear on the Temple of Zeus, which was constructed by the city of Elis from war spoils in the years ca. 470–456 at Olympia, a Panhellenic sanctuary and site of the famous Olympic games? How should we understand the sculptures in this political, religious—and, most importantly, here—agonistic context? Although some of the earliest scholars to work on this material viewed Pelops's representation in the east pediment as a positive one,[21] that interpretation was largely discarded by later scholars, who propose that the east pediment refers to the cheating version of the myth, often pointing to parallels in Attic tragedy to support this reading.[22] According to this later interpretation, the two pediments together—and sometimes the metopes—are admonitory statements about *hubris* or justice evidenced in the recent Persian Wars,[23] or declarations about various types of *dike, ethos,* and *arete* represented by all categories of beings in the temple's sculptures. For example, the *dike* imposed by Zeus and Apollo, who display divine *ethos,* prevails over the *hubris* and the human and bestial *ethos* exhibited by Oinomaos and the Centaurs; the Centaurs' attack on the Lapith women is read as a mythological metaphor for the recent Persian attack on Greece; and

20. E.g., Kyrieleis 1997, pp. 21–22; Simon 1968, p. 155. See now the description and photographs of the current arrangement of figures in the Olympia Museum, together with an account of new fragments, their position, and technical observations, in Trianti 2002; she makes the argument that Zeus looks to his left, where she places Pelops (pp. 294–297). This arrangement differs from the reconstruction by Stewart (Fig. 3), where Zeus turns his head to his right to see Pelops, while Oinomaos stands on Zeus's left.

21. Gustav Hirschfeld in 1877, Georg Loeschke in 1885, and J. Six in 1889, followed by Franz Studniczka in 1923, Frederik Poulsen in 1943, Ludwig Drees in 1967, and José Dörig in 1967; all are reported in Säflund 1970, pp. 11–12, 19, 21, 31, 39, 45, 119, respectively. See also the views of Franz Winter in 1925, reported by Simon (1968, p. 154).

22. See, e.g., Hansen 2000, p. 23; Osborne 1998, pp. 170–172; Spivey 1996, p. 33; Shapiro 1994, p. 80; Knell 1990, pp. 93–94; Hurwit 1987; Tersini 1987, pp. 147–159; Boardman 1985, p. 36; Pollitt 1972, p. 34; Säflund (1970, pp. 110, 119–123, 127, 144), who identifies figure C as Myrtilos and reconstructs him as fiddling with the wheel of Oinomaos's chariot, though not necessarily touching the linchpin; Säflund (1970, pp. 36–37), reporting the opinion of Giovanni Becatti in 1939; Lapalus 1947, p. 169. Stewart (1990, p. 143; 1983, p. 134), Lacroix (1976, p. 341), Robertson (1975, pp. 277, 279), and Holloway (1967, p. 99) are notable exceptions, though Stewart (1983) draws numerous comparisons with tragedy.

23. E.g., by Stewart (1997, pp. 192–193), who does not accept the cheating version as influential on the pediment, but does make the case for divine admonition; see also Knell 1990, p. 87 (in respect to the west pediment); Belloni 1987, p. 270; Tersini 1987, p. 140; Raschke 1988, p. 47; and Stewart 1983, p. 134. Contra: Sinn (1994, pp. 598–599), who also notes (p. 598) Erika Simon's demonstration that the Centauromachy on the south metopes of the Parthenon cannot allude to the Persian Wars. Simon (1968, pp. 165–166) and Bulle (1939, pp. 217–218) recognize in the west pediment, and in regard to Zeus, the theme of *hubris* and consequent vengeance, but do not link the theme to the Persian Wars.

Herakles' *arete* exemplifies heroic *ethos*.[24] Such interpretations regard the reestablishment of order in the face of *hubris* as the chief theme of the pediments, and usually include Pelops's cheating as part of this misbehavior. The pediments also have been read as reflecting other political meanings; so, for example, the west pediment has been viewed as a warning against internal strife within Greece,[25] and the east pediment as an Olympian claim to control all the Peloponnese.[26]

In the present article, I propose a different reading of the sculptures. Rather than serving as negative paradigms about hubristic behavior and the *dike* administered by the gods, or as paradigms against political misbehavior, I think that when they were read as a unified ensemble in their original visual and cultural landscape, the pediments and metopes offered positive models of heroism, *arete,* and glory expressly aimed at the Olympic competitors and at others, who were urged to emulate these examples.[27] This interpretation finds support in the victory odes of Pindar, whose poems, commissioned to celebrate Panhellenic crown victors, can be mined for information about cultural values of the aristocracy, who largely comprised the Olympic and other Panhellenic victors throughout the Archaic and Classical periods.[28] Pindar's odes praised the victor in both overt and oblique ways—always naming the victor's hometown and describing his family line, often in mythological allusions, and frequently likening the victor to great mythological heroes—and it is Pindar who provides the earliest preserved source for the divine favor version of the Pelops myth.[29]

EAST PEDIMENT

In depicting the chariot race, purportedly the founding event of the Olympic games, the sculptures on the east pediment are closely related to the site of Olympia. By the fifth century B.C., the chariot race had become the most renowned event at the Olympic games.[30] As noted above, although Pherekydes, of ca. 440, provides the first attested account of the cheating version of the myth, many scholars assume that this version existed earlier,

24. Hurwit 1987, pp. 6–7; Tersini 1987; Stewart 1983; 1990, pp. 142–146; 1997, pp. 191–195. Kardara (1971, p. 19) advocates the view that the west pediment demonstrates "the crushing of the brutal violence of the early period, the predominance of moral principles and the establishment of the Law and Standing Order of Zeus," and that the east glorifies an older Zeus as judge.

25. In support of this view, Sinn (1994, pp. 599–600) points to the only existing evidence for Olympia's arbitration, the bronze tablet *SEG* XXXI 358, which describes how a board of arbiters at Olympia mediated civil strife between Athens and Boiotia.

26. Sinn 2000, p. 60. Kyrieleis (1997, p. 24) also offers a political explanation for the choice of Pelops in the temple's decoration, briefly stating that the Eleans promoted Pelops in an effort to justify and extend their expansionist policies. Likewise, Raschke (1988) argues that the pediments and metopes refer to the democratization of Elis and of the Olympic games. See also Pimpinelli (1994, pp. 406–410), who, drawing heavily on Pindar, views the sculptures, especially the metopes, as expressions of nature overcome by culture (the νόμος of Zeus) and posits a political reading concerning Elis's claims to power.

27. Cf. Raschke (1988, p. 48), who briefly states that the viewer of both the temple and surrounding athletic statues was inspired "to emulate an idealized *arete*."

28. On the issue of athletes' social status, see Pleket 1992; Raschke 1988, p. 47. On the cultural values associated with athletics as revealed by Pindar, see Lee 1983.

29. Robertson (1975, p. 277) and Säflund (1970, pp. 120–121) suggest that Pindar invented a new, sanitized version of the myth.

30. See Nagy 1986. On the relationship of the Pelops myth to the chariot race at Olympia, see Davidson (2003), who also surveys the literary tradition, visual evidence, and the cult of Pelops at Olympia.



Figure 11. Attic black-figure lekythos by the Sappho Painter, ca. 500–490 B.C. Göttingen, Georg-August-Universität J22. Photo Norbert Eschbach; courtesy Norbert Eschbach and Daniel Graepler

and interpret the Olympia pediment as a reflection of it. Archaeology offers no grounds for this assumption, for nothing in the material record supports a version of the cheating myth before Pherekydes' account.

According to Pausanias, the Kypselos Chest, of ca. 550, dedicated at Olympia, included among its array of mythological decoration a representation of the chariot race of Pelops, in which, Pausanias goes out of his way to say, Pelops's horses had wings and Oinomaos's did not (5.17.7). The description suggests that the divine favor version of the Pelops myth, not the cheating version, influenced this depiction. Obvious reference to cheating is absent, too, from the two extant vase paintings closest in time to the temple at Olympia that show Pelops preparing for, or involved in, the chariot race. These two Attic black-figure lekythoi of ca. 500–490 by the Sappho Painter, one in Göttingen and the other in Athens, refer to the winged horses given to Pelops by Poseidon.[31] On the Göttingen example, which depicts the competitors racing in chariots, Pelops's horses have wings, and Oinomaos holds two spears and a shield (Fig. 11). On the Athens lekythos, Oinomaos sacrifices at an altar while a figure whose identity is uncertain, most probably Pelops, mounts a chariot drawn by winged horses; armor is piled in front of the horses (Fig. 12).[32] Both portrayals suggest the divine favor version of the myth.

Compositionally, nothing in the east pediment of the temple definitively refers to the cheating version of the myth either. Scholars have cited

31. Göttingen, Georg-August-Universität J22 (*ABV* 508, no. 1): Shapiro 1994, p. 80, figs. 52–54; Lacroix 1976, p. 336; 1974, p. 82, pl. XIII; Jacobsthal 1912, p. 14, no. 22, pl. VI:21. Athens, National Museum 595 (CC968): *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 20, no. 5, s.v. Oinomaos (I. Trianti); p. 284, no. 12, s.v. Pelops (I. Trianti); Lacroix 1976, p. 336; 1974, p. 82, pl. XIV; *ABL*, p. 98, pl. 33; Sauer 1891, pp. 33–34, fig. 23. Trianti misidentifies the Athens lekythos as red-figure. Haspels (*ABL*, p. 98) doubts that the Athens lekythos depicts Pelops and Oinomaos and suggests instead that the scene shows a "moment before battle," specifically a Trojan context. The winged horses on both lekythoi, according to Lacroix (1974, p. 82), prompt the identification of Pelops and Oinomaos although he admits that the interpretation is not certain. I agree with this assessment. Another example of Pelops's winged horses in vase painting appears on an Attic red-figure cup of ca. 420–410 B.C. attributed to the Hippacontist Painter (Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 1999/99/85), illustrated in Warden 2004, pp. 120–122, no. 26. Here, both Pelops and Oinomaos, whose names are inscribed, are armed and unbearded, and Oinomaos's horses are without wings. I thank Jenifer Neils for this reference.

32. For the depiction of Oinomaos at sacrifice on the Athens lekythos, cf. Diodoros (4.73.4), who recounts that Oinomaos gave the suitors a head start while he sacrificed a ram. On the same vase, the name label above the figure stepping into the chariot is illegible. Trianti (*LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 20, no. 5, s.v. Oinomaos) admits ambiguity in the reading in one instance, identifying the figure as "Pélops (?)," but displays no hesitation elsewhere (*LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 284, no. 12, s.v. Pelops). Säflund (1970, p. 120) identifies him as Oinomaos's charioteer.

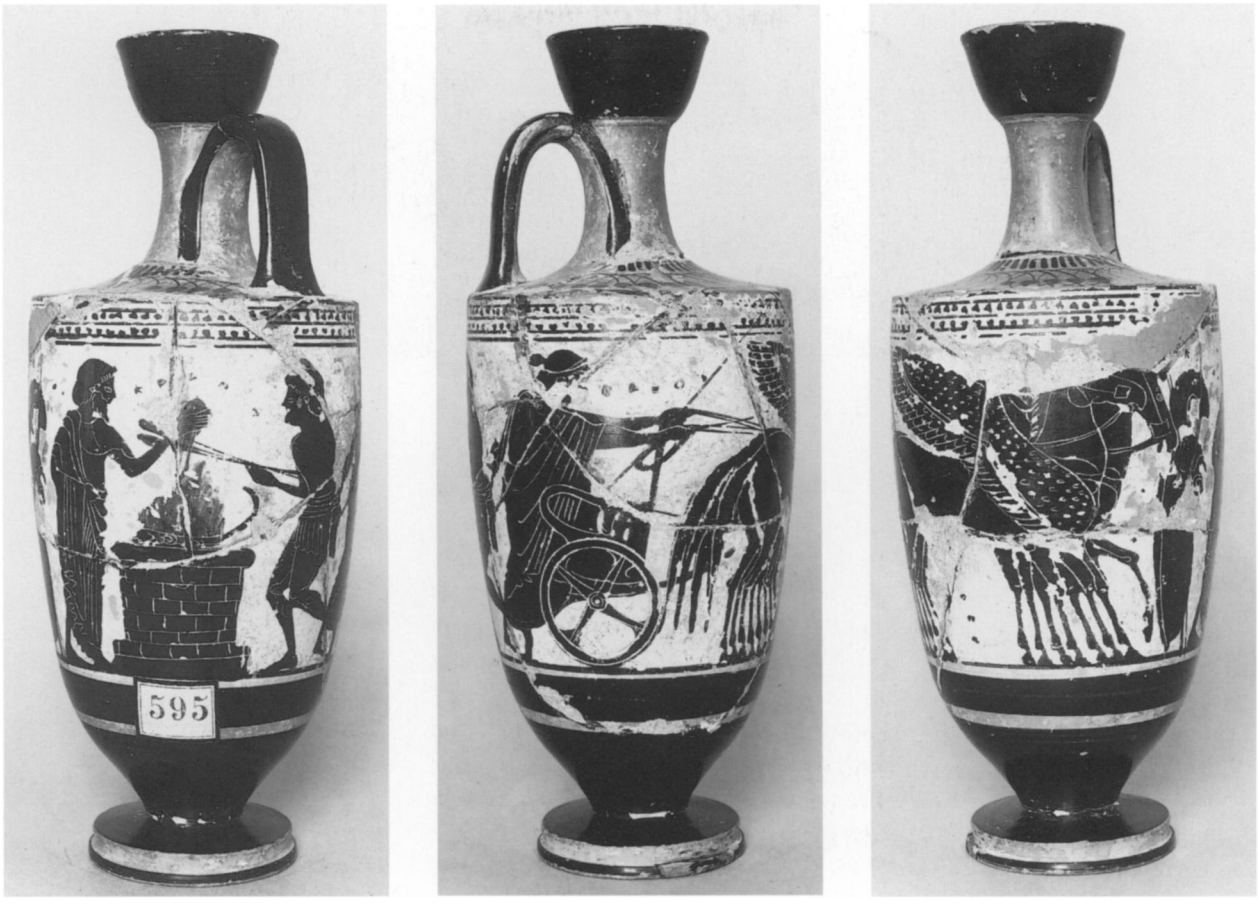


Figure 12. Attic black-figure lekythos by the Sappho Painter, ca. 500–490 B.C. Athens, National Museum 595 (CC968). Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; photo Haspels, negs. 1969/1119 *(left)*, 1969/1116 *(center)*, 1969/1117 *(right)*

the expression of figure N (Figs. 13, 14), known as the Old Seer, as an indication of Pelops's cheating and of the subsequent disaster for Oinomaos because the seer seems to gaze and gesture with concern at the chariot wheel before him or at omens above him.[33] But there are two seers in the pediment (L, N; Fig. 3), one on each side, and the facial expressions of figure L (Fig. 15), to judge from the extant features, are similar to those of figure N. Furthermore, since the exact placement of Oinomaos and Pelops on either side of Zeus is unknown, no certainty exists as to which chariot belongs to each figure, and thus, whose chariot is next to the Old Seer. Seers are, in fact, appropriate to the narrative, since they were well established in connection with the oracle at Olympia (e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 8.1–17; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21–22, 4.7.2; Strabo 8.3.30), so their presence here could be merely a local reference,[34] like the personifications of the Alpheios and Kladeos rivers in the corners of the pediment (A, P),[35] or they could be depicted as foreseeing the outcome of the race.[36] But there is no need to

33. E.g., Osborne 1998, pp. 171–172; Spivey 1996, p. 34; Hurwit 1987; Pollitt 1972, p. 34; August Frickenhaus in 1923 (as cited in Säflund 1970, p. 31).

34. Stewart (1997, p. 260) suggests that the prominence of the two seers may be a political gesture on the part of the Eleans to link Elis to Sparta. For the identities of the seers, see Bulle 1939, p. 213; and Simon (1968, pp. 157–162), who counts figure E as yet a third seer, Melampus, and explores the seers' links to Zeus.

35. On the identity of the river gods, see Simon 1968, pp. 162–165.

36. Cf. Kyrieleis's observation (1997, pp. 19–20) regarding Sterope's mourning gesture.

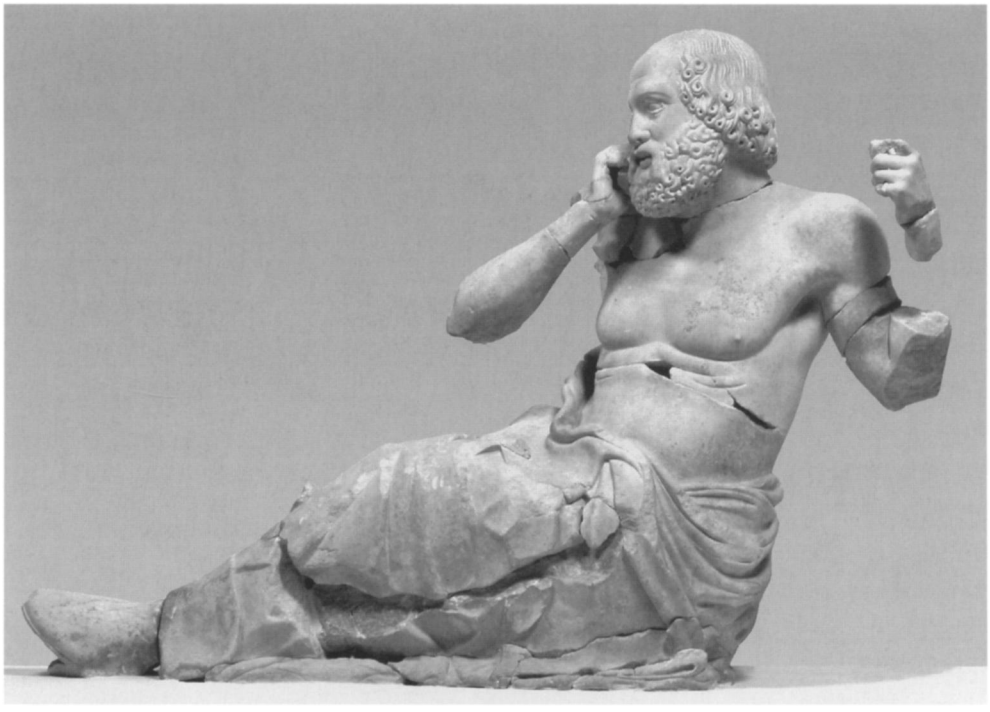


Figure 13. Temple of Zeus, east pediment, seer (N). Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette

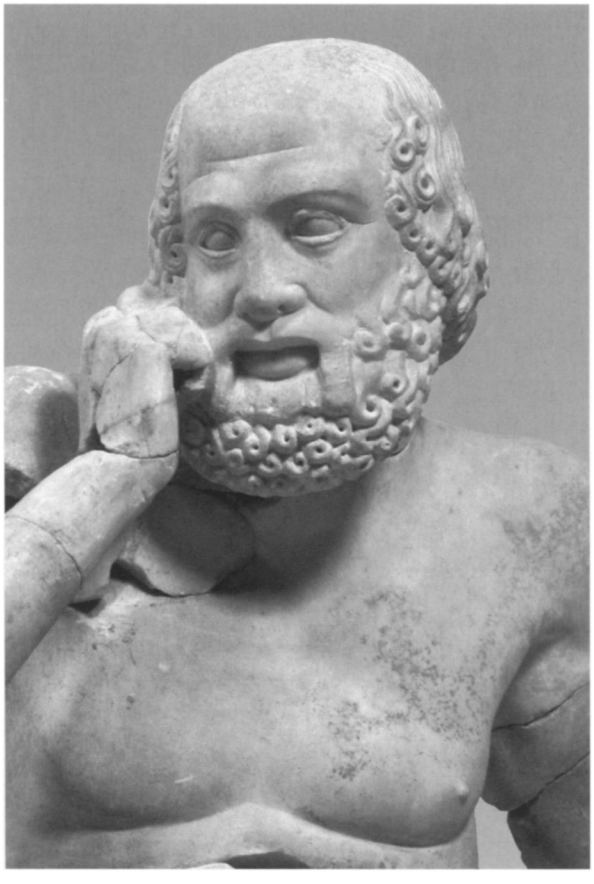


Figure 14. Temple of Zeus, east pediment, seer (N). Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette



Figure 15. Temple of Zeus, east pediment, seer (L). Olympia Museum. Photos H. R. Goette

posit cheating and disaster from their presence or even from their expressions, which could simply be responses to seeing Oinomaos's defeat.[37]

The presence of at least one charioteer has also prompted some to interpret the pediment as referring to the cheating version of the myth, but since uncertainty exists as to which figure is the charioteer, whose charioteer he is, or what he is doing, this seems a rash assumption. The absence of wings on any of the horses (D, M; Fig. 3) might also provide fodder for those who wish to see the cheating version here, since Pausanias recounts that Pelops's horses depicted on the Kypselos Chest had wings, the two lekythoi show the same, and Pindar mentions winged horses. But much of the areas on which one would expect the horses' wings to appear—their shoulders and the foreparts of their torsos—is unfortunately lost and has been restored.

It is implausible, moreover, that the Eleans would have celebrated their hero and the founder of the games, Pelops, with sculptures that depicted him as a cheat,[38] particularly since athletes took their oath of fair play in front of a nearby statue of Zeus (Paus. 5.24.9), whose image dominates the east pediment of his temple (H; Fig. 3). Further evidence of the attitude toward cheating at the games are the Zanes, bronze statues of Zeus paid for with fines levied on cheaters, that lined the entrance to the *stadion* (Paus. 5.21.2–3).[39] As Pausanias piously pronounces (5.21.4), inscriptions

37. Indeed, several scholars have suggested that the two seers' visages are portraits of contemporary priests descended from Iamos and Klytios. See Säflund 1970, p. 41; Bulle 1939, p. 213. Stewart (1983, pp. 139–140) regards the seers' expressions as responses to their foreseeing of Oinomaos's imminent defeat. Cf. Simon 1968, p. 158.

38. Others who find a cheating version on the pediment incredible include Gustav Hirschfeld, Georg Loeschke, and J. Six, reported in Säflund 1970, pp. 12, 19, and 21, respectively, and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1922, p. 414, n. 1). While it could be argued that cheating would be justified in this instance on grounds of Oinomaos's cruel or obstructive behavior, hence allowing Pelops to maintain heroic stature, such an ambiguous reading is not supported by surrounding monuments and practices at Olympia, which exhibit clear disapproval of cheating, nor is official art likely to have encouraged such a multivalent reading of Pelops.

39. Although the earliest Zanes base can be dated to the early fourth century B.C., it seems reasonable to assume that the sentiment against cheating already existed in the fifth century B.C. See Mallwitz 1972, pp. 74–75.

on the Zanes make it clear that victory is to be won not by cheating but by strength and swiftness and that the Zanes are intended to warn against cheating—specifically bribery, apparently the most common offense. Lastly, had Pelops been regarded as a cheat at Olympia, the Achaians would hardly have claimed descent from him, as they did on their prominent sculptural dedication of the Late Archaic period located just next to the Temple of Zeus;[40] the inscription, according to Pausanias (5.25.10), read: "To Zeus, these images were dedicated by the Achaeans, *descendants of Pelops,* the godlike descendant of Tantalos" (italics mine).

That *later* viewers may have regarded Pelops in the east pediment at Olympia as a cheat is entirely possible, and it may be that the perception of Pelops as a cheat was a later invention for political purposes. In recounting the background to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides (1.27.2–30) relates the Eleans' support for Corinth against the Corcyreans in 435, and the consequences suffered by Elis after the Corcyrean victory.[41] As already noted, the Athenian Pherekydes of ca. 440 provides the first written attestation of the cheating version of the Pelops myth. Athens allied itself with Corcyra, the enemy of Elis and Corinth, in 433, so perhaps Pherekydes' account was written shortly afterward to discredit Elis and the Eleans' hero, Pelops.[42]

But this study is concerned with the issue of the *original* intention of the Eleans, who commissioned the building, the Olympian officials whose approval was undoubtedly required, and the sculptors who designed and executed the work. If it is unlikely that the Eleans and other viewers had the cheating version in mind in 470, what did viewers see when they looked at the east pediment?

One thing viewers would have seen both on the east pediment and all around them at Olympia was hoplite armor. Pelops and Oinomaos on the east pediment wear helmets, and both figures originally held spears planted on the ground (Figs. 3, 10, 16, 17).[43] Pelops also held a shield, as indicated by the shield band remaining on his left forearm, and once wore a bronze or metal cuirass, as evidenced by the holes for attachment on his torso.[44] Such hoplite weapons are peculiar equipment for a chariot

40. Robertson (1975, p. 271) mentions that the bases of the dedicatory monument were partially covered by dumped material from the construction of the Temple of Zeus, hence the Late Archaic date. On this dedication, see Kyrieleis 1997, p. 18; Eckstein 1969, pp. 27–32.

41. Cyllene, Elis's naval arsenal, was burned. Along with this historical alliance between Elis and Corinth, a mythological connection exists between the two cities: the course of Pelops's and Oinomaos's chariot race led from Pisa, Oinomaos's hometown, to the isthmus of Corinth, specifically to the altar of Poseidon. See Lacroix 1976, pp. 331–332, with references.

42. For positions on Pherekydes' origination of the cheating version of the myth, see above, n. 17. Sophokles (in 468 B.C.) and Euripides (in 409 B.C.) both wrote plays about Oinomaos. Euripides presumably used the cheating variant, and may have been the inspiration for a number of fourth-century Apulian vases on which Oinomaos's charioteer Myrtilos appears with Oinomaos, Pelops, and Hippodameia. See Howie 1991, p. 55, n. 1, and p. 59. But I think that Sophokles may not have done so.

43. Attachment holes on Pelops's helmet indicate that metal cheekpieces were separately added. Simon (1968, p. 156) speculates that Pelops's spear is the scepter given to him by Zeus, and that Oinomaos holds the spear of his father, Ares.

44. Kyrieleis (1997, p. 14) believes the cuirass to be a fourth-century B.C. addition, since the torso is well executed, but one sees finishing on portions of the sculptures that would not have been visible, so this does not seem a good reason to discount a cuirass as part of the original composition. Sandro Stucchi in 1955 (as reported in Säflund 1970, p. 42) considered the cuirass a Hellenistic addition, and Säflund (1970, p. 75) calls it a "secondary addition." In 1914, Heinrich Willers (as reported in Säflund 1970, p. 29) judged that the cuirass was part of the original composition, a prize awarded to Pelops after his victory in the chariot race.





Figure 16 *(left)*. **Temple of Zeus, east pediment, Pelops (G). Olympia Museum.** Photo H. R. Goette

Figure 17 *(right)*. **Temple of Zeus, east pediment, Oinomaos (I). Olympia Museum.** Photo H. R. Goette

race.[45] According to some sources (e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 1.76), Oinomaos used a spear to kill the unsuccessful suitors, and he is the son of Ares, but the combination of hoplite weapons, borne by both competitors, and athletic contest in particular would have resonated with the viewer at Olympia, where hoplite armor was evident in abundance.[46] Armor of all kinds from all places in Greece was dedicated at Olympia, a showcase for military

45. So much so that Carl Robert, in 1919, discounted Pausanias's identification of the subject of the pediment and maintained that it presented the departure of two warriors; see Säflund 1970, p. 9, for a summary of Robert's views. But armor also appears on the two lekythoi that depict the chariot race of Pelops and Oinomaos (Figs. 11, 12; see pp. 12–13 above), and Pindar (*Ol.* 1.77) mentions Oinomaos's bronze spear. Although the lekythoi show the competitors themselves steering the chariots, armed figures riding in chariots suggest a parallel with the *apobates* in the Athenian Panathenaia. An Olympic version of the *apobates* contest also existed (see Paus. 5.9.2), but whether the competitors were armed or not is unclear.

46. Howie (1991, p. 114) notes the armor, but misses any connection with Olympia.

trophies and thank offerings for Zeus.[47] The Temple of Zeus itself was funded from a military campaign, and its entablature was adorned with Spartan military trophies.

The military dedications at the site of the Olympic games suggest an association of military endeavor and athletic contest.[48] This idea finds concrete expression in the altar of Zeus Areios (Zeus the Warlike) at Olympia, which Pausanias cites (5.14.6–7) as the location where Oinomaos sacrificed before his races against the suitors. The armed race or ὁπλιτοδρόμος, which was added to the roster of athletic events at Olympia ca. 520 to provide military training (Paus. 5.8.10),[49] and perhaps in imitation of the Panathenaic event,[50] also combines military and athletic *agon*. Moreover, scholars suggest that the foundation or reorganization of previously existing Panhellenic games in the sixth century B.C. was a response to the development of hoplite warfare and the need for trained bodies.[51] Olympia has a further connection to the military: its oracle, like that at Delphi, was consulted on military matters in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.[52]

Ancient literature offers ample attestation of the association between athletics and warfare.[53] Numerous ancient writers indicate that athletic competition was regarded as excellent preparation for warfare and was ideal for training young warriors to fight.[54] Plutarch describes the Spartan military practice of placing a Panhellenic athletic victor next to the Spartan king in battle (*Quaest. conv.* 2.5.2; *Lyc.* 22.4), presumably not purely as an honor for the athlete but also as a benefit to the king, and Panhellenic victors were sometimes chosen as military commanders (Hdt. 5.102, 8.47; Paus. 4.17.9). In an effort to explain the origin of the various Panhellenic games, some scholars point to funeral games in honor of heroes, such as those for the warrior Patroklos, and posit that Pelops's death provided the *aition* for the foundation of the Olympic games.[55] His tomb was said to be beneath the Pelopion at Olympia, and his ivory shoulder was an honored relic displayed in Elis (Paus. 5.13.4–6).[56] Pelops is not usually re-

47. On the military votives at Olympia and their association with its oracle, see Sinn (1991, pp. 42–49), who emphasizes the particularly heavy concentration of military monuments in the southern part of the Altis. The latest dedications of armor at Olympia that can be dated with certainty are of ca. 440 B.C. (see Siewert 1996, p. 144), but military dedications, including prominent ones, continued in other forms, such as the Nike of Paionios of ca. 424 B.C.

48. Cf. des Bouvrie 1995, pp. 63, 67; Scanlon 1988.

49. Des Bouvrie (1995, p. 67) gives the date. The armed race began at the Pythian games at Delphi ca. 480, and may ultimately derive from an event at the Panathenaic games or elsewhere. Cf. Bonfante 1989, p. 555.

50. Panathenaic amphoras attest that the armed race was already part of the Panathenaia as early as the mid-sixth century B.C. See, e.g., Bentz 1998, p. 124, nos. 6.011, 6.012.

51. E.g., Scanlon 1988, pp. 233–235. Cf. Paus. 5.8.10.

52. See Sinn (1991, pp. 46–49), who dates the inception of the oracle to the eighth century B.C., at the latest, and notes its new prominence for west Greek colonists in the seventh century B.C.

53. Scanlon (1988) gathers the written evidence. Indeed, the term *agon* is used for both types of contest. I thank Corinne Pache for reminding me of this point.

54. E.g., Pl. *Prt.* 326b–c; Plut. *Mor.* 639d–e; Philostr. *Gymnasticus* 19. See Serwint 1993, p. 417.

55. Golden 1998, pp. 12–14, 91–95, with further bibliography; Nagy 1979, p. 117.

56. For recent discoveries at the site of the Pelopion, including a Mycenaean grave beneath it, see Kyrieleis 2002. Antonaccio (1993, p. 62) places the foundation of the Pelopion in the Archaic period, but Kyrieleis (1997, p. 13) dates it to the Late Bronze Age. Herrmann (1980, pp. 62–66) traces the Pelops myth, the Pelopion, and the Olympic competition to the Mycenaean period. Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer (as reported in Serwint 1993, p. 405) claims that the earliest votives are Protogeometric, and therefore dates the instigation of cult to the tenth century B.C.

garded as a conventional warrior, but he does wear armor on the east pediment, and the Greeks believed that the Achaians had to have possession of his bones in order to take Troy (Apollod. *Epit.* 5.10; Paus. 5.13.4). In the Homeric poems, athletic contest and battle are frequently combined; obvious examples include the funeral games for Patroklos in the *Iliad* and the contest of the bow, which results in deadly combat, in the *Odyssey*.[57] This connection persists: Pindar (*Isthm.* 1.51–53) declares that victors in war and in athletics receive the same prize—praise from others[58]—and he commends athletic victors in Homeric and elegiac language usually reserved for the acclaim of warriors.[59] Finally and most tellingly, Pausanias reports that the olive wreaths awarded to the Olympic victors were kept in the Temple of Hera on a table together with images of, among others, a personification of Agon and Ares, the god of warfare and father of Oinomaos (5.20.2),[60] and that victors displayed their crowns in the pronaos of the Temple of Zeus (5.12.5).

In addition, as scholars have pointed out, the conduct of hoplite warfare and athletics was much the same, sharing the elements of rules, discipline, taunting,[61] and victory monuments. Indeed, athletic competition was regarded as a kind of warfare, an idea that receives confirmation at Olympia: the labors of the great athlete Herakles, a descendant of Pelops, ornamented the metopes of the Temple of Zeus, and he was honored with numerous altars within the Altis, including one dedicated to Herakles Parastates (Herakles the Defender, or Herakles the Right-Hand Man in the Flank) (Paus. 5.14.7).

Having examined the link between athletics and warfare, let us return to Pelops and Oinomaos. The late-fifth-century viewer of the east pediment would have seen Pelops, the hero of the Eleans, dressed in combat gear (Fig. 16), ready to race against Oinomaos, the king of Pisa, who was also armed for battle (Fig. 17). The Temple of Zeus was constructed from the spoils of Elis's military conquest of Pisa, the raison d'être for the temple, and it is plausible, as some have suggested, that Pelops and Oinomaos were understood as allusions to that conquest.[62]

This vision of military and athletic valor and *arete* is reinforced by the sexual associations of Olympia and its games. In the divine favor version of the myth, Pelops received special horses from his former lover, Poseidon. Another mythological pederastic couple also is associated with Olympia: Zeus and Ganymede, represented at Olympia by a terracotta sculptural group of ca. 470 (Fig. 18),[63] the time of the inception of the temple, and by numerous images of the couple dedicated near the Pelopion (Paus. 5.24.5).

The earliest votives seem intended for Zeus; worship of Hera may not have begun until the sixth century. Serwint (1993, pp. 405–406) summarizes challenges to the traditional founding date of 776 B.C. for the Olympic games and notes that recent scholarship, on the basis of fill from wells near the stadium, places the founding in 704 B.C. Cf. Mallwitz (1988, pp. 96–101), who dates the inception of the games ca. 704 but that of the cult to the Protogeometric period, at the latest.

57. Scanlon 1988, p. 240.

58. Noted by Scanlon (1988, p. 243).

59. Perysinakis 1990.

60. Hera was worshiped elsewhere, e.g., at Argos, through rituals flavored with military overtones, such as military processions and contests for which armor was awarded as prizes: Pind. *Nem.* 10.22–23. See Burkert 1983, p. 163, for further references.

61. Barringer 2001, pp. 32–46, with further bibliography; Golden 1998, pp. 23–28; Scanlon 1988, pp. 235–238.

62. E.g., Stehle and Day 1996, p. 105; Tersini 1987, p. 140; Stewart 1983, p. 134.

63. Olympia Museum T2.



Figure 18. Zeus and Ganymede, terracotta group, ca. 470 B.C. Olympia Museum T2. Photo H. R. Goette

Both pederastic pairs are mentioned in Pindar's *Olympian* 1.40–45, in which Pindar describes Pelops's victory over Oinomaos. To explain Poseidon's intervention on behalf of Pelops, Pindar describes Poseidon's love for the boy and his consequent abduction of him to Mount Olympos, which he compares to Zeus's love for, and abduction of, Ganymede.

The mythological theme of pederasty had a real-life counterpart at Olympia, where youthful male competitors raced, boxed, wrestled, and so on, in the nude, before a largely male audience, who enjoyed this display of potential *eromenoi;* Pindar says of one victor, "What a shout as he walked amid the circle of onlookers, young and noble in achievement as in looks!"[64] The combination of athletics and pederasty is common enough in ancient Greek cities: Athens, for example, provides ample evidence that the *gymnasion* was a chief locus of pederastic activity, and the Dorian cities, of which Olympia is one, included pederasty together with athletics as part of military training.[65] The Olympic competitors' nudity, a tradition established perhaps by the Archaic period,[66] may ultimately derive from Dorian initiation rituals that required young men to strip off their clothes in order to attain adult warrior status.[67]

Considering the assemblage of themes discussed thus far—athletics, military activities, and pederasty—the myth of Pelops's armed chariot race with Oinomaos in which Pelops is aided by divine horses given to him by his erstwhile lover Poseidon is particularly apt for this temple to Zeus,

64. *Ol.* 9.94; cf. fr. 123.10–12 (ed. F. Nisetich, Baltimore, 1980). On this subject, see also Steiner 1998; and on nudity and Greek athletics, see Bonfante 1989; Crowther 1982.

65. Barringer 2001, pp. 113–114.

66. Contra: Crowther 1982.

67. Bonfante 1989, pp. 551–554. Scanlon (2002) is skeptical that the Olympic games served as an initiation for males (pp. 38–39), and doubts that the Spartan *paideia* derives from a common Dorian practice (p. 77), but acknowledges the connection among initiation, pederasty, and athletics (p. 97). He also notes the Spartan practice of encouraging a hetero/homosexual attraction between athletes and spectators (p. 78).



Figure 19. Temple of Zeus, east pediment, Hippodameia (K). Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette

lover of Ganymede and a chief deity at Olympia, the site where nude young men competed before the eyes of an admiring male audience.

A consideration of Hippodameia and of the role of women at Olympia, both as athletic competitors and spectators, yields further levels of meaning from the east pediment. The aim of Pelops's armed chariot race was marriage with Hippodameia, whom scholars now identify with the figure on the east pediment plucking at her peplos (K; Figs. 3, 19); this gesture is associated with the *anakalypteria,* the moment in the Greek wedding ceremony when a bride lifts her veil and reveals herself to her husband.[68] In Greek iconography, the gesture signals "bride" or "female sexual partner," and so is appropriate in this context.[69] Because athletic contests between a male suitor and the father of the bride, or among the suitors themselves, are a common feature in Greek myth, the ancient Greek viewer of the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus would have understood the chariot race myth not only as an athletic/military *agon* between male competitors but also as a prenuptial contest for the suitor to win the girl.

The mythological prenuptial race represented by the myth of Pelops had a real-life counterpart at Olympia with one dramatic difference. The Heraia was an athletic event for girls that was probably instituted by the early sixth century B.C. at the latest and is described only by Pausanias (5.16.2–4).[70] He relates that this footrace was founded by Hippodameia, that it took place every four years (a parallel to the male games founded by Pelops), and that the girls ran with one breast bare.[71] Scholars interpret the Heraia as a prenuptial rite of passage designed to advance girls to marriageable status,[72] governed by Hera, who was honored by this event, and suggest that Sparta, where females exercised and danced naked in initiation rites, may have been the inspiration for the partial female nudity in the Heraia, as may have been true for the male events.[73] Just as a male suitor would compete athletically to win a wife, the girls in the Heraia also may have competed athletically to advance to a marriageable state.

Pausanias does not report who the spectators of the Heraia were, but he does relate that the Olympic athletic games, the male events, were viewed not only by men but also by virgin women, and that the only married woman permitted was the priestess of Demeter Chamyne (5.6.7,

68. E.g., Simon 1968, pp. 148–149, with discussion of previous scholarship. On earlier efforts to identify this figure and the suggestion that she is Sterope, a possibility that no longer holds weight, see Säflund 1970, p. 12 and passim.

69. Säflund (1970, p. 42) reports that Floriani Squarciapino, in 1955, pointed out that Hippodameia's gesture with her veil links her to Hera, who is often characterized by the same gesture.

70. On the parallels between the Heraia and the Olympic games, see Scanlon 2002, pp. 111–112; Golden 1998, pp. 129–131; des Bouvrie 1995; Scanlon 1984. *Stadia* for girls also existed elsewhere in the Classical period; see, e.g., Dillon 2000; Serwint 1993, pp. 417–419. On the date, see Scanlon 2002, pp. 110–117; Serwint (1993, pp. 405–406) summarizes previous scholarship.

71. The girls may have worn a man's *exomis* (Serwint 1993, pp. 416–422; followed by Scanlon [2002, p. 108]), although Scanlon (1984, pp. 79–81) had earlier suggested a short chiton such as those worn by Amazons, Spartan girls, and participants in the Arkteia. Serwint (1993, pp. 407–408, fig. 1) and others (e.g., Scanlon 2002, pp. 101–102, 116) associate two statues of female runners, a Lakonian(?) bronze statuette (London, British Museum 208) and a Roman marble copy (Vatican, Museo Pio-Clementino 2784), with participants in the Heraia.

72. E.g., Scanlon 2002, pp. 98–99, 101, 119–120; Dillon 2000, p. 460; Clark 1998, p. 21; des Bouvrie 1995, pp. 62–63. Cf. Calame 1997, pp. 115–116; Serwint 1993, pp. 418–422; Scanlon 1984, pp. 79, 83–85, 90.

73. Scanlon 2002, pp. 101–107, 111; Bonfante 1989, p. 559.

6.20.9).[74] Ancient literary sources suggest, and modern scholars speculate, that virgin women viewed athletes as potential husbands and evaluated them accordingly.[75] Perhaps men viewed the female participants in the Heraia in the same way;[76] their partial nudity suggests not merely the athletically gifted Amazons, who were often portrayed in art with one breast bared,[77] but also the male Olympians, who were fully nude when they competed. In other words, the girls' bared breasts in the Heraia may be an instance of a token gesture of nudity. If the assessment of potential husbands took place at Olympia, as ancient sources suggest, then Pelops offered a model of enviable husband material to the ancient female spectator, who could identify with Hippodameia. Male viewers would have seen Pelops as an exemplar of heroic and martial prowess.[78]

WEST PEDIMENT

The west pediment (Figs. 2, 7, 9), with its heroes and nuptial context, is firmly linked to the east pediment and to other themes explored above, but the heroes and location of the Centauromachy seem an odd choice for Olympia, since the myth takes place in Thessaly, where Perithoos, king of the Lapiths, and Theseus, an Athenian hero, led the Lapith men to defeat the unruly Centaurs at Perithoos's wedding.[79] In order to explain this choice of myth, some scholars posit that the west pediment offers a local variant of the Centauromachy myth, and Joachim Heiden recently has argued that a genealogical link between the Thessalian Lapiths and the Eleans makes this myth particularly apt for the temple.[80]

74. Both Aelian (*NA* 5.17) and Philostratos (*Gymnasticus* 17) indicate that women were excluded from watching the games, but make no exceptions for unmarried women. Dillon (2000) responds to criticism of the accuracy of Pausanias's text and argues that the exclusion of married women derives from a myth concerning Hippodameia after her marriage (Paus. 6.20.7). Burkert (1983, p. 100) rightly points out that the presence of a representative of Demeter at Olympia unites Pelops, Zeus, and Demeter, who were joined in the myth of Tantalos's infanticide.

75. E.g., Pind. *Pyth.* 9.97–100; Achilles Tatius 1.18. Dillon 2000, pp. 458, 461–462, 468; Steiner 1998, pp. 140–143. On the Pindar passage, see, e.g., Perysinakis 1990, pp. 43–44; and, more generally on the ode and its association of wedding and athletics, Carson 1982.

76. Men certainly watched Spartan girls exercise in the nude. See Dillon (2000, pp. 465–466), who also notes that Plut. *Mor.* 249d attests suitors on Keos watching *parthenoi* engaged in sports and dances but does not mention nudity. Indeed, Dillon goes so far as to claim that female athletics were a Dorian feature (p. 466).

77. As inspired by the Heraia runners, according to Scanlon (2002, p. 108).

78. Stehle and Day (1996, p. 105) maintain that Hippodameia and Pelops are counterparts: both are heroic patrons of athletics and revered as such by women and men, respectively.

79. Perithoos is sometimes claimed as Athenian, e.g., *Il.* 1.263.

80. Heiden 2003. Lapalus (1947, p. 171) accepts the myth depicted on the west pediment as Thessalian, but cites Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's idea that the pediment portrays the Centaurs of Mount Pholoe attacking the daughters of Dexamenos (p. 171, n. 2); Holloway (1967, pp. 97–98) refutes Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's proposal. Barron (1972, pp. 26–33), Robertson (1975, pp. 280–281), and others suggest that the sculptor took his inspiration from the Centauromachy painted in the 470s B.C. in the Theseion in Athens (see Paus. 1.17.2–3), basing the claim on compositional similarities between Athenian vase paintings of the subject and the Olympia pediment. They do not consider the possibility that the Olympia pediment may have been the initial source for both vase and wall paintings; it is remarkable that the Olympia pediment is the first depiction of the myth to include women, who thereafter appear in the same context in Athenian vase painting (see below, n. 88). Even if the Olympia pediment relies on an Athenian original for its composition, it clearly adapts and appends local references to suit its Olympian context. Raschke (1988, p. 46) raises other connections between Athens and the Olympia sculptures, but omits an important possible link: Hippodameia is not only Oinomaos's daughter but is also named an Athenian, daughter of Butes in some cases, though it should be noted that this is a late tradition. See *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 440, s.v. Hippodameia II (E. Simon).



Figure 20. Temple of Zeus, metope of Herakles cleaning the Augean stables. Olympia Museum.
Photo H. R. Goette

An interpretation of the west pediment that stresses local relevance is persuasive. Local flavor seems to have been the inspiration for the inclusion of Herakles' Augean stables labor in the east metopes of the temple (Figs. 4, 5, 20): this Elean story had never appeared before in Greek art, and its first written attestation is Pindar, *Olympian* 10.28, composed ca. 476 B.C.[81] Furthermore, the east pediment's myth, and its adjacent figures of seers and rivers, are closely connected to local concerns. The two chief protagonists of the Thessalian Centauromachy myth, Perithoos and Theseus (K, M; Fig. 2), also have close ties to figures honored at Olympia: ancient authors name Perithoos as the son of Zeus (*Il.* 2.741, 14.317–318; Paus. 5.10.8) and Theseus as the great-grandson of Pelops (Plut. *Thes.* 3.1; Paus. 5.10.9).[82]

Although the Centauromachy is attested as early as the Homeric poems and appears on earlier small objects and Attic vases, such as the François Vase of ca. 570,[83] it is noteworthy that its appearance on the Olympia pediment is the first instance of its use as architectural sculpture; on such a large scale, this melee between humans and Centaurs must have been arresting.[84] Elean designers could have chosen to depict something

81. Robertson 1975, pp. 273–274. See also Pimpinelli (1994, pp. 398–403), who interprets the myth as a political statement; and Geertman 1982, p. 76.

82. A further connection might be drawn between Theseus's Sikyonian origin and the fact that the Sikyonians claimed to possess Pelops's sword (Paus. 6.19.6).

83. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209 (*ABV* 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena* 29; *Beazley Addenda*[2] 21). Also on a bronze relief of ca. 650–625 B.C. from Olympia (Mallwitz and Herrmann 1980, pp. 77–78, no. 42). See also *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 671–721, s.v. Kentauroi et Kentaurides (M. Leventopoulou et al.).

84. The equine nature of both pediments is noteworthy, as is Hippodameia's name ("horse tamer") and the fact that Perithoos's wife is sometimes named as Hippodameia, too (e.g., *Il.* 2.742). The importance of horses and chariot racing at Olympia was not limited to the fifth century; the numerous bronze dedications of horses at Olympia date back to the Geometric period. Mallwitz (1988, pp. 81–85) notes that all such votives were damaged, which is unusual for bronzes. It is also remarkable that a number of divinities honored at Olympia are linked to horses by means of the suffix -hippios/-hippia (see Paus. 5.15.5–6). See also Lacroix (1976, pp. 330–331), who points out the importance of horses to Elis and their connection with Hippodameia's name.

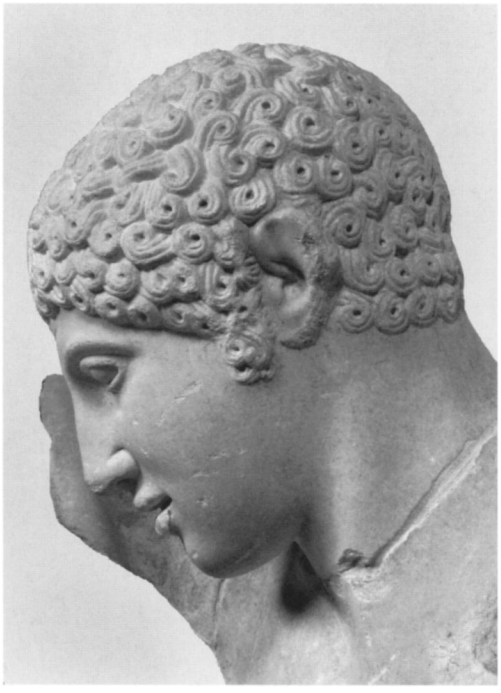


Figure 21. Temple of Zeus, west pediment, Lapith (Q). Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette

different, such as the Gigantomachy, which appears repeatedly as architectural sculpture on earlier buildings including the Megarian Treasury of ca. 550 at Olympia and the Temple of Apollo at Delphi of ca. 510. But the Gigantomachy emphasizes divine power, not the achievements of heroes—except for those of Herakles, whose presence was required for the gods' victory. The Centauromachy, by contrast, is purely in the human realm, and stresses human achievement; although Apollo appears on the Olympia pediment, he only directs action, and does not participate in the fight. Compositional elements reinforce the association with the human realm: Wendy Raschke points out that the tangled poses of Centaurs wrestling with Lapith men echo actual wrestling holds that would have been familiar to the Olympic athletes,[85] and, as Paul Rehak observes, one Lapith has a distinctive cauliflower ear (Fig. 21), a common injury in boxing and wrestling, which differs from the normal ears of the Lapith youths on the pediment.[86] Such references invited the athletes to see themselves in the heroic Lapiths.[87]

Other aspects of this portrayal of the Centauromachy are "firsts" that may be adaptations to local concerns. The Lapith women (E, H, O, R; Fig. 2) play an unusually prominent role here: to my knowledge, they are not present in any earlier depictions of the myth. In addition, several of the Lapith women (E, H, R) have one breast bared (see Figs. 22, 23), an innovation that may have been designed to remind the ancient viewer of

85. Raschke 1988, pp. 42–43; their familiarity would most likely have come from contemporary works of art. Raschke views Apollo to be acting as athletic judge, but this seems to go too far.

86. Rehak 1998, p. 199.

87. By contrast, Raschke (1988, pp. 41–45) takes the view that the statues on the temple are meant to emulate statues of Olympic victors in the Altis.

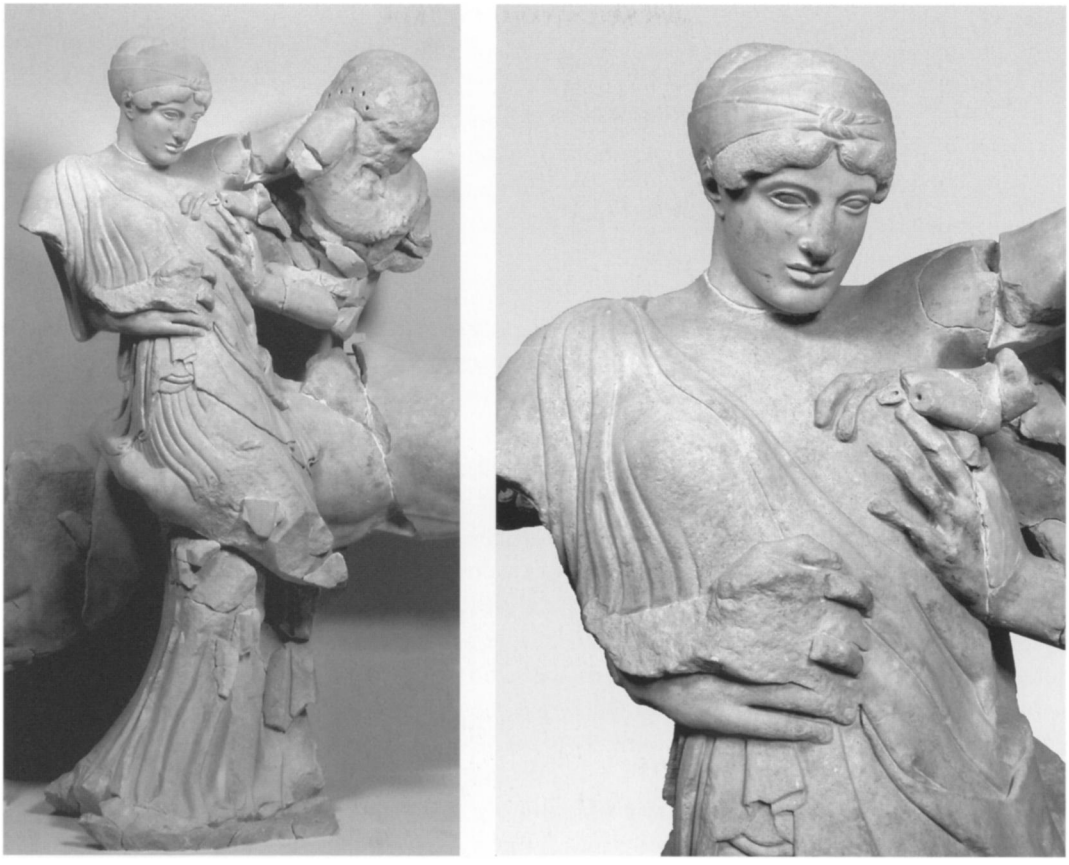


Figure 22. Temple of Zeus, west pediment, Lapith woman (H). Olympia Museum. Photos H. R. Goette

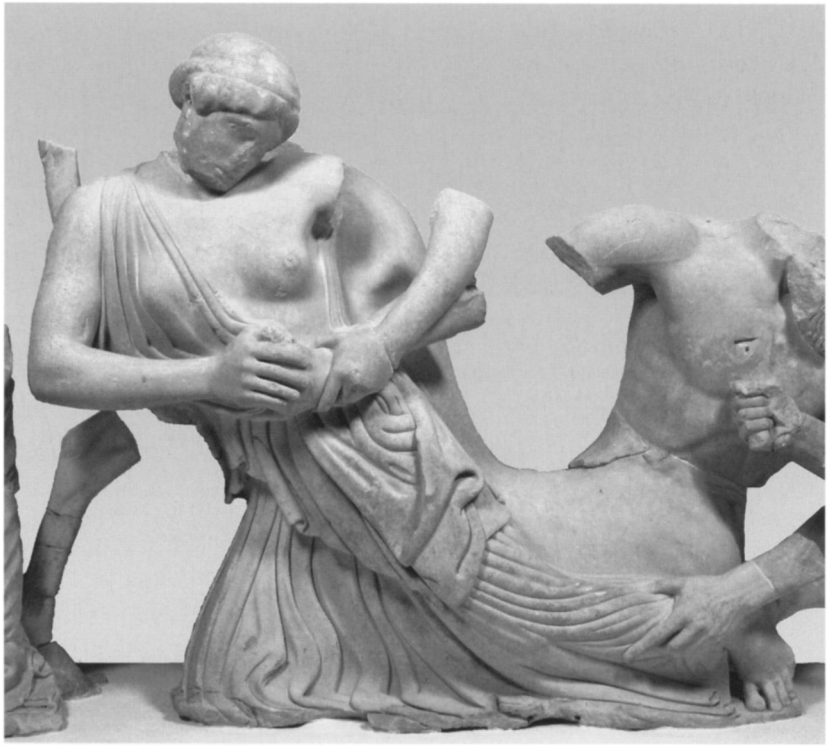


Figure 23. Temple of Zeus, west pediment, Lapith woman (R). Olympia Museum. Photo H. R. Goette

the competitors in the Heraia.[88] The presence of the Lapith women appealed to the ancient viewer, who easily would be reminded of the women at Olympia who were participants in the Heraia and spectators at the male games, women who were elevated to marriageable status in the former venue and were perhaps seeking husbands in the latter. Although the Lapith women do not seek husbands, they are assaulted by the Centaurs at a wedding and are defended by the heroic, athletic Lapiths, overseen by the god Apollo (L; Fig. 2).

Apollo's commanding presence in the west pediment is remarkable, and although he appears elsewhere at Olympia, as attested by statues and an altar, and Pausanias (5.7.10) credits him with Olympic victories, he is absent from all other written and visual accounts of the Centauromachy. His presence may well be a reference to the oracle he established at Olympia (Pind. *Ol.* 6.64–67),[89] and here he exhorts the Lapiths to behave heroically by behaving athletically, like Olympic athletes, a point emphasized by the depiction of recognizable wrestling holds. In sum, the west pediment addresses the male spectator, offering examples of courageous and heroic behavior. Rather than a negative exemplum,[90] the west pediment, read together with the east pediment, was intended to be an inspiring exhortation to the Olympic athletes: "Successful athletes, who behave like heroes such as Pelops, Theseus, and Perithoos, will win honor, glory, and wives not by violence like the Centaurs but by athletic prowess and martial honor in both types of *agones.* Win, and win honorably, and all will be yours." *Nike,* not *dike,* seems more prominent in the minds of the Eleans, victors over Pisa, and patrons of this temple, an interest also reflected in the gilt Nike (or Victory) and gilt cauldrons that once crowned the roof as akroteria (Paus. 5.10.4)[91] and in the Nike held in Zeus's hand within the cella (Paus. 5.11.1).[92]

METOPES

Like the pediments, the metopes (Figs. 4–6, 20) include local elements and offered a model of heroic behavior to the ancient viewer, especially to Olympic athletes. Herakles' twelve labors are set in both Peloponnesian and distant locales,[93] choices suited to a Panhellenic sanctuary, the site of

88. Pausanias says that competitors in the Heraia had their right breasts bared, whereas the Lapith women of the sculpted Centauromachy have their left breasts exposed. However, Pausanias's ambiguous use of right and left in describing the pediments, already noted, may explain this discrepancy. Even if the choice of breast bared did differ, I think the association would have been made. One Attic red-figure column krater of ca. 470–460 by the Florence Painter (Florence, Museo Archeologico 81268/3997) also portrays a female victim of the Centauromachy with a bared breast. Its reverse carries a *komos.* See *ARV*^{2} 541, no. 1; *Paralipomena* 385; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 256; *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 685, no. 171, s.v. Kentauroi et Kentaurides (M. Leventopoulou et al.). The motif of the Lapith women's bared breasts turns up again later on the south metopes of the Parthenon, where sometimes the left breast, sometimes the right, is bared; see Brommer 1967, pls. 150–152, 197, 198, 200, 201, 209 (where both breasts are bared), 224–228.

89. Sinn 1994, pp. 596–598; 1991, pp. 50–51.

90. E.g., des Bouvrie (1995, pp. 66–67) views the west pediment as an inversion of social order, designed to emphasize the opposite of such inversion, the institution of marriage.

91. Probably added later; see Robertson 1975, pp. 284–290, for a discussion of date and authorship.

92. See Lapatin (2001, pp. 84–85), who briefly discusses the importance of Nike in the iconography of the Zeus statue and posits that many of the myths incorporated in the Pheidian image at Olympia concern the punishment of *hubris.*

93. On the geographical distribution of the labors, see Pimpinelli 1994, pp. 379, 405–410, and passim; Geertman 1982, pp. 74–75.

Panhellenic games, and visitors and votives from all over Greece.[94] Herakles clearly provided an athletic model to the Olympic athlete; he was especially famed for his skills in running (Paus. 5.7.7), wrestling, and the *pankration* (Paus. 5.8.4).[95] Some of the metopes depict Herakles in the manner of contemporary athletes,[96] showing, for example, his cauliflower ear in the Nemean lion metope,[97] and numerous metopes portray him physically engaged with his opponent in activities that recall Olympic events, such as wrestling—with the Cretan bull and the Keryneian hind—and slaying the Hydra, whose ever-renewing heads, another popping up as soon as one is dispatched, require darting, quick movements that recall boxing skills or the like to cauterize the stumps. Pausanias (6.5.5–6) offers explicit written evidence for the model that Herakles provided the Olympic athlete when he states that the athlete Polydamas, victor in the *pankration* and other events, was inspired by Herakles' exploit against the Nemean lion, and, like Herakles, also had an adventure with a bull.[98]

The hero's aging appearance over the series of metopes, moving from unbearded youth to bearded, full-bodied adult, may reflect the Olympic athlete's coming of age. Herakles also offers the promise of immortality to his most disciplined imitators, for it was the successful completion of Herakles' physically taxing labors that assured his apotheosis to live among the gods after his death.

Of course, mortal athletes could not achieve actual immortality, but sought everlasting *kleos,*[99] and the Olympic victors got it. Victors at the Olympic games enjoyed a renown unmatched in the ancient Greek world: it was the most prestigious of the Panhellenic games (Pind. *Ol.* 1.1–7), the victory most coveted, and it had a profound effect on the rest of the victors' lives. Panhellenic victors, particularly those who won at Olympia, commemorated their victories by erecting statues in the sanctuary, and athletic victors received various extraordinary honors when they returned home, such as free meals for life, a front seat at the games or in the theater, public praise in the form of commissioned poems, and a public statue.[100] Crown victors were also singled out to found colonies (see, e.g., Paus. 3.14.3). Pindar, *Olympian* 1.97–99, tells us: "And for the rest of his life, the victor enjoys a honey-sweet calm, so much as games can provide it."[101] Some Panhellenic victors even enjoyed hero shrines and sacrifice after their deaths,[102] and victors and their statues also were thought to possess

94. See Holloway 1967, pp. 99–101.

95. Herakles' mares were also victorious in the Olympic games, according to Pausanias (5.8.3).

96. Pimpinelli 1994, p. 354; Raschke 1988, pp. 43–44.

97. Pimpinelli 1994, p. 353.

98. Mackey (2002) has recently demonstrated a more general identification between Herakles and athletes in Attic vase paintings from the middle of the sixth century B.C. onward, which portray both Herakles and athletes, especially wrestlers, with the same unusual short hair.

99. See Raschke 1988, pp. 43, 47.

100. Evidence for the meals is preserved in, e.g., *IG* I^3 131, an Athenian decree of ca. 430. On the extraordinary stature of athletic victors, see Kurke 1993, where citations are also provided. She points out that both at Olympia and in the athletes' hometowns, praise and the metaphorical crowning of the athletic victor were reiterated and reenacted each time the inscription on the commemorative statue was read aloud. See also Steiner 1998; Lattimore 1988; and, for the statues, Raschke 1988.

101. Trans. W. H. Race, Cambridge, Mass., 1997.

102. This was especially true of athletes in south Italy and Sicily, but is also attested for others, including Theagenes of Thasos, Olympic victor of 480 and 476 (see Lattimore 1988, p. 250, for the dates), who is said to have won 1,200 or 1,400 athletic victories (Dio Chrys. 31.95–97; Paus. 6.11). The Olympic victor Philippos of Croton (ca. 520) was honored by Egesta with a hero shrine erected on his tomb where he was worshiped after his death (Hdt. 5.47).

magical properties, including the power to sicken, to heal, and to award athletic victories to their hometowns.[103] The victors in the Olympic *stadion,* in fact, gave their names to the calendar year. The losers, on the other hand, went home to public humiliation.[104]

Some of the best evidence for this quest for everlasting *kleos* comes from Pindar's victory odes. In *Olympian* 6.9–11, for example, he emphasizes the necessity of risk for a success to have any significance: "A deed done without danger, hand to hand or aboard the hollow ships, lacks glory but men remember if someone dares and wins."[105] Elsewhere (e.g., *Ol.* 2.95–100; *Pyth.* 1.82–84), the poet warns that athletic success and the consequent praise may yield envy or *hubris,* which can disrupt the community and occlude the victor's achievement.[106] As evidence for this concern with the envy of others, it was decreed at Olympia in the second half of the fifth century B.C. that only a three-time Olympic victor could erect, or have erected for him, a statue at Olympia (Plin. *HN* 34.16) and that it could not be over life-size—one can only imagine what had come before![107] One might argue that this decree and Pindar's treatment of envy and *hubris* support interpretations of the temple sculptures as warnings against hubristic behavior.

But certainly this is too one-sided a view. Both Pindar's epinicians and the site of Olympia itself were celebrations of glory and human achievement, both on the battlefield and fairly won on the racing track. If the temple were truly meant to speak about *hubris* and *dike,* one would expect to see images and myths illustrative only of *hubris* and its inevitable, inescapable punishment. Instead, the Temple of Zeus offers a much more nuanced collection of themes, including Herakles' labors; the heroic actions of Perithoos and Theseus overseen by the prime example of youthful, masculine, nude beauty, Apollo; and the preparations for the event that will lead Pelops to marriage, founding the games, athletic glory, and eternal *kleos.* To be sure, *hubris* is present in both the Centaurs' and Oinomaos's actions, but this is not all there is and is not the dominant chord. To speak only of *dike* is to see only the gods and to miss the glory and *arete* of the heroes. Details of the sculptures and their protagonists—the prominent inclusion of women in the Centauromachy and their bared breasts; the presence of the episode of the Augean stables; the entwined familial relationships of Pelops, Herakles, Perithoos, and Zeus; and, of course, the

103. Pausanias (6.11.8–9) tells us that statues of Theagenes of Thasos, the Olympic victor already cited, were set up in many places, where they were worshiped and could heal the sick. Theagenes' statues were not unique in their perceived ability to heal, and cities are recorded to have appeased Olympic victors' statues or to have erected statues because the deceased victor was believed to have *caused* disease or famine or to have withheld athletic victories from a given city. Once victory statues became standard, in the fifth century, cities began to erect statues to Olympic victors of the *past;* such gestures were clearly politically motivated in some instances and attest to the power and prestige accorded to both the victor and his city. Oibatas of Dyme, who won the Olympic *stadion* in 756, is said to have withheld victory from his city until, in 460, on the advice of the Delphic oracle, they erected a statue to him at Olympia (Paus. 6.3.8; 7.17.6–7, 13–14). See Lattimore 1988; Raschke 1988.

104. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* 8.85–87, where losers cannot even earn a smile or laughter from their mothers; *Ol.* 8.65–69 and fr. 229 (ed. W. H. Race, Cambridge, Mass., 1997). See also Perysinakis 1990, p. 48.

105. Trans. F. Nisetich, Baltimore, 1980.

106. On Pindar's treatment of this theme, see Steiner 1998, pp. 144–146.

107. See Steiner 1998, pp. 124–126; and Raschke (1988, p. 39), who interprets the three-victory rule as a concern with the heroization that was implied by statues erected to individuals.

myth of Pelops's race itself—glorify the participants, and encouraged ancient viewers to draw connections between what they saw in the sculptures and what went on around them at Olympia. As athletes gazed up at the sculptures on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, they would have seen heroic models for their own mortal *agon.* Yet Olympic victors would have achieved a glory that far outlasted their mortal bodies, one that was closer to Herakles' immortality. In *Pythian* 1.83–84, Pindar states that "hearing others extolled rouses secret hatred."[108] But he also goes on to say[109]

> . . . nevertheless since envy is better than pity, do not pass over any noble things. . . . Do not be deceived . . . by shameful gains, for the posthumous acclaim of fame alone reveals the life of men who are dead and gone to both chroniclers and poets. . . . Success is the first of prizes. To be well spoken of is second. But he who finds them both and keeps them wins the highest crown.

108. Trans. F. Nisetich, Baltimore, 1980.

109. I adapt the translations by F. Nisetich (Baltimore, 1980) and W. H. Race (Cambridge, Mass., 1997). Lee (1983, pp. 34–35) points out that Pindar stresses the mortality of the athletes he celebrates, yet I think the poems themselves indicate that Pindar was well aware of the lasting power of fame and human achievement.

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Male-Female Interaction in Fifth-Century Dionysiac Ritual as Shown in Attic Vase Painting
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MALE-FEMALE INTERACTION IN FIFTH-CENTURY DIONYSIAC RITUAL AS SHOWN IN ATTIC VASE PAINTING

In studies of the history of ancient Greek religion the iconographic evidence has not been explored as systematically as the literary and inscriptional sources. In the case of the cult of Dionysus, the abundant Hellenistic and Roman pictorial materials have been the subject of a number of catalogues and studies, the latter mainly aiming at clarifying specific iconographical details.[1] Yet it is archaic and classical Greek art, specifically Attic vase paintings from the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., which constitutes the potentially most fruitful area of inquiry, because this art was produced during the period of the cult's most important development. What is more, for this epoch in the religion's history the artifacts are our only significant source of information; they antedate the earliest major literary source, the Bacchae of Euripides, by some fifty to a hundred years.[2] It is the purpose of this essay to present some of the late archaic and early classical vase paintings featuring Dionysiac themes, and to try to extract from them an explanation of the religion's extraordinary success and longevity into later ages.

During all phases of the history of Dionysus' cult, the god's various domains were fairly sharply segregated along sexual lines. As patron of the theater he governed a cultural activity which was originally all male and continued to be male-dominated until the disappearance of the religion. Certain ritual activities within the cult, on the other hand, at all times were primarily a women's affair. In this sphere the god's foremost persona was that of the Gynaimanes, the god connected with the madness of women, or as Ross Kraemer has translated the epithet: "He who drives women mad".[3]

The period here under investigation, that of the rise of Athens to political power and cultural preeminence, saw both the birth of tragedy, and the development of Dionysiac ritual into the standardized practices which were later to be imitated and domesticated whereever in the Mediterranean

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1) On the iconography of Dionysiac sarcophagi see R.Turcan, Les Sarcophages romains a représentations Dionysiaques, Paris 1966; Friedrich Matz, Die Dionysischen Sarkophage, 4 vols., (Berlin 1968-75); on specific details E.Keuls, "The Ass in the Cult of Dionysus as a Symbol of Toil and Suffering", Anthropological Journal of Canada 8 (1970) 26-46; Herbert Hoffmann, "Ubrin Orthian Knodalon", Festschrift J.Thimme, (Mainz 1983).

2) For the relationship of the Bacchae to cult practices see E.R.Dodds, Euripides' Bacchae² (Oxford 1960), Introduction; idem, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley) 1951, Appendix; C.Segal, Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae (Princeton 1982). H.Oranje, The Bacchae of Euripides: The Play and the Audience (Leiden 1983), was not available to me.

3) "Ecstacy and Possession" HThR 72 (1979) 64.

the Attic influence spread. The two spheres, that of the tragic stage and that of Dionysiac rites, had one thing in common: both featured dramatic scenarios of male-female interaction as their principal core. This view of classical tragedy cannot be further developed here.[4] Instead, I intend to present the pictorial evidence supporting the view of the Dionysiac cult as centered around male-female confrontation.

As Dionysus' epithet Gynaimanes indicates, at least for the women participants, his ritual was essentially an ecstatic one. On the nature and social function of ecstatic cults much light has been thrown, especially in recent years, by anthropologists. I.M.Lewis, in a classic study of madness rituals among peoples ranging from the Haitians to Moslem Arabic tribes of North Africa, has highlighted the two key elements these phenomena have in common:[5]

They provide a licensed and controllable outlet for the pent-up hostilities and other frustrations of suppressed classes of the population. The participant is represented to others as well as to him or herself, as possessed of a supernatural spirit and hence freed of the normal censorship of his or her behavior.

Secondly, the ecstatic rituals are heavily dependent on the principle of role reversal, a widely attested mechanism for emotional relief in general, and also the topic of much current anthropological research.[6]

It is hardly surprising that rituals of ecstasy are practiced primarily by women, who tend to be suppressed in many societies. It is Ophelia who goes mad, not Hamlet. Where Lewis found men involved in rites of madness, they invariably constituted an underprivileged group: they were ethnic minorities, former slaves, or other social outcasts.

Given the structure of fifth-century Attic society, the most salient aspect of which was a division between the sexes, the Maenadic phenomenon of the age may be viewed as falling largely within the universal patterns for ecstatic practices; only women were afflicted by or, perhaps I should say, engaged in licensed madness, and the tensions which the rituals were intended to relieve appear to be exclusively those of sex antagonism. Attic ecstatic ritual, however, had one feature which to my knowledge has no parallel among other peoples: it confronted non-theatrical figures, the maenads who act in their own personae, with theatrical ones, the satyrs, who are disguised and playing a part.[7]

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4) For that view of tragedy see E.C.Keuls, The Reign of the Phallus: Sex and Aggression in Ancient Athens, Ch.13, forthcoming (London/New York) 1984.

5) Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism (Harmondsworth 1971).

6) See Edward Norbeck, "The Anthropological Study of Human Play", Rice University Studies 60 (1974) 1-8. On ritual as licensed rebellion: Max Gluckman, Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society (Chicago 1965); idem, Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa (Manchester 1954).

7) On the iconography of Maenadism; L.Lawler, "The Maenads: A Contribution

Acceptance of this view of Dionysiac ritual as ecstatic gives rise to a new question. If, as here maintained, late sixth-and fifth-century Maenadism functioned as what may be termed an emotional safety valve, a therapeutic practice through which women were allowed to vent frustrations which otherwise would have been unbearable, how is it that its rites were avidly perpetuated by later societies, beginning with that of fourth-century Athens, in which sex polarization was considerably mitigated, and where tolerable sex-role patterns replaced the frenetic ones of the Periclean age? The answer to this question, which I am here proposing, is almost entirely derived from vase painting: I argue that there was a second major facet to fifth-century Dionysiac religion. It not only offered relief from the tensions and antagonisms arising from the existing patriarchal system, but it also actively promoted the concept of harmonious conjugal life, possibly the only classical Attic institution to do so. Eventually the matrimonial aspects of the cult overshadowed the ecstatic ones.

But first to the rites of antagonism, as evidenced by the vase paintings. These rituals engage primarily three categories of participants: Maenads, satyrs and the god Dionysus himself. I cannot enlarge here on the perennial question as to who is real and who is fictitious in this configuration. Dionysus himself is of course the product of the imagination. It is my opinion that both the maenads and the satyrs are "real", i.e. participants in an actual ritual, with that significant difference that the satyrs are theatrical, that is playing a role, whereas the maenads are undisguised, albeit dressed in ritual garb. The satyr costume prohibits any speculation as to the social status of the male participants, but the women, under their fawn-skins, are generally dressed like the figures in scenes of the gynaikonitis and appear to belong to the citizen class.

The conventional attributes of the maenads are familiar enough. The well-known kylix by Hieron and Makron in Figure 1 (Taf.XVII) shows most of the standard poses and paraphernalia of these raving women. The thyrsoi, the musical instruments, the lively, but regulated dance movements, most of the traditional elements are there. In this case there is also a scene of worshipful attendance to what is no doubt a sacred chest or cista mystica containing

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to the Study of the Dance in Ancient Greece"; Memoirs Aca Rome 6 (1927) 69-112; H.Phillipart, "Iconographie des Bacchantes d'Euripide", Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire 9 (1930) 5-72; N.W.Edwards, "Representations of Maenads on archaic red-figured Vases", JHS 80 (1960) 78-87; E.Simon, article "Menadi", EAA IV (1961); Riemer R.Knoop, The Antefixes from Satricum in the Villa Giulia, Unpubl. diss. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam 1981; Jean-Louis Durand and Françoise Frontisi-Ducraix, "Idoles, figures, images; Autour de Dionysos", RA 1982, 83-108. Recent Studies of maenadism in genera→ A.Henrichs, "Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina". HSCP 82 (1978) 121-160; idem, "Changing Dionysiac Identities", in B.F.Meyer and E.P.Sanders (edd.), Jewish and Christian Self-Definition III: Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World (London/Philadelphia 1982) 137-160.

ritual objects, placed at the foot of the stele statue of the god Dionysus. A smaller version of this object, incidentally, recurs in later Apulian iconography as a symbol of marriage cum initiation.[8] The women are handsomely gowned and give an impression of prosperity and privilege.

Of importance for the institutionalized nature of maenadism is the kalyx-krater in Ferrara in Figure 2 (Taf. XVII). It depicts a maenadic ritual which continues around the entire vase and includes most of its typical elements and symbols: the thyrsos, the snake-handling, the animal of the sparagmos, the wild dance, the flute and cymbals, all the necessary ingredients are included. One side, however, features a rare motif, namely two little girls of different ages, trying to imitate the movements of their elders. They are apprentice mad-women, so to speak. There is a certain theatricality about many of these scenes, and I would not be surprised if the whole and lacerated animals wielded by maenads were sometimes theatrical props, made out of wood. A pelike in Berlin Fig. 3 (Taf. XVII) shows a woman, dancing and manipulating an animal leg, to the music of a flutist dressed in a long theatrical robe. Were it not for the fact that the dancer is a real women, and not an actor disguised as one, we could have interpreted this as a dramatic scene. There is blood flowing from the severed limb, but this could possibly be the fruit of the vase painter's creative imagination.

The majority of the maenadic vase paintings include one or more satyrs and there is generally some element of sexual hostility between satyrs and maenads, at least in the red-figured specimens, but never any consummated rape. The satyrs with their simian faces, bald masks and animal's tails and ears, are creatures of an entirely different ilk from their maenad companions. They are theatrical impersonations of what anthropologists call "man's basal primate urges": hunger, sex and self-preservation. Their mythological activities spread far beyond their contact with maenads, which is but one episode in their career. Satyrs are key elements in a number of Dionysiac rituals in which maenads normally do not participate, such as those connected with the wine production, and the satyr play, essentially a farce in which these raunchy creatures inject themselves into the earnest enactment of traditional myths.

In the maenadic scenes the satyrs are in constant sexual pursuit of their female companions and try to molest them in whatever way the circumstances encourage. In the stylized dances they sneak up on them from behind, when the women's hands are engaged the satyrs fondle their sexual parts and when they lie down they reach under their skirts. But invariably without avail: their never-spent randiness is not reciprocated. The motif of a satyr plotting sexual mischief against a female companion was popular with the vase painters.

8) H.R.W.Smith, Funerary Symbolism in Apulian Vase-Painting (Berkeley 1976) 197-203, draws attention to a smaller version of the gabled box in Apulian iconography and identifies it as a dowry case, apparently unaware of its Attic antecedents.

Sometimes the pursuit of maenads by satyrs takes on the iconographical scheme of the sexual chase, used for stories of the rape of mortals by gods and appearing on hundreds of fifth-century vases.[9] In Figure 4 (Taf. XVII) we see such a configuration of a satyr and a fleeing maenad in the context of a general Dionysiac scene. The maenad in this case is not using her thyrsos in defense, but is aiming the snake which circles around her left arm in the direction of the importuning satyr.

A scene on a drinking horn or rhyton in Chicago, Fig. 5 (Taf.XVIII) features the sexual chase by itself. The object in the woman's right hand, of which the end is not visible in the photograph, is a thyrsos, so the figure is, indeed, a maenad. In actuality, the attacker, who looks more dignified than most conventional satyrs, is probably Zeus in satyrdisguise, about to rape the maenad Antiope, as in the story later dramatized by Euripides in his play Antiope. The fact that he is not depicted in a state of sexual excitement supports this identification, since gods never have erections, but ordinary satyrs in pursuit usually do.

Often the sexual aggression is considerably more explicit. The drinking cup by Makron in Boston in Figure 6 (Taf.XVIII) hints at the gang rape of a reclining maenad. Even though it looks as if actual physical violence is about to take place, given the analogies with other scenes, we should probably imagine that the maenads somehow miraculously escape and avoid real harm.

In a curious, and not infrequent variant of the theme of the reclining maenad, the woman is shown as actually sleeping,[10] a motif which perhaps recalls the myth of Dionysus coming upon the deserted, sleeping Ariadne on the island of Naxos. Ariadne had helped the Athenian savior-hero Theseus to defeat and kill the Minotaur. He took her back to Athens with him but treacherously abandonded her on the island of Naxos. After praying for death, Ariadne fell asleep and was found by Dionysus, who fell in love with her and made her his consort. This is the somewhat murky Athenian founding myth to which the satyrs, mundane incarnations of the god himself, allude in their lascivious molestations of sleeping maenads. It is unlikely that Hugo von Hoffmansthal, who wrote the libretto for Richard Strauss' opera Ariadne auf Naxos, was aware of the interplay of earnest and scurrilous motifs in Attic Dionysiac vase paintings, but he could not have captured their spirit any better than he did.

Figure 7 (Taf.XVIII) shows a fifth-century vase painting on the theme of satyrs molesting a sleeping maenad, a theme repeated in a later wall painting from Pompeii, which depicts the god Dionysus himself coming upon the sleeping

9) For the iconography of sexual pursuit see S.Kaempf-Dimitriadou, Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Christus (Basel 1979).

10) On this motif see Sheila McNally, "The Maenad in Early Greek Art," Arethusa 11 (1978) 101-35.

Ariadne in the island of Naxos.[11] The pictorial analogies between the two are unmistakable, despite the interval of some five hundred years. The element of the sleeping maenad dramatizes the helplessness of the female vis-à-vis the male, and possibly, also, via the analogy with the myth of Dionysus and Ariadne, hints at the eventual happy resolution.

When they are awake, however, the maenads fight back or even engage in aggression of their own. The thyrsos they wield is not just a ceremonial implement; it is a phallic weapon and counterpart of the tridents, thunderbolts and scepters with which the Olympic gods habitually threaten their sex objects when they go on rampages of rape in the mortal world. Like the male weapons, the maenads' thyrsos is often directed at groin level. And they know how to aim it. Since the satyrs are usually in a state of erection, their sensitive testicles are fully exposed and the maenads point their thyrsos there with lethal accuracy, either with the pine cone or with the stick end, in what is clearly a standardized scheme of female aggression.[12] Figure 8 (Taf.XVIII) shows an example of this aggression, painted by Makron one of major painters of the early fifth century.

The phallic component of maenadic behavior can be documented in yet another way. A fragmentary drinking cup by Epiktetos, which recently appeared on the art market in Basel, juxtaposes, in the outside decoration, maenads and Heracles, Fig. 9 (Taf. XIX). The one half of the rim which is well-preserved shows maenads in a conventional revel (without satyrs in this case). Those in the central photograph include a snakehandler and a woman carrying a young deer, surely to be torn apart in the sparagmos. Again, the stylized stances of the women indicate that a ritual performance is depicted. The other half of the rim, of which parts are missing, features Heracles in one of his monster-slaying roles: he is fighting the Centaurs who are hurling large stones at him. As often,the Centaurs have satyr-like faces, signifying their barbarism. The maenadic performance, including its ritualized aggression, is here presented as the counterpart of male phallic behavior in myth.

One unexplained feature of the iconography of Dionysiac ritual appears to negate the aggressiveness of the women participants: it is that of the so-called "muffled maenads". On a number of vases decorated with maenadic scenes, and on a few which cannot be securely associated with Dionysiac motifs, one or more women are shown with one or both hands bundled up in the sleeves of their garments. Most often women so depicted are dancing. What do these pseudo-mutilated limbs symbolize? Defenselessness against the advances of the satyrs?

11) On the sleeping-Ariadne type see W.Fuchs in Wolfgang Herbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom[4], Vol. 1 (1963) no.144.

12) The motif of female aggression against men's genitalia is also found in some of the representations of the Amazonomachia or battle of the Greeks and the Amazons, so e.g. on the squat lekythos Boston 95.48, LIMC entry "Amazones" no.240.

Abandonment of the weapons of counter-attack, since the muffled hands cannot wield thyrsus or sword? Figure 10 (Taf. XIX) shows a maenad with one arm bundled up, fleeing from the opportuning satyr on the other side. However, not all muffled figures are the victims of sexual molestation and the subject requires further study.

The keynote of the confrontation of satyrs and maenads is unconsummated hostility. However, where satyrs interact with women who have no identifying attributes, presumably hetairai, different patterns prevail. In the second type consummation is frequently achieved. Figure 11 (Taf. XIX) features a men in satyr garb copulating with a women without any identifying attributes, apparently amenable to the entertainment. A charming narrative scene on the pelike in London in Figure 12 (Taf. XIX) shows a satyr negotiating with a woman for sexual services: he is touching his genitals with one hand and gesticulating with the other. The woman is holding out a hand and is surely a hetaira. The elements of violence and trickery are totally absent in these pictures of the sexual activities of satyrs.

In the maenadic rituals then, sex antagonism was acted out, and women responded to the phallic attacks of the satyrs with counter-aggression. The cult of Dionysus, however, had yet another bearing on the sex life of Athenians: it also promoted a domestic, friendly, conjugal side of sexuality. During the month of Gamelion, the "Month of Weddings", the Theogamia or sacred wedding of Zeus and Hera was celebrated.[13] In view of the mythological history of the marriage of the divine couple, this festival was probably not of the best omen for mortal grooms and especially not for mortal brides. As everybody knows, the marriage of Zeus and Hera, a kind of Olympian parody of a profane union, was headed for a future filled with endless tribulations: on the part of Zeus, incessant infidelities, both hetero-and homosexual, and on that of his divine bride, fits of jealousy and acts of revenge against her rivals and her own male offspring. But during the following month of Anthesterion, in the course of the Anthesteria festival dedicated to Dionysus, another Sacred Wedding or Hieros Gamos took place which had homier associations. On the twelfth day of this month the wife of the Archon Basileus, was led to her husband's official dwelling, evidently also a Dionysiac cult building, the boukoleion, where she was to mate with the god.[14] What form this marriage ceremony took is not quite clear, but most probably she was united with her own husband in the symbolic guise of Dionysus, as has regularly been supposed. It was, at any rate, a mortal enactment of the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne.

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13) L.A.Deubner, Attische Feste² (Hildesheim 1966) 177-178; H.A.Parke, The Festivals of the Athenians (Ithaca 1977) 104; Walter Burkert, Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche (Stuttgart 1977) 210.

14) Deubner, ibid., 100-102; Parke, 112-113; Burkert, 255.

Unlike the Theogamia of Zeus and Hera, the wedding of Dionysus and the basilinna, as she is called, and its associated mythology left considerable traces in fifth-century vase painting. The extant illustrations of the ritual feature the standard Dionysiac symbols, but not the coarseness of most satyric scenes. In Figure 13 (Taf. XX) a man in a satyr mask, wearing theatrical boots, but without the traditional phallus, leads the wife of the Archon to her fate. On the calyx krater in Figure 14 (Taf. XX) we see the god Dionysus arriving at the shrine, where the basilinna awaits him. His divine status is indicated by his supernatural height, hence we are here in the domain of the imagination and have no clue as to the true identity of the ceremonial groom. Dionysus is preceded by a young attendant wearing an ivy chaplet and carrying a wine pitcher. The woman awaits him in the half-opened door, the latter feature being a recurrent iconographic symbol of wedding scenes and denoting "conjugal sex". I can here adduce only one illustration of this grapheme, on a lebes gamikos in Berlin, Fig. 15 (Taf. XX). On such wedding vases, as well as in interior scenes on pyxides, one can usually glimpse a kline through the door of the conjugal chamber, but that feature may have been too overt to apply to the wedding of a god. In any case, the pictorial symbol of the half-opened door ties together the wedding of Dionysus to his official bride with that of ordinary mortals.

In accordance with the tendency of the Dionysiac religion to celebrate the marriage of ordinary people, the family life of the god himself is represented in Athenian mythology as affectionate. Such, at least, is the implication of the krater in Ferrara, Fig. 16 (Taf. XX), which shows a family group of Dionysus, Ariadne, their young son Oenopion and a nurse. The god dandles the little boy on his knees. The lovely mother Ariadne is making conversation, as her gesticulating right hand indicates. The cordial, harmonious family life here depicted, was as rare among the gods of Olympus as it undoubtedly was in the reality of fifth-century Athens.

With an awareness of this ambivalence of Dionysic symbolism, we can read the "program" of a number of multiple scenes on individual vases which otherwise might seem episodic. The narrow neck amphora in Figure 21 (Taf. XXII) features a formidable, matronly maenad. She has a snake in her left hand and an animal skin over her shoulder: this one is more Athena than Ariadne. A crouching satyr in front of her is molesting her sexually. He is reaching for her breast, but it is clear that he will get nowhere. He is puny in relation to the women and she is resolutely grabbing him by the hair. On the neck a slender young hetaera is tying her sandle; the pert figure incidentally is a favorite picture of the Greek prostitute. The import of his scene is: "The sexual aggressiveness in the ritual is play-acting: for the release of his libido the satyr has a hetaira waiting."

A unique juxtaposition of ritual and domestic sexual relations governs the decoration of a jug in black figure from the archaic age, Fig. 17 and 18 (Taf. XXI). On side A a satyr is carrying off a maenad. His erect penis, which points at her pubic area, leaves no doubt as to his intention. The rather smug looking maenad does not seem to object very vehemently; she is mainly concerned with not being dropped. On side B we see a couple, probably the same two, in ordinary garb, but with the grapes and ivy of Dionysus still surrounding them. The folding stool with clothes loosely piled on it - barely seen on the right in the illustration - shows that we are now inside a home. The pair is exchanging an affectionate embrace. Again we have ritual acting out of sexual conflict and a real-life relationship, but this time the real union is conjugal.

The skyphos in Figures 19 and 20 (Taf. XXI) develops yet another variant of the marital theme. On one side Ariadne pours wine into Dionysus' drinking cup. On the other side a peaceable maenad and a non-phallic satyr confront each other calmly. One assumes they are husband and wife, experiencing marriage as a mortal version of the Sacred Wedding. Even the ritual sexual aggression sometimes has what may be termed a domestic flavor, as in the scene in Figure 22 (Taf. XXII), where the composed maenad, with thyrsus and drinking cup, does not seem in any serious danger from the prancing satyr. The cup is by the hand of the Penthesileia Painter, an artist with a flair for grasping the deeper meaning of myths and conventions, as well as a pronounced sense of humor.

The matrimonial side of Dionysiac ritual and imagery provides the answer to a phenomenon which might appear puzzling otherwise, especially since the chthonic aspects of the cult are not attested for the period in question. Women dressed as maenads sometimes appear on the white-ground oil flasks (lekythoi), which were fabricated for funerary purposes and are usually decorated with sepulchral motifs, Fig. 23 (Taf.XXII). Here a woman wearing a furry skin over her robe sits on a stone or chair, also covered with fur, holding a thyrsos, at a grave monument. For additional Dionysiac effect the thyrsos is decorated with ivy. Whether she is the deceased or a survivor is not clear, but her Dionysiac garb surely celebrates her function as the good wife, as do the attributes of textile making on similar flasks.

Margarethe Bieber, in an important article entitled "Eros and Dionysus on Kerch Vases", points to the combination of Eros and the wine god and their associated imagery on Attic pottery of the mid-fourth century.[15] Among other vases she reproduces this fourth-century chous, one of the little pitchers given to boy participants in the Anthesteria festival, Fig. 24 (Taf. XXII). Here children impersonate the characters in the wedding procession of Dionysus

15) Hesperia Suppl. VIII (1949) 31-38.

and the basilinna.[16] The object is of special interest because the festival choes tend to be decorated with masculine themes reinforcing the patriarchal order;[17] the celebration of conjugal values here implied would hardly have been imaginable on Anthesteria vases of the fifth century.

On the basis of such documentation Bieber concludes that in the mid-fourth century a combined prenuptial and Dionysiac initiatory rite was practiced. Bieber attributes this merger of Dionysiac lore with wedding imagery to the new middle-class [not to say bourgeois] social structure of fourth-century Athens. Even though there is no solid evidence for an actual Dionysiac initiation procedure as early as the mid-fourth century, Bieber's view of the conjugal values promoted in the Dionysiac cults at that time is undoubtedly correct. I hope to have shown in this article that the promotion of conjugal love is not a new tendency in the religion of Dionysos, appearing only after the Peloponnesian War, but that it had its source far earlier, in the seminal phase of the cult in the fifth century.

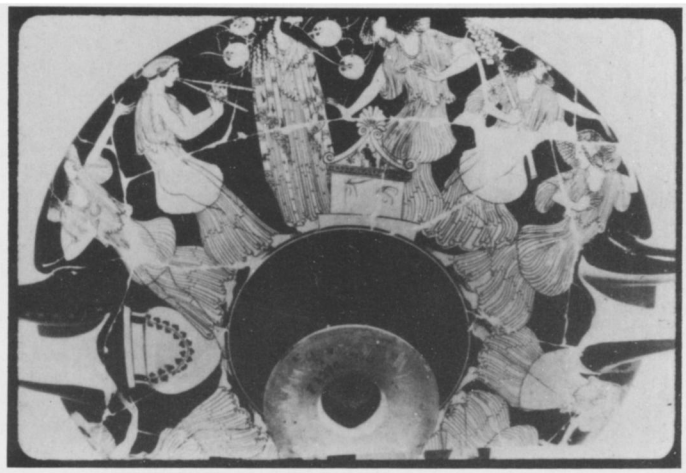
University of Minnesota Eva C. Keuls

16) Deubner and Parke (above, note 13) also reproduce this chous as evidence for Dionysiac ritual (Figures 3-4 and 44 respectively), but fail to stress the fact that it is considerably later than most Anthesteria vases and reflects a new ethos in the upbringing of boy participants.

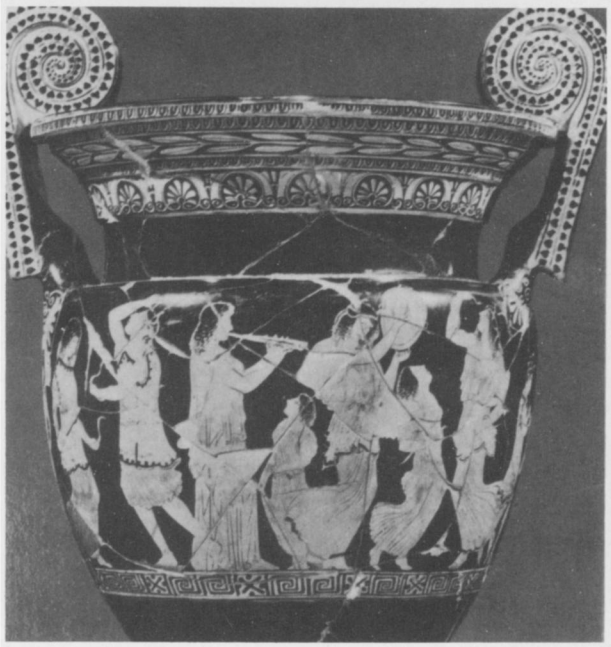
17) See G. van Hoorn, Choes and Anthesteria (Leiden 1951) passim.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS (TAF. XVII-XXII)

1. West Berlin 2290, cup by Hieron and Makron, ARV 462,48
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21. Louvre G 2, neck amphora by Oltos, ARV 53, 2
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    Funerary vase with resting maenad
24. New York 24.97.34, chous
    Boys enacting the wedding procession of Dionysos and the basilinna



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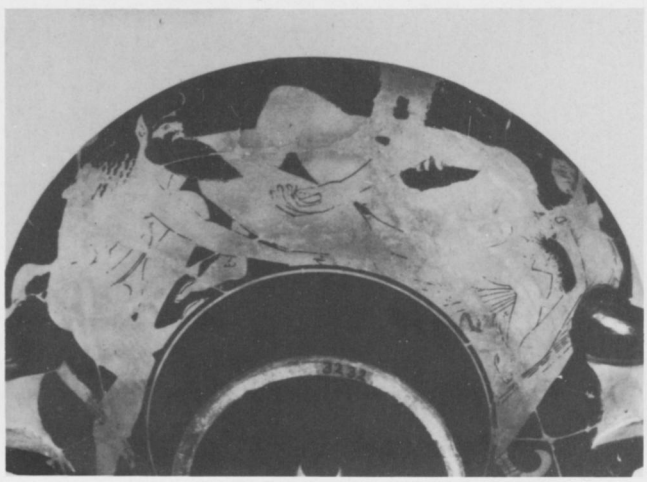
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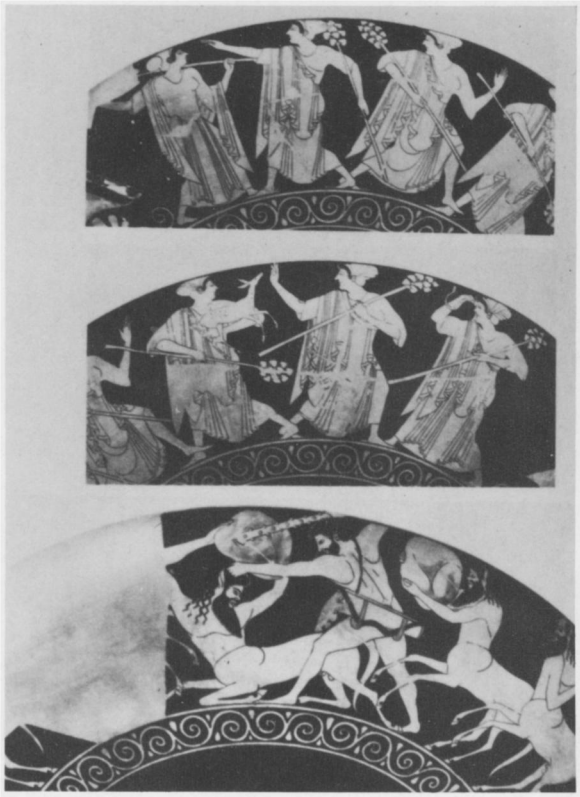


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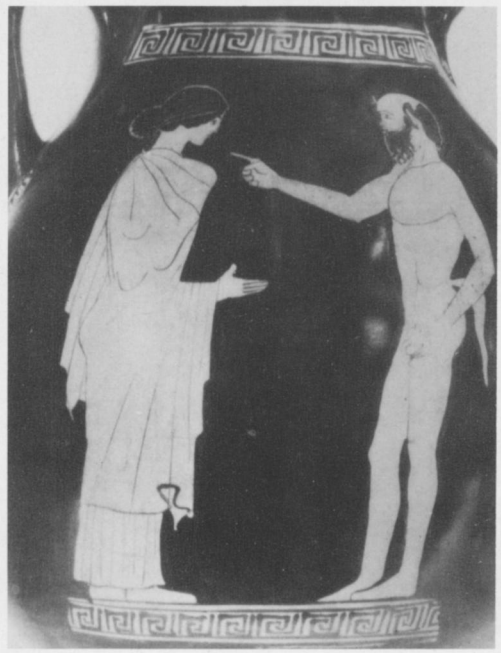
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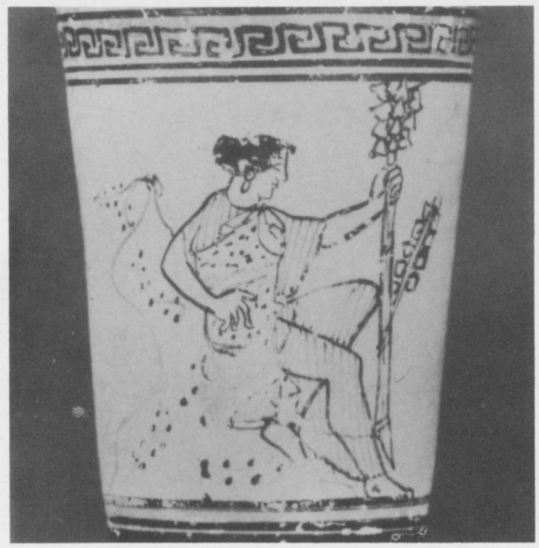
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A SERIES OF EROTIC PURSUITS: IMAGES AND MEANINGS*

(PLATES II*b–c*, III)

I. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

THE focus of this paper is a series of representations depicting a youth, with or without spears, pursuing a girl who is fleeing before him (PLATES II*b–c* and III*a–d*). I call the pursuits in which the youth is carrying spears 'type 1' and those in which he is not 'type 2'. I also discuss various matters pertaining to girls, marriage and the relations between the sexes, and to myths such as Peleus' capture of Thetis.

Perception, reading and interpretation are culturally determined, operate through perceptual filters made up by culturally determined assumptions and expectations[1]—iconographical, the conventions of the system of Greek ceramic iconography, and semantic, the relevant knowledge, ideas and beliefs shared by fifth-century viewers. Therefore, if we want to read fifth-century images through fifth-century eyes, we must reconstruct the relevant assumptions and expectations and try to read the images through these fifth-century perceptual filters, rather than our 'naked eyes'[2].

I have discussed aspects of the theme 'erotic pursuit' elsewhere (*cf.* introductory note), and argued, first, that the spears carried by the pursuer in representations of type 1 (as part of the iconographical scheme characterizing ephebes in general and Theseus in particular) carry implicit, muted, connotations of violence and menace;[3] and secondly, that types 1 and 2 are closely related, and produce meanings which only differ in emphasis. The intimations of (unstressed) violence produced by the spears in type 1 are also carried by the theme of erotic pursuit itself; the spears only increase the emphasis. Moreover, the motif of the capture of the pursued girl, signified in our theme through the iconographical motif 'grabbing the girl' (found in both types), produces less muted 'violent' meanings, similar to those produced by the spears.[4]

* This paper began life as part of a much longer essay, which eventually evolved into three self-contained papers: the present one; 'Menace and pursuit: differentiation and the creation of meaning' (hereafter 'Menace') forthcoming in *Image et société en Grèce ancienne. L'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse* (Actes du Colloque international, Lausanne 8–11 février 1984) ed. by C. Bérard; and 'Altars with palm-trees, palm-trees and parthenoi' forthcoming in *BICS* (hereafter 'Palms'). As I have only reshaped, and not rewritten, the paper, the bibliography generally excludes items published after February 1984, when the final version of the larger essay was completed. The only apparent exception is not in fact one: in notes 95 and 97 I refer to R. G. Osborne, *Demos: the discovery of classical Attica* (Cambridge 1985) because Dr Osborne had kindly let me see an earlier draft of that chapter. I would like to thank Professor Mary R. Lefkowitz who commented on this paper when it was part of the larger essay, and Dr M. Schmidt who commented on the version in the Lausanne Preliminary Proceedings. I am indebted to Mr Michael Vickers for PLATE III*b*. and to Dr I. Saverkina for PLATES II*b–c* and III*a* and *c–d*; I am particularly grateful to her for the opportunity to publish the lekane fragment on PLATE II*a*.

[1] For references to works discussing culture-determination see 'Menace', the footnotes to section 2, where I discuss this issue and the ways in which it affects the reading of classical vase-paintings.

[2] For a methodological discussion of the appropriate strategies for achieving this goal: 'Menace' section 2.

[3] But they do not denote attack; the spears' character as not weapon in use/about to be used in an attack is stressed in several scenes. For instance, the spears may be held in the left or the spearheads turned away from the girl: see discussion in 'Menace' 3 ii a.II). The distinction between attack and muted intimations of violence/menace must not be blurred (*Cf.* 'Menace' 3 ii a.II). It differentiates heroic pursuits from divine ones, which can be shown either through the same iconographical scheme as the heroic or with a threatening, attacking, pursuer. I argued ('Menace' 3 iii) that the fact that the heroic pursuer is never an attacker corresponds to a significant difference between the semantic fields 'erotic pursuit by a god' and 'erotic pursuit by a hero'.

[4] The combination of spears and 'grabbing' (see e.g. the column-krater in Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseum [*ARV* 284.5]) puts even more emphasis on the 'violent intimations'. There is a significant spectrum of differences in emphasis in the different scenes, from 'almost consensual' to 'implicit connotations of violence/menace'. The closeness between types 1 and 2 is confirmed by the existence of an 'intermediate' type: on the skyphos Providence 25.072 (*ARV* 973.10) the youth has put down the spears (shown resting on the ground) and is running after the girl.

II. The Subject

The interpretation of the representations of a youth pursuing a girl as erotic pursuits is certain. It is based on the similarity between this iconographical scheme and the scheme observed in other scenes of pursuit which, because their story is known, can be identified with certainty as erotic. In my view, generic similarities do not securely establish such an identification,[5] but there is a truly close parallel to our pursuits which allows us to identify them as erotic: the representation of Peleus' pursuit of Thetis. I discuss this theme's close similarity to ours below. There are other reasons too for identifying our pursuits as erotic. The iconographical scheme of type 2 is similar to a variety of erotic pursuits involving different beings[6] and the same as the scheme representing Eros pursuing a woman,[7] an undoubtedly erotic type of pursuit. This demonstrates that our scenes represent erotic pursuits. For what the Eros scenes show is surely not a mythological incident, either an incident from Eros' own love-life or one in which he is acting on behalf of another deity.[8] As Durand has convincingly argued, the representations which show Eros performing activities elsewhere performed by youths in the same iconographical schemes, articulate the notion that those youths' actions were performed under Eros' power.[9]

Thus the identification of our scenes as erotic pursuits is certain. The analyses that follow will show that the meanings produced by these scenes correspond exactly to the semantic field 'erotic pursuit' in the semantic universe of fifth-century Athens.

III. Identification of the Protagonists

First a basic question: does it matter who the protagonists of these pursuits are? Is the search for names and identities not clinging to outdated modes of research and should we not rather concentrate on the images and situations and try to recover their meanings? In my view, the identities are important. For meanings are inscribed and read into the images through signs; and each mythological figure was a sign, carrying specific connotations which contributed to the creation of the image's complex meanings.

Here I am only concerned with the identity of the lone pursuer when he is a youth wearing a chlamys—sometimes also a chiton, rarely a chiton without chlamys—with or without petasos, with or without spears. The other variants, involving more than one youth, or a young warrior, or other types of pursuer, are considered briefly below. The identity of the pursuer in the scenes at the centre of our investigation is considered controversial by some scholars,[10] but it can be

[5] I discuss the need not to overlook apparently small divergences in 'Menace' section 2. As Gombrich (E. H. Gombrich, *Art and illusion. A study in the psychology of pictorial representation*[5] [Oxford 1977] 53) noted, small divergences are more immediately obvious to the members of the cultural community in which the images are produced.

[6] See e.g. the satyr pursuing a maenad on the cup Oxford 1927.71 (*CVA* Oxford 2 pl. 52.3). (On satyrs pursuing maenads see H. Hoffmann, *Sexual and asexual pursuit*, Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper xxxiv [London 1977] 3–4.)

[7] See e.g. the hydria in the Hague, A. W. Byvanck, *Gids voor de Bezoekers van het Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum* (1912) pl. xxx 634 (*ARV* 1209.58), and compare it with, e.g., Leningrad 728 (here PLATE IIc). I am not including the theme 'Eros pursuing a boy': I exclude non-exact equivalents to avoid overlooking important differences by making the culture-dependent judgement that they are not significant.

[8] As J. Boardman in J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Greece* (London 1978) 20 implies.

[9] In *La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique* (Mont-sur-Lausanne 1984) (hereafter *Cité*) 32–3.

[10] On this theme and the problem of the identification of the protagonists see O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge* (Berlin 1847) 34–41; Beazley in L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic vase paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford 1931–63; hereafter *CB*) ii 81; L. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène* (Paris 1955) 311; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Schuwalow-Maler. Eine Kannenwerkstatt der Parthenonzeit* (Mainz 1976) 73–5; K. Schefold, *Wort und Bild* (1975) 93; *id.*, *RA* (1982) 233; J. Boardman, *BSA* liii–liv (1958/9) 171; N. Alfieri, P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Spina. Die neuenentdeckte Etruskerstadt und die griechischen Vasen ihrer Gräber* (1958) 32; see also F. Brommer, *Theseus: die Taten des griechischen Helden in der antiken Kunst und Literatur* (Darmstadt 1982) 95, and *id.*, *AA* (1979) 509.

demonstrated that when there is one pursuer, and the scene is mythological, in the absence of an additional sign specifying a different identity, that youth is always Theseus. Three inscriptions in three different representations identify the pursuer as Theseus. First, the lekane fragment in Leningrad (*Compte rendu de la commission impériale archéologique* 1877, pl. 5b; here PLATE II*b*) in which the youth is inscribed 'Theseus' and the pursued girl 'Thetis'; second, the hydria Worcester (Massachuss.) 1903.38 (*ARV* 1060.143); and third, the bell-krater Louvre G 423 (*ARV* 1064.6)[11]. I have not seen the representation on the Worcester hydria. The pursuit on the Leningrad fragment belongs to type 1, that on the Louvre krater to type 2. In both types the pursuer inscribed 'Theseus' is represented according to the same iconographical scheme as in the rest of the series. Lezzi-Hafter's comment[12] on the Louvre krater, 'entspricht der Verfolger auf dieser Vase nicht dem üblichen Typus', is incorrect, as the analysis of the iconography shows. The Leningrad pursuer inscribed 'Theseus' is represented according to one of the commonest iconographical schemes used for the pursuer in our pursuits. He wears a chlamys, endromides, and a petasos thrown at the back of his neck and he is carrying two spears.[13] The motif of the spearheads being turned away from the girl, though not common, is also found elsewhere.[14] The Louvre pursuer is also represented through a scheme common in the series. His stance and grabbing of the girl are common in pursuits of types 1 and 2.[15] His dress, hair and gear are widely parallelled in pursuers of both types. The chlamys worn as the only garment is the overwhelmingly common dress for our pursuer; the arrangement here, chlamys thrown over the outstretched left, is common in both types.[16] The short hair characterizes several pursuers as does the absence of petasos.[17] The wreath worn by the Louvre Theseus is also worn by other pursuers.[18] Finally, the Louvre Theseus has a sword in its scabbard hanging at his side, as do some other pursuers in both types of our series.[19] The sword is closely connected with Theseus through the stories of the gnorismata and the recognition by Aigeus[20] (thus it is especially connected with Theseus' ephebic persona), and this connection is reflected in the hero's iconography. We conclude that all the elements making up the sign 'Theseus' in the inscribed scenes are closely parallelled in the rest of the series.

The pursuer can also be identified as Theseus with some certainty on some uninscribed scenes, through contextual associations. For example, the cup Frankfort, Museum V.F. x 14628 (*ARV* 796.117) is decorated with the representation of Theseus and Skiron on the tondo and of a youth with a spear pursuing a woman on B. Theseus in the tondo is identical with the pursuer on B: one indication of this is that both are wearing the petasos on their head, a much rarer arrangement than having it thrown at the back of the neck. Both youths (wearing chiton and chlamys) are holding one spear; the way in which they hold it is different, but this depends on the context. In the tondo Theseus is holding the spear vertically in his left and very lightly leaning on it; the pursuer on B is holding his spear in the right and horizontally, one of the regular positions in which spears are carried when the figure is moving. This pursuer is undoubtedly Theseus: unless the painter had been thinking of the two youths as the same person he would not have used the same sign for both on the same cup; and a viewer looking at the pursuer who was

[11] Lezzi-Hafter (n. 10) 73–5 seems to have misunderstood Beazley's remark in *JHS* xlvii (1927) 147; Beazley is saying that the inscription reads 'Theseus', as Pottier had originally thought, and not 'Peleus', as he later came to believe. See also Beazley in *CB* (n. 10) ii 81.

[12] Lezzi-Hafter (n. 10) 74 n. 247.

[13] See e.g. Hydria Syracuse 36330 (*ARV* 1062.2, *CVA* pl. 25).

[14] See e.g. oinochoe Ferrara sequestro Venezia 2505 (*ARV* 1206.3, Para 463, Add 169, Lezzi-Hafter [n. 10] pl. 102).

[15] See, for example, the stance of the youth on the stamnos Krefeld Inv. 1034/1515 (*ARV* 502.5, *CVA* Germany 49, pls. 37.1, 38.1) side B.

[16] See, for example the Krefeld vase (n. 15), sides A and B; column-krater Louvre G 362 (*ARV* 1115.17, *CVA* pl. 27.4.5).

[17] See e.g. for both features the bell-krater Leningrad 777 (St. 1786) (*ARV* 502.11, Para 513, Add 123; here PLATE III*a*) side B.

[18] See e.g., stamnos Oxford 1911.619 (*ARV* 629.16; here PLATE III*b*).

[19] See e.g. type 2: Nolan amphora Syracuse 20537 (*ARV* 1015.16); type 1: neck-amphora London 1928.1–17.58 (*ARV* 1010.5, *CVA* pl. 59.3).

[20] On gnorismata → *JHS* xci (1971) 94–109. On the recognition: *Theseus as son and stepson BICS* Supplement xl (1979) 18–58.

identical to the juxtaposed Theseus, and shown in a role, story and iconographical scheme in which Theseus at least sometimes appeared,[21] would inescapably identify that pursuer as Theseus. Leaving aside other cases in which the identity of the youth as Theseus is established through various types of contextual associations, we note that in all our erotic pursuits the pursuer is represented through the scheme which in Athenian iconography characterizes Theseus—though, we shall see, not only Theseus. In the vast majority of scenes the pursuer is wearing a chlamys, usually on its own, sometimes over a chiton. Chlamys, or chiton and chlamys, characterize Theseus in fifth-century Attic iconography,[22] with the sword and the spears and a hat (either a petasos or a pilos)[23] completing the schema. When a hat is worn in our pursuits it is normally the petasos, more rarely the pilos (as on the Chicago University hydria fragment [*ARV* 579.86]). The fact that both petasos and pilos were appropriate for our pursuer confirms further that the mythological hero of the pursuit is Theseus. Readers produce meanings out of pictures with the help of their assumptions and expectations, and the mythological hero of these pursuits would certainly be identified as Theseus, *unless additional evidence was given to the contrary*. The youths named 'Theseus' in the inscribed scenes cannot be iconographically differentiated from the pursuers in the uninscribed scenes, and the iconographical schemes of the inscribed scenes cannot be differentiated from those in the uninscribed; it follows that without such additional information, the viewers understood the pursuing youth to be Theseus because *that is* who he was in the established scheme, and thus also in the sets of assumptions through which they read these images.

The conclusion that the mythological male protagonist of these pursuits is Theseus is confirmed rather than impugned by the existence of scenes representing Peleus pursuing Thetis according to the same scheme of erotic pursuit as that of our series, and with Peleus shown according to the same scheme as our pursuer. For there *is* such an additional element in these latter scenes: the sign 'dolphin' which identifies them as representations of the abduction and capture of Thetis by Peleus. For example, on the pedestal of a lebes gamikos in the Robinson Collection (*CVA* Robinson ii pl. 51a–c) a dolphin is added at the end of the picture, identifying the pursuit as that of Thetis. And on the stamnos Villa Giulia 5241 (*ARV* ii 484.9) the representation is identified as the pursuit of Thetis through the addition of two dolphins, one of them held by a fleeing companion of the abducted girl, thus identified as a Nereid. That is, through the addition of this sign the iconographical scheme which usually depicts Theseus' pursuit is transformed, with great economy, into the erotic pursuit by Peleus.[24] The pursuit of Thetis by Peleus is represented both through erotic pursuits of type 1 in which Peleus is carrying

[21] Moreover, there is no evidence that anyone else did, except Peleus, whose scenes, we shall see, were firmly signalled.

[22] On Theseus' chlamys and its significance see J. P. Barron, *BICS* xxvii (1980) esp. 1, 3–4.

[23] On Theseus' hats see Barron (n. 22) 1, 5 n.4.

[24] In my view, the use of dolphins in Attic iconography is not loose, as Beazley *CB* (n. 10) ii 81 thought. The dolphin was not a monosemic sign that only meant 'Peleus and Thetis'. All signs are polysemic and every sign acquires its value in context (see 'Menace' section 2). Thus a dolphin in an abduction had, for a fifth-century Athenian, a different meaning when it 'qualified' an erotic pursuit involving our type of pursuer, from that which it had in the representation of Boreas abducting Oreithyia on the hydria Bowdoin 08.3 (*ARV* 606.68, Para 395, Add 130; D. M. Buitron, *Attic vase-painting in New England collections* [Cambridge Mass. 1972] no. 64) in which one of Oreithyia's companions is holding a dolphin, a scene mentioned by Beazley as an example of such looseness—with the alternative explanation that it may have been a slip. This transfer of a sign belonging to Peleus' abduction to a different abduction may be a play on the fact that there was a Nereid called Oreithyia (Hom. *Il.* xviii 48) and, through the Nereid allusion or a direct sea-allusion, may hint at the naval help which Boreas gave to the Athenians in the Persian Wars (Hdt. vii 189)—an Athenian propaganda theme which is at least one reason for the great popularity of Boreas and Oreithyia scenes in Attic iconography after the Persian Wars. (On Boreas and Oreithyia *cf.* E. Simon, *AuA* xiii [1967] 101–26; K. Neuser, *Anemoi. Studien zur Darstellung der Winde und Windgottheiten in der Antike* [Rome 1982] 30–87. The view that Boreas' help is the main motivation behind this popularity has been challenged [Agard, *CJ* lxi (1966) 241–6, K. Schauenburg, *AuA* x (1961) 78]; but it cannot be doubted—since that belief was part of the assumptions though which the Athenians thought about Boreas—that it is one of the main reasons behind that popularity.) Such take-over was feasible because there was no possibility of mistaking Boreas and Oreithyia for Peleus and Thetis.

spears, and of type 2 in which he has no spears.[25] Apart from the dolphin our pursuits and the pursuit of Thetis by Peleus are identical. The fact that the pursuit/abduction of Thetis by Peleus could be thought of, and so shown, also in the same terms as the pursuit of a girl by Theseus suggests the possibility of a semantic similarity between the two. We shall see below that there was indeed such a similarity, despite the fact that Thetis is a goddess, and Theseus pursues erotically on his own behalf only mortal girls—he only took part in the attempt to abduct Persephone to help his friend Peirithous. As we shall see, in the iconographical versions which resemble Theseus' pursuit, Thetis' divine identity is 'neutralized'; other meanings and aspects of this myth are emphasized, so that the goddess' capture by a mortal is semantically close to a mortal's capture by a mortal. The close similarity between Theseus' and Peleus' pursuits is presupposed by, and explains, the inscriptions on the Leningrad lekane fragment (PLATE II*b*), where the pursuer is inscribed 'Theseus' and the pursued 'Thetis'. Beazley[26] took this to be a slip, and this is, indeed the most likely explanation. But for this to have been possible, the two themes had to be iconographically and semantically closely related, so that they became momentarily scrambled, and the names of the two pursued girls were switched. Alternatively, it may be a deliberate conflation, some kind of joke or play. But this would also presuppose a close relationship between the two themes.

We may thus conclude that the mythological male protagonist of our pursuits is Theseus. But this theme did not, in my view, only signify the mythological narrative in which Theseus pursued and abducted a girl. All signs are polysemic, and, moreover, in fifth-century Athens myths and mythological scenes functioned also as paradigms. Theseus was, among other things, the Athenian ephebe par excellence. The chlamys, petasos and spears which characterize the pursuer in our pursuits also characterized Athenian ephebes in general.[27] The chlamys was the characteristic garment of Athenian ephebes who also wore the petasos and in whose training and activities the spear played an important part[28]. Consequently, for both Athenian artists and viewers, the signifying elements 'youth' combined with 'chlamys', 'petasos' and 'spear(s)' made up the sign 'ephebe' and/or 'Theseus as ephebe'. The sign 'pursuer' in 'erotic pursuit' produced for fifth-century Athenians the meaning 'ephebe' as well as 'Theseus', especially since the context, which contributed to the definition of the sign 'pursuer', was of direct relevance to all ephebes. I shall discuss the meanings of our scenes below; but it is immediately clear that the erotic pursuit of a girl is of great interest—at least at the level of the imagination—to real-life ephebes; in fact the connections were deeper. So the scenes depicting the mythological narrative of Theseus' pursuit of a girl were at the same time read as 'Theseus as ephebe'/'ephebe' pursuing a girl, with all the meanings which such representations carried. In my view, it is likely that the 'generic' reading of the theme was eventually consciously articulated and iconographically established. For not all representations of erotic pursuit are mythological in the first instance. In some there are reasons for thinking that the protagonist is a generic youth;[29] this would make the representation in the first instance 'generic'—though when read through fifth-century Athenian eyes it would also refer to, and acquire its value through, the mythological paradigm of Theseus. By 'generic' I do not mean 'everyday life', but 'emblematic', expressing certain perceptions about women and male-female relationships. The differences between fully

[25] See e.g., for type 1: the scene on the pedestal of a lebes gamikos in the Robinson Collection (*CVA* Robinson 2 pl. 51a–c); for type 2: the stamnos Villa Giulia 5241 (*ARV* 484.9). On the iconography of Peleus and Thetis: X. Krieger, *Der Kampf zwischen Peleus und Thetis in der griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Münster diss. 1973; 1975). As we shall see, Thetis' companions and father (on whom see Krieger 88–113), also our girl's.

[26] *CB* (n. 10) ii 81.

[27] See e.g. the cup Oxford 1913.311 (*CVA* pls. 4.3 and 13.1–2) and the lekythoi Oxford 1938.909 and 1920.104 (*ARV* 993.93–4).

[28] See Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.3–5. Pollux, *Onom.* x 16. On the chlamys see also Ch. Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'ephébie attique* (1962) 115–16; on the spears: Pelekidis 231–2. On ephebes and ephebeia in general see esp. P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir*[2] (1983) 151–75; 191–7; See also Pelekidis *op. cit.* → P. Siewert, *JHS* xcvii (1977) 102–111.

[29] Boardman (n. 10) also suggests that some of these scenes are not truly mythological (though he sees it in terms of loss of 'any specific mythological explanation').

mythological scenes and this type of 'generic' scene are only a matter of emphasis, towards the mythological paradigm or towards the generic youth. All representations of the theme carried both components, and many were probably not positively identified as one or the other, but belonged to an indeterminate part of the semantic spectrum 'Theseus as ephebe'—'generic youth'.[30] Ambivalence and ambiguity are characteristic properties of signs.

The identity of the pursued girl is less important than that of the pursuer, for since the latter is Theseus he is the dominant signifying element. But the girl's identity is not unimportant, for the particular connotations and meanings with which she was associated contributed to the production of the meanings inscribed and read into these images. There is no surviving inscription to identify her, except for the Thetis 'slip'. She may be someone unknown to us—probably not Helen.[31] But we can at least define her a little, determine the kind of person that she is likely to be. We shall see that the iconographical analyses of this theme suggest that it had three major semantic facets: the ephebic one; one pertaining to male—female relationships; and, a version of the second, a semantic facet pertaining to wedding and marriage. Thus the pursued girl is likely to be one whom Theseus married, and whose acquisition was associated with Theseus' ephebic persona. Not Antiope, whose iconography is distinctive. The best candidate is probably Eriboia/Periboia/Phereboia.[32] She fits both requirements, marriage to Theseus and connection with his ephebic persona (through the ephebic exploit of the Minotaur expedition). If Barron is right[33] that Pherekydes had suggested, in the context of Kimonian propaganda, that the Philaids' claimed ancestor Ajax was the son of Theseus and Eriboia, we can even identify a context conducive to the creation and promotion of an iconographical theme representing Theseus' erotic union with Eriboia. Of course, the representation was polysemic, not a monosemic propaganda poster, and thus the relevance of its non-political meanings to Athenians, especially to Athenian youth, would have ensured its popularity even after the political content had lost its importance.[34] Whether or not this theme originated in this context, the identity of the girl may have become 'evacuated', submerged under the generic persona 'girl pursued, abducted, and possibly married by Theseus', as a result of the dominant importance of Theseus and his erotic association with a large number of women, many of whom he abducted[35]. This created a signification space in Greek myth 'woman abducted, seduced (and married) by Theseus', in which the woman's identity was not of great importance.

IV. Erotic Pursuit, Capture and Marriage

The girl is represented through the iconographical scheme which may be called 'fleeing woman': a young woman running away, head turned back towards the pursuer, making

[30] On this type of indeterminacy see also Schefold 1975 (n. 10) 27; I. Krauskopf, *AA* 1977, 28. An element such as the presence of Athena (e.g. on the krater Corinth C 33.129 and 138 [with new *fr.* added in 1979]: *ARV* 592. → C. G. Boulter and J. L. Bentz, *Hesperia* xlix [1980] 300–1 pls. 82–3) pushes the scene more towards the mythological pole, though it is also compatible with the generic version.

[31] Because the Theseus-Helen connotations are not ideal for a paradigm concerning matrimony. On Helen's abduction by Theseus see Kahil (n. 10) 305–13, C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaique* (1977) 281- → H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* ciii (1983) 95. I discuss briefly certain problems pertaining to Helen's age and connotations in a book in preparation: 'Girls as Bears (and other animals)' part 2, ch. iii 3 and nn. 250, 252. See also *infra* n. 93.

[32] On Eriboia/Periboia/Phereboia and Theseus: Barron (n. 22) 2–3. My argument is not circular here; because of each figure's connotations the protagonists' identity contributes to the theme's meanings, but since we have no independent evidence for the girl's identity, I am simply considering whether we know of a girl who fits the theme's connotations as reconstructed on the basis of its other elements.

[33] Barron (n. 22) 2–3 and n. 30.

[34] Whether or not Periboia had replaced an earlier girl in our theme is not important. The theme becomes very popular starting with the Niobid Painter's generation. Since my argument is not affected, I will not consider the changes in the chronological framework proposed → M. J. Vickers and E. D. Francis (e.g. *JHS* ciii [1983] 49–67), other than to say that, in my view, they have made a case for the reexamination of this framework.

[35] See Athen. xiii 557a–b (=Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 153).

gestures of supplication and/or alarm. This is a common scheme, a codified sign deployed in many different themes.[36] In each case it acquires its specific meanings through the particular context. In images, as in texts, each element is ascribed value through a complex process of interaction with the other elements of the representation, and also through its relationships to other, semantically related, elements, which might have been chosen in its place but were not.[37] (For example, the value of the spears in our pursuits is also determined by these spears' relationship to, and differences from, the related elements 'sword' and 'spear being brandished', which help define our spears' role and meaning by making clear what they are not.) The scheme 'fleeing woman' denotes 'girl/women fleeing in panic'. This basic semantic core, and so also the iconographical sign 'fleeing woman', is applicable to several different situations involving women (*cf.* n. 36). The particular contexts give it particular meanings in each case. In our theme, we saw, 'fleeing woman' represents a girl attempting to escape the erotic attentions of an ephebe/Theseus. Its further connotations will emerge below.

In some erotic pursuits the fleeing girl holds a flower,[38] in others one of the companions does.[39] This flower refers to the motif of the girl's flower-gathering just before the abduction, and is thus connected with the theme of abduction and through it also with marriage.[40] Flowers are held by girls also in other abductions,[41] including pursuits of Thetis.[42] The motif 'grabbing the girl' (PLATE IIc) denotes capture, and carries connotations of violence, defined by the context as sexual. This erotic colouring is produced first, through the activation of the frame of reference 'real-life sexual grabbings', called up by the representation of physical contact between the youth and the girl at the moment of the capture which (the identification of the topic tells the viewers) will lead to the sexual act; and secondly, through the activation during the reading of the image of established iconographical schemes of sexual grabbing.[43]

Running is associated with male and female initiations[44] and the 'initiatory' dimension is an important semantic facet of 'erotic pursuit': we have seen this with regard to ephebes, and we shall return to it. Possibly, the notion of an ephebic test and victory was part of this ephebic facet of 'erotic pursuit,' the capture of the girl perceived as a test in the context of the ephebic experience, comparable to the capture of an animal.[45] For the representation of running in pursuit to capture the girl may call up another frame of comparison, the capture of animals, which therefore also helps ascribe meaning to our theme—through both differentiation and

[36] For example, in scenes in which she is the victim of an attack: the neck-amphora Vienna 741 (*ARV* 203.101, Add 96); and the amphora London 1948.10–15.2 (J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italiote* [Rome 1975] pl. 17.1). 'Fleeing woman' in a wedding context: see e.g. the pyxis Munich 2720 (*ARV* 1223.4, Add 173, S. R. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis* [Chicago 1978] pls. 99.3; 100.1–2 [commentary on p. 182; see also p. 184]) in which the woman is represented fleeing, through the 'fleeing woman' scheme, away from a door which represents emblematically the notion 'wedding' (Roberts 182). One possible interpretation of this figure is that she emblematically signifies that semantic facet of wedding/marriage which allows it to be represented through the model of abduction; another is that she represented a part of the wedding ceremony, the bride's resistance in the course of a mock-abduction rite. An example of a different type of context is afforded by the Nolan amphora Leningrad 697 (St. 1628) (*ARV* 202.76, Para 510): on A Athena running, on B a woman running, shown according to the 'fleeing woman' scheme. On codification: P. Guiraud, *Semiology* (Engl. transl. London 1975) 24–5.

[37] The post-structuralist notion of signification is, in my view, the most convincing (for references to discussions see 'Menace' n. 5).

[38] See e.g. skyphos Providence 25.072 (*ARV* 973.10).

[39] See e.g. the volute krater Izmir Inv. 3361 (*ARV* 599.7).

[40] See also H. P. Foley, *Arethusa* xv (1982) 161. On flower-picking associated with Persephone's myth and cult, especially in connection with her bridal aspect: M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin, New York 1982) 349 (see also 349–51 on flower-gathering in Artemis' cult → C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *JHS* xcviii (1978) 109.

[41] On this see Blech (n. 40) 352 n. 95.

[42] See e.g. the lebes gamikos in the Robinson collection (*cf.* n. 25).

[43] See e.g. the representation of a man and a hetaira which involves the same general iconographical scheme: Boardman-La Rocca (n. 8) 90.

[44] Vidal-Naquet (n. 28) 166–7; Calame (n. 31) 67, 211–14; M. Detienne, *Dionysos slain* (Baltimore and London 1979; first publ. Paris 1977) 31; Lloyd-Jones (n. 31) 94; at Brauron: L. Kahil, *AntK* xx (1977) pls. 18–19.

[45] On the capture of animals as part of the ephebic training see A. Schnapp, *Cité* (n. 9) 67–8 (and *passim*).

similarity. There are strong connections between hunting and Greek initiations (including the Athenian ephebeia);[46] moreover, we shall see, unmarried girls were thought to be partly 'wild' and partaking of animality. Consequently, an expedition involving the capture of a girl by an ephebe after a pursuit was correlative, in the Greek collective representations, with the notion 'capture of animals';[47] thus, when the Athenians read the images, the representation of the former also called up suggestions of the latter, at whatever level of consciousness. This capture is not, of course, a hunt. The iconographical relationship between animal pursuits such as that on the kyathos Brussels, Musée du cinq A2333[48] and hunting scenes may be compared to that between erotic pursuits and attacks:[49] Hunting an animal::attacking a woman (=Theseus with a sword [*cf.* n. 49]). Capturing an animal::capturing a woman (=erotic pursuit). Indeed, in Athenian mentality the capture of wild animals was generally associated with the erotic sphere.[50] This is connected with their perception that women, especially parthenoi, were partly wild, which was expressed metaphorically through the notion that women, especially parthenoi, had some animal traits.[51]

The notion of the girl as a wild thing to be captured and tamed through marriage (which is, in my view, one of the perceptions expressed in our erotic pursuits) is articulated more emphatically in the paradigm of Thetis. Thetis' metamorphoses at the moment of her capture, which included animal forms, express symbolically, among other things, the wild and partly-animal nature of the unmarried girl.[52] Thetis' possession of special powers allows this animality to be articulated in narrative terms. This perception of the goddess as a wild thing tamed by Peleus, a paradigm for the mortal brides, is correlative with the fact that the union of Peleus and Thetis is a paradigm for marriage—and is not governed by the mentality governing other god-mortal unions, which includes negative and dangerous connotations.[53] Indeed, Peleus' pursuit of, and union with, Thetis, differs radically from all other pursuits-and-unions involving deities and mortals:[54] first, uniquely, the mortal is the pursuer; secondly, Peleus captured Thetis to marry her; thirdly, he captured and married her with the consent and encouragement of the gods, whose will he was executing, which makes him almost, in this context, temporarily an

[46] Vidal-Naquet (n. 28) 169–74; *id.*, in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1972/1981) 161–2; A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 175, 199; Schnapp (n. 45) 67–82; *id.*, *Dial. di arch.* i (1979) 40; Lloyd-Jones (n. 31) 98; Detienne (n. 44) 23–6. On the iconography of ephebic hunts see P. Schmitt and A. Schnapp, *RA* (1982) 57–74, esp. 65–8.

[47] The most famous mythological pursuit and capture of an animal, of the Kerynian hind, is closely associated in some versions (Pind. *Ol.* 3.28–30; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3.53) with the erotic pursuit of a girl. I discuss this myth elsewhere (n. 31).

[48] *ARV* 333.2, *Cité* (n. 9) fig. 120 (right).

[49] I discuss the differentiation between the theme of erotic pursuit and the attack scene 'Theseus with a sword' in Menace *passim*.

[50] The capture of wild animals is closely associated with the erotic sphere: Schnapp, *Cité* (n. 9) 71–82; P. Schmitt-Pantel and F. Thelamon in F. Lissarague and F. Thelamon eds., *Image et céramique grecque*. Actes du Colloque de Rouen (1983) 17. On hunting and sexuality see Schnapp, *op. cit.* 67–82; W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berlin, New York 1972) 73–81; Detienne (n. 44) 25–52 *passim*; Ph. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan* (Rome/Geneva 1979) 55. Hunting as metaphor for homosexual pursuit: K. J. Dover, *Greek homosexuality* (London 1978) 87–8. In this context (capture, through pursuit, of a girl) the endromides, worn by many of the pursuers, and the petasos, also worn by hunters as well as ephebes—and travellers and others—would perhaps also call up the characterization 'hunter' and contribute to the allusion.

[51] See N. Loraux, *Arethusa* xi (1978) 43–87, esp. 59–69; *ead.*, *AncSoc* xi–xii (1980/1981) 125. H. King, in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Images of women in antiquity* (London and Canberra 1983) 109–27. The unmarried girl is 'tamed', a process ending with marriage: King 111, 122–3; Calame (n. 44) 411–20. See also *infra*.

[52] Thetis' transformations are usually interpreted only in terms of her nature as a sea-deity. But mythological motifs are polysemic and acquire meaning in context; here the relevant aspects of this context are 1. Thetis' associations with 'erotic pursuit as a paradigm for marriage', and 2. The Greek mentality about the girls' animality and its association with the notion of the girl's capture (the iconography of which is closely related to that of Thetis). Thus, Thetis' metamorphoses are correlative with, and so were inevitably seen as articulating, her (paradigmatic parthenic) animality, which is tamed (albeit temporarily) through her capture by/marriage to Peleus. Her ability to metamorphose herself allows the animality to be expressed in narrative terms. In Eur. *IA* 703 the union between Peleus and Thetis is presented as resulting from an *engye*.

[53] I discuss this in 'Menace' 3 iii.

[54] On Thetis and Peleus see A. Lesky, *Gesammelte Schriften* (1966) 401–9, *id.*, *RE* vol. xix 275 ff.

'honorary god'.[55] Thus, Thetis' capture and wedding were governed by the same mentality as unions among equals. Since the difference in status between pursuer and pursued is thus neutralized here, Peleus' pursuit of Thetis is semantically very close to Theseus' pursuit of the unknown girl; for in both the pursuer was an ephebic hero, and the iconographical scheme which characterizes Theseus is also appropriate for Peleus, who is an ephebe and a hunter.[56] Given these close similarities, the nuptial associations of the pursuit of Thetis[57] suggest the possibility that Theseus' erotic pursuit also contained a semantic facet pertaining to wedding/marriage. As we shall see, there are strong additional arguments for this hypothesis; there are iconographical elements in 'erotic pursuit' which suggest that this theme connotes also marriage/wedding; and erotic pursuits are sometimes combined with scenes pertaining to the nuptial sphere. A final argument for the hypothesis that 'erotic pursuit' also alludes to wedding and marriage is that in Athenian collective representations the semantic field 'erotic pursuit/abduction' was closely related to, and expressed also, the semantic field 'marriage'. But before arguing this by further analyses I want to consider what perceptions were expressed in and through the metaphorical relationship between marriage and pursuit/abduction.

We have seen that the meanings produced by the iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit' included connotations of sexually coloured violence: sexual intercourse is about to be forced on the girl, she will be submitted to sexual violence, defloration and sex as an act of aggression and domination of women.[58] But there are also some elements in abduction scenes which indicate the girl's consent to her abduction.[59] As we shall see, similar elements are also found in representations of erotic pursuit. These elements, which conflict with, and deconstruct, the dominant facet which presents the act as imposed by force, depend on the same mentality which regarded abduction as a paradigm for erotic union and marriage in Greek myth and ritual. On this paradigmatic relationship depend a variety of phenomena. In myth Thetis' was not the only abduction which served as a paradigm for wedding/marriage. Persephone's abduction was also a nuptial paradigm,[60] and because Hades was the Lord of the Dead this abduction also signified death. Within the matrimonial facet of the theme's semantic field that death was symbolic, the death of the girl, to give way to the wife and mother.[61] There are also ritual phenomena which correspond to the association between pursuit/abduction and marriage in myth. Mock-abduction was part of the wedding ritual in some places;[62] in others certain ritual acts, some wedding gestures like the lifting of the bride into the chariot by the bridegroom,[63] and the χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ,[64] whether or not residues of a mock-abduction,[65] manifest the same mentality.[66] In iconography schemes related to those of abduction sometimes represent wedding scenes.[67]

There are several related Greek perceptions which can be considered to have shaped, and to be expressed in, the metaphorical relationship of abduction and marriage. These perceptions pertain, first, to the (male mental) representations of women as subordinate, 'alien' and also, metaphorically, as animals to be tamed. Secondly, to the representations of male-female

[55] On the special status conferred on Peleus: see e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 4 65–8; see also Thetis' promise to Peleus that he will be a god: Eur., *Androm.* 1253–8.

[56] See Lesky (n. 54) 406.

[57] See e.g. Roberts (n. 36) 178–9, and the lebes gamikos *CVA* Robinson 2 pls. 50–51c where the erotic pursuit of Thetis on the pedestal is juxtaposed to the Epaulia on the body of the vase.

[58] For fifth-century Athenian perceptions on rape and sexual violence against women see P. Walcot, *Arethusa* xi (1978) 137–47. On eros seen by the Athenians in terms of aggression and domination see E. Keuls in W. G. Moon ed., *Ancient Greek art and iconography* (1983) 214.

[59] See e.g. the abducted girl caressing Theseus' hair on the amphora Munich 2309 (*ARV* 27.4, 1620, Para, 323, Add. 75).

[60] See C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *BICS* xx (1973) 12–20; ➡ *JHS* 1978 (n. 40) 104–14 *passim*; Foley (n. 40) 169; L. Kahn and N. Loraux, *Dictionnaire des mythologies*, s.v. 'Mort. Les mythes grecs' 8.

[61] Similar perceptions of this myth are expressed in Kahn-Loraux (n. 60); I. Jenkins, *BICS* xxx (1983) 142.

[62] On this: *BICS* 1973 (n. 60) 17.

[63] See *BICS* 1973 (n. 60); Jenkins (n. 61) 137–8.

[64] On which see now Jenkins (n. 61) 139–41; see also *BICS* 1973 (n. 60) 21 n. 54.

[65] See *BICS* 1973 (n. 60).

[66] For other gestures and behaviour pertaining to abduction in weddings see *BICS* 1973 (n. 60) 16–17; J.Redfield, *Arethusa* xv (1982) 191.

[67] See *BICS* 1973 (n. 60) *passim*: Jenkins (n. 61) *passim*; see n. 140.

relations which include that of marriage as the final stage in the 'taming' of women[68] and the notion of the subduing of the female by the male—an attitude important to the Greeks in expressing the actual and ideal state of relations between the sexes, and also a polysemic signifier articulating other values.[69] Thirdly, to certain perceptions of marriage seen from the female viewpoint, pertaining especially to the violent wrenching of the girl away from the familiar world of her father's home by a stranger who will take her to an unfamiliar place and role, and including the representation of the wedding as frightening for the woman.[70] Finally, as Calame has noted,[71] despite the almost complete absence of free choice of partners, in the official image of marriage erotic love was deemed to play an important role. In my view, the erotic pursuit metaphor also reflected this representation: it presented legitimate marriage in terms of a wild erotic union.

V. Violence and Consent

The dominant perspective of the iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit', which presents the erotic union as an act imposed on the woman by force, is both defined further (the 'violence' connoted is defined as sexual), and deconstructed, through signifying elements producing an effect of consensual erotic intimacy. For example, the position of the hands of the pursuer and the girl on side B of the bell-krater Leningrad 777 (PLATE III*a*), with their fingers almost touching, their fingertips almost meeting, produces an effect of consensual erotic contact about to take place, which both defines as erotic the mutedly intimated violence, and deconstructs the dominant meaning 'violence about to be used on the girl who is about to be captured'. Another example of an effect of consensual erotic intimacy occurs in the type 2 pursuit on the cup in Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society (from Vulci: *ARV* 880.3) where the following elements help create consensual connotations: the grabbing, here shown in a version recalling iconographical arrangements in which the erotic relationship is consensual;[72] the arrangement which makes the glances of the youth and girl appear to meet; the youth's holding up his chlamys with his right, a gesture precisely reflecting that of the girl who is holding up her himation with her right and therefore creating an effect of intimacy by binding the two figures very closely; moreover, the gesture helps characterize the youth in terms of grace and intimacy rather than violence and force. Some of the pursued girls wear the mantle over their head, or partly over their head.[73] This element in itself is polysemic, and cannot define the scene in any particular way. However, in the context of this theme it may contribute to the nuptial allusion, by calling up the figure of the bride with the himation over her head.[74] But the comparative rarity of such consensual elements in erotic pursuits is correlative with the playing down of the

[68] See King (n. 51).

[69] See Sourvinou-Inwood, *Theseus* (n. 20) 10, 53–5.

[70] Jenkins (n. 61) 141–2; Foley (n. 40) 169–70. Another perception that may also be reflected in this metaphor is that suggested by Redfield (n. 66) 191 for the mock-abduction of the marriage ceremony, which he relates to the great value of virginity and the desire for the contradiction in terms which is the chaste wife.

[71] In C. Calame, *L'amore in Grecia* (1983) xxii. Compare the many nuptial representations in which Eros is depicted: see e.g. the loutrophoros Boston 10.223 (*ARV* 1017.44, J. H. Oakley, *AA* [1982] 115 fig. 2) which shows Eros flying and holding a taenia.

[72] See e.g. the cup Würzburg 479 (*ARV* 372.32, 1649, Para. 366, 367, Add 111–12).

[73] See e.g., the small neck-amphora Leningrad 709 (*ARV* 487.61; PLATE III*c–d*); Nolan amphora Bonn 77 (*ARV* 1015.12).

[74] For such brides see e.g. loutrophoros-hydria Copenhagen 9080 (*ARV* 841.75, Para 423); pyxis Athens Acr. 569 (*ARV* 890. 172, Add 148); loutrophoros once in Berlin (ex Sabouroff) (A. Furtwängler, *La Collection Sabouroff* [Berlin 1883–7] pls. 58–9). *Cf.* also the cup Louvre G 265 (*ARV* 416.1, *Cité* [n. 9] fig. 39) which, in my view, probably represents Theseus and his bride, since the outside shows deeds of Theseus. This scene would be the aftermath (in narrative terms) of, and/or the other frame of reference for, our erotic pursuits. If this is right, and Theseus' wedding had been an established iconographical theme, it would reinforce the view that the pursuits had a nuptial semantic facet. Similar use of the 'himation over the head' element to that postulated here: e.g. on A of the skyphos Boston 13.186 showing Paris leading Helen away (*ARV* 458.1, Para 377, Add 119).

semantic facet 'consent', for it is the wild rather than the cultural/institutional side of erotic relations and of marriage that is stressed in this theme. And conversely, because 'erotic pursuit' is, when compared to abduction, a gentler version of this wild marriage, in which the actual physical manipulation of the girl is not shown but at most hinted at through the grabbing motif, the consensual elements were less necessary to counterbalance the 'violent' facet. Still, it is important that the signification space covered by this theme included the semantic facet 'consent'.

In Greek, and especially Athenian, mentality about marriage and erotic love (as reconstructed from other evidence) both consent and force belonged to both abduction/pursuit and to marriage as a cultural institution.[75] Of course, force predominated in the former and consent in the latter; but at the same time, each was an image, representing a facet, of the other. Thus the duality and ambivalence of the iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit', which includes elements connoting force and others connoting consent (both directly and indirectly, through allusions to marriage), correspond to the semantic field 'erotic pursuit/abduction', which includes the relationship with 'wedding/marriage'. For in marriage also there is ambivalence and duality, and this is why pursuit/abduction is an appropriate metaphor for it. As Redfield[76] noted, marriage involves both men gaining control of women, and women giving themselves to men. It has a sexual facet which belongs to nature and deconstructs its character as a social and cultural institution.[77] The theme 'erotic pursuit' represents and crystallizes a perception of marriage which is drifting towards the former poles—nature, and men gaining control of women.

VI. Space, the Girl and Artemis

In most erotic pursuits known to me there are no spatial indicators. The scenes are undoubtedly perceived as happening outdoors—either in a specific outdoor space known from the story and read into the scene by the viewers (whose assumptions included such knowledge and who, the story once identified, supplemented the missing elements from their knowledge); or in an unspecified outdoor space, unspecified either because the story did not specify it, or because it is 'emblematic', correlative with the emblematic and metaphorical facet of signification of the iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit'. The scenes which include spatial indicators will help us decide among these alternatives. The following indicators[78] are represented.

1. Column on its own: Calyx-krater Geneva MF 238 by the Geneva Painter (*ARV* 615.1, Para 397): column on the extreme right of the scene; the girl and a companion are fleeing towards it. 2. Door (with architrave): hydria London E 198 by the Niobid Painter (*ARV* 606.79); the door is on the left. 3. Column combined with door: volute-krater Bologna 269 by the Niobid Painter (*ARV* 599.8); the column is on the left of the scene, the door on the right; the girl and two companions are fleeing towards the latter. 4. Column combined with door and altar on the left, column combined with altar on the right: volute-krater Naples 2421 by the Niobid Painter (*ARV* 600.13, Para 395); on the extreme left a door, then an altar partly hidden by it, to the right of the altar and between it and the column a bearded man with sceptre; on the right a column, on its left, between it and the altar, a bearded man with sceptre; the pursuit takes place

[75] For the notion of consent in marriage see Redfield (n. 66) 192; Foley (n. 40) 169. As for the force, the transfer of legal guardianship of the woman from one man to another, and her removal away from her familiar world to an unfamiliar one, are elements of force, pertaining to the woman, which were among the perceptions animating the abduction metaphor for marriage.

[76] Redfield (n. 66) 186; see 188 on a related duality.

[77] See also Redfield (n. 66) 192.

[78] On spatial indicators see C. Bérard and J.-L. Durand, in *Cité* (n. 9) 27–31, C. Bérard, *Etudes de Lettres* (1983) 14: Keuls (n. 58) 216.

between the two groups of indicators. 5. Column combined with chair and with altar with palm-tree: volute-krater Boston 33.56 (*ARV* 600.12) by the Niobid Painter; the chair is on the extreme left, the column on the right; the pursuit is moving away from a (partly restored) flaming altar with a palm-tree behind it (situated between the chair and the column). 6. Altar on its own: cup in Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, by the Penthesilea Painter (*ARV* 880.3): the pursuit is moving away from the altar. Skyphos Reggio 3877 by the Lewis Painter (*ARV* 974.25): on B a girl is fleeing towards an altar (from the pursuer on A). 7. Palm-tree: stamnos Brooklyn 09.3 (*ARV* 1084.15; 1682).[79]

1–5 are confined to the Niobid Painter and his group, who appear to like a particular version of 'erotic pursuit', involving a particular category of spatial indicators, and thus—we shall see—representing certain perceptions of this theme. The altar on its own denotes a sanctuary. On Reggio 3877 the girl is running towards the altar; running to an altar for protection when under threat is a stock iconographical motif, corresponding to a stock semantic motif—one which fits the theme 'erotic pursuit'.[80] But this does not mean that the altar's inclusion here is without significance; it entails either that the spatial location of the pursuit was unspecified, and there was nothing to block the artist's selection 'inclusion of altar'; or that the spatial location was determined, and the altar fitted it.

Of the other spatial indicators,[81] the column usually denotes 'house', but can also signify a temple or other building. It acquires its particular value in a scene through its relationships with the other elements, especially the other spatial indicators. The spatial indicators denote space through the *pars pro toto* trope. Thus, the way in which they are combined in the image cannot be assumed to reflect their real-life spatial relationship. Indeed, in some cases it is unambiguously clear that the mode in which they are combined is non-naturalistic (*cf.* e.g. pyxis Louvre CA 1857: *Cité* 98 fig. 141). When, as on 3, the spatial indicators frame the scene, that scene is represented as taking place inside the space denoted by the indicators. The combination 'column and door' on 3 denotes 'house'; in so far as it represents a particular part of the house we should expect it to be the courtyard, which had a colonnade (or pillars or posts). The fact that on 3 the pursuit is contained between the door and the column means that it is located within the space enclosed by the two indicators; that is, 'column + door' here do not signify a generic 'house', but locate the pursuit in the house courtyard.

On 5 the pursuit is contained in a space between a chair on the left (and an altar with a palm-tree further on) and a column on the right. The combination 'chair and column' denotes the house courtyard; thus, if we leave aside the 'altar with palm-tree', the pursuit on 5 is located in the house courtyard, as on 3. An altar did stand in the house courtyard, but it was not of the type shown here; in Attic ceramic iconography the combination 'altar with a palm-tree' makes up a particular established sign which I discuss below. Here I note only that the spatial indicators on 5 locate the pursuit in the house courtyard, but include an element which belongs to a different space. On 4 there is a group of indicators on each side of, and framing, the space in which the pursuit takes place. The combination 'altar and column' can, depending on the context, denote either 'sanctuary' or 'house'; in so far as it denotes a particular part of the house it should be the house courtyard, for the altar is almost certainly the altar of Zeus Herkeios, situated in the courtyard and symbolizing the centre of the oikos. Thus, since 'column and door' denote 'house' in general and 'house courtyard' in particular, the combination 'altar + column + door' here

[79] I have argued elsewhere ('Palms' section 2) that the palm is a significant iconographical element in the pursuit, despite the fact that it is part of the handle decoration.

[80] See also *Theseus* (n. 20) 42.

[81] On the meanings of the spatial indicators see n. 78. On Greek houses see e.g. A. W. Laurence, *Greek architecture*[2] (Harmondsworth 1962) 240–9; S. Walker, in Cameron and Kuhrt (n. 51) 81–91, 86 fig. 6.1, 87 fig. 6.2a and b, 88 fig. 6.3 a and b. On the role of the house altar of the bridegroom's house in wedding rites and representations: F. Holscher, in H. A. Cahn and E. Simon eds., *Tainia. Roland Hampe zum 70. Geburtstag am 2. Dezember 1978 dargebracht* (Mainz 1980) 176. On Zeus Herkeios: see Hdt. vi 68, S. *Ant.* 487. M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* i[3] (Munich 1967) 402–3, W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford 1985) 130, 248, 255–6.

must denote 'house/house courtyard'. So the spatial indicators on the left denote 'house'—through indicators referring to the house courtyard. In theory, the column and altar on the right could denote either 'house' or 'sanctuary'; but the close correspondence in the arrangement of the two sides, with the bearded sceptred wreathed/diademed man standing between column and altar on each, suggests that almost certainly they indicate 'house'. Thus on 4 the scene takes place between two houses.

We may now conclude that the column on its own on 1 must also denote 'house', rather than temple or other building. For in the work of the Niobid Painter, in whose group the Geneva Painter belonged, 'column + door', 'column + door + altar' and 'column + chair + altar', alternative indicators in this scene and fuller versions of the polysemic 'column', denote 'house' in general and/or 'house-courtyard' in particular. The door on its own on 2 also denotes 'house'. A door locates the scene either inside the house or in the courtyard, or (if it stands for the street door) in the street. On 2 the fifth century viewers would have taken it to indicate an outdoor space, for all other versions of this pursuit are situated outdoors. The fact that elsewhere in the work of the Niobid Painter the door is combined with a column (3) to locate a scene in the house courtyard, or with a column and altar (4) to denote 'house' and locate the scene just outside the house, suggests that on 2 the door indicates either the courtyard, or the space just outside the house in the street, or, ambivalently, both, creating meanings we shall consider below.

Thus scenes 1–5 are located in the following categories of space: in a house courtyard—once with an additional element referring to a different space; in the street between two houses; in a space which is either the courtyard or the street outside the house or ambivalently both. Unlike abduction from a sanctuary or a meadow, abduction from a house courtyard is not an established motif in Greek myth. The courtyard must be that of the abducted girl's house, that is, her father's house. For in fifth-century Athens her father's house is the space and world to which the parthenos belongs; and her removal from her father's house is the essence of abduction. Moreover, if the house is her father's, these scenes produce meanings similar to those of the more common variant of erotic pursuit which includes the girl's father. For in that case these scenes would show the girl being taken 'from inside the father's house', a crystallization of the notion 'girl's abduction', but also a representation of a most important aspect of marriage and of the female experience of it, the girl's removal from her father's home. Women circulate in marriage[82] from one male-owned domestic space to another; our scenes show the uncivilized form of that transaction, forcible removal, 'theft', of the girl from the authority and domestic space of the father by the pursuer/husband. Interestingly, on 4 'house' and the figure of the father are associated. The choice of the courtyard as the location of the pursuits was doubtless inspired by two factors: the courtyard's accessibility, pertaining to the action and narrative; and the fact that the courtyard location contributed to the creation of the nuptial meanings, for it was also the location of certain nuptial rites relating to the passage of the bride from one house to the other. As we shall see, on 3 and 5 the scene on side B of the neck (the position most closely related to that of the pursuit) depicts a nuptial rite also taking place in the house courtyard, thus counterpointing the pursuit and confirming our interpretation. This is not a naturalistic depiction of space; it does not represent the environment in which the erotic pursuit took place in the myth—or, at least, not only that. If it does reflect a mythological motif (itself shaped by the perceptions discussed here), it also expresses some important perceptions of marriage which had become attracted to the representation of marriage through the paradigm pursuit/abduction.

The figure of the father produces similar meanings, and expresses similar perceptions, to the spatial indicators locating the pursuit in the house courtyard. Our erotic pursuits, like others, often include a mature or old man, usually shown as a king with a sceptre, who represents the

[82] See J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (Paris 1965) i 132. On the trauma of leaving the father's home at marriage see M. R. Lefkowitz, *Heroines and hysterics* (London 1981) 20.

girl's father.[83] This figure also helps express the notion 'girl's removal (with connotations of a violent wrenching) from the familiar world of her father's home'. But there is a difference in emphasis between this and the 'house courtyard' variant. Scenes which include the father stress the girl's ties with him, rather than with the paternal house and the unmarried girl's world—though the latter is inevitably also associated with the father. They express the notion that the ties with the father (as well as with her life as a parthenos in her father's house) will now be severed,[84] and the pursuer/husband will take over; the notion 'wrenched away from her father' is most clearly articulated when the direction of the pursuit is away from the father.[85] The versions in which the pursuit is in the direction of the father[86] do not dwell on the severance of the ties, but stress instead that the girl runs to her father's protection—from which she is being removed. The fact that marriage does not involve the same severing of ties with the mother[87] contributes, I believe, to the rarity of the mother's presence in scenes of pursuit;[88] this rarity reflects primarily the father's dominant and socially significant presence in the unmarried girl's life: it is from his house and authority that she is transferred to those of another man.[89] The companions, stock figures in mythological abductions, also symbolize the familiar world of the parthenos with its companionships and activities. This is stressed in representations in which they are running to the father (the abducted girl's, who is sometimes also their own—if she is their sister—and who, in any case, fills the role 'father [of unmarried girls]' in these images); they run to him for protection, for they, unlike the pursued girl, still belong to his sphere and authority. This motif, then, produces meanings similar to that showing the companions running into the house. Both reflect, and express, the notion that the companions still belong to the world of the parthenos from which the pursued girl is being wrenched; this iconographical expression of her separation from her friends and companions throws into further relief the trauma, the psychological wrenching, of the experience of marriage here articulated through the metaphor of forcible removal.

I now consider the significance of the combination of the house courtyard location with an altar with a palm-tree on 5. There was, we saw, an important and relevant altar in the courtyard, but not one which could have been depicted in combination with a palm-tree; for 'altar + palm-tree' is an established sign with certain values in fifth-century ceramic iconography, and these do not include 'altar of Zeus Herkeios in the courtyard'.[90] The courtyard altar may have triggered off the Niobid Painter's choice to combine the house courtyard location with what is denoted by the 'altar + palm-tree'. But, though he had a predilection for this 'altar + palm-tree',[91] his selections were determined by assumptions which included knowledge of the altar's meanings, and so he could not use the sign in inappropriate contexts which would evacuate it of its particular meaning and turn it into a simple 'altar'. Even if he did, the viewers could only make sense of the sign in terms of its established value. I have argued elsewhere[92] that there is a close

[83] See e.g. the column-krater in Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseum (*ARV* 284.5); hydria Florence 4014 (*ARV* 1060.144). That he is the girl's father is confirmed by his correspondence to Nereus in Thetis's pursuit (On Nereus in such scenes: Krieger [n. 25] 88–113.)

[84] On the breaking of the father-daughter bond brought about by the daughter's marriage see Redfield (n. 66) 186–8.

[85] See e.g. Florence 4014 (n. 82).

[86] See e.g. the volute-krater Bologna 275 (*ARV* 1029.18).

[87] See Redfield (n. 66) 187–8.

[88] I interpret as mother the woman with sceptre on, for example, side A of the stamnos Krefeld Inv. 1034/1515 (*ARV* 502.5; *CVA* Germany 49, pls. 37.1–4, 38.1–4). The mother has the most important role in the ritual part of the ceremony (see Redfield [n. 66] 188), the father in the legal part, as in the facet of ideality represented in our scenes.

[89] The fact that the father is also present in some representations of Eos' pursuit of Kephalos (see S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.*, *AntK* Beiheft xi [Bern 1979] 18–19) does not invalidate these interpretations: the scheme 'erotic pursuit of a girl by a hero' was adapted (see e.g. the inclusion of both Kephalos' companions and his sisters, like the pursued girl's companions running to their father [see e.g. neck-amphora Madrid 11097 (*ARV* 1043.2, Kaempf-Dimitriadou no 108)]) to show a youth's abduction by a goddess, with all the connotations of danger and helplessness carried by this theme (see 'Menace' 3 iii).

[90] See 'Palms' section 1.

[91] See 'Palms' section 1 and n. 7.

[92] See 'Palms' *passim*.

connection between the sign 'altar + palm-tree' and the Attic cult of Artemis in her persona as protector of parthenoi and of their preparation for marriage and transition to womanhood (especially focussed on her sanctuaries at Brauron and Mounychia and the arkteia); and that the 'altar + palm-tree' depicted in many erotic pursuits involving different protagonists represents an altar of Artemis and connotes her connection with the theme of erotic pursuit, also manifested in the mythological motif 'girls abducted from sanctuaries of, or from choruses of girls dedicated to, Artemis'.[93] An Attic version of this motif locates the abduction of girls in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia: girls and women taking part in the ceremonies are said to have been abducted from the sanctuary.[94] Given the Brauronian cult's concern with parthenoi and their preparation for marriage, the association with abduction/pursuit may reflect a connection between the Brauronian ritual and the notion 'erotic pursuit/abduction of girls'.[95] Another connection between pursuit/abduction and the Brauronian cult is that both relate to the 'wild', metaphorically partly animal, unmarried girl, and both do so in connection with marriage. The arkteia was a pre-nuptial rite, preparing girls for marriage. I now believe[96] that it related to the notion of the parthenos' animality, and that an important aspect of its initiatory function pertains to the 'domestication' of the partly wild girl, purging her of animality and thus taming her for marriage.[97] On my analysis, 'erotic pursuit' also relates to that mentality. It represents the pursuit/capture/of the girl as a wild version of marriage, in which the wild, partly 'animal' girl is captured by the 'wild' ephebe—a wild, animal metaphor (appropriate to her wild, 'animal' nature) for the cultural institution which will integrate the parthenos into society. Thus, 'erotic pursuit' reflects the same perception of the parthenos as that articulated in the arkteia, which stresses the girl's animality in order to purge it, as the pursuits represent metaphorically the institution which will complete that purge. Through her 'stay with Artemis' the wild girl was partly domesticated and ready for the marriage which would complete her 'taming', for which, in the circumstances, the 'wild marriage', the pursuit and capture, is an appropriate metaphor.[98]

The motif 'girl abducted from a sanctuary of Artemis' is a narrative articulation of the notion 'girl being taken away from a place, a realm, belonging to Artemis where parthenoi belong'. Representations of pursuits/abductions which include an 'altar + palm-tree' express the same notion pictorially. Thus the abduction metaphor for marriage can be articulated through the image of a girl being forcibly removed from Artemis' realm. This placing of the pursuit and capture in Artemis' realm reflects and connotes certain Athenian perceptions of girls and marriage: the girl's animality, the goddess' involvement in the transition, and also, through the image of the girl being taken away from the very altar, wrenched from the protection of the goddess, it produces meanings of trauma, the trauma of the removal from a familiar and protective world.

In our scene on 5 the 'altar + palm-tree' is not shown on its own (which would have located the scene in a sanctuary/realm of Artemis); it is combined with the column and chair which place the scene in the house courtyard. It will now be clear that 5 represents the girl being taken from her father's house and from Artemis' realm, combining the two important perceptions of

[93] See Calame (n. 31) 176–7, 189–90, Plut. *Thes.* 31.2 tells us that Theseus abducted Helen from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

[94] See Schol. BT Hom. *Il.* i 594; Hdt. iv 154, vi 138; Suda *s.v.* Brauron.

[95] Osborne (n. 93) 161–2, 168 also concluded, independently, and on the basis of different considerations, that the stories connecting the sanctuary of Brauron with rape had a close connection with the ritual.

[96] This is elaborated elsewhere (n. 31).

[97] Again, a similar conclusion was reached independently by Osborne (n. 93) 165–9. A related perception would also seem to underlie Detienne's formulation (n. 44) 31 that the Athenian girls 'do the bear before marriage in honor of Artemis of Mounichia or Brauron to purify themselves, in the words of an ancient exegete, of any trace of savagery' (with references in p. 99 n. 43).

[98] The element 'running' also connects the Brauron rites with erotic pursuits: the running of the girl, her companions, and the pursuer has a cultic counterpart in initiatory rites (see n. 44). The palm brings the two closer: the Brauron girls are shown dancing and running among, and towards, palms, altars and altar + palm complexes. There is thus a correspondence between the Brauron girls' ritual race and the girls (e.g. the Nereids) running during an abduction.

marriage discussed above, by constructing a conceptual space in which the iconographical elements expressing the notion 'pursuit and abduction out of her father's house' and 'pursuit and abduction out of Artemis' realm' are juxtaposed. Another perception reflected in 5 is the duality of the nature of the parthenos, who belongs both inside civilized society and outside it, inside but not yet 'of' the civilized world.[99] For in 5 her wild nature is alluded to through the theme itself and the notion 'taken from Artemis' sanctuary' with its connotations of animality (but also of its purging, so that here also we have duality and ambivalence); and the 'civilized' nature is alluded to through the notion 'taken from her father's house' which locates the girl in her place in the civilized space of the polis and the oikos.

Given Artemis' relationship to parthenoi, and the motif 'abduction from an Artemis sanctuary/chorus', the altar on its own (which also occurs in other pursuits/abductions)[100] was probably thought of by the painter and his contemporaries as an altar of Artemis—unless Theseus' myth specified otherwise. If so, the scenes in 6 located the abduction in Artemis' realm. Perhaps the altar also helped produce implicit connotations of violence, by representing (when the girl is fleeing towards the altar), or evoking, the motif 'taking refuge at an altar.'[101] The palm in our pursuit—as in others—also denotes Artemis' realm and reflects and connotes the same perceptions of the parthenos and of marriage as the altar + palm-tree.[102]

Let us now consider the pursuit shown in the space between two houses on 4. (If, as is most unlikely, the building on the right is a temple, the space is of the same type as 5, represented through a different scheme.) At one level, the second house may have functioned, and been read as, the companions' house, and the fact that the pursued girl and one of the companions are moving towards one house, and the other two towards the other, may support this reading. But viewed through fifth-century assumptions, the second house surely acquired also another significance. A girl is being pursued, taken away from her house and father; she is in the street, forced by her pursuer to move towards another house, in which another father-like figure stands by another house altar. This calls up another series of scenes and the situation they represent: a girl taken from her father's house by a man (soon to possess her sexually) who leads her to another house is the essence of marriage, crystallized in the ritual act of the movement between the two houses, the wedding-procession, which—and the representations of which—include gestures pertaining to abduction and coercion (*cf.* notes 63–6) and are located between the bride's and the bridegroom's houses (*cf.* e.g. pyxis London E 1920.12.21.1 [*ARV* 1277.23, Add 178]). I suggest that the pursuit located between the two houses on 4 called up the notion, and the iconographical frame of reference, 'wedding procession', and this helped relate this pursuit to marriage, stressing that it was a metaphor for marriage. The door on 2 may denote in abbreviated form the same space and produce the same meanings: outside the girl's house, between the two houses; or it may indicate the courtyard and represent the notion 'taken from her father's house'; or, ambivalently, call up both sets of meanings.

We must not assume that Athenian viewers when looking at pursuits without spatial indicators necessarily filled in a particular location from their prior knowledge and assumptions. For scenes without spatial indicators represented one particular version of 'erotic pursuit', one which, for example, did not emphasize the nuptial connotations as 4 did. The painters were creating their own versions of the myths, and those without spatial indicators were both polysemic and emblematic, not stressing any particular aspect of the theme, and emphasizing more the paradigmatic nature of the representation, depicted in an emblematic, unspecified space. It could be argued that, if the myth of Theseus' pursuit depicted in our scenes had located the abduction in one specific place, we should expect the representations to depict that space, and assume that the scenes which do not fit this scheme represent a different subject. But this is

[99] Even after she was tamed and brought into male society, the danger remained that her domestication could be reversed: see King (n. 51) esp. 110, 124; Lefkowitz (n. 82) 16–18.

[100] See 'Palms' section 2.

[101] See 'Palms' section 2.

[102] See 'Palms' section 2.

excluded by the conceptual representation of space seen unambiguously on 5. The fact that the space on 5 is inconsistent with real space shows that it is not the representation of a particular environment specified in a myth. We cannot know whether the myths located the Theseus pursuit in a specific space; and if they did, whether there was more than one version of this localization. If the locality was specified, it is likely to have been a sanctuary of Artemis rather than the father's house courtyard; both locations express important perceptions pertaining to marriage, but only the former had crystallized into a mythological motif. In any case, the painters were creating their own versions, which were not necessarily contradicting any narrative version: if the localization had been firmly specified as an Artemis sanctuary, contemporary viewers may have read that location into the mythological representations without spatial indicators; but the emphasis would be different, depending on whether the artist had actually depicted the space 'sanctuary'. As for the scenes located in the courtyard or outside the house, they would not have been perceived to be contradicting a sanctuary location either: they expressed the relationship between 'erotic pursuit' and marriage, and the perceptions which that metaphor reflected and articulated.

Interestingly, the Niobid Painter, who created the versions stressing the nuptial facet of the pursuit, associates with them on 3 and 5 scenes which, in my view, depict nuptial rites in the courtyard of the bridegroom's house; that is, he represents on the other side (side B of the neck) the socialized version of the same rite, the wedding as a solemn cultural and religious institution. The scene on B on 5 is incomplete, but the arrangement of the figures and comparison with side B of 3, suggest that there was an altar in the missing part.[103] Thus the representations on side B of 5 and 3 show ritual activities which take place at the altar in the house courtyard (the spatial indicators are column, chair and altar), involving the holding of branches, libations and women with a sceptre and diadem (on 3 one, on 5 apparently two [the second is fragmentary]). This combination of elements and overall scheme can only be parallelled in representations of wedding scenes; B on 3 and 5 therefore seem to represent some part of the nuptial rites taking place in the house courtyard. (Compare, for example, the pyxis London D 11 [*ARV* 899.146]). The bride and groom are absent, as though sides A and B were to be taken together, and the pair is 'represented' in the wild version of their union on A. This juxtaposition of a version of 'erotic pursuit' stressing the nuptial facet and of a scene depicting nuptial rites, which occurs twice in the work of the Niobid Painter, provides some support for my interpretations, as does the fact that, on my analysis, the overall decoration of 5 forms a system in which the different scenes complement, counterpoint, and help define each other:[104] On the body there is a representation of warriors, one of them an ephebe, leaving home. Vernant[105] has pointed out that marriage is to girls what war is to boys, and girls' initiations prepare them for marriage and transformation to the condition of (tamed) gyne, as boys' initiations prepare them for integration into the status of full warrior, hoplite. Thus, this vase presents a series of oppositions and counterpoints: ephebe: unmarried girl: erotic pursuit—hoplite: married women (the mother[s], presiding over the transition of the [absent] girl to this category): marriage; the two forms of love and war: on the one hand the wild ephebic/parthenic, and on the other the domesticated, civilized form of the hoplite/gyne, fully participating in the normal order of the city.

VII. Other Iconographical Elements

The iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit' includes some further elements which also produced nuptial connotations. One such element is, we saw, the arrangement of the himation

[103] See *CB* (n. 10) ii 81.

[104] I am discussing it as an illustration; a similar system of relationships, pertaining to slightly different aspects of the 'erotic pursuit', is observed on the Bologna krater.

[105] J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1974; 1981) 37–8.

over the girl's head. Another is the wreath, which the pursuer wears in several scenes.[106] Wreaths are also worn in other pursuits/abductions, by the pursuer and others.[107] Bridegrooms wore a wreath in the wedding ceremony.[108] Of course, the wreath is not monosemic; it was worn on many festive occasions, and Theseus, for example, wears it in a variety of circumstances.[109] But its combination here with other elements relating to the nuptial sphere, the fact that it can also be worn by the girl's father (n. 118) and that it occurs in other pursuits/abductions (including ones with a known nuptial facet) suggest that here the wreath alluded to the marriage ceremony and contributed to nuptial suggestions. It is rare for the girl to wear a wreath in our pursuits. What she very frequently wears is an (ornate) diadem,[110] similar to that worn by brides in the wedding ceremony.[111] In this context this diadem, like the wreath, contributed to the nuptial allusions. A taenia is sometimes worn by the pursued girl[112] or the pursuer,[113] who can also be shown with a 'radiated' diadem.[114] On the cup Carlsruhe 59.72 (*ARV* 883.60, 1673, Add 148) a taenia is shown in the field, as in some wedding scenes such as that on the loutrophoros Copenhagen 9080 (see n. 111). The taenia is associated with—among other contexts—Aphrodite,[115] weddings[116] and the Brauronian rites.[117] Thus its meaning here is likely to be polysemic, with the nuptial (and perhaps the 'initiatory') connotations prominent. On some of our pursuits the father also wears a wreath,[118] which, like those worn by the protagonists, alludes to the marriage ceremony. The same is true of the branch held by the father is some erotic pursuits.[119] On the cup Ferrara 44886 (*ARV* 880.11, Add 147) a flying heron denotes the outdoors, but at the same time, given the heron's association with scenes in the women's quarters,[120] it connotes domesticity and the space to which the gyne is fixed through marriage; it thus may also allude to the nuptial dimension of 'erotic pursuit'.

VIII. Combinations with Other Subjects

I now consider briefly the type of scenes with which our erotic pursuits are combined, and attempt to determine whether these combinations support our conclusions—though they cannot invalidate them, since there is not always a thematic connection between the scenes on a vase.[121] For the same reason, an investigation of these relationships is vulnerable to culture-

[106] Examples of a pursuer with a wreath: stamnos Oxford 1911.619 (here PLATE III*b*); bell-krater Louvre G 423 (*ARV* 1064.6).

[107] See e.g. Thetis' abduction by Peleus (a marriage paradigm) on the cup London, Victoria and Albert Museum 4807.1901 (*ARV* 89.14) Peleus, Thetis and the Nereids are all wearing wreaths.

[108] See e.g. loutrophoros Boston 10.223 (n. 71); loutrophoros once in Berlin (ex Sabouroff) (n. 74). On wreaths at weddings: Blech (n. 40) 75–81.

[109] See Blech (n. 40) 430–1, 450; see also 124, 264–5.

[110] See e.g. oinochoe Ferrara sequestro Venezia 2505 (*ARV* 1206.3).

[111] See e.g. the Boston loutrophoros (n. 71) and the Sabouroff loutrophoros (n. 74); loutrophoros Copenhagen inv. 9080 (*ARV* 841.75, Para 423). On the diadem worn by the bride see Blech (n. 40) 76–81.

[112] See e.g. side B of the bell-krater Leningrad 777 (here PLATE III*a*); neck-amphora at Mykonos by the Oinokles Painter (*ARV* 648.24).

[113] See e.g. the neck-amphora Leningrad 709 (*ARV* 487.61, Para 512, here PLATE III*c*); stamnos Warsaw 142353 (ex Czartoryski 51) (*ARV* 501.2).

[114] Calyx-krater Geneva MF 238 (*ARV* 615.1).

[115] See Redfield (n.66) 195.

[116] See e.g. Redfield (n. 66) 188; Epaulia gifts including a taenia: Roberts (n. 36) 184, see pls. 56–7, 58.2, 59.1. That the taenia in the field on the erotic pursuit cup Carlsruhe 59.72 (see text) and in wedding scenes (e.g. the Copenhagen loutrophoros [n. 111]) does not denote an indoor space is shown by scenes where the spatial indicators locate the scene in the courtyard, and a taenia is hanging in the field (e.g. the pyxis Athens Acr. 569 [*ARV* 890.172, Roberts (n. 36) 84 pls. 56–7, 58.2] by the Penthesilea Painter, like the Carlsruhe cup).

[117] L. Kahil, *AntK* viii (1965) 21, and see e.g. pl. 7.

[118] See e.g. oinochoe Ferrara sequestro Venezia 2505 (*ARV* 1206.3); bell-krater Istanbul 2914 (*ARV* 603.41, G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations of Samaria* [Cambridge, Mass. 1924] pls. 69; 70).

[119] See e.g. the calyx-krater at Aachen, Ludwig (*ARV* 1661.7 bis, Para 396, Add 130). On the hydria London E 198 (see text section 6 no. 2) the father wears a wreath and holds a branch. The Niobid Painter and his group who stressed the nuptial dimension of 'erotic pursuit' through spatial elements also liked to include wreaths and branches, which again allude to weddings. Dr M. Schmidt, who has kindly let me know that she agrees with my argument relating erotic pursuits to marriage, also thinks that the fathers' branches in the pursuits allude to sacral rites. For Krieger (n. 25) 80 the torches held by Chiron in some scenes of Thetis' pursuit/capture allude to marriage.

[120] See 'Palms' n. 100.

[121] See C. Bron and F. Lissarague, in *Cité* (n. 9) 17.

determination, to the creation of constructs of associations between different themes on a vase which may or may not be an accurate reflection of ancient realities. A systematic investigation of combinations would be lengthy and involve separate semantic analyses of the different subjects. I only mention some combinations which seem unequivocal and significant because they relate to semantic areas which are important facets of our theme. Representations of this type fall into the following categories. First, ephebic scenes, relating to the ephebic associations of 'erotic pursuit'. One such combination is found, for example, on the cup in Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society (from Vulci: *ARV* 880.3). To the same ephebic facet probably belong also the scenes showing athletes,[122] and the many scenes with youths which are combined with erotic pursuits[123]—the fact that they are banal, routine scenes does not mean that they are meaningless, or that their combinations are necessarily unmotivated by thematic connections. A second semantic axis along which connections are made between our pursuit and other subjects is Theseus. The following are examples: cup Frankfort Museum V.F. x 14628 (*ARV* 796.117), with an erotic pursuit on B and Theseus and Skiron on the tondo;[124] calyx-krater Geneva MF 238 (*ARV* 615.1, Para 397, Add 131) with a Thesean Amazonomachy in the upper row and a scene (boy with lyre and youths) pertaining to the ephebic realm on B below. The Amazonomachy related to the erotic pursuit through Theseus and also along the semantic axis male-female relationships, certain perceptions of which are articulated in such scenes. Other pursuits/abductions are also sometimes combined with our theme[125] and stress, or help define, through similarities and differences, some of its aspects. Satyrs and Maenads are sometimes combined with our pursuits, representing the wildest form of male-female sexual relationship, the one furthest away from acculturated sexual activity in marriage in the context of the polis leading to the creation of children as social beings. This theme lies at the opposite pole from marriage—thus helping define our pursuit as 'in the middle', not the acculturated institution, but not the world of unbridled sexual beings either: a half-wild half-acculturated erotic union, appropriate for the not fully civilized and integrated ephebes and parthenoi; sufficiently 'inside' to function as a paradigm for marriage, articulating certain perceptions of it.

Some scenes combined with erotic pursuits relate to their nuptial facet, confirming further its importance. Apart from those already mentioned, another subject with nuptial significance is depicted on the bell-krater *frr.* in Athens, in the manner of the Dinos Painter (*ARV* 1155.1) which shows our type of pursuit on B and a wedding scene on A. Some other scenes combined with pursuits may also pertain to the nuptial facet: libation scenes involving a bearded man with sceptre (the type who in our pursuits represents the father) and women[126] may represent emblematically the acculturated version of the erotic union, marriage and its religious rites, and thus relate the erotic pursuit to the nuptial dimension. Another type of scene combined with erotic pursuits is departure for war, which we discussed above. Perhaps themes from the life of women which are combined with erotic pursuits, such as the scene combined with erotic pursuit on the hydria Syracuse 36330 (*ARV* 1062.2) depicting women, one with a lyre, in a domestic context (chest, heron) and Eros, are a female equivalent of (hoplitic) war, pertaining to the life and pursuits of married, that is acculturated, integrated women:[127] above we see the integrated

[122] See e.g. the upper frieze of the calyx-krater New York 06.1021.173 (*ARV* 1092.75).

[123] See e.g. side B of the bell-krater Louvre G 423 (*ARV* 1064.6).

[124] Boreas pursuing Oreithyia on A relates to the erotic pursuit along another semantic axis, that of pursuit.

[125] E.g.: Frankfort cup, side A; calyx-krater New York 06.1021.173 (n. 122): Eos pursuing a youth on A, our pursuit on B. Our pursuit with Peleus': volute-krater Naples 2421 (*ARV* 600.13, Para 395).

[126] See the stamnos Oxford 1911.619 (*ARV* 629.16).

[127] Similar scenes have been interpreted as showing professional musicians and/or educated hetairai by D. Williams (in Cameron and Kuhrt eds. [n. 51] 99–102) because of the presumed lack of education of respectable Athenian women. In my view, the latter is problematic; it is dependent on certain types of male ideality which may not necessarily reflect reality. Bérard, *Cité* (n. 9) 86–8 argues that a group of scenes of this type indicates that rich Athenian women could be cultured. In my view, the fact that our women alternate with the Muses and Sappho who are presented according to this type of iconographical scheme (*cf.* Williams 100) suggests that they are Athenian citizens.

women inside the house and Eros in his acculturated form (he is holding a lyre) in marriage and below the wild form of Eros, the pursuit and imminent capture of the wild girl who, through the marriage of which the capture is a wild version, will become fully tamed and fulfil her proper role, represented through the domestic scene. The two themes help define each other.

IX. Variants of 'Erotic Pursuit by Theseus/an Ephebe'

The scenes here classified as variants have an iconographical scheme of the same type as our pursuits, but involving either more than one pursuer, or a different pursuer or girl. When the scene is mythological this entails that a different story is depicted, when it is not mythological it is a different type of 'genre' scene from that of our main series, involving a different type of person. In a major type of variant the iconographical scheme of the pursuit is the same, but the pursuer (who is heroic/human)[128] is shown through a different iconographical scheme. Another type of variant involves more than one pursuer; such scenes vary, in a way similar to scenes with one pursuer: some show youths similar to Theseus in our pursuits, others show other types of male. In another variant the pursuer is similar to that of our main series, but the identity of the pursued girl has changed.

Since these scenes also represent a human/heroic pursuit, their meanings should be compatible with those of the scenes at the centre of our investigation. For example, if it had been the case—which it is not—that the weapons carried by the other human pursuers in these variants were represented as offensive weapons being used as such during the pursuit, this would have thrown some doubt on our conclusions about the role of the spears. But in fact, the variants of 'erotic pursuit' are all compatible with our readings.[129]

In one variant, which, like our pursuits, occurs in two types, with and without spears,[130] the pursuer is a bearded man. The meanings of this theme, obviously, do not pertain to the ephebic sphere, as our pursuits do, but to the sexual (and perhaps also to the matrimonial) facet of 'erotic pursuit'. If the type without spears was partly modelled on Boreas[131] then perhaps the notion of the matrimonial dimension is reinforced. In a variant which shares many elements with our type 1 pursuits the pursuer is a young warrior. This variant shows that the element 'not attack' defines erotic pursuit (by heroes/mortals) across variants: in these pursuits by young warriors the weapons are never held in a position of attack or menacingly; on the contrary, the use of the motif of holding the spear in the left makes explicit that this weapon is not represented in action in the course of an attack.[132] This confirms my views about the significance of the spears in our type 1 pursuits.

Another variant[133] is depicted on the skyphos in the Vatican by the Lewis Painter (*ARV*

[128] As we may conclude when he is not characterized as some particular divine being, or the pursuit is not otherwise defined as representing some divine pursuit. I discuss divine pursuits and their relationship to heroic/human ones in 'Menace' 3 iii.

[129] As for the selection of a corpus (on which see Bérard *E.L.* [n. 78] 27; Schmitt-Pantel and Thelamon [n. 50] 17), mine is—I hope—conceptually open—though space forced me to confine my analyses to scenes involving Theseus or one youth depicted through the Theseus scheme. I left out scenes such as that on the stamnos Athens NM 18063 (*ARV* 1028.13, 1678, Add 155) which includes a chariot (an element which belongs to the iconography of some abductions, but not to our pursuit's) though it may be semantically related to our theme, because this is the methodologically neutral strategy: for if (as is probable, given the important divergence) it represents a different subject, its inclusion would distort our analyses. A comparison of such scenes to our pursuit must only take place after both have been thoroughly studied independently.

[130] With spears: see e.g.: Column-krater Ferrara T.375 (*ARV* 957.60, Para 433); without: see e.g. column-krater Chiusi, Museo archeologico nazionale, già Coll. Civica n. 1822 (*CVA* pls. 6–7).

[131] See *CVA* (n. 130) where it is maintained that it is Boreas. On Boreas and Oreithyia see n. 24.

[132] See e.g. Nolan amphora London E 310 (*ARV* 202.84); neck-amphora Oxford 1914.733 (*ARV* 1058.120); stamnos Brussels R 311 (*ARV* 502.6); column-krater in Leningrad from Kerch (*ARV* 532.46); oinochoe Florence 21B 308 *frr.* (*ARV* 1167.14).

[133] Not recognized as an erotic pursuit by Bothmer, (D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek art* [Oxford 1957] 184 no. 73 and pp. 187–8).

974.28): on A a Greek youth, wearing a wreath and a chlamys worn like a wrap, is running, holding two spears in his right and extending his outstretched left towards an Amazon who is fleeing and turning back; there are Amazons running on B in the role of the fleeing companions. The pursued Amazon on A is extending her right towards the youth, in the exact stance of the pursued girls of the other scenes, with the difference that she is holding an axe in her bent left, in exactly the same position as that in which the pursued girl on B of the skyphos Providence 25072 (also by the Lewis Painter) is holding a stylized flower—for this pursued female is a warrior, and must be thus characterized. The pursuer's stance resembles in a general way that of the pursuer on the Providence skyphos, and the skyphos Reggio 4134 in the manner of the Lewis Painter (*ARV* 975.3), and more closely that on another skyphos by the Lewis Painter, Reggio 3877 (*ARV* 974.25) of type 1. It is clear that this is an erotic pursuit, and the fact that the scene does not denote an attack is made explicit both by the overall syntax of the scene, and by a detail in the arrangement of the spears which, like similar motifs in our type 1 pursuits, denotes that the signification space in which this theme was inscribed, and which determined its production, included the element 'not attack': the spearheads are well beyond the Amazon's body, reaching almost to the palmette decoration under the handles. But the combination of the youth's spears and the Amazon's axe do create the effect of implicit potential violence between them, appropriate to the hostility obtaining between Greeks and Amazons which is thus signalled. By presenting the Amazon about to be caught and raped by a Greek, this theme, like the equivalent mythological stories of Amazons defeated and Antiope erotically abducted, raped or seduced and impregnated, reduces even the masculine, dominant Amazons[134] to subordinate defeated females[135] and the objects of male sexual aggression. This, then, is one iconographical expression of the Greek perceptions of the relations between the sexes, focussing on the threatening aspect of the woman, condensed in the figure of the abnormal male-like female who, even so, is subdued by the male—as she is in the myths, especially that of Theseus and Antiope. Since the pursuer lacks the elements which unequivocally build up the sign 'Theseus' the scene on the Vatican skyphos may represent a generic Greek and a generic Amazon, rather than Antiope's abduction; but if so that abduction was certainly the theme's mythological paradigm.[136]

Yet another variant of 'erotic pursuit' involves more than one pursuer, like the scene on the Basle amphora recently discussed by Schefold.[137] Whether mythological or 'genre', these multiple pursuits reflect, I believe, the notion 'companionship of ephebes/young males' which is also correlative with the mythological pairs of friends such as Theseus and Peirithous and Orestes and Pylades. A rare type of scene, which is not a variant of erotic pursuit but may superficially appear to be one, is that in which the youth is carrying both spears and drawn sword, e.g. on the hydria at Taranto from Ceglie (*ARV* 606.74) and the hydria Louvre G 427 (*ARV* 615.2). In the complex process of interactive meaning-production through which images are made sense of, the drawn sword makes the theme an attack.[138] The spears are perfectly appropriate as signifying elements characterizing Theseus-as-ephebe. So this type of scene is in fact a variant of the theme 'Theseus with a drawn sword' (see n. 138).

All these variants produce meanings which are compatible with, and confirm, the meanings here suggested for our pursuits. In particular, the conclusion that the theme 'erotic pursuit by Theseus' articulates also certain Greek perceptions of male-female relationships is confirmed by

[134] On the significance of the Amazons and the rule of women myth see S. Pembroke, *JWI* xxx (1967) 1–35; *id.*, *JESHO* viii (1965) 217–47.

[135] On the defeat of dominant women who represent chaos and misrule see J. Bamberger in M. Z. Rozaldo and L. Lamphere eds., *Woman, culture and society* (1974) 263–80; F. I. Zeitlin, *Arethusa* xi (1978) 149–84.

[136] Theseus and Antiope: see e.g. the amphora Louvre G 197 (*ARV* 238.1, Para 349, Add 100) where Antiope also carries a battle axe.

[137] K. Schefold, *RA* (1982), 233–6.

[138] On the drawn sword and its meanings see 'Menace' 3 ii a.I, where I discuss the relationship between the themes 'erotic pursuit' and 'Theseus with a drawn sword'.

the fact that the other variants of this theme seem to give concrete expression to this notion by replacing Theseus/the ephebe with other male types in the role of sexual pursuer.

X. Conclusions: the Erotic Pursuit

To sum up. The iconographical theme 'erotic pursuit' reflected, and expressed, certain perceptions about, first, ephebes and parthenoi, second, male-female relationships and third, marriage. These three semantic facets of the theme are, of course, intertwined and interdependent. Erotic pursuit/abduction as a metaphor for wedding/marriage, the representation of the 'wild marriage', capture (instead of the acculturated form with *engye* and proper ritual), involving the not fully integrated, 'wild-warrior' (anti-hoplite) ephebe and the wild girl—all express some fundamental aspects of Greek realities and mentality pertaining to marriage. The following are some of the most important. The notion of the girl as a wild thing to be pursued and captured and tamed through marriage; the violence of the wrenching of the girl from her familiar world and transfer to an unfamiliar one and to the jurisdiction of a strange man; the subduing of the female by the male—an important Greek notion which is itself a polysemic signifier articulating other values; and defloration and the sexual relationship as acts of physical domination of the woman. Thus the metaphorical relationship between erotic pursuit and marriage also expresses the notion that the acculturated form of marriage which belongs to civilized society also contains within it the wild marriage to which on the surface it appears to be contrasted.

These conclusions gain some confirmation from the consideration of the myth of Atalanta, which proves to be a reversal of the nexus 'erotic pursuit' as I have reconstructed it. It includes all the elements which pertain to this nexus: pursuit and capture connected with marriage, the wild girl with elements of animality (Atalanta had been exposed and suckled by a bear) and connected with Artemis,[139] the wild ephebe,[140] and the marriage between the two. But in it the relationships between the elements are, when compared to 'erotic pursuit' and to what was considered 'correct' in Greek mentality, reversed. First, the wild girl (a huntress who roams outside her proper place) refuses her proper destination of marriage, refuses the transition out of the state of wildness and to the status of married woman. Second, the pursuit involving Atalanta (presented as a race, which relates the story to the initiatory races) is a test set by her; it is she who pursued the ephebe, and who ran armed: Atalanta's suitors had to run ahead of her; she killed those whom she caught up with but she would marry whoever succeeded in not being caught. Another related reversal is the fact that here it is non-capture that entails success and marriage, while capture brings death. Many failed and died until Melanion (in another version Hippomenes) slowed Atalanta down through a trick and she married him.[141] In the nexus 'erotic pursuit' the ephebe captures the girl and this stand for marriage leading to the woman's final taming and integration. In Atalanta's myth it is the girl's non-capture of the male that leads to marriage. Correlative with this reversal, which meant that Atalanta was not captured (and thus symbolically 'tamed'), is the abnormal nature of this marriage, which did not purge her of wildness and animality and did not integrate her into her proper place: instead of staying inside

[139] Exposed and suckled by a bear: Apollod. iii 9.2. On Atalanta: W. Immerwahr, *De Atalanta* (Berlin 1885). J. Fontenrose, *Orion: the myth of the hunter and the huntress*, U. Cal. Publ. in Classics xxxiii (1981) 175–81 and 202–4. (The Hesiodic *Catalogue* describes a straight forward race between Atalanta and her suitor. [On Atalanta in Hes. *Catal.: frr.* 72–6 Merkelbach-West]). There are two Atalantas in myth, one Arcadian and one Boeotian. Fontenrose 176 following Immerwahr 23–6 argues that there is only one Atalanta, who is primarily a fast runner in the Boeotian legend and a bowmaid in the Arcadian one. I prefer to say that different, if related, myths, pertaining to a wild parthenos who refuses marriage, were crystallized in the figure of Atalanta.

[140] Melanion or Hippomenes: see Apollod. iii 9.2 and J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus. The Library* (London 1921) *ad loc.* On Melanion as a wild ephebe and his relationship to Atalanta: Vidal-Naquet (n. 28) 171–2.

[141] *Cf.* Appollod. iii 9.2. The fact that this erotic pursuit is presented as a test supports the suggestion that the theme 'pursuit and capture of a girl' included a perception of an ephebic test.

the house she continued to hunt in the wilderness in the company of her husband, who also continued to be a wild ephebe.[142] Thus, this was a wild marriage of a wild, not properly tamed girl, and did not bring about, as proper marriage does, the tamed gyne's integration into society in her proper place. This is reflected in Atalanta's and Melanion's behaviour, which was that of non-acculturated people, similar to that of animals: they copulated in a sanctuary, thus transgressing against the Greek religious observance which forbade intercourse in a sanctuary, and for this reason they were changed into animals;[143] that is, instead of losing their (and especially her) animality through marriage, they lost their humanity and became fully animal, because, not having become acculturated and integrated, they practised a wild form of erotic union which transgressed against a religious, cultural, observance. This, then, is—among other things—the paradigm of a wild marriage in which the proper taming and transition have not taken place; it helps define the ideal, the canonical marriage, metaphorically expressed through the theme 'pursuit, capture and taming of the wild girl', through an articulation of its opposite.[144]

The fact that the myth of Atalanta is the mirror-image, a consistent reversal, of the nexus 'erotic pursuit' as I have reconstructed it here provides some non-circular confirmation for my results and shows that they are not simply a modern, culturally determined, construct.

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[142] A properly acculturated Greek man does not go hunting with his wife. The two paradigms of refusal to marry and become acculturated have been made to marry in myth, to express the notion 'wild marriage of not properly acculturated parthenos and/or youth'.

[143] See e.g. Apollod. iii 9.2; and Frazer's commentary *ad loc.* (n. 140) with references; Vidal-Naquet (n. 28) 173; Fontenrose (n. 139) 179–80. On the prohibition of copulation in a sanctuary: R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983) 76.

[144] My interpretation fits the scene on the lekythos Cleveland 66.114 (Para 376.266 bis, Add 118, J. Boardman, *The Art Institute of Chicago Centennial Lectures. Museum Studies* x [Chicago 1983] 3–19) which shows Atalanta as a bride, fleeing, pursued by three Erotes holding flowers and a wreath (connoting marriage) and a whip, usually wielded by Eros in pursuit of boys: the inverted pursuit as a paradigm of wild marriage corresponds to the image of the fleeing wild girl as a bride pursued (by Erotes connoting marriage and especially) by an Eros with a whip, characteristic of schemata involving young males.

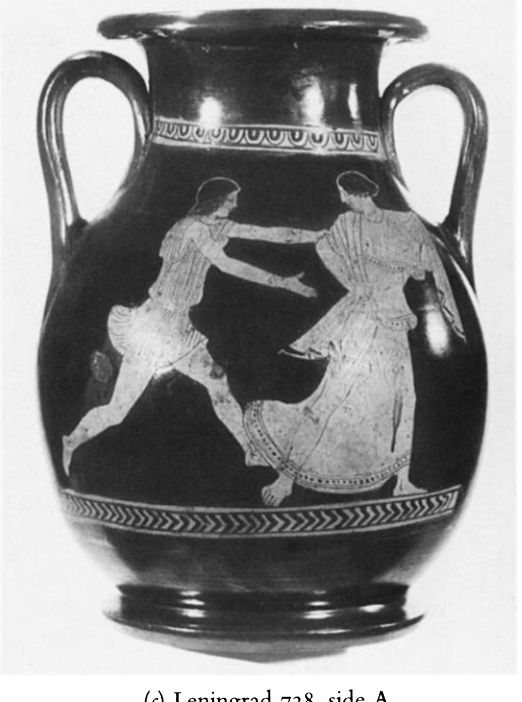
PLATE II



(*a*) The Parthenon frieze: young men as cavalrymen. (Courtesy Alison Frantz)



(*b*) Leningrad: lekane fragment
(Courtesy Hermitage Museum)



(*c*) Leningrad 728, side A
(Courtesy Hermitage Museum)

(*a*) THE VIEWING AND OBSCURING OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE
(*b*)–(*c*) EROTIC PURSUITS: IMAGES AND MEANINGS



(*a*) Leningrad 777, side B. (Courtesy Hermitage Museum)



(*b*) Oxford 1911, side A. (Courtesy Ashmolean Museum)



(*c*) Leningrad 709, side A. (Courtesy Hermitage Museum)



(*d*) Leningrad 709, side B. (Courtesy Hermitage Museum)



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Proto-racism in Graeco-Roman antiquity

Benjamin Isaac

Abstract

In spite of the usual assumption that racism is a form of prejudice which developed in recent history, it is argued here that prototypes of racism were prevalent in Greek and Roman thinking. Racism here is taken as representing a form of rationalizing and systematically justifying various forms of prejudice, a conceptual process which was part of the Greek intellectual development in general. The forms which this proto-racism took were different from those encountered in the twentieth century and they did not lead to systematic persecution, but they were influential at the time and deeply influenced later authors in the age of the Enlightenment and afterwards, who accepted these ideas together with others which they found in the Greek and Latin literature. The concepts discussed are: environmental determinism, the inheritance of acquired characteristics, a combination of these, and pure lineage. A related issue is the ancient view of slavery and the connection with concepts of empire in classical antiquity. Influential then, as in later times, was the sense that imperial expansion and migration inevitably lead to degeneration and collective deterioration both through the influence of debilitating climate and by contamination with the flaws of inferior peoples. Furthermore it is argued that the stereotypical views of foreign peoples may not have determined imperial policy, but nevertheless had their impact on the political and military decisions that were made.

Keywords

Racism; proto-racism; Greece; Rome; slavery; imperialism.

Preliminary remarks

There appears to be a consensus that racism as such originates in modern times. Since it is thought not to be attested earlier, conventional wisdom usually denies that there was any race hatred in the ancient world (Fredrickson 2002: 17; unsatisfactory: Hannaford 1996: chs 2, 3; a different view: Delacampagne 1983). The prejudices that existed, so it is believed, were ethnic or cultural, not racial. In this paper I shall discuss three topics. First, I shall argue that prototypes of racism were common in the Gracco-Roman world. My second point will be to describe the close links between those forms of prejudice and ancient ideas about slavery. Finally, I shall have something to say about the connection

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between these concepts and ancient imperialism. The ideas proposed in this paper are fully discussed in a recent book (Isaac 2004).

Obviously, in classical antiquity racism did not exist in the modern form of a biological determinism. Clearly too there was no systematic persecution of any ethnic or presumed racial group by another, let alone the massive excesses to which state-imposed racist doctrine led in the twentieth century. However, I shall argue that it is justified to speak of early forms of racism, or 'proto-racism', as a widespread phenomenon in antiquity. I do not claim that prejudice and bigotry are invented in the West; I claim that the specific forms of rationalizing these prejudices and attempting to base them in systematic, abstract thought were developed in antiquity and taken over in early modern Europe. Nobody will deny that racism as an ideology developed in Europe, not in China, Japan or India. It is generally accepted that Greek civilization was the first to raise the level of abstract, systematic abstract thought to a level that we now recognize as approaching our own. I assert that the Greeks not only contributed the first attempt to think systematically about, e.g., political systems, but also the first effort to find a rational and systematic basis for their own sense of superiority and their claim that others were inferior. The subjects of my study are precisely the conceptual mechanisms which they developed towards this purpose and which were taken over with alacrity by later thinkers.

Hostility towards foreigners occurs in every society, but in widely differing degrees, social settings and moral environments. An essential component of such hostility is always the tendency to generalize and simplify, so that whole nations are viewed as if they were a single individual with a single personality. I should emphasize at the outset that one of the difficulties in studying group prejudices in antiquity is the lack of any term in Greek and Latin for 'racism', for 'prejudice' or 'discrimination'. Anticipating the conclusions of this paper I would like to suggest that the lack of such terminology stems from the fact that there existed no intellectual, moral or emotional objections against such generalizations. We must therefore trace the development of ideas and attitudes for which there existed no terminology in the culture under consideration. It will be clear from this description that this paper is concerned exclusively with the history of specific ideas, not with the social history of antiquity or with the practice of discrimination and persecution in Greece and Rome. While I do not underestimate the importance of these topics as such the justification for this approach is that the ancient ideas are found in Greek and Latin literature. This literature was widely read for centuries in the West and the ideas found there had a profound influence on later generations. This leads me to a second point that requires explanation. This paper focuses on literary sources, that is, on the writings of the male elites in Greece and Rome. Quite clearly we cannot assume that the ideas expressed by members of those circles are identical with those of the representatives of other classes in Greece and Rome. Simple traders, farmers and professional soldiers did not leave us their ideas, so we cannot study them, nor can we interview common people on the streets of ancient cities. Since there is, however, a substantial body of ancient literature there is work to do and it is worth doing it, particularly because, as already noted, these authors continued to be read till the present time.

Modern definitions of race are numerous, definitions of racism a little less so and it is the latter that is needed here, for I am studying attitudes of mind and their development. It will be clear that the nature of the definition always reflects the focus and outlook of the

definer. My definition of racism is as follows: 'an attitude towards individuals and groups of peoples which posits a direct and linear connection between physical and mental qualities. It therefore attributes to those individuals and groups of peoples collective traits, physical, mental and moral, which are constant and unalterable by human will, because they are caused by hereditary factors or external influences, such as climate or geography.' This is long, but it covers the subject. The essence of racism is then that it regards individuals as superior or inferior because they are believed to share imagined physical, mental and moral attributes with the group to which they are deemed to belong, and it is assumed that they cannot change these traits individually. This is held to be impossible, because these traits are determined by their physical make-up. This is a relatively broad, yet precise definition, broader than the ones usually employed. I am not the first to search for a flexible yet precise definition. Another author who did so was Albert Memmi in his lucid and influential book on the subject (Memmi 2000). He rightly observes that too narrow a definition will not allow us forms of racism that fail to correspond with the forms of it which dominated in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. Miles and Brown also emphasize the fluidity of racism as an ideology which is applied in different periods and different societies to various groups while still maintaining definable characteristics (Miles and Brown 2003: 103–13).

A somewhat wider definition makes it possible recognize forms of racism that are not steered exclusively by biological determinism. Indeed, few historians now would deny that many authors of the Enlightenment, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, adhered to a form of racism that was common before Darwin's revolution. It was his scientific breakthrough which made it possible to develop a pseudo-scientific form of racism, based on current biological theory. The advantage for the racist of the latter concept was that it seemed to give a justification for prejudice, based on influences entirely from within. Genetics were used to build a theory of constant and unchangeable characteristics for entire groups of people. These characteristics, it was then claimed, were passed on from one generation to the next. The essence can best be illustrated with an example: in nineteenth-century Germany and Austria Jews who converted to Christianity became thereby in principle eligible for certain official positions. This represents an attitude of religious and social intolerance. Under the Nazi regime it made no difference whether a Jew was converted or not: his descent was all that mattered.

However, before Darwin there existed other forms of racism, based on the idea that external influences, such as climate and geography determined the basic characteristics of entire peoples. These may be found in the works of French authors such as Jean Bodin (1530–96), John Arbuthnot (1667–1735) and, most influential, Montesquieu (1689–1755). In Germany, Herder and Christoph Meiners represent this school of thought (Isaac 2004: 56–7, 102–8). It is well known that these authors read their classical literature thoroughly and it is therefore only natural to look for precursors of these particular ideas in the ancient authors which they read. 'The authority of Greek and Roman texts should not be underestimated in providing ruling-class men (of the eighteenth century), in particular, with the distinction between themselves and barbarians' (Wheeler 2000: 15).

I will now briefly consider five concepts which, together, were in antiquity commonly held to determine the collective nature of groups, or the character of peoples. These are: environmental determinism, the inheritance of acquired characteristics, a combination of

these two ideas, the constitution and form of government, autochthony and pure lineage. This will be followed by some thoughts about the connection between those ideas and the ideology of ancient imperialism.

Environmental determinism

In both Greek and Latin literature from the middle of the fifth century BC onwards we encounter an almost generally accepted form of environmental determinism. This is first explicitly and extensively presented in the medical treatise *Airs, Waters, Places*, written at an uncertain date in the second half of the fifth century BC. The particular form of environmental determinism first found in this work became the generally accepted model in Greece and, afterwards, with variations, in Rome. According to this view, collective characteristics of groups of people are permanently determined by climate and geography. The implication is that the essential features of body and mind come from the outside and are not the result of genetic evolution, social environment or conscious choice. Individuality and individual change are thereby ignored and even excluded. This is definitely related to racist attitudes as here defined. Entire nations are believed to have common characteristics determined wholly by factors outside themselves, which are, by implication, stable and unchangeable. These presumed characteristics are then subject to value judgements, in which foreigners are usually rejected as being inferior to the observer or approved of as being untainted and superior in some respects. Such descriptions are, of course, not based on objective observations of reality. They are expressions of ethnic stereotypes and proto-racism.

The essence of the concept of environmental determinism is found again in the work of Aristotle, with some interesting variations. It is worth citing the text at some length:

> The peoples of cold countries generally, and particularly those of Europe, are full of spirit, but deficient in skill and intelligence; and this is why they continue to remain comparatively free, but attain no political development and show no capacity for governing others. The peoples of Asia are endowed with skill and intelligence, but are deficient in spirit; and this is why they continue to be peoples of subjects and slaves. The Greeks, intermediate in geographical position, unite the qualities of both sets of peoples. They possess both spirit and intelligence: the one quality makes them continue free; the other enables them to attain the heights political development and to show a capacity for governing every other people – if only they could once achieve political unity.
>
> (Aristotle, *Politica* 1327b. trans. Ernest Barker; on ethnocentricism: Romm 1992: 46–8, 54f.)

Xenophon, cited below, claims the same for Athens and Strabo 6.4.1 (*c.* 286) for Italy.

Aristotle, as is well known, was tutor to Alexander of Macedonia. The claims cited here made environmental determinism a useful ideological tool for ambitious imperialists, because it justified the conclusion that the Greeks were ideally capable of ruling others. Clearly, Aristotle was not the first person ever to justify imperial expansion. It is

characteristic, one may presume, of many or all expanding states that they claim to have good reasons for their expansion. Aristotle, however, is definitely the first to base such claims on a rationalization of the superiority of his people, as distinct from a god-given or self-evident superiority. Roman authors took over these ideas, duly substituting themselves as the ideal rulers, and with some variations. Instead of the contrast between Europe and Asia, which the Greeks found essential, the geographical poles for most Roman authors are North and East. As clear examples of this pattern I shall later describe ancient views of the Germans and Syrians.

It is appropriate here to indicate also how environmental determinism related to more distant foreigners, notably the Ethiopians, as blacks were usually called by the Greeks (Snowden 1997: 103–26, esp. 111–13). Ethiopians are mentioned fairly frequently already in some earlier sources, but usually as representatives of peoples living near the edge of the world. In Homer they are 'the furthest of men'. They are 'blameless' and their country is so prosperous as to furnish the ample sacrificial feasts which the gods relish (Romm 1992: 49–55). In Herodotus 1.134, they occur as the ideal example of the faraway good barbarians (Romm 1992: 55–60). In later periods blacks did not form much of an actual presence in the Greek and Roman worlds. They were regarded as remarkable, but relatively few of them lived among the Greeks and Romans and no country inhabited by a majority of blacks was ever part of the Greek and Roman empires. They were present in fifth-century Athens, but as a rare and expensive type of slave, the possession of which enhanced the status of the owner (Miller 1997: 212–17). Questions about the cause of their appearance appear in the literature from the fourth century onwards. An undatable Pseudo Aristotelian chapter in *Problemata* asks: 'Why are those who live in climates of extreme cold or heat brutish in manners and appearance?' (*Problemata* 909a) This text further elaborates on the favourable effect on body and mind of the 'best mixture' of qualities and the harmful effects of the extreme climates. As examples of the physical effect of extreme heat, for instance, the text gives the bandy legs and curly hair of the Ethiopians and Egyptians. This is explained by analogy: just as planks are warped when they dry, so are the bodies of living beings (909a: 27–32). The text adds that those who live in the South have dark eyes while northern peoples have grey eyes and this is explained by the influence of the temperature on the balance of moisture in the body (910a: 12). The text also goes a step further: a person who is thought to fit the physical stereotype of a certain nation is assumed to have the (mostly negative) mental and moral characteristics attributed to that nation, even if he does not belong to the nation. Thus not only are all Egyptians believed to be cunning, fickle, etc., but also all people who have curly hair like the Egyptians. A fourth-century treatise on physiognomy gives an example: Egyptians and Ethiopians, being dark, are cowards (however, women, who have light skins, are also cowards, Ps. Aristotle, *Physiognomonica* 812a.). Snowden (1983) concludes that generally there were no such prejudices in antiquity. These views were not accepted by Thompson (1989). The least that can be said is that ancient views of the Ethiopians were not uniform. Herodotus certainly gives a different perspective (Bichler 2000: 31). In Athens there also was a fashion for vases in the form of heads of blacks (Snowden 1970: 24–5; 1976: 133–245). It is hard to say what feelings such images would convey to the public for which they were produced, for the emotional responses to physical differences vary a good deal over time and between cultures.

As remarked above, the environmental theories of antiquity were widely accepted by the European authors of the Enlightenment and thus contributed to the later development of racism. Yet, if the environmental theories of antiquity had been the only form of collective prejudice to be found in the literature, it might still be possible to claim that this is not enough to conclude that this was an ancient form of proto-racism. However, it is just one concept encountered besides, and in combination with, other ideas that will now be discussed.

The inheritance of acquired characteristics

A second conceptual mechanism which was generally accepted in Graeco-Roman antiquity is a belief in the inheritance of acquired characteristics. In modern times this has been popular and was identified mainly with the theories of Lamarck, but it is now no longer accepted. In antiquity, however, it was accepted as a matter of course by many authors. It is explicitly propounded in some works, for instance in the treatise mentioned earlier, *Airs, Waters, Places*, in the work of Aristotle and elsewhere, mostly in technical treatises. This was illustrated by reputed cases where children inherited scars from wounds of their parents, or even tattoos. Indeed, it is clear from many implicit references that the principle was taken for granted throughout antiquity. The best known example, found in the treatise *Airs, Waters, Places* (ch. 14), is the case of the people who artificially elongated the skulls of their children, a feature which reputedly became hereditary after a couple of generations. The theory recurs, for instance, in the work of the geographer Strabo who wrote in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Strabo discusses the cause of the colour of the skin of Ethiopians and the texture of their hair, which he attributes to scorching by the sun. He then observes that the Indians 'do not have woolly hair and that their skin is not so mercilessly burnt'. Strabo continues: 'And already in the womb children, by seminal communication, become like their parents; for congenital illnesses and other similarities are also thus explained' (Strabo 15.1.24: 696). Later in the first century, the elder Pliny wrote in his *Naturalis Historia* (*NH*) that the Ethiopians are 'scorched by the heat of the sun which is nearby and are born with a singed appearance, with curled beard and hair' (Pliny, *NH* 2.80:189). Pliny (*NH* 7.50) has interesting observations about the transmission of characteristics in book seven of his work. 'It is also well known that... deformed parents... may have children with... the same deformity, that some marks and moles and even scars reappear in the offspring, in some cases a birthmark on the arm reappearing in the fourth generation' (cf. the earlier claims by Aristotle, *de generatione animalium* 721b, 724a). As I said, these are random examples; it is easy to add more. It has, in fact, been recognized by others that this theory goes back to classical authors:

> What Lamarck really did was to accept the hypothesis that acquired characters were heritable, a notion which had been held almost universally for well over two thousand years and which his contemporaries accepted as a matter of course, and to assume that the results of such inheritance were cumulative from generation to generation, thus producing, in time, new species.
>
> (Zirkle 1946: 91)

A combination of these factors

Many authors combine environmental determinism with a belief in the inheritance of acquired characteristics. When applied to human groups, this leads somewhat paradoxically to an assumption that characteristics acquired through outside influences then somehow are passed on to the next generation and become uniform and constant. One example must suffice, taken from Livy's account of a speech made by the commander Cn. Manlius before his troops in 189 BC. The troops were about to give battle to mixed forces of a people descended from Celts who had moved from Europe to Asia Minor. The commander tells his troops (Livy 38.17.9–10): 'These [Celtic units] are now degenerate, of mixed stock and really Gallogrecians, as they are called; just as in the case of crops and animals, the seeds are not as good in preserving their natural quality as the character of the soil and the climate in which they grow have the power to change it' (Florus 1.27.3–4.). Climate and geography have definite effects on all people being born in a given region. These effects then become permanent traits because they become hereditary in one or two generations. The result of this combination is a powerful incentive to discriminatory attitudes. It is this combination which definitely justifies describing ancient ethnic prejudice as a form of proto-racism, for it turns what could just be an external influence which can be variable (environmental influence) into something that is fixed and permanent (such as skin colour).

If there were any doubt as to the validity of this conclusion, it should be enough to indicate that modern racism has seen a similar combination of ideas. This is encountered already in the work of the influential German scholar Friedrich Ratzel (1896: 23). He was followed by Semple, who, well-read in the classics, explicitly sees herself as writing in the tradition of Montesquieu (Semple 1911: 18). She works with the same categories as the Greek treatise *Airs*..., mentioned above: the effect of mountains, isolation, climate (heat, cold, moisture, aridity). 'The influence of climate upon race temperament, both as a direct and indirect effect, cannot be doubted' (Semple 1911: 620). These ideas themselves were influenced by contemporary theories regarding the evolution of species through the influence of climate (Matthew 1915, 1939). Matthew was 'thoroughly convinced that the whole of evolutionary progress may be interpreted as a response to external stimuli' (Matthew 1939: 33). The most elaborate defence of environmental theories may be found in the work of Griffith Taylor (1945 [1937], an expansion of Taylor 1927). This work represents a major attempt to combine racist theory typical of this period with environmental determinism. The racist treatment rests heavily on German theories of the time, notably those of Eickstedt, but is combined with speculations from current endocrinal theories which held that climate affects the functioning of glands and thus influences human evolution (Taylor 1945 [1937]: 276). Taylor offers a, relatively speaking, mild form of racism: he regards most races as roughly equal in quality, apart from the blacks, whose 'poor achievements in world-history are probably due to their non-stimulating environment. To this also is due their small advance from a primitive stage of racial evolution' (Taylor 1945 [1937]: 476). 'As regards the future, it seems clear that *environment* will be the most potent factor in moulding every race and nation' (Taylor 1945 [1937]: 477). The classic work of 1954 against prejudice by Allport still firmly believes in the existence of human races and postulates a direct connection between climate and the

differences between the 'Mongol physique... the Negroid... and the Caucasoid' (Allport 1979 [1954]: 111). It is obvious that there is a lack of consistency in the combination of such ideas, but when we discuss racism, ancient or modern, it should be obvious that we cannot expect consistency and lucid logic. As recently as 1948 Sir Arthur Keith stated without hesitation that 'the nation of to-day is the lineal representative of the local group of Palaeolithic times; nations are now the race-making units of Europe' (Keith 1948: 338). Racism is by definition a fallacy and we should not be surprised if it consists of elements that do not fit together as they should. It is then not the analysis which is to be blamed, but the intellectual inconsistency of the ideas analysed.

The constitution and form of government

In the view of many of the relevant authors there is yet another important factor. A good form of government is an essential ingredient in shaping a people. Under a bad ruler or government no people can function well. The most obvious example from the fourth century BC is Isocrates' firm belief that Persia must be a weak nation, because it is ruled by too powerful a king. This, clearly, is not a racist or proto-racist concept, if only because it is liable to change. It is a social condition. The last chapter of Xenophon's *The Education of Cyrus*, the *Cyropaedia*, claims that Persia was strong when it had a good king, and deteriorated when the kings did. This is essentially a socio-political view. We should understand that our authors are considering different levels here. The environment determines basic qualities: a good constitution is essential, but can exist only when basic human qualities exist. This may be compared with a statement which most of us would accept now: a proper education will determine the level at which an individual functions, but the pre-condition for the success of a good education is an appropriate level of intelligence.

Autochthony and pure lineage

The fifth and last concept to be mentioned here is that of autochthony and pure lineage (Rosivach 1987; Shapiro 1998; Isaac 2004: 109–24). The Athenians attached enormous importance to the dual myth that they had lived in their own land from the beginnings of time without ever abandoning it, and that they were a people of unmixed lineage. They saw themselves as originally having sprung from the soil itself, the earth serving as their collective mother. This myth served various purposes: a) it was used as an argument that they and only they held legitimate possession of their soil; b) they regarded themselves as a people uncontaminated by an admixture of foreign elements, and were therefore superior. The uniqueness of their origins is deemed obvious by many fifth-century authors. Indeed a law promulgated by Pericles in 451–0 awarded citizenship only to the children of two citizens, the intention being to preserve the purity of lineage of the Athenians (Patterson 1981). All the fourth-century authors who mention these subjects, mostly orators, are convinced of the value of pure descent. They are agreed that the Athenians are uniquely pure in their origins and superior to all other peoples of the world. Other Greek states have

produced comparable myths, but only Athens insisted on this to such a great extent. Their insistence was still accepted in Roman literature.

The idea as such had a broad appeal, mostly in a negative sense, among other Greeks and, later, among Roman authors: intermarriage and mixed blood are considered bad and conducive to degeneration. The Celts already mentioned, who had migrated to Asia Minor, deteriorated for two reasons: first, because of their move to another environment and, second, because they were a mixed people and thus of lesser quality: 'degenerate and mixed', *degeneres sunt, mixti* (Livy 38.17.9–10) or, in Florus' later paraphrase, '*mixta et adulterata*', mixed and impure, bastards (Florus 1.27.3–4). This is the negative equivalent of the view held by the Athenians that they were superior because their ancestors were not mixed with migrants. The belief that marriage with outsiders produces offspring of lesser quality appears firmly entrenched in Greece as well as in Rome. In this form the concept of pure lineage emerges in the works of many Roman authors, even though the Romans in practice liberally granted citizenship to subject peoples. Best known are Tacitus' comments on the Germans, whom he described in terms in which the Athenians describe themselves: they were 'indigenous, and not mixed at all with other peoples through immigration or intercourse' (*Germania* 1, 4). As we know, the idea was taken up enthusiastically by the Germans in recent history. To be fair I must note here that some ancient authors are critical of such ideas, for instance Lucian and Apuleius. It may be no coincidence that these two originated in the Roman provinces, respectively Syria and North Africa, although they were of Greek and Latin culture.

Clearly, of all the concepts briefly described so far, this is the one which most closely approaches modern racism, for it establishes a hierarchy of peoples, based on the fiction that some are of pure lineage, while others are of mixed descent. It could even be said that the Athenians regarded themselves as a 'race' in modern terms. Furthermore, it is clear that these ideas were influential later as well, for they appear in authors who were read widely ever since the Renaissance.

Ancient imperialism

The ideas here described were a significant element in ancient concepts of imperialism. As with so many other relevant topics the essence of this is first encountered in the treatise *Airs, Waters, Places* (16, 23), which insists that the inhabitants of Asia are soft because of their good climate and resources. They are less belligerent and gentler in character than the Europeans, who are more courageous and belligerent. Aristotle (*Politica* 1327b) then claimed that the Greeks, combining the best qualities of both groups, were therefore capable of ruling all mankind – an early, if not the first, text to suggest that Greeks should achieve universal rule.

No less important: these ideas were taken over, suitably adapted, by the Romans. We find them, for instance, in Vitruvius 6.1, the Elder Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 2.80.190 and Vegetius 1.2. For them, Italy was ideally situated in the middle, but now the middle was between North and East, rather than between Europe and Asia.

One further significant concept should be emphasized, again in connection with Greek and Roman imperialist ideas, namely that of decline and degeneration. Just as there are

believed to be environments which are good or even ideal for the creation of an imperial power, so there are those that are unfavourable. A related idea, which also is part of the complex of environmental theories, is that of decline as a result of migration. It is first attested in the work of Herodotus, 9.122, where Cyrus says that the Persians, if they move from rugged Persia to a better country, should not expect to continue as rulers, 'but to prepare for being ruled by others – soft countries give birth to soft men. There is no land which produces the most remarkable fruit, and at the same time men good at warfare.' This idea was fully accepted in Rome, for instance in the case of the Celts who established themselves in Asia Minor and, in the opinion of the Romans, subsequently degenerated. I cite Livy again:

> The Macedonians who rule Alexandria in Egypt, who rule Seleucia and Babylon and other colonies spread all over the world, have degenerated into Syrians, Parthians and Egyptians... whatever grows in its own soil, prospers better; transplanted to alien soil, it changes and it degenerates to conform to the soil which feeds it.
>
> (Livy 38.17.12)

It is essential to recognize that no account is taken anywhere of the possibility of improvement: strong people become feeble in a soft environment, but the reverse never occurs. This idea is echoed by recent environmentalists who worried about the effect of a tropical climate on white colonists. 'Our study of the historical movements of peoples in the northern hemisphere revealed a steady influx from colder into tropical and sub-tropical lands, followed always by enervation and loss of national efficiency, due partly to the debilitating heat of the new habitat, partly to its easier conditions of living' (Semple 1911: 627).

Individual and collective slavery

In considering Greek and Roman society we must be aware that slavery hardly represented a moral dilemma as it has done in modern history. The existence of slavery as such was not a relevant topic of discussion in antiquity, but there were arguments about specifics; notably there was a controversy about the difference in nature between free men and slaves, an issue important for the justification of slavery. If an essential difference, mentally and physically, between free men and slaves could be demonstrated it was easier to claim that their difference in status was justified and reasonable. If there was no essential difference, slavery was harder to justify, for it would depend only on brute force. Was slavery contrary to justice and also contrary to nature? Aristotle responds to arguments along these lines by contending that slavery was both natural and just, because some human beings were so shaped by nature that they lacked some of the essential qualities of fully fledged men (Aristotle's discussion of slavery in his *Politics*, cf. Garnsey 1996: 13). They were therefore fit only to serve as instruments for those who had all those qualities. Here we move from the sphere of the individual into that of the collective and the group.

Relevant for our subject are ideas which assign not just to individuals, but to specific groups of people an inferior place in society on the grounds that they are deficient in

various ways and need therefore to be subordinated to their intellectual and moral superiors in a master/slave relationship. That is to say, specific, non-Greek peoples are described as collectively having the qualities which slaves of the Greeks should have. Being less than human, or even subhuman, they live best in a symbiotic relationship with fully human masters. The arguments applied by Aristotle to individual slaves and masters are frequently and easily applied by other authors to entire groups and peoples. This is clear from the terminology employed: δούλωσις and δουλεύα, i.e. 'enslavement', and related forms are commonly used by Thucydides and by other authors to express the subjection of one state to another (Thucydides, 1.98.4, 1.141.1 and 2.63.1 on possible domination of Athens by Sparta). Slavery, δουλεύα and similar terms are frequently used to denote political subjection generally (Gomme 1956: 3.646). It should be observed that the contrast between free man and slave, ἐλεύθερος-δοῦλος, originated in the domestic sphere and was first broadened out into the realm of politics in the early fifth century. The justification of individual slavery becomes then applicable also to collective subjugation and thus becomes part of imperialist ideology which we should now discuss briefly. These views are again best expressed by Aristotle, whose words are now cited: 'From this it follows that even warfare is by nature a form of acquisition – for the art of hunting is part of it – which is applied against wild animals and against those men who are not prepared to be ruled, even though they are born for subjection, in so far as this war is just by nature' (Aristotle, *Politica* 1256b: 23–6). War then is a form of acquisition, just like hunting, and the object of this process is the procurement of slaves among those peoples who are slaves by nature, but resist Greek demands that they submit to their proper fate in the world (Schlaifer 1936).

The Athenians assimilated the relation between imperial states and their subjects to that between master and slave. At least, they do so in a speech which Thucydides attributes to them:

> Of the gods we believe, and of men we know, that by a necessary law of their nature they rule wherever they can. And it is not as if we were the first to make this law, or to act upon it when made: we found it existing before us, and shall leave it to exist for ever after us; all we do is to make use of it, knowing that you and everybody else, having the same power as we have, would do the same as we do.
>
> (Thucydides 5.105.2, trans. Richard Crawley; 1.76. 2 and 4.61.5; Gomme 1970: 162–4)

The Athenians do not claim that this is just and right nor do they claim that both sides profit from the unequal relationship, as does Aristotle in his theory of natural slavery. The Athenians merely claim it is inevitable (de Romilly 1963: 56). Callicles, speaking in Plato's *Gorgias*, goes a step further towards Aristotle in claiming that this is not merely inevitable, but indeed just and right:

> But I believe that nature itself reveals that it is a just thing for the better man and the more capable man to have a greater share than the worse man and the less capable man. Nature shows that this is so in many places.
>
> (Dodds 1959: 267)

> [B]oth among the other animals and in whole cities and nations of men, it shows that this is what justice has been decided to be: that the superior rule the inferior and have a greater share than they.
>
> (Plato, *Gorgias* 483c–e)

To turn now to Roman literature, Cicero is far more explicit in describing the benefits of empire to the ruled than Aristotle ever is (*de officiis* 22; cf. Augustine, *de civitate dei* 14.23). He claims that the existence of the Empire is justified because of genuine advantages to the provincials. The attitude of Cicero and other Romans comes closer to the modern concept of the 'White Man's Burden'.

In the age of Augustus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus is writing for Greeks in Greek to persuade them that Rome deserves her empire:

> that they, the Greeks, may neither feel indignation at their present subjection, which is grounded on reason (for by a universal law of nature, which time cannot destroy, it is ordained that superiors shall ever govern their inferiors), nor rail at Fortune for having wantonly bestowed upon an undeserving city a supremacy so great and already of so long continuance.
>
> (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.5.2)

After this brief demonstration of the connection between classical ideas of slavery and imperialism, it is now proper to point to yet another influential complex of ideas in this sphere. Besides the common ancient assumption that those who have been enslaved deserve to be in that position, there is another common belief which holds that people, once enslaved, degenerate irrevocably into servile characters. Homer, later cited by Plato, says: 'If you make a man a slave, that very day/Far-sounding Zeus takes half his wits away' (Homer, *Odyssea* 17.322–3, cited by Plato, *Laws* 776e–777a; cf. Garnsey 1996: 89 with discussion on 93f.). For a similar sentiment in a major Roman author we may turn to Cicero. Servitude is a central motive in his thinking about contemporary Greeks. Cicero advises his brother, proconsul of Africa to be cautious in his dealings with the Greeks in his province: 'In your province there are a great many who are deceitful and unstable, and trained by a long course of servitude to show an excess of sycophancy' (Cicero, *ad Quintum fratrem* 1.1.16). Cicero was certain that a state of subjugation distorts and degenerates character. Indeed, many Roman authors assume as a matter of course that the conquest of a people and their subjection to another inevitably set in motion a process whereby they increasingly lose their belligerency, their sense of freedom and their virility, the longer they are subjects. Cicero, Josephus and Tacitus agree that it is an irreversible process (Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.15.4: 356–8; Tacitus, *Agricola* 21; *Historiae* 4.17, 4.64.3). In fact, only those who are born in freedom have a chance of regaining it after they have been subjected. It is a sentiment echoed, for instance, by the third-century historian Cassius Dio in the pre-battle speech which he attributes to the British rebel queen Boudicca: 'let us, I say, do our duty while we still remember what freedom is, that we may leave to our children not only its appellation but also its reality. For, if we utterly forget the happy state in which we were born and bred, what, pray, will they do, reared in bondage?' (Dio 62.4.3, trans. E. Cary, Loeb).

There is at least one other reason why it is important to study an imperial power's attitudes to foreign peoples. The current stereotypes and commonplaces in an imperial capital may not decide imperial policy, but it is definitely true that they are important factors in its formation. Both France under Napoleon and Germany under Hitler invaded Russia. For both these nations these campaigns ended in the loss, not just of a battle or campaign, but of their entire wars of expansion, wars that had been successful before they attacked Russia. They embarked upon these expeditions only because they were convinced that they would succeed. This means that there was an extraordinary discrepancy between their image of Russia as a country and reality. It is therefore useful to consider the image, for instance, of Persia in fourth-century Greece and of the Germans and Parthians/Persians in imperial Rome, for it is at least likely that the current views of these peoples helped in shaping imperial policy.

The last part of this paper will be devoted to two unambiguous examples of what I would call proto-racist attitudes of Roman authors to other peoples, whereby it is clear that these attitudes also played a substantial role in the way the Romans conceived of the relationship of these peoples with the Empire. The various topics of this paper come together if we briefly look at Roman ideas about two peoples: the Syrians and Germans. First, the Syrians (Isaac 2004: 335–50): They were *born* for slavery according to the familiar formula (Cicero, *de provinciis consularibus* 2.5.10; Livy 35.49.8; Livy 36.17.4–5). The presumed qualities of the Syrians and other Asiatic peoples which earn them the description of having been born for slavery are: servility, effeminacy, perversity. Homosexuality, self-castration, perverted cults are all associated with this presumed lack of masculinity. They were no fighters, it was thought. Connected with this is the accusation of luxurious living. The Syrians are good at feasting, they tend to go to the baths rather than exercise, and they over-eat. This means that they represent the opposite of what Romans think real men ought to be. Roman ideas about Syrians constitute a complex of stereotypes with what I would call proto-racist characteristics. Their presumed qualities were also regarded as infectious. When effeminate Syrians and Romans are brought together the Romans become soft and the Syrians remain as they are. The reverse would never apply: Syrians do not become sturdy fighters under the influence of Roman conquerors.

The Germans, ever since Varus' defeat in AD 9, were to the Romans a constant reminder of failure and by many authors they were regarded as a major threat. Roman authors saw them as the ultimate northern people (Isaac 2004: 427–39). Accordingly, a full assortment of environmental stereotypes was applied to them. Tacitus, however, as already mentioned, attributes their specific characteristics rather to their pure lineage, a significant idea, even if we ignore its influence in later history. The Germans were of pure blood because they lived far to the north and apart from others and therefore were not corrupted into civilized degeneracy of any kind, except those living closest to other peoples. The Germans were tall, brave and firm, prone to anger. They could not stand hard work nor could they stand heat or thirst, but they were inured to cold and hunger. They loved fighting, sleeping and feasting; they hated peace and serious work and so forth. With all their weaknesses, however, the Germans represented the ultimate form of virility. Many of their virtues were the opposite of Roman decadence, especially in Tacitus' *Germania*. The Roman imperial view of itself and others saw here an unavoidable logic: subject people

eventually lose their independence of mind. Conversely the Germans, if they are *not* subjected, remain dangerous. Combine this with the essential pessimism and belief in inevitable decline of the ancient world, and the German presence is indeed a serious long-term threat. Being uncorrupted and powerful, they were the most dangerous of the people who had not been conquered.

For our purposes it is important to note that, in the case of the Germans, we encounter a strong combination of forms of proto-racism: environmental stereotypes are reinforced by the belief in pure lineage and socio-cultural integrity. These notions in turn played a significant role in the ideas about the relationship between the Empire and the Germanic peoples. Thus Roman views – and especially those of Tacitus – on the Germans are probably the best example to be found anywhere in ancient literature of a full integration of proto-racist stereotypes and imperialist ideology. To conquer and rule them was not only the ultimate test of a warrior-Empire, it was also a necessity for its long-term survival. It so happens that these ideas were absorbed by a nation particularly susceptible to them in the early modern and modern periods.

To sum up: in antiquity, as in modern times, we constantly encounter the unquestioned assumption that it is possible and reasonable to relate to entire peoples as if they were a single or collective individual. The conceptual means employed to this end were not the same in antiquity as in modern history, although they are still quite familiar. They were the environmental theory and the belief in the inheritance of acquired characteristics, concepts broadly accepted in Greece and Rome. These hold that collective characteristics of groups of people are permanently determined by climate and geography. The implication is that the essential features of body and mind come from the outside and are stable. They do not occur through genetic evolution or conscious choice. Social interaction plays a secondary role. Individuality and individual change are thereby ignored. When applied to human groups these ideas lead to a belief that their characteristics are uniform and constant, once acquired, unless people migrate. The latter would lead to decline and degeneration through displacement and contamination. The presumed characteristics that resulted were subject to value judgements, in which the foreigners were usually rejected as being inferior to the observer or, in rare instances, approved of as being untainted and superior. Greeks in the fourth century developed the environmental theory further, adding two elements which made it an essential tool for imperialists. They claimed that Greece occupies the very best environment between Europe and Asia and produces therefore people ideally capable of ruling others. More specifically this was directed at the Persian Empire and the inhabitants of Asia, who were said to be servile by nature, or natural slaves, and therefore suited to be subjects of the Greeks. These and similar ideas are found in many Roman authors in a popularized form, adapted to the specific needs and circumstances of the times. The Romans duly substitute themselves as the ideal rulers. A related idea, accepted by many Roman authors, held that long-term imperial rule reduces a people to a state almost identical to that of natural slavery. As a result masters and slaves, rulers and subject peoples live in a symbiosis beneficial to both parties. Other relevant concepts are autochthony and pure lineage. The Athenians, in their period of imperial expansion, developed an emotional attachment to these interrelated ideas. Rome made no claim of being autochthonous or of pure blood, but applied those ideas to other peoples. Particularly important is the strong disapproval of mixed blood. There is a firm

conviction, encountered in numerous texts, that mixing leads to degeneration. The idea is not so much that purity of lineage will lead to improvement; the reverse is true: any form of mixture will result in something worse. This, as has been shown, is connected with the absence of a belief in progress in antiquity.

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House and veil in ancient Greece
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House and veil in ancient Greece

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones

PRIMARY CONSIDERATIONS: SYMBOLS AND IDEOLOGIES

In his *Dream Book* (*Oneirokritika*), Artemidoros of Daldis famously collected and collated a wealth of reports concerning people's dreams (White 1975). He customarily records an individual's dream and offers a brief interpretation of its meaning; sometimes he notes the symbolism of a particular dream and attempts to highlight its impact on the dreamer's waking world. The *Oneirokritika* notes, for example, that within a dream all objects which surround a person — whether cloaks, tunics, houses, walls or even ships — must signify one another, so that, Artemidoros reports, when a man once dreamed that his cloak was ripped in the middle, his house fell in. Conversely, someone who once dreamed that the tiled roof of his house was destroyed lost all of his clothes and no longer owned what should have covered him (Artemidoros iv 30).

In the ancient Greek mind, then, there is clearly a subconscious connection between the protective elements that help to create a civilised life: housing and clothing. In fact, we can go beyond Artemidoros' collection of subliminal experiences to encounter a rich symbolism which was attached to and shared by dress and domestic space in the ancient Greek world. This connection is particularly evident in regard to women's domestic space and to female clothing; an investigation into the ways in which the Greeks observed and even named parts of the house and items of dress will quickly reveal that the association was very much at the front of the Greek mind and was, in fact, an important component of Greek gender ideology.

Plutarch, for example, uses the symbolic motif of a tortoise to demonstrate the notion of the shared connection between the covering created by clothes and the covering created by a house: the tortoise's shell, he suggests, is at one and the same time her house and her dress. He comments that 'Pheidias represented the Aphrodite of the Elians as stepping on a tortoise to typify for womanhood staying at home and keeping silent' (Plutarch, *Moralia* 142 D). Ideally, he suggests, a woman should stay at home in security and silence, but when necessity forces her to leave the house, she, like the tortoise, should symbolically carry her house with her and should always act as though she were still passively secreted indoors (see further Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 189–90).

I want to concentrate on the idea that a female's garments become an extension of her living-space. This notion is especially compounded in the ideology of a woman's veil. By 'veil' I mean an unstitched garment, like a mantle or cloak, which has the capacity to be pulled up onto the head and, if required, across the lower face, like the modern Iranian *chador*. This was a routine way of wearing an 'uncut garment' in ancient Greek societies, and pan-Hellenic literary and material evidence from several successive centuries strongly supports the notion that the veiling of the female head or lower face was routine for many types of women (see further Cairns 2002; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 49–61, 104–13, 162–5). I want to suggest that the connection between the veil and the house is a pertinent theme in Greek gender constructions and that the symbolic association between these two facets of female daily experience can be located in both literary and material evidence.

HOUSE–VEIL: ARCHAEOLOGY, ETYMOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY

Much of the evidence for the Greek house has not survived the centuries and does not appear in the archaeological record; there are no surviving upper floors, for example, and little evidence for doors, shutters, or any interior decor besides mosaics and wall painting. Wood and textiles rarely survive in the archaeology of Greece, but literary and artistic information does testify to the use of shutters, wooden panels and textiles as curtains and screens. Judging from a list of domestic textiles presented by the lexicographer Pollux (*Onomastikon* x 42), these hangings would certainly have provided a brilliant splash of colour in the house (Vickers 1999). Moreover, any social interaction within the house between women and male strangers could have been carefully controlled through the interruption of sight-lines by physical barriers like curtains and wooden partitions, and not just by behavioural and theoretical barriers (Nevett 1995, 373).

The textile hangings that covered doors and probably acted as spatial dividers were no doubt common features of the Greek house, but being of perishable materials they have all but disappeared and only a few fragments have accidentally survived (Richter 1966, 177; Barber 1991, 379). But a variety of curtains are depicted on Hellenistic reliefs, Roman wall paintings and sarco-

phagi, and although some of the drapes are undoubtedly linked to funerary practice, others have an undeniable domestic function. It is interesting to note the observation recorded by the excavators of the houses in the Classical city of Olynthos in northern Greece, that there was a total absence of pivot-holes in the paved rooms. Although it is conceivable that doors worked only on hinges, it is more feasible to imagine that, instead of doors, hangings were used (Robinson and Graham 1938, 251; Pritchett 1956, 233; Pomeroy 1994, 297). In addition, Pollux (*Onomastikon* x 32) refers to 'curtains at the doors of bedchambers', Theophrastos (*Enquiry into Plants* iv 2 7) mentions 'rings for embroidered hangings', and curtain-rings are also mentioned by Pliny (*Natural History* xvi 32). Such rings have been discovered at a number of excavations, ranging in date from the fourth century to the Roman period (Richter 1966, fig. 600; De Caro 1996, 376). Some of the houses on Delos had holes in the upper parts of the peristyle columns, which are thought to be sockets for curtain-poles.[1]

Most ancient Greek words for 'curtain' are derived from various verbs meaning 'to cover', but it is interesting to note that several of them share a meaning with the terminology used for clothing. The common word *epiblema*, for example, has the general meaning of 'that which is thrown over' or 'covering', but is more specifically linked with a tapestry or wall-hanging, while it simultaneously means 'outer garment', 'mantle' and, by extension, 'veil'. But a variant of the word — *epibles* — is used for a cross-beam in a roof (see, for example, Lysias fr. 175S and *IG* ii^2 463, 62), which seems to indicate that there is a correlation between a woman's head-covering and a roof, an idea which was also propounded in Artemidoros' *Dream Book* (iv 30). Moreover, the widespread veil-word *kalumma* is often associated with vocabulary referring to the house and its decoration: Aischylos (*Agamemnon* 691) describes Helen of Troy stepping out of her 'veiled' bed chamber (*prokalumma*), and Athenaeus (iv 145 b) relates that the king of Persia would view his dinner-guests through a fine veil that hung before the palace door and separated him from his subjects.[2] But *kalumma* does not only mean 'veil' and 'curtain', because it is also applied to roof-beams (Aristophanes fr. 70 K–A) and to window shutters (Diodorus Siculus xx 91 6 1), which again amplifies the association between the veil and the house.[3]

The common veil-word *kredemnon* also translates as 'city walls', 'towers' or 'battlements', and in an epic context, the female veil and the defensive walls of a city-state are regarded as systematically analogous. The analogy is also apparent in another veil-word glossed by Hesychios — *eruma* — which also means 'fence', 'fortress' or 'bulwark' and more generally 'protection'. In fact, Sophokles uses the word to describe the walls of Troy (*Ajax* 467). In its Homeric context, with its high walls flanked by towers and gates, Troy is described as 'well-crowned' (*eustephanos*) and is envisaged as covered with sacred veils (*hiera kredemna*) of battlements, but the walls are vulnerable and the Iliadic phrase *kredemnon luesthai*, 'to loose a veil/covering/wall', is used as a vivid metaphor for the sacking of a city and for the breaching of a woman's chastity (see *Iliad* ii 117–18, 373–4, iv 290–1, ix 24–5; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 130–4).

The most common word for 'roof' in ancient Greek was *tegos*; it was the root of the diminutive *tegidion*, 'little roof', a word that is oddly defined by the lexicographer Hesychios as 'a manner of adorning the heads of women'. But what style of adornment (or dress) could possibly be said to resemble a 'little roof'? The answer, I think, is found in a popular female headdress worn in most of the Greek world between the fourth and first centuries BC (it disappears in the early Roman period). It is found almost exclusively on terracotta figures, an important source, since coroplasts were at liberty to show the 'reality' of dress far more than, say, vase painters or large-scale sculptors (Uhlenbrock 1990; Llewellyn-Jones 2002). Figures wearing the *tegidion* have been found in Attica, Boeotia and Macedonia, the length of the coast of Asia Minor and in the Greek cities of the Levant, Egypt and Libya, although to date no examples have been found in the Peloponnese (Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 62–4). If the wide geographic distribution of *tegidion*-wearing figurines means that the garment itself was as widely circulated, then it must be conceded that the *tegidion* was a very popular fashion indeed.

But what exactly was the *tegidion*? What the coroplasts actually show is a face-veil composed by cutting eye-holes into a single rectangular cloth, which is sometimes edged with a delicate fringe; it is bound around the head by a fillet and is often fastened over the forehead with (what appears to be) a brooch. Unfortunately it is rarely shown in the position for which it was designed (and no doubt worn in daily life), that is, hanging down over the face like the style of Islamic veil known as the *niqab* (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1996, 57), although a few examples are known, exclusively from Alexandria (Thompson 1963, 52; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, fig. 67).

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1 Maison des Masques: holes in northern columns only, 2.37 m above floor; Maison de l'Hermès: holes in two columns in front of room g, 2.24 m up. I am grateful to Ruth Westgate for these references.

2 See also Theophrastos, *Characters* x 6 2; Philo, *On the Change of Names* xliii 2; *Life of Moses* ii 87 5, ii 101 4; Diodorus Siculus xix 22 3 3; Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 51 10 1.

3 The house–veil analogy is pertinent to Muslim belief too, where the traditional Islamic lattice-screened window known as the *mashrabiyya* prevents people from seeing in and, because of the grid, gives only a restricted view of the world from inside the house; it can easily be likened to the *burqaa*-veil which has a grid over the face. The Koran (xxxiii 53, 59) certainly equates the veil (*hijab*) of a woman with an interior dividing curtain (*hijab*) that separates women from strange men. See further Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 6, 14, 19, 23, 133.



Fig. 27.1 (above). Detail of a terracotta statuette of a woman from Myrina, c. 250–230 BC. She is well-veiled in a mantle, drawn over the head and across the mouth in combination with a tegidion thrown off the face and over the back of the head (Paris, Louvre, 1163.0.09. Line drawing by the author).

Fig. 27.2 (below). Woman wearing the tegidion face-veil pulled off the face. The eye-holes are visible above the hairline. Redrawn from a watercolour painting by Thomas Burgon, c. 1830; original terracotta head from Pergamon (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Line drawing by the author).



The word *tegidion* appears on an inscription dated to the third century BC listing dedications of clothing in the sanctuary of Demeter at Tanagra (Reinach 1899), and it is perhaps no coincidence that a little-known travel-writer of the same date known as Heracleides Creticus (i 18; see further Austin 1981, 151–4) comments on the women of Thebes (only a short distance away from Tanagra) as being the most beautiful in Greece, noting: 'The covering of their clothes on their head is such that the whole face seems to be covered by a mask, with only the eyes showing through; the other parts of their face are all covered by the garments.' This is almost certainly another reference to the 'little roof', although it is clear that a complete form of veiling is guaranteed not only by the face-veil itself, but by the additional protection of a mantle which is pulled over the head and around the lower face. In fact, a statuette from Myrina (FIG. 27.1, *c.* 250 BC) shows a woman wearing a mantle-veil that has been pulled around her lower face to mask her mouth and chin and is secured on the right side by being tucked into the headband of the *tegidion* which is worn in conjunction. The *tegidion* is folded back over the head to reveal its distinctive shape; in daily life it was worn down over the face in combination with the mantle-veil that covered the head and hair and enveloped the body. This seems to have been the common practice (Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 66).

It is easy to see why the *tegidion* is so named: the cloth is folded off the face and back onto the head to form a flat surface with overhanging eaves resembling a little gabled roof. The eye-holes are always plain to see. A watercolour made by the antiquarian Thomas Burgon during a visit to Pergamon in 1830, and now on display in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, perhaps shows most clearly the construction of the *tegidion*: the eyeholes are clear above the forehead and the back of the face-veil is tucked neatly into the headband and head-ties (FIG. 27.2).[4]

Greek iconography frequently offers proof of the house–veil connection. The standard and often-encountered depiction of a gesture whereby a woman raises a portion of her veil usually shows it being held

4 Thomas Burgon (1774–1858). His notes that accompany the watercolour state: 'Handkerchief which serves as a headdress'. Higgins (1986, 122) comments briefly on this type of veil. See also Thompson 1963, 50–1.

out at arm's length, so that it forms a large flap of cloth that frames her profiled face. The artistic gesture probably represents a visual interpretation of a daily-life action wherein a woman covers (or more rarely uncovers) her face in public. It can be paralleled with another popular artistic theme: the depiction of a woman peeping from behind the door of a house or standing (but sometimes sitting) in the doorway. The earliest evidence for this is the damaged François Vase from Chiusi of *c.* 570 BC, which illustrates the goddess-bride Thetis seated within her house awaiting her bridegroom (FIG. 27.3). Greek doors, it appears, were usually constructed in two halves, with a central entrance, and opened inwards; in the vase scene, only one of the doors is open and we can see the legs of the goddess who performs the veil-gesture, although much of her face would (if the vase were not broken at this section) have been hidden by the one closed door. In effect we catch a quick glimpse of the bride behind the half-opened door and the enveloping veil; the goddess' outstretched hand that lifts the veil intensifies the effect of the open door, and her clothing, like her house, demarcates the privacy of the female body, a space ideally removed from the public gaze (Padel 1990, 336; Lissarrague 1992, 146).

A scene from a fourth-century South Italian vase (FIG. 27.4) shows a modest woman, or at least an actor in female costume, peeping out from behind the closed portion of the door that masks half of her face while she simultaneously raises her long veil in front of the exposed portion of her visage to avoid the stare of the strange man hovering about outside. The closed door and the lifted veil seem to say similar things: the house and the veil keep a woman modestly and safely enclosed. The image can be compared to an Italian comedy pot that shows another young woman gazing out from behind an open shutter of a window as she raises her veiled hand to conceal her mouth and lower face (FIG. 27.5).

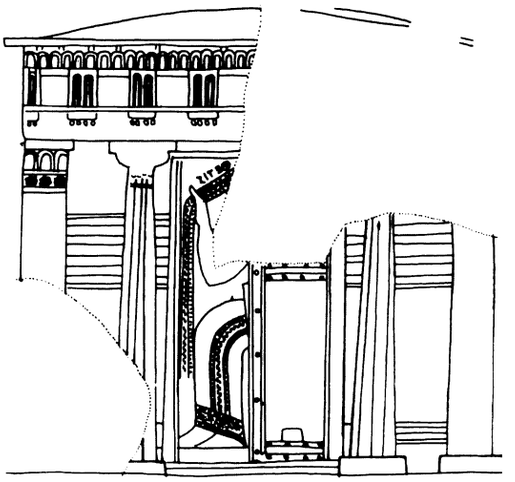


Fig. 27.3 (right). The veiled bride Thetis seated within a house. Detail from a volute-krater by Kleitias and Ergotimos, c. 570 BC (Florence, Museo Archeologico, 4209. Line drawing by the author).

Fig. 27.4 (below left). Young woman raising her veil as she peers from behind a door. Detail of a Tarentine skyphos, c. 355 BC (London, British Museum, F 124. Line drawing by the author).



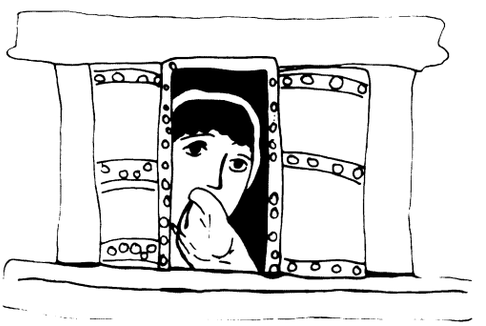


Fig. 27.5 (above). A young woman veils her face as she looks through an open window. Detail from an Apulian bell-krater, c. 340 BC (London, British Museum, F 142. Line drawing by the author).

VEILING AND PRIVACY

The desire to keep private things hidden is at the centre of a remarkably incisive discussion by Plutarch entitled *On Being a Busybody* (*Moralia* 516 E–F) in which he makes clear the direct correlation between that which clothes the body and that which houses the body:

> It is not customary to walk into a house of someone else without first knocking on the door; but nowadays there are doormen and formerly there were knockers to be struck at the door and give warning, so that the stranger might not catch the mistress of the house or the unmarried daughter in the open, or a slave being punished or the maidservants screaming. But it is for these very things that the busybody slips in. A sober and respectable household he would not willingly enter as a spectator even if he were invited to come; but the matters to conceal which keys and bolts and street-doors are used — these are what he unveils (ἀνακαλύπτων) and communicates to outsiders. And yet, 'the winds with which we are most vexed' as Ariston says, 'are those which pull up our garments', but the busybody does not strip off the cloaks and tunics of those near him, but the very walls; he flings the doors wide open and makes his way, like a piercing wind, 'through the tender-skinned maiden' and creeps in, searching out with slanderous intent drunken revels and dances, and all-night festivals![5]

As the busybody penetrates through the door of the house he 'unveils' its occupants to his unwanted and shaming gaze and defiles the sanctity of privacy that the house usually offers. Plutarch draws particular attention to the women of the household, the mistress and her unmarried daughters, who suffer most from this intrusion upon privacy. Contained within the protective walls of their house they normally have no need for the further protection offered by the veil; but when interrupted in their daily routine by a strange man, their lack of veils leaves them even more exposed and vulnerable to the gaze of the intruder. Menander informs us that women need to be constantly vigilant with their veils even inside the house. In *Perikeiromene* (311–12), the long-lost son Moschion muses alone to himself on how he will visit his estranged mother and the girl of his dreams, and he imagines himself and his slave calling on them within their house:

> ἡ μὲν αἰσχ[υν]ε[ῖτ', ἐ]πειδὰ[ν] εἰσίωμεν δηλαδή,
> παρακαλύ[ψεταί τ', ἔθο]ς γὰρ τ[ο]ῦτ[ο]·
> She'll be embarrassed when we go in, that is clear,
> and she'll veil herself, for that's [normal].[6]

The attestation that women veil their faces in front of strangers as a matter of routine, as an inbred reaction to a social situation, is nowhere better stated than here (Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 486; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 1, 3, 197). A similar testimony, from Aristaenetus' collection of 'Greek Letters' (ii 2 7–8), is provided by a young man who, having been caught looking at a girl at a shrine, writes to her, noting that: 'You, seeing me looking at you (as happens with respectable girls), lightly veiled yourself (ἠρέμα παρεκαλύψω).' It is interesting to compare this with the reaction of anthropologist Patricia Jeffery (1979, 108) who, whilst sharing a *purdah* household with a group of women, had an unexpected male visitor:

> Only under exceptional circumstances do unrelated men enter the homes . . . and their arrival always puts the household into disarray . . . Screens and curtains are erected . . . if guests or workmen hang around . . . [Once] some 'guests' walked in with little warning and the woman I was talking to burrowed under a blanket and left me exposed and confused about my own feelings of embarrassment.

For men, like Plutarch's Busybody, to enter into a space that is currently in use by females is a discreditable act that brings dishonour on the violated family and particularly shames the women.

The veil–house analogy is clearly a pertinent theme in the ideology of Greek perceptions of women and space. Certainly, the anthropologist Hannah Papanek (1973, 294) argues for two 'instruments' of female seclusion: the segregation of living space from outsiders, and the covering of the face and body with a veil, suggesting that the veil is a 'logical supplement' to the use of enclosed living spaces. But what can be done with this ideology and what light can it shed on the separation, segregation or independence of women in ancient Greek society?

In ancient Greece the women who attract the most notoriety are those who are conspicuously uncovered to the public view: lower-class prostitutes who are at the call of all men and do not enjoy the protection of a husband or guardian come in for particular attack. These street girls stand outdoors, half-naked, in the sun; they are women it is permitted to look at (see further Davidson 1997; Dalby 2002). As one comic fragment attests, 'Their door is open' (Athenaeus xiii 569 f). But the majority of women in the Greek sources arouse no undue criticism for their appearances in the public sphere, for, as Cohen (1991, 155) convincingly argues, 'Women were . . . not physically isolated from their community, and their daily activities took them out of their houses and brought them into contact with men, whether in the agora, at a festival or a wedding, or in the house of a friend or neighbour.'

But when Cohen attempts to find a solution to the dichotomy between the ancient sources that are hostile

5 The theme of intrusion into private space is also found in Lysias iii 6–7. See further Cohen 1991, 148–52, with references.

6 The restoration of the text comes from Körte 1955. Compare Aristaenetus ii 2, ii 18.

to the idea of women's public appearances and those that speak of them participating in public life on a routine and daily basis, he merely says, 'it is not resolved' (1991, 162). This is not satisfactory. Cohen fails to consider what women *wear* when they leave the security of their homes and enter into the man's world. I suggest that the conflict in the ancient sources can be at least partly resolved in the use of the veil.

As an extension of domestic space and a symbol of separation, the veil, in any form, enables women to move out of their homes in a kind of portable domestic space and as a result, despite the modern Western perception of its negative aspects, the veil can be considered a liberating garment that frees a woman from the confines of *any* form of patriarchal *purdah* and lets her operate in the public sphere; it is viewed this way by many veiled women themselves (Papanek 1973, 295; Jeffrey 1979, 151; Doubleday 1988, 10).

THE *TEGIDION* AND FEMALE VISIBILITY

The apex of association between social separation and veiling is best emphasised by a specific face-veil like the ancient Greek *tegidion*. Although a social requirement for a woman to cover her face is an extension of the ideological complex that obliges women to cover their heads, it is a drastically greater step to have an item of clothing specifically designed to cover the face; face-veiling is concomitantly significant. In contrast, if there is not a general social obligation for a woman to cover her face, then for her to choose to do so can have a host of other significances, which may vary from emotional expression to social manipulation of her own. The introduction of the *tegidion* into the Greek world at the close of the fourth century BC is a facet of female life that has passed virtually unnoticed in scholarship, but one which must have had a profound and fundamental influence upon the lives of Greek women. It is very difficult to tell just how widespread this fashion was, but, as suggested above, widely disseminated textual references, coupled with findings of statuettes of women wearing the *tegidion* scattered throughout northern Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt, suggest that the garment was commonplace among upper-class women in these regions by the late Classical period, and increasingly throughout the early Hellenistic era; it has even been suggested, judging again from the terracotta evidence, that the *tegidion* may have been worn in Attica (Thompson 1963).[7] This may have been a consequence of Macedonian incursions, for it is not beyond the limits of possibility that this strict form of female veiling was originally a Macedonian conceit, introduced via Persian or other Near Eastern influences (Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 64). Certainly, Persian and Near Eastern influence on Macedonian elite culture (which included polygamy and the institution of the harem — a form of patriarchal control closely aligned with strict veiling) should not be routinely dismissed (Carney 2000).

A veil that was specifically designed to cover the female face was a significant move towards the public control of female sexuality as a guarantor of male honour, yet the *tegidion* first appears at a time when it is generally assumed that women's lives were literally opening up as they began to take increasingly confident strides into public life; evidence from Hellenistic Alexandria in particular supports this suggestion and it is hard to disagree with the data which so strongly imply that women were becoming increasingly 'visible' (Pomeroy 1984; Rowlandson 1998). But how far can we take the idea of female visibility in the Hellenistic world? Van Bremen (1996) has suggested that even though the women of Hellenistic Asia Minor were actively beginning to participate in civic roles, they continued to operate strictly within the confines of a male framework as representatives of their families. In sympathy with this, Nevett observes that from the late fourth century, a new group of large and elaborate elite houses begin to appear, suggesting that 'the status of the *oikos* and the role of the house were undergoing a rapid change in many areas of the Greek world' (Nevett 1999, 162–4; see also Walter-Karydi 1994; 1996). This revision of domestic space resulted in the physical separation of the house into two separate areas, one for domestic activity and one public, where guests could be received in style. Each area had its own courtyard and so for the first time we can probably use the terms *andron* and *gynaikonitis* in the manner of the ancient sources (cf. Reber, this volume, pp. 281–2, FIGS. 30.1–2). In this new double-courtyard house it seems highly likely that the customary use of space was more marked between family areas and areas used by guests, and that domestic activity could have been conducted entirely within the family space, without intruding into guest areas. Consequently, it would appear that women were

7 If this veil-style is mentioned in scholarship at all, it is usually in the context of a discussion of Heracleides Creticus: see, for example, Walcot 1998, 169. Burr Thompson's influential studies of the Tanagra figurines have convincingly argued that the various modelled figures derive from Attic prototypes and were originally the product of Athenian craftsmen who sculpted the figures from real-life Athenian models. If this is indeed the case, then the *tegidion* could have had a major impact on Athenian womanhood. A convenient account of Burr Thompson's research is contained in Uhlenbrock 1990, 48–53. A second, much rarer, type of face-veil has been identified on an Alexandrian statuette dating to the early second century. Here the woman wears a delicately fringed face-veil *without* eyeholes — in other words, a face-panel that hangs from her forehead down to her chest. Presumably the fabric (probably linen, but possibly silk) was so sheer that eyeholes were unnecessary and, in this respect, it resembles a Yemeni silk face-veil known variously as the *maghmuq* or the *sheshaf*, which is sufficiently transparent for the wearer to remain capable of seeing the world around her. See Adriani 1948, 7–8; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1996, 51.

even more restricted in this new type of house than they were in the one-courtyard model, and the fact that the two-courtyard types appear at this date has led Nevett to speculate whether the activities of women were becoming more tightly controlled from the fourth century on (1999, 158). As she suggests: 'contrary to what the epigraphic [and, indeed, poetic] record appears to suggest, women's status did not improve during the Hellenistic to early Roman periods' (Nevett 1999, 166; see also Nevett 2002). In conjunction with this interpretation, increasingly throughout the Hellenistic period we have reports (in some Greek cities) of a civic body known as the *gynaikonomoi* ('controllers of women') who may have ensured that women's public appearances were policed and that, when they ventured into public space, their clothing was modest, sober and concealing (Ogden 2002).[8]

The archaeological data for the two-courtyard house and its interpretation, together with evidence of the *gynaikonomoi*, neatly coincide with the information offered by the use of the *tegidion*. If the veil, as I have attempted to suggest, is an extension of domestic space, then the increasing separation of women from the male world reflected in the two-courtyard house finds an astonishing parallel in the use of the face-veil in the same period. Both the new style of house and the new style of veil increasingly distance and separate women from the public world.

It has frequently been noted that at precisely this point in time Greek artists start to produce full-sized nude female statuary, in the form of a variety of Aphrodite figures (Hales 2002). But it should be emphasised that nudity did not transfer from the divine realm to the world of mortal women; in fact, heavy drapery around the body and the closed 'Pudicitia' (modesty) pose are features of public statuary of Hellenistic women. It is intriguing to note that at the same time as Aphrodite was shedding her clothes, her mortal worshippers were putting on more layers.

The *tegidion*, when worn with a mantle-veil, undoubtedly had the effect of rendering a woman a 'non-person' beneath layers of clothes. In this respect, and following Nevett's arguments, it is tempting to interpret the introduction of the *tegidion* as another device to control the autonomy of Hellenistic women, on a par with the evidence offered by the two-courtyard house model. But the reality of the situation may have been different, since the *tegidion* could actually have allowed women more freedom to participate in public society. The frequent reports we have of, say, Alexandrian women shopping, visiting friends and public places, and attending festivals could have been facilitated by the use of the face-veil. This small garment, overlooked in scholarship for so long, may have had a profound effect upon women's access to a more active lifestyle; equally, men could have tolerated a woman's amplified participation in communal life because the *tegidion* made her public imperceptibility even more pronounced. Moreover, a veil specifically designed to be tied around the head in order to conceal the face allowed the wearer more freedom of movement with her arms and hands, for she no longer had to hold a length of fabric across her face or on top of her head. This apparently insignificant facet of the female daily experience may well go some way towards explaining women's greater visibility in the Hellenistic textual sources.

CONCLUSIONS

While it was desirable for the women of Greece to remain separated from male society, when they were allowed out of their houses their use of the veil enabled them to operate with some autonomy in the public sphere. The common conception that the female veil acted as a logical extension of private domestic space can be demonstrated in a rich linguistic and visual symbolism where veils are frequently likened to shells, walls, doors and roofs. That a woman takes her symbolic separation with her into the public domain solves the practical problems of living in a society where there are rigidly enforced restrictions on interaction between marriageable adults. The veil makes a woman socially

8 While it is difficult to know exactly how this 'institution' operated, it is possible that a group of officials acted as 'women police' and controlled the movements of women in many Greek states from the late Classical period on. I do not want to overstress the importance of this 'institution' (if indeed that is an appropriate word), because the evidence for the *gynaikonomoi* as an active, organised and established 'police force' is fragmentary to say the least. Nonetheless, much of the scant evidence suggests that the *gynaikonomoi* controlled female behaviour at public festivals and funerals and checked the respectability of female participants in state rituals. In a rather puzzling statement Harpokration noted that 'Women [*sc.* in Athens] without order in the street were fined 1,000 drachmas.' It is hard to understand what he means by 'without order' (ἀκοσμοῦσαι) but I think that it is perhaps a convenient 'catch-all' phrase which hints that the activity of the *gynaikonomoi* was not confined to festivals and could include the daily policing of women in public, perhaps with regard to overseeing their modest dress. This was certainly true for women at festivals, but it is conceivable that this control extended beyond the confines of special occasions. The punishment for transgressing the rules of the *gynaikonomoi* was to have the name of the offender written on a white board and pinned to a plane tree, and to be summoned with a fine that was, of course, payable by the woman's official guardian (Hesychios *s.v. platanos*). The shame brought about by the public display of a woman's name was a harsh punishment since it brought dishonour on her family, and it is possible that a physical chastisement of the erring woman could have followed at the will of her guardian. Of course, Hesychios' term 'without order' could mean that the *gynaikonomoi* were vigilant in controlling female behaviour in other ways, including, perhaps, keeping women from interacting publicly with men or even from speaking to men in the streets.

invisible, allowing her to enjoy privacy and to be in public. The introduction of the *tegidion* at the close of the fourth century and its spread throughout much of the Greek world in the Hellenistic period finds an astonishing parallel in the two-courtyard house model of the same date. This development in house and household structure has been interpreted as a move to distance women even further from the public domain, in much the same way as the introduction of a specific face-veil amplified women's invisibility. However, the 'little roof' had the potential for allowing a woman a more autonomous public existence since, securely contained beneath its protective covering, wherever she went she took her house with her.

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GREEK CLOTHING REGULATIONS: SACRED AND PROFANE ?

Among anthropologists, the study of clothing has generally been considered under the rubric of material culture. As such, it is viewed as an alternative to verbal behavior ("saying") and social action ("doing"), in that it is one of the "making" ways in which humans establish their relationship to the world.[1] Via their clothing, men and women address themselves not only to each other, but to themselves and to their world. That they do so is one of the characteristic traits which, along with language, tool-making and burial, distinguish humans from animals. And yet why they do this - why the naked ape refuses to remain naked - remains little understood.[2]

Since the demise, roughly one hundred years ago, of the biblically-based theory that clothes are worn because of modesty, various theories have been put forward by anthropologists concerned with the origins and functions of clothing. The most "common-sense" view has been that people began to wear clothes for protection from the environment. Study has shown, however, that "to the primitive mind the obvious protection against the weather was not a suit of clothes but a cave or a house."[3] Other purposes have been suggested: protection against enemies or supernatural forces, sexual attraction to the opposite sex, and adornment for reasons of aesthetics. But the most widely-accepted view on the origins and function of clothing sees clothing primarily as a means of enhancing the individual, by asserting his or her superiority over animals, ghosts, and peers.[4] This view has led to the paradoxical conclusion "that the primary reason for wearing clothes was not modesty but its opposite, i.e. self-aggrandizement."[5] On a personal level, the result of this need for self-aggrandizement is a certain psychological ambivalence toward clothing, since we are trying simultaneously both to display superiority and to hide shame. On a social level, the result has been the promulgation, historically, of various forms of condemnation for asserting oneself too much by means of clothing: economic condemnation for men, whose clothes were seen to enhance their social status, and moral condemnation for women, whose clothes made them more sexually attractive.[6]

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1) For these three modes of human production, see J.Buchler, Nature and Judgement (New York 1955).

2) R.A.Schwarz, "Uncovering the Secret Vice: Toward an Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment" in J.M.Cordwell and R.A.Schwarz (eds.) The Fabrics of Culture (New York 1979) 23-45 (abbreviated TFOC).

3) James Laver, Modesty in Dress (Boston 1969) 1.

4) Lawrence Langner, The Importance of Wearing Clothes (New York 1959).

5) Laver (above, note 3) 7.

6) Laver's Hierarchical Principle (men's clothes are class-conscious) and Seduction Principle (women's clothes are sex-conscious). See also M.E.Roach, "The Social Symbolism of Women's Dress" in TFOC 415-422.

The scholarly consensus regarding the connection between the wearing of clothes and the desire to display superiority has been useful not only in understanding the origins of clothing, but also in understanding how that display operates. Since clothing is a symbol which communicates its various functions, the language of clothing can be quite complex.[7] Personally, it can express a mood or make a statement of belief or endeavor, symbolize power, sexuality, religious affiliation, or even involvement in recreational pursuits. On a more social level, clothing can indicate economic status, define social roles, and make statements of social worth, as well as facilitate social rituals, by setting the mood at such functions as weddings and funerals.

In societies with sharp societal divisions of caste of class, the promulgation of sumptuary laws regulating clothing has been linked to clothing's function as a statement of social worth. The elite, it is argued, try to maintain a monopoly on these symbols of wealth. But when, for whatever reason, wealth becomes available to the ordinary person, sumptuary laws are enacted to restrict his ability to display that wealth. This kind of analysis of the motivations behind the passage of sumptuary laws is heavily dependent on Thorstein Veblen's study of social behavior in The Theory of the Leisure Class, first published in 1899.[8] Veblen, whose particular value lies in his economic approach, posited the now-familiar "laws" of conspicuous consumption, conspicuous waste, conspicuous leisure, and vicarious consumption, as "the ways in which men seek to display their wealth and therefore to enhance the honour and esteem in which they are held."[9] Veblen's thesis thus considered many aspects of social behavior, but it is his analysis of clothing which has remained the most persuasive to later generations of scholars. And it does seem to account for the passage of sumptuary laws in Europe during the late Middle Ages.[10] But can Veblen's assumption that "sartorial morality [is] dependent upon pecuniary standards of value"[11] be applied to ancient Greek society as well? Can ancient Greek sumptuary laws, particularly those regulating clothing, be explained in these same terms of the elite trying to maintain a monopoly on the symbols of wealth? Or do we need to look elsewhere to understand the passage of such measures? For the purposes of this

7) M.E.Roach and J.B.Eicher, "The Language of Personal Adornment" in TFOC 7-21; Alison Lurie, The Language of Clothes (New York 1981).

8) Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York 1953) [orig. 1899]).

9) Laver (above, note 3) 76.

10) K.R.Greenfield, Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg (Baltimore 1918); J.M.Vincent, Costume and Conduct in the Laws of Basel, Bern and Zurich (New York 1935); F.E.Baldwin, Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England (Baltimore 1926); J.W.Phillips and H.K.Staveley, "Sumptuary Legislation in Four Centuries" Journ. of Home Economics 53 (1961) 673-677.

11) Quentin Bell, On Human Finery² (London 1976) 155.

investigation, it will be necessary to consider not only the evidence for the regulation of clothing in explicitly legal contexts, but also any references to the use or symbolism of clothing in what Gernet has called "pre-legal" contexts:[12] myths, stories, or anecdotes, which suggest issues and concerns before their full development into law.

Evidence for the regulation of clothing in ancient Greece falls roughly into two categories: religious/sacred regulations, which are preserved primarily in epigraphic texts, and secular/profane regulations, which are preserved in literary texts. There are also various funerary laws, which partake of both these categories, since funerals are primarily private secular events, but with religious overtones. Because funerals are ordinarily regulated by civic laws and overseen by civic officials, it seems more reasonable to consider them as basically secular regulations, and, as such, they provide the only inscriptional evidence for secular clothing regulations.

Oddly enough, the regulation of clothing in ancient Greece has not been perceived as a real social issue.[13] Ordinarily, scholarship has been more concerned with what ancient clothing looked like than how it was used, and those who have investigated the issue have felt that the social impact of clothing was much less prominent in Greece than it was in Rome. The goal of this paper, however, is to suggest that clothing was a social issue in ancient Greece, and that the regulations concerning it reflect distinctions between men and women, and between sacred and profane areas of conduct. While the evidence for this question ranges from about the sixth century B.C. to the third century A.D., chronological problems will not be a primary concern.

Among the surviving corpus of inscriptions, most regulations of clothing concern anyone - man or women - who wishes wether to enter the temple, or, more usually, the entire temenos of a deity, or to take part in a procession associated with a cult. In such religious laws, provision is made for the cleanliness, the fabric, the color, and the design of the clothing, as well as the wearing of sandals, belts, headdresses, rings, or other gold ornamentation. While it could be argued that such provisions have purely religious or ritualistic significance, the existence of remarkably similar secular regulations (discussed below) suggests otherwise. And to assume that these laws were somehow motivated only by cultic concerns, without any social context, seems unduly restricted and contrary to everything else we know about Greek

12) Louis Gernet, "Law and Prelaw in Ancient Greece" in his The Anthropology of Ancient Greece, trans. J.Hamilton, S.J. and B.Nagy (Baltimore and London 1981 [orig. 1968]) 143-215.

13) Aside from Gernet, ibid., 161-164. See, for example, the many standard works on Greek clothing: M.Bieber, Griechische Kleidung (Berlin and Leipzig 1928); M.Bieber, Entwicklungsgeschichte der Griechischen Tracht² (Berlin 1961); Ancient Greek Dress ed. M.Johnson (Chicago 1964 [orig. Greek Dress by E. Abrahams, 1908, and Chapters on Greek Dress by Lady Evans, 1893]); E.Gullberg and P.Åström, The Thread of Ariadne. A Study of Ancient Greek Dress (Stud.in Medit.Arch. XXI; Göteborg 1970).

religion. Surely religious rituals and processions provided even more opportunity than normal for that conspicious display so integral to the wearing of clothes. Two examples of these clothing laws applied to both men and women are, first, one governing entrance to the sanctuary at Lindos on Rhodes, and, second, one regulating those who wished to incubate at the sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamon. At Rhodes, among other regulations regarding ritual purity, one must have clean clothes, be without any headdress, either barefoot or wearing white shoes not made of leather, and not have anything made of leather, or a tied belt.[14] At Pergamon, one had to wear white clothing, but could not have a ring, a belt, any gold, braided hair, or shoes.[15]

In addition to these regulations, which refer equally to men and women, there are some which refer specifically to women. One law regulating the cult of Demeter near Patras, for example, states that "women may not have gold weighing more than one obol, nor wear a brightly colored or purple garment, nor be painted with white [cosmetics]."[16] Another, much earlier inscription, usually dated to the end of the sixth century B.C., provides us with even more details concerning the religious regulation of women's clothing. Contained on a bronze plaque said to have been found in northern Arcadia and inscribed with regulations regarding the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros, it reads:[17]

If a women wears a brightly-colored robe, it is to be consecrated to Demeter Thesmophoros. If she does not dedicate it, being ill-disposed toward the rite, let her "perish" and whoever is then demiourgos, let him [pay/exact] thirty drachmas. Let this [law?] have authority for ten years.

The uncertainities and difficulties connected with this inscription are too involved to solve in this brief survey, but a few points deserve some mention. First, it is unlikely that the offending woman is to be put to death. Rather, the reference must be to a curse placed upon her. Whether the demiourgos is to pay the thirty drachmas himself or to exact the fine from the woman in unclear, but there are more parallels for officials exacting fines than paying them themselves. Finally, what is to have authority for ten years: the law? the curse? the impiety of the demiourgos who has been

14) F.Sokolowski, Lois sacrées des cités grecques, supplément (Paris 1962) 91 (abbreviated LSCGS). The other collections of sacred laws by Sokolowski will also be cited in their abbreviated form: Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure (Paris 1955) = LSAM, and Lois sacrées des cités grecques (Paris 1969) = LSCG.

15) Sokolowski, LSAM 14.

16) Sokolowski, LSCGS 33.

17) Since its first publication in 1943 there have been numerous studies of this inscription, but almost entirely by scholars intrigued by the many oddities of the dialect. David M.Robinson, "A New Arcadian Insciption" CP 38 (1943) 191-199; J. and L.Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique" no.107, REG 57(1944) 210-211; A.J.Beattie, "Notes on an Archaic Arcadian Inscription Concerning Demeter Thesmophoros" CQ 41 (1947) 66-72; C.D.Buck, The Greek Dialects (Chicago, 1955) 196-197 (no.16); M.Guarducci, "Intorno alla Legge Sacra di Demeter Thesmophoros" ASAA ns.21-22 (1959/60) 239-242; L.H.Jeffrey, The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece (Oxford 1961) Plate 40.2. The text is relatively complete, though plagued by a broken left edge.

derelict in his duties? This, too, is unclear. In spite of all these difficulties, however, the Arcadian inscription is an invaluable piece of evidence, treating as it does the offensive material of the clothing, the (presumably civic) official responsible for enforcing the law, the fine to be paid, the various curses threatened, and, probably, their duration.

Finally, some of these sacred clothing regulations contain different provisions for women than for men. Such differentiation may simply regulate whether women may enter the temple at all, or which women may enter (priestesses for example), while prescribing the clothing to be worn by men.[18] Or, a law may treat men's and women's clothing together and then distinguish between them on the subject of hair-styles. Such, for example, is the case in the law regulating entrance to the temple of Demeter at Lycosura:[19]

It is not permitted to enter the temple of the Lady Goddess with any object of gold on one's person, unless it is intended for an offering, or to wear a purple or brightly-colored or black garment, or shoes, or a finger-ring But if one enters wearing any forbidden object, it must be dedicated to the temple. Women are not to have their hair bound up, and men must enter with bared head.

But by far the best example of such differential treatment occurs in an inscription from Andania in Messenia regulating the mysteries held there, of which the section on clothing is worth quoting extensively:[20]

Let the ones completing the mysteries be barefoot and wear white robes. Women are not to wear see-through robes or to have bands on their robes wider than one-half a finger (ca. 1 cm]. Female initiates are to wear a linen chiton and a robe costing not more than one hundred drachmas, their daughters a kalasiris [a long Egyptian garment with a fringe?] or sindonita [muslin?] and a robe costing not more than one mina, their slaves a kalasiris or sindonita and a robe costing not more than fifty drachmas. Female hierophants are to wear a kalasiris or an undergarment without bands, and a robe costing not more than two minas, their daughters a kalasiris or a robe costing not more than one hundred drachmas. In the procession, the female hierophants are to wear an undergarment and a woolen robe, with no bands wider than one-half a finger, their daughters a kalasiris and a non-see-though robe. Women are not to wear gold jewelry or rouge or white lead make-up, or hair ribbons, or have their hair braided, or wear shoes, unless made of felt or consecrated leather. The female hierophants are to have carriages with wicker sunshades and cushions, and white curtains, but not purple parasols. Whatever is necessary for the ceremony in honor of the gods, let them dress as the male hierophants order. If any woman dresses otherwise, or wears anything either contrary to the ordinance or forbidden, the gynaikonomos [guardian of the women] is not to permit it, and he is to have the authority to punish her, and the items are to be consecrated to the gods.

A few points need to be made about this law and the evidence it provides for the sacred regulation of clothing. All of the initiates of the mysteries (hoi teloumenoi), both male and female, must appear in white clothing and without shoes. More detailed clothing instructions follow, but are directed at the female participants only. Among the women, distinction is made, broadly,

18) For example at Delos (second century B.C.): Sokolowski, LSCGS 56, and at Eresos (second century B.C.): Sokolowski, LSCG 124.

19) Sokolowski, LSCG 68.

20) Sokolowski, LSCG 65,15-26.

between initiates (idiotes) and hierophants (hierai), with the latter allowed more extravagant display. Then, more particularly, distinction is made between adult free women, their daughters, and their slaves, with less expensive garments being dictated for lesser status. Finally, regarding the enforcement of the law, it is perhaps noteworthy that the gynaikonomoi, civic rather than religious officials, are to punish women who violate the law, though presumably they would also be covered under a later section of the law, which requires the gynaikonomos to swear to enforce (presumably all) the clothing regulations. Still, there is a difference between ensuring that participants abide by the law, and punishing those who, for whatever reason, do not. While the punishment itself is not explicitly mentioned in the law, it would presumably be similar to that stipulated by other sacred clothing regulations: that the transgressor must cleanse the sanctuary, and that the garments must be confiscated and dedicated to the offended gods.[21] If these two requirements are not fulfilled, either the priest or the responsible official must pay a fine, and/or the offender is considered impious and thus excluded from all religious and civic activities. And though not explicitly stated in the Andanian law, it seems reasonable to suggest that an offending male's illegal clothing would be confiscated and little, if anything, more would befall him, while the woman would have to make some amends to the gods and the sanctuary. Thus, the gynaikonomos would simply enforce male clothing regulations, while actually punishing females for their violation.

In addition to inscriptions testifying to the religious regulation of clothing, we also have epigraphic evidence of such regulation at funerals - laws ordinarily more concerned with the corpse's clothing than the clothes of those attending the funeral. A law of Gambreion, in Asia Minor, however, usually dated to the third century B.C., specifically governs the clothing of both male and female funeral participants.[22]

> Let this be the law for the people of Gambreion: that females in mourning wear clean, gray, robes, and that men and boys in mourning wear gray, unless they prefer to wear white...

Thus, it would appear that women are required, by the law, to wear gray, while men are told to do the same, but they are granted some latitude, depending on their preferences. The law from Gambreion also makes provision for enforcement. First, the gynaikonomoi are to

> pray for the prosperity and the enjoyment of good fortune for men who are law-abiding and the women who are obedient to the law, and the opposite for men who are not obedient and women who are not law-abiding.[23]

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21) Cleansing of the sanctuary: Ialysos (ca. 300 B.C.): Sokolowski, LSCG 136, 19-35; Patras: Sokolowski, LSCGS 33,8-11. Garment confiscated/dedicated: Lycosura (third century B.C.): Sokolowski, LSCG 68,8-9; Arcadia: Sokolowski, LSCGS 32.

22) Sokolowski, LSAM 16,4-9.

23) ibid. lines 20-24.

The threat of a curse for disobedience, then, was applied equally to both men and women - the threat, it should be understood, of beging dubbed "impure" and thus excluded from religious and civic activities. Another clause regarding enforcement follows, however:

> and it is not sanctioned for the women who are not obedient to sacrifice to any god for ten years on the grounds that they are impious.[24]

As Jean Garland has recently noted, while both sexes would be cursed if they disobeyed the provisions of the law, such a curse "was not eternal and could be removed at any time at all, whereas the woman remained under ban in all cases for a decade."[25] This stronger penalty for women (the obligatory and irrevocable ten-year exclusion from sacrifices) seems to indicate either greater concern for women's clothing than for men's, or more difficulty in obtaining compliance from the women. In either case, the religious nature of the punishment for an otherwise civic offense and the stronger penalty for women than for men suggests that participation in religious rites was seen as a means of social control available to lawmakers, and that this type of control was apparently applied more to women's behavior than to men's.

We have seen how, in addition to the many Greek regulations of clothing in explicitly religious contexts (temples, sanctuaries and processions), laws governing clothing can also be found in more civic concerns (funerals). There remains one more class of clothing regulations to be considered: those laws governing dress in general and on occasions other then funerals. The primary reason for treating these laws separately is that, unlike the purely religious and funeral laws, they are attested in literary sources only. This is also perhaps why these regulations have either been ignored by scholars, or their authenticity rejected.[26] As a result of this lack of attention, scholars have convinced themselves that Greek clothing was (especially when compared with Roman dress) "purely ornamental" (rather than symbolic) in its use of decoration, and an expression of "individual choice" rather than a mark of

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24) ibid. lines 25-27.

25) B.J.Garland, Gynaikonomoi: An Investigation of Greek Censors of Women (Diss. Johns Hopkins 1981) 95-96. On the link between clothing and the social structure generally, see M.E.Roach and J.B.Eicher (eds.), Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order (New York 1965). For participation in religion, specifically, as a means of social control over women's secular lives, note that adulteresses were excluded from temples in Athens ([Demosth.]59.85-86; Garland, 150-153). The reason why such control was thought to be effective is obvious enough: religious participation was one of the few opportunities for women outside of the home. For a similar phenomenon in modern Greece, where the areas and activities allowed to women shift during festivals, see E.Friedl, "The Position of Women: Appearance and Reality" Anthrop.Quart. 40 (1967) 97-108.

26) F.E.Adcock, "Literary Tradition and Early Greek Code-Makers" Cambridge Historical Journal 2 (1927) 102-104; T.J.Dunbabin, The Western Greeks (Oxford 1948) 71-72; A.W.Gomme, A Historical Commentary on Thucydides I (Oxford 1956) 105.

the occasion, age, or social class of the wearer.[27] Certainly such conclusions do not suit the corpus of religious clothing regulations which we have just been considering, where precise provision was made regarding the symbolism of decoration, use of color and fabric depending on the occasion, and differentiation by means of expense according to the age and status of the wearer. Yet, it could be argued that, after all, such laws are, by definition, extraordinary, and do not reflect the practices of the concerns surrounding everyday dress. The corpus of secular laws regulating clothing, however, if accepted as genuine, would further substantiate the claim that Greek clothing was symbolic, and that the symbolism was manipulated, by means of sumptuary laws, to differentiate status, including that between men and women. While full discussion of the authenticity of these profane clothing regulations is not possible here, surely such regulations will have be taken more seriously if it can be shown that their provisions and penalties (when specified) are analogous to those sacred clothing regulations preserved on stone.

Profane clothing regulations are known from at least five Greek poleis - Megara, Massilia, Epizephyrian Locri, Syracuse, and, of course, most extensively, Athens. There is also a reference to a kind of clothing regulation which operated at the Macedonian court and which is somewhat different from the rest, in that it reflects political and military, rather than social or moral, concerns. Plutarch, in his life of Eumenes, secretary to both Philip and Alexander, notes that only Macedonian kings were empowered to distribute the purple caps and military cloaks indicative of military excellence.[28] While such a rule is perhaps tangential to our theme, in that it does not govern the daily use of clothing by ordinary citizens in ordinary situations, it is at least indicative of a willingness, on the part of a civic authority, to promulgate clothing ordinances. More typical of profane clothing regulations, however, are the many references in these five Greek poleis to restrictions on men's and women's clothing in terms of material, style, and decoration.

One of these regulations, from Megara, seems at first glance no more than an aition for a local costume. Plutarch tells us that when Habrote, wife of the legendary king Nisus, died, she was mourned by the entire population due to her intelligence and sophrosyne.[29]

> Nisus, wishing that her memory and her repute should be established everlastingly, ordered the women of the city to wear the garment that she used to wear, and because of her he called the garment aphabroma.

Even when the women of Megara wished to change their dress, Plutarch adds, they were prevented by an oracle. Mythically speaking, the Megarian story not

27) L.B.Warren, "Roman Costumes. A Glossary and Some Etruscan Derivations" ANRW 1.4 (1973) 585-586; M.Bieber, Entwicklungsgeschichte der Griechischen Tracht² (Berlin 1961) 40-42.

28) Plut.Eum. 8.7.

29) Plut.Mor. 295a-b (Greek Quest.16).

only explains a local custom and costume, but it preserves a typical king/tyrant motif. Compare, for example, the similar stories regarding women's clothing in Corinth and Athens preserved in Herodotus. At his wife Melissa's death, Periander, tyrant of Corinth, had neglected to burn the clothing in which she had been buried. As a result, her ghost later appeared to him and complained of being cold and naked and he, in consequence, gathered together all the women of Corinth on the pretext of a festival in honor of Hera.[30]

> So they came out as to a festival, wearing their fairest adornment, and Periander set his guards there and stripped them all alike, ladies and serving women, and heaped all the garments in a pit, where he burned them, making prayers to Melissa all the while.

Similar to the Megara and Corinth tales is an Athenian story, attached not to a tyrant or king, but to an event. Herodotus tells us that, in the early sixth century B.C., the wives of the Athenian men who had attacked Aegina stabbed the sole survivor of that force with the pin-fasteners of their robes. The Athenians, he says,[31]

> could find... no other way to punish the women; but they (the men) changed their (the women's) dress to the Ionian fashion, for until then the Athenian women had worn Dorian dress.

In this case, the imposition of a certain style of clothing upon the women was the work of the men of the polis in general rather than one king or tyrant, and it was occasioned by a battle rather than one woman's death. Nevertheless, the striking similarities to the two previous anecdotes give a significant indication of ancient Greek attitudes toward the regulation of women's dress.

All three of these accounts could simply be understood as mythical stories, with aetiological components, attached to important historical figures or events. There are four components, however, which suggest that these stories reflect real civic concerns, perhaps even legal issues. First, there is the symbolism of the clothing per se, a statement of the worth of the individual not unlike the symbolism of clothing in more explicitly mythic and ritual contexts.[32] The particular appropriateness of clothing for mythic and ritual use is probably connected with the second aspect suggesting civic concern: the references to imposition, perhaps even with violence, by a civic authority. Whether ordered by a king and confirmed by an oracle, or ordered by a tyrant and enforced by armed guards, the attempt by an authority to impose certain notions of appropriate dress reflects clothing's potential for harm as well as

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30) Herod. 5.92.

31) Herod. 5.88. The Aeginetans, of course, then made a law of their own that Aeginetan women's pin-fasteners were to be made longer. On the anecdote, see Ian Jenkins, "Dressed to Kill" Omnibus 5 (1983) 29-32.

32) L.Gernet (above, note 12) 161-164, notes various examples of the symbolic use of clothing as offerings to the gods, as prizes to heroic victors, as symbols of fatality in myths, and as objects to be given, received, put on, taken off, and even exchanged between the sexes during rites of passage. On ritual transvestism in particular, see W.R.Halliday, The Greek Questions of Plutarch (Oxford 1928) 216-217; T.H.Gaster, Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament (New York 1969) 316-317.

benefit. Third, there is at least some suggestion that extravagant clothing is of particular concern, especially for tyrants, since it is potentially more dangerous, for the same reasons that it is more powerful.[33] Finally, there is the obvious concern with the clothing of women in particular. We have already seen how religious and funerary provisions show more concern for women's clothing than for men's, and these three anecdotes, which justified the imposition of specific clothing on women, seem to reflect the same attitudes.

There are other references to secular clothing regulations particularly aimed at women. In Massilia and in Solonian Athens, there were said to be laws restricting garments to be included in a woman's dowry - a maximum of five gold pieces for dowry clothing in Massilia, and a maximum of three garments in Athens.[34] Another Solonian law was said to have restricted to three the number of pieces of clothing a woman could wear in public.[35] Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that hetairai were perhaps required to wear brightly-colored clothing,[36] and forbidden to wear gold, lest it be confiscated by the state.[37] These various secular clothing regulations directed at women seem remarkably like the religious ones we were considering earlier. Clothing is regulated according to the number of garments, their cost and decoration, and the offending articles are to be confiscated.

Finally among this group of secular clothing regulations, we must consider the cryptic and tantalizing references to practically identical laws from Syracuse and Epizephyrian Locri.[38] In both cases, the laws stipulate that men wearing elaborate clothing, gold rings or Milesian cloaks are considered adulterers, while women wearing gold jewelry, brightly-colored garments or robes with purple borders are considered hetairai. Although the simplest and most obvious explanation of these "laws" is that the lawmakers sought to enforce their provisions by means of social pressure, it also seems possible that the threatened penalty was not only a bad reputation for the wearer, but a curse: exclusion from temple, sanctuaries, and civic functions. If this indeed be the case, then the enforcement of these secular regulations depends

33) On the dual nature of colorful clothing, for example, note that while multi-colored and flowery clothes in dreams were said to mean good luck for women (Artem. 2.3), we are told that the Iapygians, who at first wore gaily-colored robes, cosmetics and wigs, were then punished with a shower of metal from the skies and afterwards lived with their hair cropped and clad in mourning garb (Athen. 12.523b). On clothing's power, note that young women, temporarily deranged due to illness, were told by the soothsayers to dedicate many objects to Artemis upon their return to their senses, but especially their most extravagant (polytelestata) garments, these presumably being more efficacious than plain ones (Hippoc.de Virg. 1).

34) Massilia: Strabo 4.1.5 C181. Athens: Plut.Sol. 20.4.

35) Plut.Sol. 21.4.

36) Phot.Lex. 25.8.

37) Hermog.Rhet.de const.caus.12.

38) Phylarchus FGrH II 81 F 45 (Syracuse). Diod.Sic.12.21 (E.Locri).

at least partly on religious sanctions.

Aside from two other extremely problematic, almost cryptic, references to clothing regulations in Athens,[39] this concludes our survey of Greek secular clothing regulations. These regulations, clearly, have proven strikingly similar to the religious and funerary clothing regulations known from inscriptions. The particular concern with women's dress, the use of religious sanctions to encourage obedience, the amazing details regarding fabric, cost, and decoration, the delineation of different classes of women (free women, hetairai, adulteresses), the confiscation of the offensive objects - all of these components from various secular clothing regulations preserved in literary sources correspond to provisions in religious and funerary clothing regulations preserved in inscriptions. Together, these laws must reflect a real concern for clothing, and especially for women's clothing, as an issue in need not only of deliberation and thought, but of concrete proclamations and, presumably, action. Certainly the ancient sources, with varying degrees of reliability, attest to this concern, not exclusively, but perhaps most emphatically, in matters connected with cult.

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39) The first, found in Diogenes Laertius' Life of Crates (6.90), refers to an episode when Crates, towards the end of the fourth century B.C., was charged by the astynomoi at Athens for wearing sindona (linen or muslin). The second, found in a scholiast's note on Aristophanes' Knights (580), refers to a measure introduced by men named Kineas and Phrinos requiring that young men no longer have long hair or wear effeminate or luxurious clothing. The date of this supposed proposal is unknown. D.M.Robinson and E.J.Fluck think that this Phrinos is the same as their no.244 "Phrinos kalos," from a white-ground kylix found in a pre-Persian context in the Agora. Assuming, as they do, that the measure dates from approximately the time of the first performance of the Knights in 424 B.C., the youthful ephebe of ca. 480 "would have been an old man in his seventies, protesting against the luxury and softness of the young men at the time of the play..." (A Study of the Greek Lovenames [Baltimore 1937] 173). Another possibility would be to connect the Kineas and Phrinos proposal with any one of three moments in the fifth century when, according to various ancient authors, male dress at Athens underwent a substantial transformation. The change from luxurious linen chitons, golden grasshoppers and flowing locks to the simpler Spartan mode of dress is said to have taken place either: 1) after Marathon (Athen.12.521b-c), 2) "recently" (Thuc.1.63-64), or 3) during Pericles' generalship (Schol.Hom.Il.13.685). On fifth-century male dress, see especially the comment by the Old Oligarch ([Xen.] Ath.Pol. 10-11) that people in Athens "are no better clad than the slaves and metics," a phrase which can be interpreted in many ways, since Athens was certainly atypical in many areas.



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Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art

LARISSA BONFANTE

Abstract

The Greeks saw their custom of athletic male nudity as something that set them apart from the barbarians, as well as from their own past. A survey of male nudity as a costume in Greece attempts to trace its origin in eighth-century ritual, its gradual transformation from initiation rites to the "civic" nudity of the Classical period, and its significance in various religious, magic, and social contexts. The character of this institution can be seen more clearly by comparing it with earlier Near Eastern attitudes to nakedness, and to the later contemporary "barbarian" attitudes of the Hebrews, Etruscans, and Gauls, as well as to the contemporary views of female nudity, before its acceptance in the Hellenistic period.*

Among the innovations of the ancient Greeks that changed our way of seeing the world, one of the most prominent is a certain kind of public nudity—nudity as a *costume*.[1] This is a surprising phenomenon. That we have not been more surprised by it is due to the fact that we follow in their tradition and take the Greeks as models, forgetting how often their institutions and attitudes made them the exception, and not the rule, among ancient peoples. The Greeks of the Classical world did not forget. While not, as we shall see, fully understanding the significance of the custom, they were proud of its singularity.

A study of nudity in Greece needs to be undertaken from the historical point of view. I limit myself, in the present article, to a consideration of the evidence of art and literature in an attempt to understand what lay behind the words and figures concerning and representing nudity that have come down to us, and to explain something about the original character of an-

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In addition to the standard *AJA* abbreviations, the following are used in this article:

Boardman, *Black Figure Vases*	J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London 1974).
Boardman, *Red Figure Vases, Archaic*	J. Boardman, *Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London 1975).
Boardman, *Sculpture, Archaic*	J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London 1978).
Boardman, *Sculpture, Classical*	J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London 1985).
Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*	L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore 1975).
Brendel	O.J. Brendel, *Etruscan Art* (Harmondsworth 1978).
Burkert, *Greek Religion*	W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985; originally publ. Stuttgart 1977).
Dover	K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London 1978).
Frankfort	H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth 1956, rev. 1958).
Hurwit	J. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* (Ithaca 1985).
LCM	*Liverpool Classical Monthly*
Pritchard, *ANE*	J.B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, abridged (Princeton 1958).
Pritchard, *ANET*	J.B. Pritchard ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton 1955).
Richter, *Kouroi*	G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi*[3] (New York 1970).
Robertson	M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975).
Thuillier	J.-P. Thuillier, *Les jeux athlétiques dans la civilisation étrusque* (Rome 1985).

[1] For nudity in ancient art, see *EAA* 5 (1963) 576-81, s.v. Nudo (G. Becatti), with previous bibliography. See also J. Heckenbach, *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis* (Giessen 1911); Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* 102, 111; Dover; L.P. Wilkinson, *Classical Attitudes to Modern Issues* (London 1978) III, "Nudism in Deed and Word" (orig. publ. *Encounter* 51, August 1978); and E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (New York 1985). For "Heroic Nudity," the modern term most frequently used, and often misused, see now N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit* (Opladen 1985); an earlier, Italian version appeared as "Nudità ideale," in S. Settis ed., *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana* 2 (Turin 1985) 199–278. Himmelmann traces the iconography of the male and female nude in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, as well as the development of "heroic" or "ideal" nudity in the later scholarly tradition. Kenneth Clark's *The Nude. A Study in Ideal Form* (New York 1956) has made it possible to look beyond this post-Classical convention to a past when nudity's power was in full force. For later interpretations of male and female nudity, see C.M. Havelock, "Plato and Winckelmann: Ideological Bias in the History of Greek Art," *Source* 5.2 (Winter 1986) 1–6.

cient nudity and its transformations in Greece. We can at least begin to see the phenomenon of Greek nudity, not as totally isolated, but in the context of the ancient world.

THE QUESTION

Five basic reasons accounting for mankind's use of clothing will be found to be applicable at various stages of our discussion of nudity: 1) as protection against the elements, especially the cold; 2) for social reasons, to distinguish members of a tribe or class; 3) from a sense of shame; 4) for aesthetic reasons, as decoration, pleasure, beauty, and to attract the opposite sex; 5) for apotropaic reasons, to turn away the effects of magic, sorcery, the evil eye, and hostile spirits. We shall see that one or more of these considerations can also explain what nudity once meant for the Greeks—and how it changed.[2]

Though it does not serve as a protection against the weather (1), nakedness, like clothing or armor, was used to distinguish social groups (2), in life and in art. Clothing, in fact, distinguishes human society, civilized people, from animals and wild beasts, which are naked. Humans wear clothes, animals do not. In a clothed society, however, nakedness is special, and can be used as a "costume." As it developed, Greek nudity came to mark a contrast between Greek and non-Greek, and also between men and women. The latter distinction is connected with the most basic connotation of nakedness, the sense of shame, vulnerability and exposure it arouses in person (3), and the related sense of shock provoked by its sight. Clothing is designed to avoid such powerful emotions by covering the body, especially the male genitals, the phallus, and female genitals and breast. A "body taboo" against nakedness in public is fairly universal.[3] There originally existed in Classical antiquity, as elsewhere, a garment designed to hide the wearer's sex organ, a loin cloth, *perizoma* or *diazoma*, as the Greeks usually called it. The beauty of the naked body (4) has often been exalted. Its erotic and aesthetic appeal, as Kenneth Clark has shown, has caused a different word to be used: this aspect of nakedness is known as "nudity."[4]

In the ancient Near East Ishtar,[5] and in the West Aphrodite,[6] the goddesses of love, were traditionally naked. The beauty and strength of the naked male body were also praised, and heroes, such as the Master of Animals, were represented naked, or wearing only a belt.[7] It was the Greeks who brought into our culture the ideal of male nudity as the highest kind of beauty. Greek art and athletics exalted the beauty of the youthful male athlete, whose figure provided the model for the hero or youthful god. The image of the nude young male, the kouros statue of early Greek art (contrasting with the clothed female, the kore), embodied the *arete* or glory of an aristocratic youth, who was *kaloskagathos*, "beautiful and noble."[8]

Because of the powerful emotions of shame, shock, lust, admiration, violation, pity, and disgust aroused by the sight of the naked human body, the most frequent associations are with taboo, magic, and ritual (5). When the sexual organ was uncovered, its power was unleashed. Apotropaic and magical nudity, involving the exposure of male genitals and female breasts, and the exhibition of the enlarged male phallus have been used from early times, and testify to the enduring force of this complex image. As a taboo, it can protect against the evil eye. Like the Gorgon's gaze, it can paralyze or protect. The partial nudity or exposure of a woman's breast or genitals, for example, can signify weakness and powerlessness; but it can also function as powerful magic.[9] In art and in life,

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[2] *RE* 16.2 (1935) 1541–49, s.v. Nacktheit (F. Pfister); quoted and discussed in C. Seltman, *Women in Antiquity* (New York 1955) 34–37.

[3] S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo* (New York 1950) 14, 31, and passim. For nakedness, see H.C. Warren, "Social Nudism and the Body Taboo," *Psychological Review* 40 (1933) 160– → T.O. Beidelman, "Some Nuer Notions of Nakedness, Nudity, and Sexuality," *Africa* 38 (1968) 113–31. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London 1966) is especially useful for the connection between taboo and ritual, to be treated later in this paper; for the distinctions between male and female, humans and the wild, and for bodily magic, invested with power and danger.

[4] Clark (supra n. 1).

[5] See infra ns. 18–19, 28. For the nudity of Ishtar, the Semitic goddess of love and beauty, queen of heaven, and Inanna, the goddess of the planet Venus, see J.B. Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known through Literature* (New Haven 1943), esp. 83–87; M. Mellink, "A Hittite Figure from Nuzi," *Vorderasiatische Archäologie. A. Moortgat . . . gewidmet* (Berlin 1964) 155–64; and A.-J. 'Amr, "A Nude Female Statue with Astral Emblems," *PEQ* 117 (1985) 101–11.

[6] *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias) passim.

[7] Naked hero wearing a belt, in Near Eastern art: Frankfort, pl. 6, cup and base from Tell Agrab. See also stands for bowls or plates to be placed before the gods (26–27, pl. 20b): "In all these cases, where the figures are not statues in the narrow sense, but temple furniture, they are naked, wearing only a triple girdle. We cannot decide whether they depict human or mythological beings. Perhaps these naked girdled figures are another version of the hero of pl. 6, and of the seals of all later ages."

[8] Infra ns. 36–39 for the kouros.

[9] Aspects of the image of the phallus, the women's breast or organs, and of the gorgon mask converge; they are pitiful or powerful, vulnerable or magic. See L. Bonfante, "Icono-

belief in such magic powers is well attested in many cultures throughout history, and has survived into our own times. Phallic or "priapic" figurines and amulets, as well as obscene gestures, still serve as protection against the evil eye in many parts of the world. When dress is normal, exhibitionist acts of nakedness often have a magical meaning. In the realm of magic, nudity wards off a spell or other harmful form of magic, compels love, and gives strength to one's own practice of witchcraft and conjuring.[10] Since, then, in a clothed society nudity was special, monstrous, dangerous, and powerful,[11] complete nakedness was avoided in everyday life. It was saved for special situations or specific ritual ceremonies.

Language, too, preserved traces of this magic power of nakedness. The word, like the fact, had to be avoided, so that its magic power could be preserved. A linguistic taboo thus caused the form of the word for "naked" to change, in all the Indoeuropean languages. Though *gymnos*, *nudus*, *nackt*, etc. were all originally related to each other—so linguists assure us—they were all transformed in varied and unexpected ways, so that their original similarity is practically unrecognizable.[12] For most parts of the body, there is what Devoto called a "compact" vocabulary:[13] the words for "heart," "eye," "foot," "knee," "nose," "tooth," "eyebrow" are basically the same in all the Indoeuropean languages. Differences can be accounted for, even explained, by linguistic "rules." But words for "naked," as well as the names of certain parts of the body—finger, tongue, hand, and hair—are different in the different languages. How can this be explained? Indoeuropeans obviously had fingers, tongues, hands, hair, and nakedness; and they must have had names for them. (They did not, as in the case of "lion," for example, have to adopt the name for the object from another language.) There must have been some other reason at work to account for the absence of a consistent pattern in these words. Such a reason can be found in the powerful connotations of certain parts of the body, and of nakedness. These were such that the word was avoided, and a euphemism, or a distortion substituted. The Greek word **αἰδοῖα**, "shameful things," for sexual organs, like the Latin word *pudenda*, shows that male nudity was not always accepted.[14]

The category of nudity as magic is closely related to several types of nudity we shall be discussing. *Religious* nudity covers a vast area of meaning. Divine nudity characterizes gods and goddesses. The divine nudity of the goddesses Astarte, Ishtar (regularly shown in frontal nudity), Aphrodite, Venus, and others signifies fertility, fecundity, and power.[15] *Ritual* nudity refers to nudity as a special mode of dressing for initiation rituals for boys and girls, for sacred

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grafia della madre nell'arte dell'Italia antica," in A. Rallo ed., *La donna in Etruria* (Rome 1989) and T.H. Price, *Kourotrophos* (Leiden 1978). For the power of the evil eye and the Gorgon, see A. Riess, infra n. 149; and Y. Korshak, *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Chicago 1987), particularly the conclusion, 43–44. Dionysos is not shown with frontal face because "this is too indecorous, too insecure a mode for a divinity, even for the god of wine." For Freud's (and the Freudian) view towards Medusa's head, see L. Schneider, "Ms. Medusa: Transformations of a Bisexual Image," *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society* 9 (New York 1981) 105–53. "At . . . the level to which Freud addressed himself, she represents the child's equation of separation as castration" (p. 105).

[10] For the magic power of the sight of the naked body and the sexual organs, see M. Nilsson, *GGR*³ 118–20, "Der Phallos"; and R. Payne Knight, *A Discourse on the Subject of Priapus* (London 1786), repr. as *Sexual Symbolism* (New York 1966). On erotic art, magic and superstition, see O.J. Brendel, "The Scope and Temperament of Erotic Art in Greco-Roman Art," in T. Bowie and C. Christenson eds., *Studies in Erotic Art* (New York 1970) 3–107; J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Greece* (New York 1978) 40–41; 53–56, 65, on nudity in daily life and art; 130–32 on the naked Aphrodite. C. Johns, *Sex or Symbol: Erotic Images of Greece and Rome* (London 1982) Ch. 3, "The Phallus and the Evil Eye," 61–75; A. Dierichs et al., *Erotik in der Kunst der Griechenlands* (*AntW* 19, 1988). See Dover 105 for the god Priapus, who watches over gardens, threatening intruders with his huge phallus. Infra n. 117.

[11] *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 10 (Washington 1967) 559, s.v. Nudity (A. Closs). E.J. Bickerman, *CP* 41 (1946) 122: "In a 'clothed' society, where garments are a social obligation, nakedness is an exception, and as such a monstrosity."

[12] On linguistic taboo, the basic works are A. Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* (Paris 1926) 281–291; G. Bonfante, in *Mélanges Bally* (Geneva 1939) 195–207; W. Havers, *SBWien* 1946, 55, for the taboo of the parts of the body. More recently, see G. Bonfante, "La parola 'nudo' e la nudità sacrale fra gl'Indoeuropei," *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 66 (1981) 89–92; and "L'interdizione linguistica del capello," *AttiLincei* 41 (1987) 57–58. *Gymnos*: *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I (Heidelberg 1960) 332–33, s.v. **γυμνός** (H. Frisk); *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* II, E–K (Paris 1970) 241–42, s.v. **γυμνός** (P. Chantraine). See a → E.H. Sturtevant, "*Gymnos* and *Nudus*," *AJP* 33 (1912) 324–29; Thuillier 392–93. For *nudus*, see E. Peruzzi, *Origini di Roma* (Florence 1970) 77–78: Peruzzi's explanation of the *licium* as related to nudity seems preferable to one connecting it with the magic of knots and magic, as suggested → P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, "Per lancem et licium: A Note," *GaR* 23 (1976) 1–4.

[13] G. Devoto, *Origini indoeuropee* (Florence 1962) ix, 195, 203 and passim.

[14] Chantraine (supra n. 12) 31, Frisk (supra n. 12) 34–35, s.v. **αἴδομαι**. LSJ 35, s.v. **αἰδοῖαν**. C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *Latin Dictionary* (New York 1907) 1486, s.v. *pudenda*. Further references, supra n. 12.

[15] Supra n. 5; infra ns. 18–19, 28.

prostitutes serving at the temple, for a priest sacrificing before his god.[16] Clearly dress and undress, nakedness and nudity, are related in meaning and circumstance.

The Old Testament includes a famous account of the origin of clothing that reveals some of the basic ancient connotations of nakedness and clothes. According to *Genesis* (6.7), Adam and Eve invented a garment to hide the sex organs of men and women—the Greek Septuagint called it a *perizoma*. They did this to keep from being ashamed of—and/or shocked by—their nakedness after they had eaten of the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden: "Then the eyes of both were opened, and they discovered that they were naked; so they sewed together fig leaves and made themselves loincloths." (In the Vulgate: *Et aperti sunt oculi amborum: cumque cognovissent se esse nudos, consuerunt folia ficus, et fecerunt sibi perizomata . . .*)[17] Whatever the meaning (or meanings) of nakedness in this passage, the purpose of the *perizoma* was clearly to avoid appearing naked before each other, as male and female, and before God. It was not for protection; for only afterward (*Gen.* 3.21) did God give them fur coats to protect them from the cold.

Just as clothing could serve different purposes, so nakedness and nudity could have different meanings. This seems to be shown by the story of Ishtar, the goddess who in art normally appeared in frontal nudity, in the full pride of her beauty and power. In the story of Ishtar's descent into the Underworld, she is progressively stripped of her jewels and ornaments as she enters each of the seven gates. At the last, the gatekeeper removes her "breechcloth," and the goddess of fertility appears completely naked, deprived of her divinity and dignity.[18] Even she can be stripped and shamed. (The Akkadian phrase for the loincloth is "robe of shame," sometimes euphemistically rendered as "robe of splendor.")[19] There was evidently all the difference in the world, to ancient eyes, between a gloriously, divinely naked figure wearing jewelry, a crown, a loincloth, even a belt, and one not wearing anything. Being "stark naked" meant poverty, as well as shame.

In the Old Testament nakedness always signifies poverty, shame, slavery, humiliation. In the ancient Near East and elsewhere it is a sign of defeat—naked, bound prisoners were paraded in the king's victory celebration, and are thus represented on innumerable monuments.[20] The slain enemy, regularly stripped of clothes or armor, lies naked. As in a dream of anxiety, nakedness exposes you to fear and shame. But the Greeks were to turn the concept around and to see the beauty and pride of the male human body, without cover or adornment.

Herodotus and Thucydides correctly saw athletic nudity as a custom—much more than a costume!—that separated the Greeks from other people. Herodotus, in his well-known story about King Gyges (1.10.3), comments that "among the Lydians, as among just about all the other barbarians, even for a man to be seen naked brings great shame." The passage in Thucydides (1.5–6) is more complex, and we will deal with part of it later. He, too, emphasizes this basic contrast between Greeks and barbarians; adding the fact that the custom separated the Greeks from their own past as well. It was, indeed, an unprece-

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[16] Already in the Protoliterate period nakedness signified service to the gods. On a vase from Warka, a frieze shows men bringing gifts to the goddess, "naked, as was common then and throughout Early Dynastic times when man approached the gods" (Frankfort 10, pl. 3). For temple prostitutes, see Frankfort 194; Hdt. 1.199. For initiation rituals, see A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago 1960; trans. of *Les rites de passage*, 1908) 65–115; nudity and costumes, 81–84; sacred prostitutes of antiquity, 100. "Van Gennep makes a sharp distinction between religion and magic" (S.T. Kimball, "Introduction," p. ix).

[17] *Gen.* 3–7. J.L. McKenzie, "The Literary Characteristics of Genesis 2–3," *Theological Studies* 15 (1954) 541–72. Cf. *Gen.* 2.24–35; 2.25: *Erat autem uterque nudus, Adam scilicet et uxor eius; et non erubescebant.* For the Hebrew text, see *Wörterbuch biblischer Bilder und Symbole* (Munich 1973) 218–20, s.v. Nacktheit (N. Lurker). *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 10 (Washington 1967) 559–60, s.v. Nudity (in the Bible) (F.J. Montalbano).

[18] For this passage from the Epic of Gilgamesh, trans. by E.A. Speiser, see Pritchard, *ANET* 105–109; *ANE* 82–85.

[19] The Akkadian is *ṣubāt balti*, "robe of shame," in R. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*[5] (Paris 1976) 324 (*ṣubāt*), 297 (*balti*), "robe of splendor": D. Marcus, *A Manual of Akkadian* (Latham, Md. 1978) 158. The predecessor and prototype of the Semitic myth of "Ishtar's Descent to the Nether World" is the Sumerian myth, "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World": here, Inanna is deprived of all her queenly jewels and of a garment translated as "the pala-garment, the garment of ladyship," with which she had previously covered her body. Pritchard, *ANET* 52–57, esp. 53–55; D. Wolkstein and S.N. Kramer, *Inanna. Queen of Heaven and Earth* (New York 1983) 59, "the royal robe." Cf. Burkert (infra n. 38) 139, on "the female successively stripped of her clothing and finally hung from a beam," as "evocative of a ritual execution." I thank Ayako Imai for the Gilgamesh reference, and Sharon Keller for the interpretation of the passage, as well as the Akkadian references.

[20] For nudity in the Bible, see Lurker and Montalbano, supra n. 17. For bound prisoners, see, among many other monuments, an ivory carving from Megiddo (1350–1150 B.C.), in Pritchard, *ANE*, fig. 90; and a fragmentary Akkadian steatite vase in the Louvre (second half of the third millennium) in A. Parrot, *The Sumerians* (Milan 1968) figs. 229–30. For the corpse of the enemy under the victorious chariot, see Frankfort, pl. 161, relief from Carchemish.

dented departure from a norm accepted in every other time and tribe. "Formerly, even in the Olympic games, athletes competed with a *diazoma*, or *perizoma*. A number of other customs show that the Greeks once lived like the barbarians of today." Many other passages could be cited to show that the Greeks believed that the custom of nudity marked a break with their own earlier tradition.

What led to this change? Explanations have for the most part referred to the Classical period, and emphasized one or another aspect of this custom: the artistic nudity of the kouros, the monumental statue of a standing youth, or the real-life nudity of the athlete.

I would like to try to trace the origin and development of such an important phenomenon. Of the many questions involved, several must for the moment remain unanswered; this is a work in progress. The tentative nature of some of my suggestions will, I hope, stimulate others to treat this important subject. In trying to sort out the different chronological levels of Greek nudity and their significance, I have attempted to do what I did for the Roman triumph,[21] finding, along the way, how differently Greek and Roman sources deal with central features of their cultures: typically, Roman tradition sees continuity, Greek historians stress innovation. The result is schematic, but I hope, helpful.

The Greek word for naked, or nude, is *gymnos*, and shows something new in the ancient world. The word refers to total nudity. In Classical times, a man was not *gymnos* if he wore a *perizoma*. In a military context *gymnos* meant "unarmed" (*Il.* 16.815, etc.), not covered by armor, exposed (Thuc. 3.23, 5.10.71; Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.12); and "light-armed," as opposed to the heavy-armed hoplite. The *gymnon stadion* (Pind. *Pyth.* 11.49) was the race run without armor, in contrast to the *hoplitodromos*. By far the most common usage, however, was specifically "exercising in the nude."[22] The word had become something new, just as the Greeks had made something new of the ancient social, religious, and magic taboo of nudity in daily life. For while the word for "naked" had universally—in the Bible, for example—been used to mean "poor," "wretched," or "miserable," in Classical Greek the word rarely means "poor." When did the change come about?

ARCHAIC PERIOD

In Homer's poems, of around 800 B.C., nakedness implies shame, vulnerability, death, and dishonor. The naked body of the hero must be rescued. Thersites is threatened with being stripped and run naked through the assembly. Odysseus covers himself with leaves before Nausicaa.[23] The latter instance, of course, may be due to the specific circumstances. The hero is meeting a young, unmarried woman for the first time, and it would hardly be appropriate for him to appear before her completely naked. Homer presents us, it seems, as so often, with the old and the new, the traditional and the earliest instance of what is to come.

A crucial passage seems to illustrate such a coexistence. In the 22nd book of the *Iliad*, Priam and Hecuba in turn attempt—in vain—to dissuade Hector from going to battle and to certain death. Both appeal to his compassion, and respect, by facing him with the spectacle of their nakedness. The sight of one's parents' nakedness is awesome.[24] Priam paints a picture of his own death and degradation. An old man's death is ugly: "When an old man is dead and down, and the dogs mutilate the grey head and the grey beard and the parts that are shameful (αἰδῶ), this, for all sad mortality is the sight most pitiful" (*Il.* 22.74–76). Immediately after this, Hecuba exposes her breast and holds it out for Hector, in entreaty (79–81). This pitiable significance refers to the traditional sense of nakedness.

What is new is what Priam contrasts with the grisly, shameful, ugly death of an old man: the beauty of the nakedness of a young man. "For a young man all is decorous when he is cut down in battle and torn

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→ L. Bonfante, "Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings: The Changing Face of the Triumph," *JRS* 60 (1970) 49–66.

[22] As Sturtevant (supra n. 12) and J.C. Mann ("*Gymnazo* in Thucydides, 1.6.5–6," *CR* 24 [1947] 17–78) have clearly shown, γυμνός and *nudus* meant "completely naked," not "scantily clad," without a chiton, or a mantle. They point out that modern prudery caused a standard dictionary such as LSJ (γυμνός, 3) to translate γυμνός as "wearing a chiton," and the *OCD*[2] (s.v. Athletics) to claim that only boxers and wrestlers stripped completely (Sturtevant 324, Mann 178). Many handbooks and commentators have likewise been reluctant to admit that γυμνάζω always meant "to exercise completely naked," or that the nudity of Spartan women was not relative, but absolute. Cf. Sweet (infra n. 69) 44. Chantraine and Frisk (supra n. 12) have also remarked on the use of *gymnikos*, along with *hippikos* and *mousikos*, in a competitive, agonistic context, typically Greek in contrast to the otherwise normal meaning of "naked" as "poor." Cf. A.E. Raubitschek, "The Agonistic Spirit in Greek Culture," *AncW* 7 (1983) 3–7.

[23] Becatti (supra n. 1) 578. Hom., *Il.* 2.260–64. "τὰ τ' αἰδῶ ἀμφικαλύπτει." On the naked body of the hero in the *Iliad*, see W.T. MacCary, *Childlike Achilles* (New York 1982) 152–62: nakedness is associated with death and castration: a naked man is like a woman, weak and defenseless. For Nausicaa, see Hom. *Od.* 6.126–29.

[24] Compare the story of the drunken Noah, *Gen.* 9.21–23.

with the sharp bronze, and lies there, and though dead all that shows about him is beautiful . . . " (*Il.* 22.71–73). The picture is startling at such an early date. It was understandably famous. Echoes of the passage sounded down the centuries, among them Tyrtaios's well-known poem, with its contrast of ugly and beautiful.

> For this is shameful, for an older man fallen in battle among the front line fighters to lie before the young men, an older man with his hair white and beard silvery, breathing his virulent life into the dust, his bloody genitals in his hands and with his skin all bare. This sight is shameful for the eyes to behold and reprehensible. But in contrast among young men all these things are proper as long as he shines in the bloom of lovely youth manhood. They are admirable for men to see and wonderfully attractive for women while he is alive—and he looks also honorable and beautiful fallen in the front line.[25]

There is no sign of any difference between Greeks and barbarians in Homer in terms of language, religion (the Trojans' sacrifice at the temple of Athena), dress, or nudity. In the athletic competitions, the heroes "gird their loins" to prepare for the wrestling match. Ancient authors assumed this meant that they wore the *perizoma*. Recently others have suggested that they were engaged in belt-wrestling, known from the ancient Near East, where nude male figures wearing thick belts were common in early or protohistoric times.[26]

Ancient Near Eastern monuments illustrate various types of nudity, including the motif of a hero wearing a belt, which does not hide his genitals, and boots.[27] Otherwise heroes tended to be clothed, and to cover their genitals. Total nudity for men could signify service to the god, a ritual "costume."

The nude woman, always shown in front view, was a very common motif that could have different meanings at different times. In Near Eastern art goddesses were so represented, chief among them Ishtar (Astarte), whose powerful, naked image was widely distributed, and influential in many places and periods.[28] The most frequent connotation of female nudity in historical times seems to have been service rendered in the temple.[29] For men, however, in the ancient Near East and elsewhere it was a sign of defeat. As in the Old Testament, nakedness signifies poverty, shame, slavery, humiliation.[30]

Greek prehistory offers fewer examples of complete nudity. Active younger men and heroes were represented in art wearing the *perizoma* or short pants[31] throughout the Aegean and the whole Mediterranean, in contrast to older men, dressed in long chitons and mantles. Thus exposed to the sun, they evidently developed the dark suntan with which they were regularly shown in contrast to the white skin of the women, who were more covered and went out less into the sun. This traditional iconography appears, for example, on the fresco of the bull-jumpers from Knossos (ca. 1450 B.C.). A man and two women are performing a bull-jumping exercise. All three are wearing the athletic *perizoma*. Only the color, white for the women, dark for the man, distinguishes the sexes.[32] This sports costume, the short pants, trunks, or *perizoma*, had a long life. It is found in later, Classical times, worn by women athletes, as well as by the barbarian neighbors of the Greeks, the Etruscans and Romans.[33]

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[25] Tyrtaios, fr. 7 (11.15–31).

[26] Hom., e.g., *Il.* 23.685; 23.710. Ζώννυσσι is often translated by the general term "gird one's loins," and a ζῶστηρ is a metal belt, a protective piece of armor: see S. Karouzou, *ArchDelt* 16 (1960) 60–71, for a list of Homeric passages. C. Gordon ("Belt-Wrestling in the Bible World," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 [1950–1951] 131–36) interprets this passage and *Il.* 23.710 as meaning that the contestants put on a belt for wrestling (cf. 23.684, boxing). On the other hand, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (7.72.3) cites the same passages (and *Od.* 18.66–69, 18.76) as evidence that the Greeks did not compete in the nude in ancient times. In his own time this ζῶμα would seem to have signified pants or loincloth, since a plain belt would hardly keep the contestant from being naked. See Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* 109 n. 4. For Near Eastern belted figures, supra n. 7. Particularly convincing as belt-wrestlers is the group from Tell Agrab (Frankfort 27, pl. 20c). For belt-wrestling, see also Poliakoff (infra n. 54) 31–33.

[27] Frankfort 12, pl. 6c: "a naked hero occurs commonly in this period." One of these is "hardly a mere mortal, in spite of the homely details of his rope girdle and mountaineer's boots . . . "; 237, n. 36: "He is not mentioned in literature, and his identification with the hero of the Gilgamesh epic is entirely without foundation."

[28] For Ishtar, supra ns. 5, 18–19. Frankfort 12: "Ishtar, in later times, was a goddess of war as well as love."

[29] For temple prostitutes, see supra n. 16.

[30] Supra ns. 17, 20.

[31] Pausanias (1.44) also uses the participle (ἀνῆρ περιεζωσμένος). "Perizoma" refers as well to later garments, or to Roman equivalents: see Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 21 (περιζῶμα), *Aem.* 33, Arr. 4.8.16; Polyb. 66.25.3. Other words used were διαζωστρα (Ath. *Deipnosophistae* 13.607c), or διαζωμα (Lucian, *Alex.* 13). The verbs περιζώννυμι or διαζώννυμι were also used, meaning "to put on the perizoma." Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* 19–21.

[32] W. Deonna, *Le symbolisme de l'acrobatie antique* (*Coll-Latomus* 9, 1953) esp. 65, "Résumé." For the Toreador fresco, see S. Hood, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* (Harmondsworth 1978) 60, fig. 44.

[33] Female athletes: Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* 21, with references. In Greece, women wore the *perizoma* when performing the pyrrhic, or armed dance; see J.C. Poursat, "Les

Nudity appears in Geometric art, in a different context. Long after the Mycenaean age, Geometric artists in Athens reintroduced the human figure in art and developed a different set of conventions for its depiction. Most of the male statuettes of Geometric age are nude; some wear a belt but this does not hide their genitals. In vase painting, too, male nude figures appear, in scenes of funerals, war, or processions, where it was not necessarily a depiction of reality. It is difficult to see that such male nudity has any connotation other than that of distinguishing gender. Figures wearing long skirts could be either women or charioteers, dressed in long robes according to the earlier convention. J.L. Benson has suggested that some examples of a charioteer *not* wearing a robe, and thus presumably naked, might be attributed to a strong feeling, even at this early date, "for the *arete* in the unclad state of warriors and athletes." At what stage in Greek history can one safely assume such a feeling to have existed? Perhaps, in Geometric art, as in Homer, it was just beginning to exist, but was not yet fully developed, even for nude male figures represented with pronounced sex organs.[34]

Indeed, we seem to see a gradual development toward a restriction of nudity in Greek art, or rather a definition of it as heroic, divine, athletic, and youthful for men; and something to be avoided for women. A group composed of a big bronze statuette of a youth from Dreros (more than 2½ ft high), found together with two smaller female figures, already shows, in the eighth century B.C., the distinction between nude male kouroi and clothed female korai. It is hard to know to what extent the youth's nudity was already significant: Robertson suggests the group represented Apollo with Leto and Artemis.[35]

In the seventh century B.C., there began to appear statues of naked youths, life-size or over, monumental, heroic, divine, votive, or funerary—the kouroi.[36] Egyptian art inspired the size, pose and type of kouros, but its nudity was a Greek innovation.

On the other hand, the apotropaic, magical quality of nakedness survived in other nude, or rather, phallic male figures which soon made their appearance in Greek art. Satyrs, animal-like human figures with horses' tails, were represented full of vitality, naked, with exaggerated huge phalli (or phalluses), on black-figured vases of the sixth century B.C. Actors who represented satyrs in the theater in the fifth century wore animal-skin loincloths with a large phallus sewn on.[37] The herms the Athenians encountered daily in the streets of their city, from ca. 540 B.C. on, were not, strictly speaking, nude, since they had no body. Each consisted of a male head sculptured on a pillar, on which was carved an erect phallus, serving as a reminder of the powerful magic residing in the alerted male member (fig. 1).[38] At the time of the mutilation of the herms, the city of Athens perhaps feared treason as mass castration.

In art, therefore, the nude male figure reigned from the seventh century B.C. on. On the kouros, the sex

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représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique," *BCH* 92 (1968) 550–615, figs. 24, 51–55. Etruscans and Romans: Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* 21, 28. See infra n. 119.

[34] Robertson 19–21 (Geometric experimentation), 39 (*sphyrelata* from Dreros). J.L. Benson, *Horse, Bird and Man. The Origins of Greek Painting* (Amherst 1970) 105–107. Hurwit 98–99: " . . . the distinctions are minute: the Dipylon Master's mostly nude figures, male and female, on all seven of the vases attributed to him . . . are essentially the same figure." I am grateful for the help of an anonymous *AJA* reviewer on this point.

[35] Robertson 39, 43. J. Boardman, *CAH*, plates to Vol. III (Cambridge 1984) 210, no. 276.

[36] Richter, *Kouroi*. Robertson 39–47, 76, 112, 143. Boardman, *Sculpture, Archaic* 20–24, 64–66. B.S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1977) 45–83; E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (Princeton 1960) 116–45. See R.R. Holloway, *A View of Greek Art* (New York 1974) 197–200, for the Greek view of artistic images, especially sculpture, as motionless, divine, heroic.

[37] For the satyr, see Robertson 126–27. See also C. Bérard and C. Bron, "Le jeu du satyre," in *La cité des images* (Paris 1984) 127–45. On satyrs and satyr plays, E. Simon, "Satyr-plays on Vases in the Time of Aeschylus," in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes eds., *The Eye of Greece. Studies in the Art of Athens* (Cambridge 1982) 123–48. Ithyphallic satyrs, as well as male and female nudes, appear in Dierichs et al. (supra n. 10).

[38] *Paralipomena* 402. Boardman, *Red Figure Vases, Archaic* 364. R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* (Königsberg 1931). For herms, → H. Goldman, "The Origin of the Greek Herm," *AJA* 46 (1942) 58–68; E.B. Harrison, *Agora* XI: *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (Princeton 1965) 108–17; Robertson 285–86. H. Wrede, *Die antike Herme* (Mainz 1986), with review by A. Hermary, *Gnomon* 61 (1989) 75–76. For their apotropaic power, see the explanation in W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979) 40–41, who quotes Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 682 on why they averted the evil eye. Burkert also quotes Pollux 7.108 as evidence that the Greeks found them laughable, *geloia*. The laughter they created is a normal reaction to the power of the sexual object or subject because of embarrassment, shame, magic power, etc.; see also Plato, text, infra n. 85; it is often connected with aggression (see infra n. 61). Frontal face and phallus: supra n. 9. Hermes was also the god of the palaestra, and of wrestling: a herm presided over the palaestra, and sometimes was enough to set the scene for the viewer (Poliakoff [infra n. 54] 12–13). For herms as symbols of Attic unity and Athenian democracy in the fifth century, see B.M. Lavelle, "Hipparchos' Herms," *EchCl* 29 (1985) 411–20.

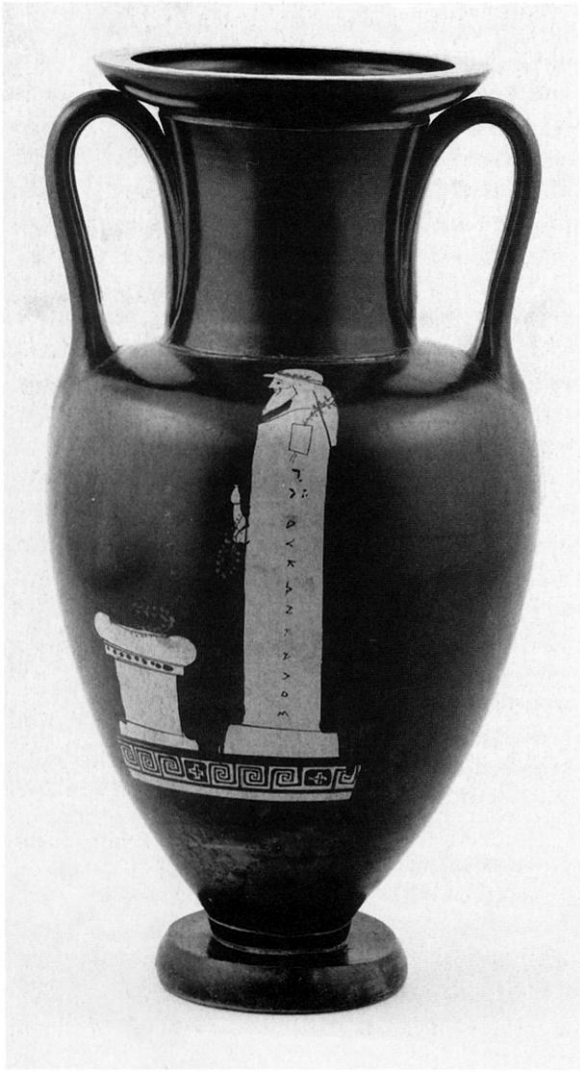


Fig. 1. Nolan amphora by the Nikon Painter. Herm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 68.163. (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Landon T. Clay)

was simply uncovered; while the phallus was emphasized on satyrs and herms, and on the stage. The two types were destined to become quite distinct by Classical times; any original relation was unrecognized by the enlightened intellectuals of fifth-century Athens. There were to be, in fact, during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., "two concurrent strains of nudity in Greek art: one reflecting a magical or apotropaic function (herms, satyrs, etc.), characterized by the erect phallus; another, developing from athletic nudity, a more empirical interest in the naked, athletic male body (kouroi, athletes and male figures in black- and red-figure vase painting), where the sex organs themselves are less obtrusive."[39]

Nudity was certainly significant for the image of the kouros. Exceptions like the statues of draped youths from Asia Minor, probably influenced by the attitude of the neighbors of the Ionian Greeks, among whom, as we have seen, male nudity was considered shameful,[40] only serve to underline the extent to which, in mainland Greece, the consistent attributes of the kouros were its nakedness, its youth, and, consequently, its beauty. But what was the significance of such nudity? The kouros seems to have been in some way "archetypal"; it was used in a variety of contexts. Like the kore, it could stand as a marker over a grave or as a dedication in a sanctuary.[41] A kouros sometimes represented Apollo (fig. 2),[42] and was sometimes dedicated for an athletic victory. Given the relationship often assumed, no doubt correctly, between the nudity of the kouros figure and athletic nudity, it is somewhat surprising to note that no kouroi were found at Olympia. Kouroi and korai were the "emblems and embodiment of Archaic Greece's aristocracy—its beautiful people"; they were the visible form of their ideals of beauty and nobility, of their heroic *arete* and *kalokagathia*.[43] Although I think a connection with athletic nudity existed, I believe it was indirect rather than direct. The kouroi were not, as has been pointed out, primarily athletic. Their various functions were all in some way religious. They were gifts for the gods, or for the dead. In some cases, as mentioned above, they actually did represent a god, Apollo (fig. 2). Brunilde Ridgway has sug-

[39] I owe this observation to one of *AJA*'s anonymous reviewers.

[40] Boardman, *Sculpture, Archaic* 69, 87. Infra n. 77.

[41] Hurwit 191–202. Ridgway (supra n. 36) believes "the early kouroi are not generic representations of youths, but portray Apollo himself" (27). Andrew Stewart instead reaffirms the priority of the generic kouros type over individual manifestations as Apollo, stressing the heroic ambience of the Attic graves, and above all showing their role as symbols of aristocratic *arete* and *kalokagathia*. A.F. Stewart, "When Is a Kouros Not an Apollo? The Tenea 'Apollo' Revisited," in M. Del Chiaro and W.R. Biers eds., *Corinthiaca. Studies in Honor of D.A. Amyx* (Columbia, Mo. 1986) 54–70. *LIMC* II (1984) 183–327, s.v. Apollon (W. Lambrinoudakis, P. Bruneau et al.); A.M. d'Onofrio, "Korai e kouroi funerari attici," *Istituto Universitario Orientale. Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Archeologia e Storia* 4 (1982) 135–70. V. Zinserling, "Zum Bedeutungsgehalt des archaischen Kuros," *Eirene* 13 (1975) 13–33. I owe these references to Andrew Stewart.

[42] *B.M. CVA* Fasc. 5, III,1,C, pl. 65, 2a: Richter, *Kouroi* fig. 1 (opp. 16), 430 B.C.

[43] Hurwit 197. Hurwit (199) cites Stewart (supra n. 41): "As Andrew Stewart has recently argued, where in Archaic Greece aristocracies declined or fell (to tyrants, for example), the production of kouroi tended to fall off, too."

gested that the broad, leather-backed belt some kouroi wear may have been an attribute of Apollo, and of divinity. According to Andrew Stewart, however, it represented a passing fashion. Other attributes, such as jewelry (the Metropolitan Museum's kouros wears a necklace), boots (Kleobis's and Biton's at Delphi), or fancy hairstyles of various types may have implied another religious association, for which the nudity of the kouroi provided a "costume": the initiations of youths into manhood, and into their proper rank.[44]

In Greece, full-fledged initiations are known from Dorian Crete, and from Sparta. Inscriptions bear witness to herds of youths stripping off their clothes (*ekdyomenoi*), while the younger boys wore girlish clothes. In Athens the institution of the ephebeia still bears the marks of initiation motifs.[45] The *gymnopaidiai* of Sparta, which took their name from the nudity of the participants, were the best known initiation rituals in antiquity.[46]

The kouros type fits the concept of the sacred quality of nudity: its nakedness represented a feature of initiation ritual. It referred to those religious dances and rituals that called for the candidate's nakedness as a special costume or habit. Perhaps the elaborately dressed pattern of the hair also represented part of a ritual costume.[47]

Nudity finds its original place as a "costume" in the context of the initiation of youths. An emphasis on youth remains a permanent part of the aesthetic aspect of male nudity. K.J. Dover has described, in his recent book on Greek homosexuality, how the emphasis of the ideal of youthful male beauty included the small penis of a younger man.[48] Youth was an essential aspect of the nudity of the kouros. Old men and ugly slaves have longer penises. Herakles' last labor



Fig. 2. Red-figure amphora by the Dwarf Painter. Helen and Menelaos (or Cassandra and Ajax?). British Museum E 336. (Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

[44] For the belt, see Ridgway (supra n. 36) 54-57; Stewart (supra n. 41) 57-58. Robertson (47; cf. 182) remarks that the colossus dedicated by the Naxians to Apollo on Delos probably represents the god himself: the cult image of the god in his temple on Delos was belted, and the sculpture may have been influenced in this particular by the cult figure. For the boots, see Stewart (supra n. 41) 56: they may characterize farmers or travelers. Stewart, 60, on the nudity, youthfulness and beauty of the kouros, described as "numinous, even fetishistic."

[45] Burkert, *Greek Religion* 260–63. A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 31, 158, 172, 200 for ritual nudity; 218, 225, 452 for Athenian ephebeia, initiation rites, and the nudity of warriors and athletes in Athens. On the ephebeia as originally an initiatory ritual, see P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebeia," and "Recipes for Greek Adolescence," in *Myth, Religion and Society* (Cambridge 1981) 147–85; *Le chasseur noir: Formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec* (Paris 1981) 281; revised, in *The Black Hunter* (Baltimore 1986) 106–56, with "The Tradition of the Athenian Hoplite," 85–105. B. Sargent, *L'homosexualité initiatique dans l'Europe ancienne* (Paris 1986) 52–73 (Crete), 74–95 (Sparta), 96–130 (Athens). Richly documented, Sargent's study seeks the origin of Greek homosexuality in initiation rituals. For ritual nudity, see Sargent 204–205, 248, n. 36; cf. 70–73; T.F. Scanlon, "The Footrace of the Heraia at Olympia," *AncW* 9 (1984) 207, n. 6; 209 ns. 24–27. For initiation rites and costumes elsewhere in the ancient world, see M. Torelli, *Lavinio e Roma* (Rome 1984); and R. Koehl, "The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Initiation," *JHS* 106 (1986) 99–110.

[46] Brelich (supra n. 45) 158, 452, on nudity at Sparta.

[47] Ridgway (supra n. 36) 60–62, on stylizations of the kouros's hair: were the long locks basically a female hairstyle, adopted by certain kouroi for specific reasons? Or was such abundant hair a sign of a divinity or a hero? The layered hairstyle may have had a special iconographic significance. Of all the attributes and accessories, hats and hairstyles are most often used with symbolic purpose; this would be even truer for naked figures, which have no other socially distinguishing feature. For the significance of hair in Greek art and culture, see Scanlon (infra n. 94) 211, with full references. Cf. Brendel 303. For erotic significance of hair, see H.A. Shapiro, "Courtship Scenes in Attic Vase-Painting," *AJA* 85 (1981) 139.

[48] On the preference of Athenian artists of the fifth century B.C. for the physical type of the youth, see Dover 126,

was to fight against Old Age, which defeats all mankind.[49] As we have seen, a naked young man was always beautiful, even if dead; a naked old man was ugly, a thing of shame. In contrast to the large, erect phallus of the magic, apotropaic figure, a beautiful young man was characterized by a small penis. For women, too, whether they were represented naked or dressed, in art, literature, and life, depilation and small breasts were part of the ideal of youthful beauty.[50] It was more than an obsession with male nudity: Athenians were infatuated, endlessly fascinated, by the charm of youth. In fact, if the nudity of the ephebe became the "costume" of the citizen in Athens, it was because the Athenians idealized the youthfulness of the 16-year-old ephebe. Until he became a hoplite at 18, he stood for the most resplendent of physical beauty, on the verge of manhood, with only the bloom of hair on his cheeks.[51]

This was the ephemeral moment of beauty Athenian artists wanted to capture in their statues of kouroi. Such an emphasis on youth is closely related to athletic nudity, also to be seen in the ritual, religious context of early Greek nudity, although, as in the case of the Rampin Horseman, older men also appeared naked.

Age classes, which exist in primitive societies and even among the primates, were well known in Classical Greece. The separation of athletes or soldiers according to age groups went back to early times, and was observed at Olympia from the seventh century on at least. The nudity of the athletes, which was so important a part of the tradition of the competitions held every four years at the sanctuary, must have been a part of the initiation rites of youths, in the religious context of the holy place.[52]

Greek and Roman authors pay a good deal of attention to the Greek custom of athletic nudity.[53] Various writers recorded the details of its origin. They agreed it had taken place in the context of the Olympic games, but disagreed about the date and the individual responsible for this innovation.[54] According to some, a certain Orsippus of Megara won the footrace at Olympia when he lost his *perizoma* on the way, finishing the race naked while the others still wore their loincloths. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says it was Acanthus the Lacedaemonian, in the 15th Olympiad (720–716 B.C.), who began the new custom. Thucydides also credits the Lacedaemonians or Spartans with setting the example for a custom eventually universal among the Greeks.[55] This religious stage of nudity we can try to reconstruct by way of archaeology and anthropolo-

134–35; and Thuillier 403–409. Sweet (infra n. 69) 48 comments on this preference in explaining why most Greek athletes were represented without infibulation, which may have actually been used more widely than was illustrated: "The ideal of many Attic artists was the prepubescent boy rather than the mature male. Consequently artists commonly "youthen" the figure, to use J.D. Beazley's felicitous phrase (*AJA* 54 [1950] 321). Hence even mature males were often shown with immature genitals." For the custom of infibulation, see infra n. 69.

[49] Red-figure Attic vases: Rome, Villa Giulia, 480 B.C., *ARV*² 284. Louvre G34, *ARV*² 286, 1642, and Dover, fig. R 422.

[50] Men with large penises were considered ugly (Dover 126–28, and see infra n. 79), as were women with large breasts (infra n. 145). Further evidence for this aesthetic ideal is the custom of female depilation of pubic hair, for which there is a good deal of literary evidence, much of it from the plays of Aristophanes. The subject has recently attracted the interest of a number of scholars; most recently, and most thoroughly, M.I. Davies, "Merkins and Modes," *Images et société en Grèce ancienne* (Lausanne 1984, publ. 1987) = *Cahiers d'archéologie romande* 36 (1987) 243–48, richly documented, with previous bibliography. See also M. Kilmer, "Genital Phobia and Depilation," *JHS* 102 (1982) 104–12; D.M. Bain, in *LCM* 7.1 (1982) 7–10, and *LCM* 7.8 (1982) 111.

[51] After the beard has grown, the youth is considered to be an adult, and can no longer be an *eromenos*: Sargent (supra n. 45) 202, quoting Theopompos of Chios; Dover 144 and passim.

[52] For age groups, see supra ns. 33, 45, 67, 72, and Rose (infra n. 56) 19. For women, see Paus. 5.16.2–3. Scanlon (supra n. 45) 77–90; esp. 79–81, on age groups, and girls' and women's nudity and dress; "the footrace at Sparta and Olympia may both be initiatory tests which are a part of the introduction of girls to adulthood" (p. 90).

[53] Hdt. 1.10.3; Thuc. 1.6; cf. Paus. 1.44.1; Dion. of Hal. 7.22.2–3; Isid. *Etym.* 18.17.2. W.E. Sweet, *Sport and Recreation in Ancient Greece* (New York 1987) 124–33, cites and comments on these and other ancient sources.

[54] Modern scholars have investigated the phenomenon in the context of the attention paid to ancient sports and athletics. *RE* XIV, 2003–26, s.v. Gymnasium (J. Oehler), is basic. Bibliography in N.B. Crowther, "Studies in Greek Athletics," *CW* 79 (1985) 92. See also J. Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen* (Vienna 1968) 14, 48, 72, 77, 101, 187, 193; Thuiller 369–412; H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London 1964); N. Yalouris ed., *The Eternal Olympics* (New York 1979) 142–51. D.G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens* (Leiden 1987); M. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World* (New Haven 1987) 11–13 and passim. See also W. Raschke ed., *The Archaeology of the Olympics* (Madison 1988) and D. Sansone, *Greek Athletics and the Genesis of Sport* (Berkeley 1988). For athletes and gymnastic exercises in Athens and Sparta, see the catalogue of the exhibit, *'Athla' ed atleti nella Grecia classica* (Rome 1987); J. Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games* (London 1980).

[55] Supra n. 53.

gy.[56] The Greeks of the Classical period and later did not themselves recall or understand this aspect of their past.[57] Yet a ritual origin for the nudity so characteristic of Greek culture explains a great deal that is otherwise obscure.[58] In fact, as Brelich has noted, it is easier to understand the nudity of athletes at the Olympic games as originally prescribed than—as later Greek tradition had it—an innovation.[59]

A recent study by J. Mouratidis on the earliest stages of Greek athletic nudity asserts that "nudity in Greek athletics had its roots in prehistoric Greece and was connected with the warrior-athlete whose training and competition in the games was at the same time his preparation for war."[60] These conclusions seem to me to be correct. But I think in moving from this primitive context the author underestimates, or neglects entirely, the religious level of the phenomenon, just as the Greeks did. We can trace generally—but not date—some of the phases of the development of nudity, from its connection with the "aggression and apotropaic purposes characteristic of the early stages of human society,"[61] to its survival in the historical period in Greek athletics.

Other scholars have seen the origin of athletics in funeral games, cultic practices, etc.[62] Any explanation for the rise of sport or athletics has to account in some way for the related phenomenon of "athletic nudity," a feature of Greek culture as characteristic and far-reaching as their spirit of competition. Recently a good case has been made for a ritual origin for Greek athletics, in connection with early hunting rituals. The argument which has been made against a religious connection seems to me to lose sight of a phase of Greek culture which is in fact visible, though sometimes dimly, in later times. The very fact that both sports and religion are so extraordinarily conservative allows us to trace their existence and character in earlier times.[63] There is little doubt that nudity was involved with the religious atmosphere of the games. At the sanctuary at Olympia, as elsewhere, initiation rites of youths, athletic and artistic competitions were related within the same religious atmosphere. Ritual nakedness was a typical initiation motif. In initiation rites in ancient Crete, the young man was naked before he took the arms of the warrior and entered into his manhood.

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[56] Much recent work in archaeology and anthropology has focused on Greek ideas of religion, of divinity, the sacred, the irrational, ritual, and magic. The weakening of "the old link between theology and classics" and the strengthening of the relatively new link of anthropology had contributed to an earlier reluctance on the part of scholars to accept "religious" explanations (see Rose, below), not too different from Thucydides' point of view, which as Ernst Badian pointed out, in fact distorted the picture of events. (E. Badian, unpublished lecture, New York, 1985; cf. infra ns. 57, 84–87). The tide has turned. Peter Brown has done much to change the situation for late antiquity; for the classics we owe much to the psychological insights of E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951). See G. Clark, review of P.E. Easterling and J.V. Muir eds., *Greek Religion and Society* (Cambridge 1985) in *LCM* 10.7 (1985) 107–108 (whence comes the quotation above). Burkert (supra n. 38) 35–39; surveys the scholarship; and *Greek Religion* 1–9, 36, 159. On ritual elements (but not nudity), → G. Nagy, "Pindar's Olympian and Aetiology of the Olympic Games," *TAPA* 116 (1986) 71–88. A case against a ritual, and in fact any religious origin for the Greek games was made by H.J. Rose, in "The Greek Agones," *Aberystwyth Studies* 3 (1922) 1–24, an important article originally written (ca. 1910) for an encyclopaedia of religion (Nilsson and Wünsch, eds.), but never published because of World War I. It provides a wealth of well-organized evidence; much of this can, however, be used to prove the case for a ritual origin. E.N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London 1910) independently reached similar conclusions to Rose's. I thank Myles McDonnell, who provided me with a copy of Rose's article.

[57] M.I. Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History* (New York 1975) 18: "the classical Greeks knew little about their history before 650 B.C. (or even 550 B.C.), and . . . what they thought they knew was a jumble of fact and fiction. Thucydides' introduction contains an interpretation of early Greek history derived from prolonged meditation about the world in which Thucydides lived. . . . " Sansone (supra n. 54) 109: "The effect of these various and divergent accounts is to prove to us that the ancient Greeks, who were always fond of assigning names to the 'inventors' of otherwise unexplained customs, were themselves unaware of the reason for the practice."

[58] Supra ns. 45–46, 57.

[59] Brelich (supra n. 45) 452.

[60] J. Mouratidis, "The Origin of Nudity in Greek Athletics," *Journal of Sport History* 12 (1985) 213–323. I am grateful to Everett Wheeler who gave me this reference.

[61] Mouratidis (supra n. 60) 321. Mouratidis (223, cf. 32) quotes me (*Etruscan Dress* 102) on the nudity of Greek athletes as protection against the evil eye. I now believe that such apotropaic, protective nudity is related to, but not the same as, ritual nudity. The nudity of the phallic herm, the satyr, Priapus, etc., is aggressive and protective in a way that athletic and ritual nudity (which emphasize youth and a small penis) are not. See supra, text.

[62] For a survey and classification of such explanations, see Sansone (supra n. 54) 3–14. Add Rose, supra n. 56; Griffin, infra n. 63.

[63] See Raschke, "Introduction" (supra n. 54), esp. 7–9, on mock combats as a form of ritual, initiatory rites of endurance, and the presence of "athletic" nudity as a feature of such rituals. In his review of Raschke and Sansone (supra n. 54), Jasper Griffin points out that Sansone's theory for the origin of sport as ritualistic actions derived from hunting ("sport is the ritual sacrifice of physical energy") cannot account for the phenomenon of nudity in Greek athletics (Sansone 107–15): J. Griffin, "Playing to Win," *The New York Review of Books*, 29 Sept. 1988, 3–5.

Pierre Vidal-Naquet's work on the religious and social context of the Athenian ephebeia shows this institution to have originated in early initiation rites characterized by both nudity and change of clothes.[64] Women, too, participated in ritual nakedness in the course of initiations into special cults, for example the Athenian festival in honor of Artemis. Here, too, age groups were distinguished by their costumes: in the foot race, some bared one breast, and wore short dresses; others ran naked.[65] The ritual nakedness of the women, however, did not initiate them into the life of a warrior or a soldier: it prepared them for marriage and the private life of child-bearing and a family, and therefore it did not develop further as a feature of Greek public life and culture. As we shall see, Plato, like other Greeks, was conscious of the connection between nakedness, exercise, and war, and took the logical but bold step of imagining that the women who would be guardians alongside the men must also exercise naked alongside them.[66] It was evidently the Spartan model that most easily came to mind. There it was most important in the *agoge* or parade of the boys and the spectacle of the *gymnopaidia*.[67] There, too, the women exercised and exposed themselves as much as the men. So the story grew up that athletic nudity had been invented by the Spartans.[68]

The ideal of the kouros was an aristocratic ideal; so was its nudity. The nudity of the athlete was related, but it was complete: no necklace, no boots, no belt. There was, on the other hand, an attribute of athletic nudity which may well have been more common in life than in art. Athletes who participated in competitions and who exercised naked were infibulated; that is, they tied up their penises with a string, apparently as a protection and precaution. This infibulation was often, but not always—no doubt for aesthetic reasons—shown in painting and sculpture.[69]

Throughout the sixth century B.C., black-figure Attic vases regularly show athletes competing in the nude, as well as nude gods, heroes, mortals, revelers, etc. Nudity as a costume was fashionable, and was regularly shown on the vases used in the symposium, another phenomenon of Greek culture developed by and for the aristocracy who competed at the festivals, commissioned the artists, and served as hoplites in the army. Like the symposium, athletic nudity was a creation of Archaic Greece brought about by the rise of the hoplites.[70] These men attended the gymnasium, and proudly wore the "costume" that was appropriate for this place. The gymnasium functioned as military institution, public banquet-hall, court, auditorium, country club, and university.[71] This was the context in which the other typically aristocratic feature of Greek society—homosexuality—also flourished. As Oswyn Murray has remarked, "The cult of nakedness and athletic prowess in the *gymnasion* and *palaistra*, the sexual exclusiveness of the *symposion*, and the emphasis on male courage in a society still largely organized for war must surely be connected with the rise of homosexual love among an aristocracy who invented a new compound to describe themselves, 'The beautiful and the good' (*kaloikagathoi*—"good" of course in the sense of well-born)." It is no coincidence that so many illustrations of naked youths occur on vases used for the symposium.[72] Athletic nudity had by this time evi-

[64] Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir* (supra n. 45) 281, bases his study on van Gennep (supra n. 16), whose pioneering study is still the clearest statement of such rites.

[65] Scanlon (supra n. 45). Burkert, *Greek Religion* 263; L. Kahil, "L'Artémis de Brauron: Rites et mystère," *AntK* 20 (1977) 86–98, pls. 18–21. Boardman, *Black Figure Vases* 182, fig. 317, illustrates a crater from Brauron, one of several showing naked girls dancing, related to local cult.

[66] Infra, text and n. 85.

[67] Supra n. 45. Vidal-Naquet (supra n. 45). For the origin of many features of Greek religion and Greek sport in initiation ritual, especially nakedness, see. H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes* (Lille 1939) 531, 559, 566; Brelich (supra n. 45); Heckenbach (supra n. 1); Sargent (supra n. 45).

[68] Spartans: supra ns. 45-46. Women: supra ns. 52, 65, infra ns. 82, 94.

[69] W.E. Sweet, "Protection of the Genitals in Greek Athletics," *AncW* 11 (1985) 43–52. Thuillier 155, 291, 394–401; Keuls (supra n. 1) 68–70, 73, figs. 51, 56. Sweet surveys the evidence and possible explanations for the practice, but fails to find any practical reason to account for it. See infra n. 88.

[70] J. Delorme, *Gymnasion. Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (des origines à l'Empire romain)* (Paris 1960). Boardman, *Black Figure Vases*; Dover, passim.

[71] Delorme (supra n. 70); Crowther (supra n. 54) 113, who also c[illegible] C.A. Forbes, "Expanded Uses of the Greek Gymnasium," *CP* 40 (1945) 32–42.

[72] O. Murray, *Early Greece* (Glasgow 1980) 205–206. "Archaic attitudes to sex were closely related to the social institutions of the aristocracy . . . . There is little enough evidence to trace the transition from the heterosexual society reflected in Homer and in Archilochus; . . . Art reflects these preoccupations. . . . The kouros can be understood in terms of a preoccupation with the beauty of the youthful male nude. Another product of this concern are the many Attic black-figure and red-figure cups, primarily from the archaic period, inscribed 'so-and-so is beautiful,' *kalos*. Most of these names refer to aristocrats; the cups reflect the tastes and interests of the Athenian aristocracy who used them at symposia." Many of Murray's observations agree remarkably well with my own view of the development of Greek male nudity. For example, his view of the symposium as a ritual drinking session, capable of many transformations: "Such transformations are easy to understand in terms

dently become distinguished from religious nudity. Respectable women, the wives of the athletes and symposiasts, did not participate in this nudity. When the nudity of the ancient initiation rites became in Athens the "uniform" of the ephebe, the future citizen and soldier, and of older men as well, women were not included: the distinction came to be between citizens—especially upper-class citizens—who exercised, and women, who did not.

Recent work on Greek hoplite warfare has explored the type of military training used by the Greek cities. The capacity to serve in the army constituted the fully qualified citizen: the polis derived from the people in arms.[73] But how did Greek soldiers acquire and maintain the skills they needed? We know few details about military training in Sparta, or, in Athens, about the ancient institution of the ephebeia before its regularization in 335 B.C. Gymnastic exercises and the Pyrrhic dance must have played an important part as a preparation for war.[74] The Athenian pyrrhic, or armed dance, was performed nude at the Panathenaia and involved choruses from the Athenian tribes.[75] The tradition of the warrior athlete who participated in armed dances and races, still being held in the Classical period, may, as Mouratidis noted, have originated in earlier times before being introduced into the Olympic program.[76]

The Greeks were proud of their soldiers' physique and of the tan skin that was the result of their exercising in the nude. A story about Agesilaos of Sparta illustrates how, to a practiced military eye, nakedness allowed an accurate judgment of a man's physical fitness: "He gave instructions . . . that the barbarians captured in the raids be exposed for sale naked. So when his soldiers saw them white because they never stripped, and fat and lazy through constant riding in carriages, they believed that the war would be exactly like fighting with women."[77] The contrast between their own bronzed men's bodies and the white, feminine flabbiness of the Persians renewed the courage of the Greek troops.

Male figures on Attic painted vases show the meaning of physical beauty for athletes, youths, citizens, and soldiers. Most are lithe and slender, though one Attic red-figure vase shows a heavy, paunchy figure, holding boxing thongs, with others at the palaestra (fig. 3): he is a specialized athlete, a boxer.[78] A rare scene of naked men who are ugly turns out to represent slaves who prepare the palaestra, not citizens exercising in the gymnasium (fig. 4),[79] marking the dif-

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of the continuing dominance of the aristocracy in a changing environment." Murray's views in *Early Greece* have been developed further in an article, "The Symposium as Social Organization," in R. Hägg ed., *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century BC: Tradition and Innovation* (Stockholm 1983) 195–99. See E. Gabba, "La società ateniese nel 'Vecchio Oligarca'," *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 6–10, for the situation in Athens, ca. 440 B.C.

[73] "The polis derived from the people in arms; it was essentially the state of the citizens. Both facts made the defense of the state the concern of its people. There was no question of compulsory military service; it was the other way around: the capacity to serve constituted the fully qualified citizen": V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State* (1960) 80. E.L. Wheeler, "Hoplomachia and Greek Dances in Arms," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 223–33, summarizes recent work on this subject.

[74] R. Ridley, "The Hoplite as Citizen: Athenian Military Institutions in Their Social Context," *AntCl* 47 (1978) 509–48. P. Ducrey, *Guerre et guerriers dans la Grèce antique* (Freiburg, Switzerland 1985) 69–72. For the ephebeia at Athens and the *crypteia* at Sparta, see P. Vidal-Naquet, in *Annales* 23 (1968) 947–64, and in G. Le Goff and P. Nora eds., *Faire de l'histoire* III (Paris 1974) 151–60; see also supra n. 45.

[75] Ridley (supra n. 74) 538–48; Wheeler (supra n. 73). For representations of the Pyrrhic dance, see Poursat (supra n. 33). M. Détienne, "La phalange: problèmes et controverses," in J.-P. Vernant ed., *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1968) 123; F. Lissarrague, "Autour du guerrier," in *La cité des images* (Paris 1984) 35–47. On the dress of the knights (not a "uniform," and rarely nude), see H. Cahn, "Dokimasia," *RA* 1973, 3–22.

[76] Mouratidis (supra n. 60) 213. Cf. Wheeler, supra n. 73.

[77] Xen. *Ages.* 1.28, cited in H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London 1964) 65. I thank Judith Swaddling for this reference. But Ionian Greeks often preferred to represent kouroi covered with a mantle, as on statues from Asia Minor and Samos: Becatti (supra n. 1) 580; Ridgway (supra n. 36) 75–76; Robertson 76. F.H. Pairault-Massa, "Note sur la stèle CIE 1,50 (Volterra)," in *L'Italie préromaine et le Rome républicaine. Mélanges J. Heurgon* (Rome 1976) 749–[illegible] B. Barletta, "The Draped Kouros Type and the Workshop of the Syracusan Youth," *AJA* 91 (1987) 233–46.

[78] Clark (supra n. 1) fig. 17; Swaddling (supra n. 54) 63. See also Jüthner (supra n. 54) fig. 6, and W. Kreiker, *AM* 55 (1930) 169. For gymnasium and palaestra, see S.L. Glass, "The Greek Gymnasium: Some Problems," in Raschke (supra n. 54) 155–73.

[79] A. Lezzi-Hafter, in H. Bloesch ed., *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection* (Zurich 1982) 104–105, no. 39: "Even if they share the athletes' practice of infibulation, the two workers can scarcely be meant to be Athenians, rather, they are slaves, probably from the East. The sprinkler is a tall man with a full beard and hairy belly. The hooked nose and overly large penis do not belong to the Athenian idea of beauty: is he too a foreigner? . . . This skyphos gives us a look, probably for the first time, behind the scenes of a sports ground where, in the early light, a group of maintenance men is already at work while the athletes still lie in bed. Ca. 460–450 B.C." (Illustrated in C. Bérard, "L'ordre des femmes," in *La cité des images* [Paris 1984] 89, fig. 126). Yet, at least some of the time, athletes prepared the palaestra themselves: they chopped the ground with pickaxes to prepare the sand surfaces, and the pickaxe was one of the iden-

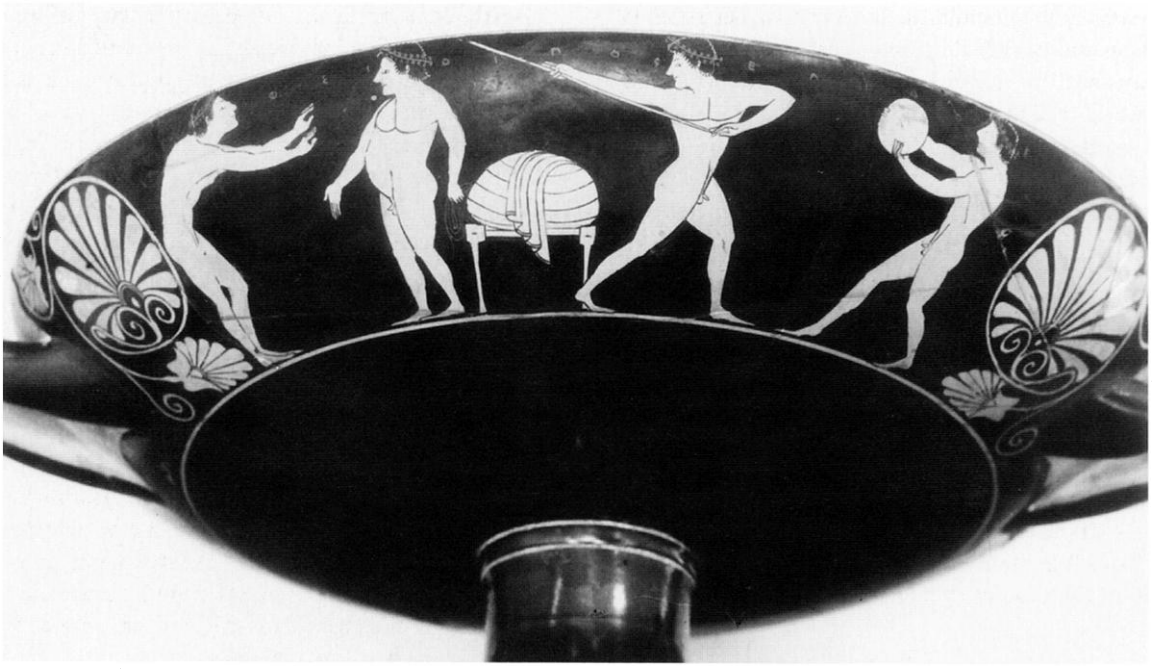


Fig. 3. Red-figure cup, ca. 480 B.C.: athletes training. British Museum. (Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)

ference between the free man who exercised nude, *gymnos*, in the gymnasium, and the slave who was naked in the line of work and out of poverty. (The slaves on this vase, like the athletes, are infibulated.) A law forbade slaves to exercise and anoint themselves in the gymnasia like free men (though obviously it did not forbid them to enter in order to do the necessary work for their upkeep).[80] The custom of frequenting the gymnasium was characteristic not only of free men in general, but of upper-class citizens, who exercised as members of the hoplite army. The use of nudity for magical reasons, on the other hand, belonged to a different level of reality—and was restricted, as we have seen, to herms, satyrs, and the stage.

CLASSICAL PERIOD

By the Classical period, the custom—or "habit"—of nudity had changed, from a religious to a civic practice. From the ritual nudity of the kouros—set up, from the seventh century B.C. on, as image of Apollo, votive gift, funerary image, offering or servant of the god—and the ritual nudity of the athlete who competed in the Olympic games, dedicated to the gods, there was a change to the athletic nudity of the citizen-soldier. The transition was, I believe, originally involved with the ritual costume proper for initiation rites.

This passage from a religious to a civic context was not effected all at once; and it reflected one or more situations peculiar to Greece.[81] Nudity now comes to mean something special. No longer does it mean vulnerability; it means, on the contrary, the readiness to stand up and fight even though one knew one was vulnerable. It has to do with military valor which requires risking one's life, being fully exposed. The women were kept covered because it meant they were protected, not exposed to danger. The relation of this manly nudity to the nudity of the gods is also crucial: the gods could be nude because they relied on themselves.

Authors of the Classical period eventually looked back at the custom and offered rationalizing explanations for an institution whose meaning had changed from religious and ritual to civic.[82] The Greeks did

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tifying signs of the athlete. A story features the sloth of the people of Sybaris, who saw the athletes of Kroton digging up the palaestra and wondered why they did not hire workers to perform such menial tasks (Poliakoff [supra n. 54] 12–13, with fig. 13).

[80] Aeschin. *In Tim.* 138; cited → M. Golden, "Slavery and Homosexuality," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 319, who thinks slaves were actually banned from entering the palaestra. For a similar law in Crete, see Arist. *Pol.* 11.19: Cretans give slaves the same rights as they have, except that they forbid them from exercising in the gymnasium and bearing arms. Gymnastics and war are mentioned together also as something normally foreign to women: supra, text and n. 85.

[81] For transformation of earlier institutions and values, see Murray 1980 (supra n. 72) 193. Similar transformation, from religious to civil, took place, e.g., in the theater, or in the polis, with the use of the lot.

[82] Rationalizing explanations: Brelich (supra n. 45) 158

not entirely understand the origin or the development of their nudity. Yet they had to explain it, as a peculiarity that illustrated in a visible manner and confirmed in action the difference between themselves and everyone else, a difference of which they were acutely aware. We have seen that they attributed the origin of athletic nudity to the 15th Olympiad, in the last decades of the eighth century B.C. The earliest monumental kouroi appeared in the seventh century. But the custom spread gradually, and later, into everyday life. Such a gradual development can explain the statement of Thucydides (1.6)—echoed later by Plato (*Resp.* 5.452a–e)—that athletic nudity had become universal in Greece "shortly before his time." These authors were referring to the normalization of nudity in real life, to its civic significance, not to its earliest appearance in religious ritual and art.

Thucydides saw the custom of exercising in the nude in the context of democracy, which had triumphantly been confirmed at Athens shortly before his time, after the Persian Wars. The introduction of athletic nudity into the everyday life of the gymnasium and palaestra was part of a "modern" way of life, freer, simpler, more democratic, according to Thucydides. It was the dress, one might almost say the uniform, of the citizen who exercised in order to maintain himself in readiness for military service. A Greek soldier must be in shape: he must be lean and muscular, not portly and prosperous. Civic nudity marked a break with the barbarians—everyone except the Greeks—who announced their status and wealth by wearing luxurious garments that gave an impression of elegance and authority.[83]

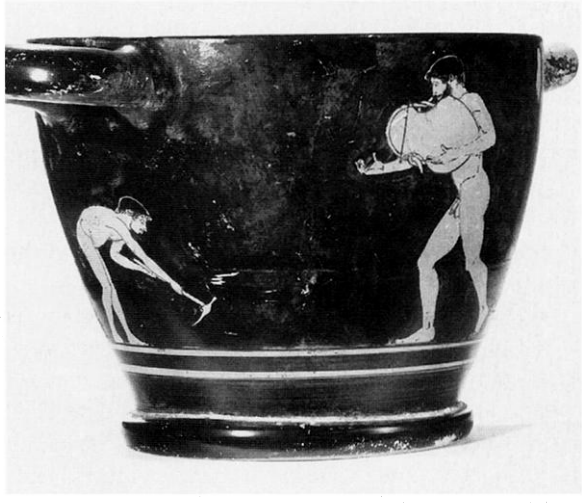


Fig. 4. Red-figure skyphos by the Zephyros Painter. Preparation of the palaestra. (Courtesy Hirschmann Collection, Zurich)

While Thucydides explains Greek nudity in the context of democracy, Plato explains it as a result of the logical, rational way of thinking of which the Greeks were so proud.[84] In a passage in which he obviously has the Spartan model in mind, Plato imagines the situation that would arise if women were to have an equal role with men in society.

> If, then, we use the women for the same things as the men, they must also be taught the same things. Now music and gymnastic were given to the men. These two arts, and what has to do with war, must be assigned to the women also, and they must be used in the same ways. Perhaps, compared to what is habitual, many of the things now being said would look ridiculous if they were done as is said. The most ridiculous thing (being) the women exercising naked with the men in the palaestras, not only the young ones, but even the older ones, too, like the old men in the gymnasium who, when they are wrinkled and not pleasant to the eye, all the same love gymnastic.—By Zeus, he said, that would look ridiculous in the present state of things.—Well, since we've started to speak, we mustn't be afraid of all the jokes—of whatever kind—the wits might make if such a change took place in gymnastic, in music, and not the least, in the bearing of arms and the riding of horses. But since we've begun to speak,

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on nudity at Sparta " . . . così anche le ragazze spartane, a differenza di quanto avveniva in qualsiasi altro stato della Grecia antica, in certe occasioni comparivano nude in pubblico, *costringendo gli autori non-spartani ai più vari tentativi di giustificazione*" (my emphasis). Cf. Paus. 1.44.1 (Attica): "I believe he [Orsippus] purposely dropped his girdle, knowing that a man can run more easily naked." See also supra n. 57, infra n. 111.

[83] D.G. Kyle, review of D.C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago 1984) in *EchCl* 29 (1985) 142: "nude noble and non-noble looked alike on the track"; but see D.C. Young, "Professionalism in Greek Athletics," *AncW* 7 (1983) 51: " . . . but at the finish line there was a difference." S.C. Humphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks* (London 1978) 142: "In a comparatively undifferentiated society like that of ancient Greece attention must be paid to a wide variety of evidence, from myths and philosophic utopias to anecdotes on the physical appearance, movements, or dress associated with a particular status or role . . . "; cf. 219, 262.

[84] Cf. Hdt. 1.60, on the less naive, cleverer, more rational spirit of the Greeks in comparison to the barbarians. For this and other observations of Herodotus concerning Greeks and barbarians, see S. Benardete, *Herodotean Inquiries* (The Hague 1969). The Greeks of the Classical period believed that a number of primitive customs, such as human sacrifice, were shared by Greeks of "prehistoric" times and present-day barbarians: cf. Poliakoff (supra n. 54) 189, n. 3. Cf. infra n. 112 for the Romans.

> we must make our way to the rough part of the law, begging these men . . . to be serious; and reminding them that it is not so long ago that it seemed shameful and ridiculous to the Greeks—as it does now to the many among the barbarians—to see men naked; and that when the Cretans originated the gymnasiums, and then the Lacedaemonians, it was possible for the urbane of the time to make a comedy of all that. But, I suppose, when it became clear to those who used these practices that to uncover all such things is better than to hide them, then what is ridiculous to the eyes disappeared in the light of what's best . . . . And this showed that he is empty who believes anything is ridiculous other than the sight of the foolish and the bad; or, again, he who looks seriously to any standard of beauty he sets up other than the good . . . . Then the women guardians must strip, since they'll clothe themselves in virtue instead of robes, and they must take common part in war and the rest of the city's guarding, and must not do other things . . . . And the man who laughs at naked women practicing gymnastic for the sake of the best, "plucks from his wisdom an unripe fruit for ridicule" and doesn't know—as it seems—at what he laughs or what he does. For this is surely the fairest thing that is said and will be said—the beneficial is fair and the harmful ugly.[85]

Aside from the distinction between men and women in Greek life, and Platonic ideas, the passage touches on a number of important aspects of Greek nudity: its purpose in education (music, athletic exercises, the art of war), as a preparation for military service; laughter as a reaction to something embarrassing and shameful—the sight of a naked woman, as earlier the sight of a naked man; the adoption of public male nakedness in everyday life as an innovation; and the explanation of athletic nudity as a useful, rational custom.

Other authors gave a variety of rationalizing explanations for the institution. Plutarch sees a social purpose in the nakedness of men and women together in the institution of the *gymnopaidia* at Sparta: Lycurgus wanted to encourage in the young men the desire to marry as soon as possible.[86]

This rationalizing tendency of the Greeks is clearly evident in the "practical" explanations offered for the "introduction" of athletic nudity at Olympia—that it facilitated the athlete's victory. It is also illustrated in a passage in Pausanias, in which he attributes the custom of having trainers entering the arena naked to a historical incident. According to this account, a mother who had disguised herself as her son's trainer at Olympia became so excited at his victory that she jumped over the fence, and thus exposed herself as a woman. She was not punished, but a law was passed to make sure that henceforward only men were admitted.[87]

Modern scholars have in some cases taken such explanations seriously.[88] In contrast to ancient explanations, most modern interpretations, however, have concentrated on the aesthetic aspect of the phenomenon. This is perhaps natural, since nudity in art is most familiar, having long been considered an expression of the Greek ideal. Since the time of Polykleitos the image of the male nude youth, ideally beautiful, remained, for generations, the favorite theme of Greek artists. Yet we cannot take Greek nudity for granted. One can only explain its origin in Greek culture, and the relationship of athletic nudity with the artistic nudity of the kouros, the phallic herm, the satyr, and the actor of Old Comedy, by taking into account the originally religious, ritual, apotropaic reasons for Greek nudity, which lead us back to its ancient status of taboo. At a later point in its history, its significance was understood in a different way. The institution was transformed, and a different set of connotations developed. This is clear from the evidence of ancient authors who deal with this custom, as we have seen, in terms of their own historical context.

Perhaps we can better understand the situation in Greece by looking at those who did not share in this institutionalized nudity: women and barbarians.

WOMEN

For women in Greek art, literature, and life, the taboo against nudity remained in full force, with all its sense of humiliation and vulnerability as well as its magic power.

In art the female nude appears briefly, in the early Archaic period, as a religious fertility motif, following the Near Eastern model of the naked mother goddess. After these early figures the image was used for pathetic appeal, for magic or erotic appeal, or for scenes from the life of a courtesan.[89]

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[85] Pl. *Resp.* 5.452a–e. Transl. A. Bloom, *The Republic of Plato* (New York 1968), adapted.

[86] Plut. *Vit. Lyc.* 14.2–15.1. A similarly ethical, philosophical, social explanation has been suggested by a modern scholar who sees the nakedness of the ancient Greek athlete as neither useful nor rational, but rather as affording the naked athlete the opportunity to demonstrate his *sophrosyne* in public, showing that he does not become aroused: A. Arieti, "Nudity in Greek Athletics," *CW* 68 (1975) 431–36.

[87] Paus. 5.7–8. Cf. supra ns. 57, 82.

[88] Sweet, supra n. 69. According to a Dutch report, among the Khokhoi of South Africa, "men cut off one testicle in youth to run faster": C. Schrure, "Historical Archaeology of 17th Century South Africa," *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 216.

[89] Supra ns. 9–10, 16, 18–19, 82. Robertson 390–93. Boardman, *Sculpture, Archaic*, figs. 19, 23, 26; *Sculpture,*

The sense of shame which was so pervasive in the Near East was still found in Homer's account of the punishment of Thersites, as we have seen. The fear of exposure long remained an effective threat for women. At Miletus, a decree was passed to discourage a rash of suicides among the girls of that city: those who killed themselves were threatened with being carried to the grave naked. "The maidens ceased to seek a voluntary death, deterred by mere shame of so disgraceful a burial."[90]

Literature, as well as art, preserves evidence of the apotropaic significance of female nakedness in Greek as well as Eastern mythology: Baubo makes Demeter laugh by lifting her skirts and exposing her genitals; the women of Xanthos bare themselves before Bellerophon.[91] Herodotus understands the importance of the story of Gyges, who looks upon the king's wife naked and thereby must become the king himself. Artemis feels diminished by Actaeon; he has seen her nakedness, and must die.[92]

In Classical Greek art, particularly in Attic vase painting, naked women are usually prostitutes. Respectable women did not go out much, they did not attend male symposia, and they certainly did not undress in public. They were in fact protected from the sun, from men's eyes, and from the evil eye by dresses and mantles that covered them from head to foot.

Exceptions confirm the special character of nudity in women. Women occasionally participated in athletic and ritual nudity. Spartan women danced naked in certain initiation rites, as we know from literature.[93] Girls also took part in a footrace at the festival of Hera at Olympia, as Pausanias tells us; it has recently been suggested that Spartan practice may have influenced

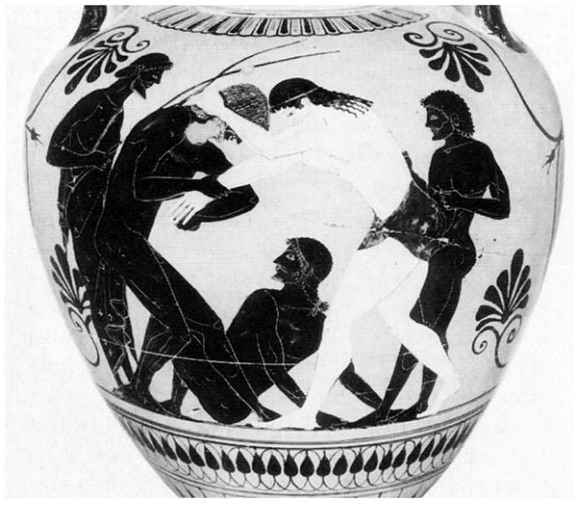


Fig. 5. Black-figure amphora, ca. 540 B.C. Peleus and Atalanta wrestling. Munich, Antikensammlung 1547. (Courtesy Antikensammlung)

Olympic contests.[94] The physical education of Spartan girls is well attested; they were organized in age groups like the boys.[95] Because Spartan women had a reputation for beauty, and for dressing in a way that exposed their bodies, Attic tragedy and comedy contain innumerable references to these characteristics, as well as to the immorality they were thought to imply.[96] These are still echoed by Propertius (3.14.1–4), who marvels at the blessings of a girls' gymnasium, where a naked girl can wrestle with the men. Atalanta was shown semi-naked, wearing athletic costume, a *perizoma* and (often but not always) brassiere, wrestling or standing beside Peleus in sixth- to fourth-century Greek vases and Etruscan mirrors (fig. 5).[97] Bronze mirror handles

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Classical, 238–40; *Red Figure Vases, Archaic*, figs. 27, 38, 71, 122, 176, 224–25, 321. Dancing, naked women on a vase from Eretria illustrate a ritual initiation, or cult scene: supra n. 65. I am working on an article dealing with female nudity in ancient art.

[90] Gell. 15.10, quoting Plut. *De anima* 1.

[91] For Baubo, see Burkert, *Greek Religion* 244; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, trans. P. Bing (Berkeley 1983) 272, 285; W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*[2] (London 1952) 136; Nilsson (supra n. 10) 120, 657; G. Charles-Picard, "L'épisode de Baubô et les mystères d'Eleusis," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 95 (1927) 220–55; J. Moreau, "Les guerriers et les femmes impudiques," *Mélanges H. Grégoire III. Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 2 (Brussels 1951) 283–300. Diodorus Siculus (1.85.3) describes a similar gesture in connection with the cult of the Apis bull at Memphis. For 40 days "only women may look at it; these stand facing it and pulling up their garments show their genitals, but henceforth they are forever prevented from coming into the presence of this god." The gesture of a goddess on a terracotta plaque from Axos showing her baring her belly may be, as Boardman suggests, either a ritual attitude connected with fertility, or apotropaic, warding off evil: Boardman, *Sculpture, Archaic*, fig. 27. It provides a remarkable illustration of the Baubo figure known from literature.

[92] Gyges: Hdt. 1.10. Actaeon: Paus. 9.2.3.

[93] Plut. *Vit. Lyc.* 14. Cf. supra ns. 65, 89.

[94] T.F. Scanlon, "*Virgineum Gymnasium*. Spartan Females and Early Greek Athletes," in Raschke ed. (supra n. 54) 185–216, esp. 186. Cf. supra n. 45.

[95] Scanlon (supra n. 45) 187. From Archaic and Classical times: Alcm. *Parth.* 52, second half of the seventh century B.C.; Pind. fr. 112, first half of the fifth century B.C. to the second century A.C.

[96] E.g. Ar. *Lys.* 76–81, for beauty. Scanlon (supra n. 94) 189, with refs.

[97] E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasen* (Berlin 1847) 177. Mentioned → L. Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Art," *AJA* 85 (1981) 111 n. 31. For Atalanta and women wrestlers, see Scanlon (supra n. 94) 185, 193; Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, fig. 51. For Etruria, L. Bonfante, in N. de Grum-

from the sixth century B.C., in the form of naked women, or women wearing a *perizoma*, have been interpreted in turn as free-born Spartan girls, athletes, entertainers, courtesans or Aphrodite herself. Their nakedness is certainly special; we are not certain what it was meant to convey.[98]



Fig. 6. Red-figure plate by Paseas. Ajax and Cassandra. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1913.169. (Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery)

Women appear partially naked in mythological scenes in Greek art in moments of great danger, to indicate their weakness and vulnerability when exposed in this manner. Helen bared her breasts before Menelaos, as Clytemnestra before Orestes, and Hecuba before Hector. Cassandra, on the Kleophrades Painter's hydria, is shown naked by the statue of Athena in Troy because she is about to be attacked and raped by Ajax.[99] She is defenseless before his violence, vulnerable, small and weak. The statue of Athena, in contrast, is armed and menacing. A plate by Paseas in New Haven with a tiny figure of a naked, pitiful Cassandra emphasizes her helplessness by her size (fig. 6).[100] Euripides represented Polyxena as partially naked in the moment preceding her death: "exposing her naked breasts, bare and lovely like a sculptured goddess." The Niobids flee naked and defenseless before the arrows of Artemis and Apollo; Iphigenia is naked before those who are about to sacrifice her. The daughters of Proetus go mad and disrobe; Maenads uncover their breasts.[101]

Female nudity, even when erotic, carries with it this sense of weakness and vulnerability. Greek hetairai, shown naked, or partially naked, were not citizens; they could be beaten or humiliated by the men who hired them.

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mond ed., *Guide to Etruscan Mirrors* (Tallahassee 1982) 83, fig. 88; Brendel 364, on Pliny, *HN* 35.17. *LIMC* II, 93, s.v Atalante (J. Boardman): "her nudity is a recurrent feature" (in Etruscan art).

[98] L.O. Keene Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors in Ancient Greece* (Mainz 1981) Cat. 1, with reviews by L. Bonfante, *ArchNews* 12 (1983) 14–19, and F. Canciani, *ArchCl* 35 (1983) 322–25. See also Robertson 142–44; *LIMC* II, 48, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Scanlon (supra n. 94) 185–216, with references.

[99] Red figure hydria, Naples 2422, 500–474 B.C. *ARV*^{2} 189 no. 74. Robertson 234, pl. 80c. Cassandra's nakedness is vulnerable rather than erotic. Most scholars seem to see the nudity as erotic. Robertson: "We know he [Ajax] tore her away to rape her . . . . The woman's nakedness, constant in the iconographical tradition, is the only indication of the nature of the assault." Cf. Keuls (supra n. 1) 400, fig. 38: "Her complete nudity dramatizes her sexual defenselessness." Chamay and von Bothmer (infra n. 100): "Cassandre est parfois à demi dévêtue ou même complètement nue, ce qui suggère le viol." I believe, however, that rape was thought of as violent rather than erotic.

[100] *LIMC* I, pp. 339–51, s.v. Aias II (D. Touchefeu), with additions by S.B. Matheson, "Polygnotus: An Iliupersis Scene at the Getty Museum," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3. *Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 2 (1986) 101–14; esp. 101–107. Matheson, fig. 3, illustrates the vase at Yale: the diminutive Cassandra seeking refuge behind the shield of Athena's statue constitutes the earliest red-figure representation of the subject. There is also a splendidly naked Cassandra on a kylix by Onesimus recently acquired by the Getty Museum (83.AE62; 84.AE80; 85.AE385; Matheson fig. 4). Such an iconography depends on the persistent black-figure tradition of Cassandra shown as a small figure (a child?), J. Chamay and D. von Bothmer, "Ajax et Cassandre par le Peintre de Princeton," *AntK* 30 (1987) 59. For Cassandra and Ajax in wall-painting, see F. Buranelli ed., *La Tomba François di Vulci* (Rome 1987) 102, fig. 15; an unusual feature in the François Tomb is the substitution of an image of Aphrodite for the traditional statue of Athena.

[101] Eur. *Hec.* 560–61 (trans. W. Arrowsmith, *Euripides* III [New York 1968]). On this passage, see P. Moreno, *ArchCl* 29 (1977) 449. For Polyxena supplicating, see J. Prag, *The Oresteia* (London 1986) 65–66, 121. For partial "denudation" of female figures in Classical Greek art, see M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies* (New York 1977) 59–60. For the Niobid in the Terme Museum in Rome, see Helbig^4 no. 2279; Robertson 319: "One of the first female nudes in classical sculpture." For Iphigen → H. Lloyd-Jones, "The Robes of Iphigeneia," *CR* n.s. 2 (1952) 132–35: "Iphigeneia's robe hangs down, but it does not come off." It does, however, probably uncover her breast, as in many artistic examples of women subjected to violence. Daughters of Proetus: Apollod. 26; E.B. Harrison, "Notes on Daedalic Dress," *JWalt* 36 (1977) 45; Boardman (supra n. 35) 268, no. 351. Maenads: Derveni Crater, in *The Search for Alexander. Catalogue* (New York 1980) no. 127, color pl. 20.

Wives, in contrast, were not shown publicly in art, not so much because they did not count, as from a respect for the privacy of the marriage still found in many Mediterranean countries. We know (Ar. *Lys.* 72) that wives did undress for their husbands.[102] A passage in Theopompos' scandal-mongering account of the sexual customs of the Etruscans, contrasted with those of the Greeks, illustrates Greek criticism of foreigners' frankness about sexual matters, particularly between husband and wife: "[The Etruscans] actually say, when the master of the house is making love [ἀφροδισιάζηται], and someone inquires for him, that he is undergoing so-and-so, openly calling the act by its indecent name."[103] In a similar vein, on Attic vases even scenes once thought to represent the privacy of the home (including scenes of wool-working) can be seen to deal with the world of courtesans.[104]

A Corinthian vase shows the scene of Ismene who has been caught in adultery by her husband, Tydeus.[105] She is bare-breasted. Her lover, who was in bed with her, attempts to escape. He is represented naked, which is not surprising. What is surprising is the white color, very rare for a man, here used perhaps not only for visual contrast, but to emphasize his nakedness as "female," rather than male, with connotations of eroticism and danger. (Is the artist expressing something like the chorus's snarl at Aegisthus, when he finally makes his appearance at the end of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, "so then you, like a woman, waited the war out, here in the house, shaming the master's bed with lust . . . "?)[106]

Gods can afford to be naked, or to look upon nakedness, without being diminished.[107] In Greek art men participate to some extent in this divine nudity. But naked or partially naked women are defenseless. The contrast is clear on a red-figure vase of the fifth century B.C. on which we see a desperate woman clinging to the statue of an impassive Apollo represented as a nude kouros (fig. 2).[108]

The contrast between men and women was most marked in Athens, as we have seen. There is a good reason for this situation. The equality among male citizens in the political life of the city, based on their equality on the battlefield in the hoplite phalanx, widened the distance between public and private life, and consequently between the worlds of men and women.[109] In public life, and in an art which was public by its very nature, the distinction between the appearance of men and women was emphasized, and, in particular, the significance of the sight of their naked bodies. Male citizens were distinguished by their costume from women, who participated neither in battle nor in the assembly. A naked woman was a slave, for hire, or about to be violated. It is a frequently noted fact that, while male nudity in art dates back to Archaic times, respectable female nudity normally does not appear until much later; not until the Hellenistic period, in fact, and then only for Aphrodite, ac-

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[102] Though Keuls (supra n. 1) 88, feels that "the great stress on female nudity in men's associations with prostitutes . . . at least suggests that for conjugal sex the wife did not disrobe." The word βινεῖν is rarely used of a wife: C. Collard, "βινεῖν and Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 934," *LCM* 4.7 (Dec. 1979) 213–14; A.H. Sommerstein, "βινεῖν," *LCM* 5.2 (Feb. 1980) 47; H.D. Jocelyn, "Attic βινεῖν and English F . . . ," *LCM* 5.3 (March 1980) 65–67. Ar. *Lys.* 934 illustrates an unusual circumstance.

[103] Theopompos, in Ath. *Deipnosophistae* 12.517e. The barbarian Etruscans do not account this a disgrace (αἰσχρόν). Another Etruscan barbaric custom is that wives and husbands attend banquets together. So did the Romans, as Cornelius Nepos notes, in contrast with the Greeks: "for what Roman would blush to take his wife to a dinner party?" (*de exec. duc., praefatio*, quoted by S. Dixon, *The Roman Mother* [London 1988] 67).

[104] D. Williams, "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation," in A. Cameron and A. Kurtz eds., *Images of Women in Antiquity* (London 1983) 92–106; V. Liventhal, "What Goes on among the Women? The Setting of Some Attic Vase Paintings of the Fifth Century B.C.," *AnalRom* 14 (1985) 37–52.

[105] Corinthian amphora in the Louvre, with Tydeus, Ismene, and Periklymenos: color pl. in J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, and F. Villard, *Archaic Greek Art* (New York 1971) 74, fig. 78. Important figures were often painted white: J.H. Oakley, "A Calyx-Krater in Virginia by the Nikias Painter with the Birth of Erichthonios," *AntK* 30 (1987) 126.

[106] Aesch. *Ag.* 1625–26; trans. R. Lattimore, in *The Complete Greek Tragedies. Aeschylus* (New York 1953) 88.

[107] E.B. Harrison, "Apollo's Cloak," in *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology. A Tribute to P.H. von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley, N.Y. 1979) 91: "we may see Apollo's revelation of his nude body as a gift of prophetic knowledge . . . . A Muse, being divine, can learn and live . . . ." The Muse can see and remain alive: Cassandra must die. For the vase, Robertson 161, fig. 89c. On Greek literary references to the motionless dignity of a divine or heroic statue, "a decoration and an honor for a god or a tomb," and temples, offerings and statuary as "things proper to eternity rather than to mortality," see Holloway (supra n. 36) 197–201.

[108] Supra n. 42. For the statue of Athena, see Matheson, supra n. 100: here we see the contrast between the dressed and naked female figure.

[109] "The idea that citizens should be equal and similar in the political contexts of the city as they were on the battlefield in the hoplite phalanx thus led to a progressive hardening of the boundary between public and private life." Humphreys (supra n. 83) 260; cf. 219. Cf. Vidal-Naquet, supra n. 74. Keuls (supra n. 1) 67–68, on the contrast between men and women.

cepted by Ionian Greeks already familiar with the naked mother goddess worshipped by their Eastern neighbors.[110]

BARBARIANS

Among barbarians nudity as a costume also existed, but in different contexts. That of the Gauls is documented by references of Classical authors. That of the Etruscans can be seen in their arts, which allow us to look at the reaction of a barbarian, i.e. non-Greek, people to the Greek conventions regarding nudity. This Greek innovation was accepted by contemporary Etruscans, as by later Romans, as one of the signs of "civilization." It was never adopted in daily life, however, only in art, and even then reluctantly. The attitude to nudity outside Greece was quite different from that of the Greeks, and it reminds us, once more, what a very peculiar and unique convention it was. The Greeks were correct in remarking that the barbarians of their own time shared the earlier Greek attitude: they still thought being naked was a sign of shame and humiliation. For Hebrews, Etruscans, and Romans, nudity preserved its ancient significance of magical shame. Greek male nudity was adopted by them, if at all, as an artistic convention, rarely if ever in daily life.

The case of the Gauls is of particular interest for our subject, for they were warriors. Ancient sources emphasize their extraordinarily war-like spirit—they were "war-mad, high-spirited and quick for battle," as Strabo puts it. They fought naked—or at least some of them did.[111] Naked Gallic warriors appear in the Pergamene statuary, in Etruscan art, on Greek and Roman coins, and in ancient Irish legends.[112] The sight of these tall, large barbarians, stark naked except for their golden torques, terrified the Romans.[113]

The difference between the Gauls, who fought naked, and the Greeks' athletic nudity is vividly illustrated in a passage in Livy: "Their wounds were plain to see because they fight naked and their bodies are plump and white since they never are naked except in battle; in consequence, there was a greater flow of blood from their excess of flesh, the gashes were more horribly visible, and the stains of the dark blood stood out more conspicuously against the whiteness of their skins."[114] The Romans, who exercise in the Campus Martius (though always with a loincloth, or *perizoma*), are surprised at the white skin of these northerners, who do not expose themselves to the sun. In this the Gauls differed, not only from the Greeks, but from the Romans as well. They did not normally

[110] Robertson 44, 58–59, 204–205, 390–93, 452, 493, 548–57. Between the eighth and fourth centuries B.C. images of naked females in Greek art can be explained by Eastern influence: J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977) 130–32; Robertson 44. Robertson pl. 8d, 44, 58–59: the naked goddess, borrowed from the Orient, appears on the Dipylon ivories in Athens, and occasional other examples from the seventh century; "in the sixth and fifth she virtually disappears from Greece to be reborn there in the fourth. Naked women reappear from time to time in the minor arts of the intervening period, but not goddesses." For the Dipylon ivories, he suggests, the date must be around 700 B.C., rather than 750 B.C. (Hurwit). For a nude female figure (Aphrodite?) on a vase from Lemnos, see Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, fig. 163.

[111] Strab. 4.4.2.: "The whole race which is now called both 'Gallic' and 'Galatic' is war-mad, and both high-spirited and quick for battle, although otherwise simple and not ill-mannered." Cf. Polyb. 2.28.7: "The Insubres and Boii were clothed in their breeches and light cloaks; but the Gaesetae from vanity and bravado threw these garments away, and fell in front of the army naked, with nothing but their arms; believing that, as the ground was in part encumbered with brambles, which might possibly catch in their clothes and impede the use of their weapons, they would be more effective in this state." F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford 1957) 1, 205, with references.

[112] T.G.E. Powell, *The Celts* (London 1958) 68, 108. For representations of naked Gauls in Italy, see, e.g., *I Galli e l'Italia* (Rome 1978) 196–203 (Civitalba); Brendel 376, fig. 292 (Felsina); M. Harari, in *Celti ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale* (Bologna 1987) 167–70 (Spina). It is difficult in some cases to tell whether the Gauls' nudity in art reflected their adoption of the Greek Classical model, or their own local custom: B.S. Ridgway, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture. The Problem of the Originals* (Ann Arbor 1984) 104, 108, n. 49. In Roman eyes, the nudity of the Gauls was a barbaric custom, though less monstrous than the beheading of their enemies, whom they offered up as human sacrifices.

[113] Polyb. 3.114.4 (Battle of Cannae, 2 August 216 B.C.): "The companies coming alternatively, the naked Celts, and the Iberians with their short linen tunics bordered with purple stripe, the whole appearance of the line was strange and terrifying." See also 2.29.8: "Not less terrifying was the appearance and rapid movement of the naked warriors in the van, which indicated men in the prime of their strength and beauty; while all the warriors in the front ranks were richly adorned with gold necklaces and bracelets. These sights certainly dismayed the Romans; still the hope they gave of a profitable victory redoubled their eagerness for the battle." Yet their nakedness, after the first shock effect, made them vulnerable: 2.30.3.: "to the naked men in the front ranks this unexpected mode of attack [the volleys of *pila* hurled by the Romans in front of the legions] caused great distress and discomfiture. For the Gallic shields not being big enough to cover the man, the larger the naked body the more certainty was there of the *pilum* hitting." *Polybius on Roman Imperialism*, trans. E.S. Schuckburgh (South Bend, Ind.) 173.91.

[114] Livy (38.21.9) used Polybius as a source for these chapters: see H. Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quelle der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius* (Berlin 1863) 203–204. I am grateful to Myles McDonnell for these references.

practice any kind of athletic nudity, either complete (like the Greeks) or partial (like the Romans), in the course of exercising to prepare their bodies for war. The Celts did know of the custom, and in fact imported strigils and other toilet articles connected with this Greek institution—but these were placed in women's tombs, not men's![115] Theirs was evidently not the "civilized" nudity the Greeks had introduced and much of the world had adopted—at least superficially. When the Gaesetae, and other Gauls—and Germans—undressed for battle, they reacted to a special, dangerous, risky situation. They deliberately removed their pants and mantles and threw them aside, exposing themselves for the battle. Polybius attributes the custom to the Gaesetae's φιλοδοξία καὶ βάρσοι, "their love of glory and their courage." Being a Greek, however, Polybius adds a practical reason—they did it to fight more effectively, lest their clothing be caught on the bushes and impede their movements.[116] The custom might also be explained by the Gauls' use of magic. Such a motive would account for the special situation. They were attacking, and exhibited their valor as filled with the *furor*, the madness of war, and they threw aside any restraint. They might also have been appealing for a special kind of supra-human assistance in a moment of crisis and of testing.[117]

Even more strikingly different from the Greeks was the attitude toward nudity of their contemporaries, the Hebrews. Hebrew tradition was fundamentally opposed to the institution of Greek athletic nudity. Yet there was, as for all peoples living in a Hellenized world, a wide range of reactions, from absolute hostility to relative acceptance. They condemned the institution as a whole: but because philosophical discussions took place in the *gymnasia*, Hellenized Jews attended; official doctrine did not bar participation in the palaestra.[118]

In Italy, too, we find a "civilized" acceptance reflected in the art, paralleled by fundamental differences of attitude and realities. There is no doubt that the Romans did *not* practice athletic nudity. On the exercise ground, in the Campus Martius, they wore a *perizoma*, a covering called the *campestre*. Even their ritual, religious nakedness was partial. Cicero's rhetorical thunder against Antony's costume as a Lupercal—he ran around dressed in an animal-skin loincloth—is legendary. How could a consul appear in such an undignified costume![119] Recent studies of the geographical, chronological, aesthetic and social limits of Greek heroic nudity in Roman art have yielded interesting results.[120] Freestanding sculpture, more closely tied to Greek Classical models than painting or relief, accepted Greek heroic male nudity as well as the Venus types evolved in the Hellenistic period, wholly or partially nude.

Earlier, in contemporary Etruscan art, we see a "barbarian" reaction to the Greek complex of images and ideals: athletic and artistic male nudity accompanied by the dressed female figure and—eventually—the return of the nude Aphrodite. In fact, much

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[115] V. Kruta, "Les Boïens de Cispadane: Essai de paléoethnographie celtique," *Études celtiques* 17 (1980) 16: Montefortino, Graves 8–10, 15, 20–21bis; Kruta, "Les Sénons de l'Adriatique d'après l'archéologie (prolégomènes)," *Études celtiques* 18 (1981) 15. See also de Grummond ed. (supra n. 97) 172, ns. 52, 58; for strigils found in Praenestine women's tombs and represented on Etruscan and Praenestine mirrors, see 175–76, fig. 108. Scanlon (supra n. 94) 196, 215 n. 74.

[116] Supra n. 111. M. Laurey, "Études d'histoire hellénistique," *REA* (1944) 222–23: "les Insubres et les Boïens ont gardé braies et saies, les Gaisates combattent nus . . . cette nudité n'était pas habituelle, mais réservée à la bataille" (cf. Livy 38.21.9). See P. Couissin, "La nudité guerrière des Gaulois," *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix* 14 (1928–1929) 65–89. A. Grenier, *Les Gaulois* (Paris, rev. ed. 1970) 299, on the nude divinity shown on coins, probably representing the *furor* of war.

[117] This aspect of the exposed organs usually is connected with the enlarged phallus, illustrated in Johns (supra n. 10). For the exposure of the genitals of the women, see supra ns. 9, 91.

[118] For the Hebrews, see C. Habicht, "2. Makkabäerbuch," in *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen. Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistischer-römischer Zeit* 1 (1979) 216–17; H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletics and the Jews* (Cardiff 1976), with the remarks of Crowther (supra n. 54) 128; and the excellent collection of ancient sources in Sweet, (supra n. 69) 49. For Hebrew reaction to the Greek custom of nudity and gymnasia, see Poliakoff (supra n. 54) 146: "The Rabbis forbade the nudity and idolatry normally associated with Greek sport: 'They should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the Gentiles uncover themselves'" (*Jubilees* 3:31). Yet a passage in the Mishna shows relatively broad tolerance for Greek athletics (*Shabbat* 22:6, with discussion, Poliakoff 146, 188, n. 27). Inscriptions show Jewish members of ephebic clubs; in the Diaspora, Jews engaged in sport: L.H. Feldman, *Jewish Social Studies* 22 (1960) 224–28. See also D.S. Barrett, "Martial and the Jews," *LCM* 9.3 (1984) 42–46.

[119] Cic. *Phil.* 2.34.85. According to Cicero, the shameful practice of homosexual friendship had its origin in the Greek gymnasia (*Tusc.* 4.70). → N.B. Crowther, "Nudity and Morality: Athletics in Italy," *CJ* 76 (1980–1981) 119–23. Thuillier 703; Thuillier, "Denis d'Halicarnasse et les jeux romains (*Ant. Rom.* 7.72–73)," *MEFRA* 87 (1975) 563–81.

[120] Bieber (supra n. 101) 44–45, 50, 63, and passim on "denudation." D.E.E. Kleiner, "Second-Century Mythological Portraiture: Mars and Venus," *Latomus* 4 (1981) 512–44, esp. 513, 5 → R.R.R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *JRS* 77 (1987) 88–138.



Fig. 7. Black-figure stamnos, "Perizoma Group," with athletes (below), men and women at a banquet (above). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. 1965.97. (Courtesy Ashmolean Museum)

of the repertoire of Archaic and Classical Etruscan art contrasts strongly with the Greek. We see athletes wearing shorts or *perizomata*, naked, vulnerable, male prisoners, female nudity, and the image of the nursing mother.

A series of athletes with their sex organs covered, on a group of Attic black-figure vases of the end of the sixth century B.C., has been frequently noted in discussions of Greek athletic nudity. These vases are known as the "Perizoma Group," because of the white loincloth worn by the figures of athletes and dancers or *komasts* which decorated them.[121] A vase in Oxford, for example, shows runners and boxers wearing the characteristic *perizoma* about their waists and hips (fig. 7).[122] That such vases were made specifically for the Etruscan market is now generally accepted. The presence of these loincloths on athletes represented in Attic art in the sixth century, however, has proved to be a red herring for some scholars working in the field of ancient athletics. Misled by what appeared to them to document the earlier athletic *perizoma*, some hypothesized that Thucydides' remark on the recent change to nudity referred to its reintroduction in the fifth century B.C. after an interruption of the ancient tradition.[123]

There are other examples of Greek potters turning their attention to the Etruscan market, however;[124] and the custom of showing athletes wearing garments, rather than appearing completely naked, is not surprising in Etruria. Although athletes do often appear naked, or infibulated, in Etruscan art of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. (in everyday life they perhaps continued to wear a *perizoma*), there are a number of sixth- and fifth-century examples of reliefs and wall paintings, such as a group from Chiusi, from the Tomba Poggio al Moro. Three-dimensional examples are rarer: in sculpture, the naked Greek kouros usually served as model.[125]

The rest of the decoration of the Oxford vase confirms the impression that it was made for an Etruscan market. On the neck of the vase, we see a symposium scene or party. But rather than an all-male cast, or males with naked or half-naked courtesans, as is usual in Greek representations, here the women are decently dressed. Michael Vickers has drawn attention to the strangeness of this detail in a Greek context.[126] An Etruscan buyer, unlike a Greek, would see nothing unusual in the dress of the male figures on the lower register or of the women on the symposium scene above. The women are shown fully dressed, as respectable women, or wives, accompanying their husbands in the Etruscan custom, rather than party girls hired out in the Greek way.[127] It makes sense, then, to

[121] "Perizoma Group": *ABV* 343–46; T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London 1972) 197, 270–72, 292; T. Rasmussen,"Etruscan Shapes in Attic Pottery," *AntK* 28 (1985) 37.

[122] M. Vickers, *Greek Vases. Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford 1978) inv. 1965.97, no. 30, Attic stamnos by the Michigan Painter, ca. 520–500 B.C. H. 17.3 cm.

[123] E.g., Mouratidis (supra n. 60) 213–14. Gardiner (supra n. 56) 191; J.C. Mann (supra n. 22) 77; Arieti (supra n. 86) 431 n. 31; N.B. Crowther, "Athletic Dress and Nudity in Greek Athletics," *EranJb* 80 (1982) 167; Sansone (supra n. 54) 108; and F.A. Beck, review of Poliakoff (supra n. 54) in *EchCl* 32 (1988) 420–23.

[124] For other Attic vases made for the Etruscan market, see V. Legakis, "Nicosthenic Athletics," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1 (1983) 41–50; and D.W.J. Gill, "Metru Menece," *Antiquity* 61 (1987) 82–87. Komast cups were a favorite export article of the early sixth century B.C. For a new example showing dancers with large thighs and signs of clothing, see P.J. Connor and H.A.G. Brijder, "A Comast Cup," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1 (1983) 1–8.

[125] S. Steingräber, *Etruscan Painting* (New York 1986) fig. 32, pl. 192; cf. pl. 126, belted. Perhaps the clearest illustration of infibulated athletes (two boxers and a javelin thrower) occurs in the wall painting from the Tomba della Scimmia, Chiusi, of the early fifth century B.C. Steingräber, pl. 194, fig. 34c; this illustration has often been reproduced (e.g., Sansone [supra n. 54] fig. 23). Bronze statuettes: E. Richardson, *Etruscan Votive Bronzes* (Mainz 1983) 92.

[126] Supra n. 122.

[127] L. Bonfante, "Etruscan Couples and Their Aristocratic

think that we are dealing with pictures specifically chosen to please Etruscan customers who bought the vases from Greek potters, and wanted their decoration to conform to their own customs.

Another strange feature of these vases, however, still requires some explanation. These figures, whether athletes or dancers, are not young, as on Greek vases, but heavy-set, older bearded men. Why would the Etruscans prefer such figures? Did they expect experienced performers, rather than talented amateurs? It is hard to say. We still have much to learn about Etruscan customs and beliefs, as well as their cultural and commercial relations with the Greeks.

Our next example concerns another contrast between the Greek and Etruscan attitude to nudity. In Etruscan art (where, as we have seen, Greek "heroic" nudity was never wholly accepted) male nakedness could still be used for magic apotropaic reasons;[128] or it could represent weakness and vulnerability.

On one of the famous wall paintings from the François Tomb in Vulci, now securely dated to the fourth century B.C., is Achilles' Sacrifice of the Trojan Prisoners over the grave of Patroclus. A scene told in just two lines by Homer in the *Iliad*, it must have been the subject of a monumental painting in Italy, for it recurs on half a dozen Etruscan and South Italian monuments of this period.[129] We see a group of naked, bound prisoners, vulnerable and helpless, their legs cut and bleeding to keep them from escaping. The figure that interests us is the ghost of Patroclus. It is represented in a realistic way (assuming that a ghost can be represented realistically), that is to say, he is shown as a corpse, wearing bandages in the places where he was wounded. The hero's body is shown in its pitiable state. At the same time it is not only a corpse, but a forceful soul, returning to demand that blood be spilled to satisfy him. Similar bandages are worn by the ghost of Agamemnon in the Etruscan Tomba dell'Orco in Tarquinia (where the hero's full-size ghost contrasts with the tiny, screeching shades of the dead clustering around a sterile, wintry tree),[130] and they appear on a number of Apulian vase paintings.[131] This image of the soul, still caught in the wounded flesh of the body, may have inspired Michelangelo's representation of the Pietà in the Florence Cathedral, as well as the Bound, or Dying Slaves.[132]

In antiquity the tradition of Greek "heroic" nudity was far from being universally accepted outside of Greece, even as an artistic convention. In Cyprus, and in Italy, the *perizoma* (which men wore in life) was still represented in the sixth century B.C. Even the strong man Heracles wears his lion skin as a *perizoma* on Etruscan bronzes and mirrors, rather than on his shoulders, as in Greece.[133] Instead of appearing naked, as in Greece, the Etruscan Apollo wears a rounded mantle or *tebenna*, the ancestor of the Roman toga. So do a great many Etruscan bronze statuettes, studied by Emeline Richardson as the antecedents of the Roman honorary togatus statue. There are indeed numerous Etruscan statuettes of nude kouroi and naked dancing figures (although these sometimes wear something, a necklace, or shoes, to avoid the complete nudity of their Greek models).[134] Pliny tells us, and the monuments show, that the Etruscans and later Romans preferred figures of warriors, usually wearing armor, rather than naked like the Greeks.[135] When people on the fringes of the Etruscan world learned to render the life-size human figure in order to represent a dead warrior, a hero, they imitated the Greek kouros by way of Etruria. Such a barbarian rendering of a Greek statue is the so-called Hirschlanden Warrior, found on a grave mound near Stuttgart in 1962, and now in the Stuttgart Museum.[136]

Society," *Women's Studies* 8 (1981) 157–87; repr. in H. Foley ed., *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York 1981) 323–41. See Rallo (supra n. 9).

[128] On the importance of elements intended to protect against the evil eye in Etruscan art, → R.R. Holloway, "The Bulls in the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia," *AJA* 90 (1986) 447–52; J.-R. Jannot, "De *l'agôn* au geste rituel: l'exemple de la boxe étrusque," *AntCl* 54 (1985) 66–75, who sees the function of boxing scenes in an Etruscan funerary context as a protection for the deceased.

[129] For the date, see M. Cristofani, in *DialArch* 1 (1967) 186–219. For the iconography, F. Coarelli, in *DialArch* n.s. 1/2 (1983) 43–69; J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (Oxford 1947) 8–9, 89–92; F. Buranelli ed., *La Tomba François di Vulci* (Rome 1987) 225–43.

[130] Steingräber (supra n. 125) 130.

[131] Beazley (supra n. 129) pl. XXXI.2. J. Chamay, "Les défunts portant bandage," *BABesch* 52–53 (1977–1978) 248.

[132] L. Bonfante and N. de Grummond, "Michelangelo and Etruscan Souls," *AnalRom* 17–18 (1988–1989) 99–116.

[133] Richardson (supra n. 125) 96, 198, 216, 239–42, and passim. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* 19–29.

[134] E.H. Richardson, "The Etruscan Origins of Early Roman Sculpture," *MAAR* 21 (1953) 77–124; Richardson (supra n. 125) 29–30, 92–94, and passim. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* 48–50.

[135] Pliny, *HN* 34.18: *Graeca res nihil velare, at contra Romana ac militaris thoraces addere.* Richardson (supra n. 134) 105: "According to Pliny, this was the normal Roman type corresponding to the Greek nude, and it is true that statues of an armed warrior are much commoner in Italy in the Classical and Hellenistic periods than they are in Greece."

[136] H. Zürn, *Hallstattforschungen in Nordwürttemberg* (Stuttgart 1970). L. Bonfante, *Out of Etruria* (Oxford 1981)

Above, it is flat, like a stele; below, its legs look like the legs of a kouros. It is naked, but armed. Its nudity presents a difficult problem. It may have been inspired by that of the kouroi. On the other hand, it could reflect a local custom: this warrior, like the Gauls, may have actually fought naked. The fully armed Warrior of Capestrano, from Chieti, is distinguished as an important figure by the axe on his left shoulder—and his huge helmet—but he wears the Etruscan type of *perizoma*.[137] Some years ago, the Capestrano Warrior reigned as a unique image, difficult to explain in the context of the art of ancient Italy. In the last 20 years other monumental statues of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. have come to light, allowing us to see more clearly how artists in Italy reacted to the innovation of the monumental statues of kouroi.[138] The idea of the kouros came from Greece indirectly, by way of Etruscan art, where the kouros is not naked, but is dressed in a *perizoma*. In this way, the Etruscans translated Greek innovations for barbarian, non-Greek cultures.

FEMALE FIGURES

The contrast between mainland Greece and Italy in the Archaic period in the matter of artistic nudity extends to female figures as well as male. In Italy many earlier traditions survived—religious, social, and ritual—occasionally expressed in fresh, unconventional artistic forms.

The image of the naked female, banned from Classical Greek art, makes surprising appearances in Etruscan art. Two examples will serve to show how differently this image was perceived. The first is the large-scale statuette of a naked goddess, found in Orvieto, in the sanctuary of Cannicella, over 100 years ago, in 1884. Its peculiar features have recently been more closely examined.[139] The figure, half life-size, made of Parian marble, and quite clearly of Greek workmanship, was broken, repaired, and reworked in antiquity. The head is like that of an Archaic kouros. The arms and their position—Venus *pudica*—are of course not those of a kouros. A Greek artist in Italy,

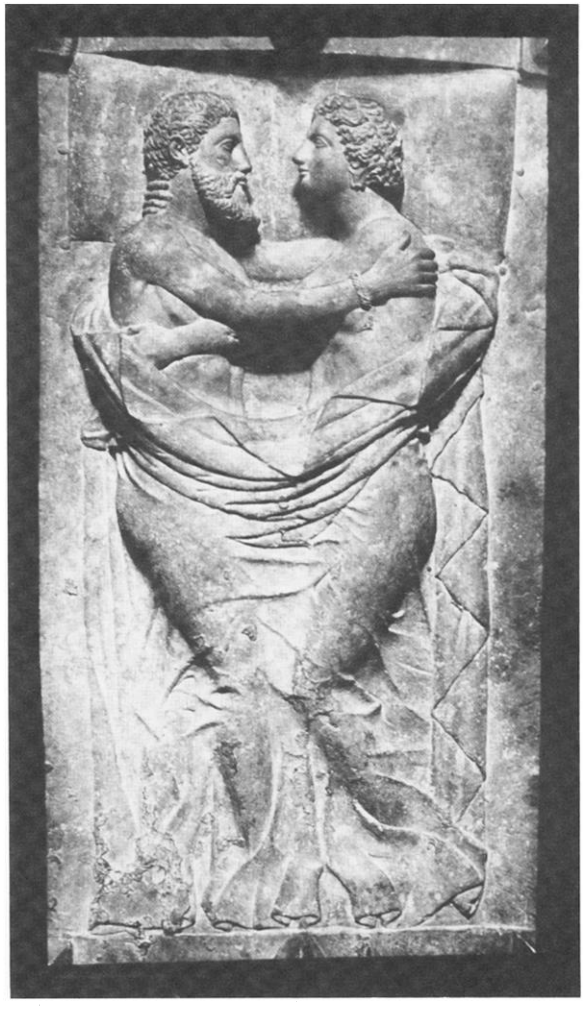


Fig. 8. Etruscan stone sarcophagus from Vulci, ca. 300 B.C., couple in bed. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts)

fig. 69. For the nudity of the Gauls, see supra ns. 111–16.

[137] Brendel 100–101; V. Cianfarani, "Culture arcaiche dell'Italia medio-adriatica," in *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica* 5 (1976) 61–63, 71–92.

[138] Bonfante (supra n. 136) 67–68, figs. 68–70. For the surprising statue fragments from Monte Prama, in Sardinia, see C. Tronchetti, "Nuragic Statuary from Monte Prama," in M. Balmuth ed., *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology* II (Ann Arbor 1986) 41–59; see also the contributions of L. Bonfante and B.S. Ridgway.

[139] Orvieto, Museo Civico no. 11307. End of sixth century B.C. A. Andrén, "Marmora Etruriae," in *AntP* 7 (1967) 10–24; "Il santuario della necropoli di Cannicella ad Orvieto," *StEtr* 35 (1967) 41–85. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, "Marmora Etruriae," *L'arte etrusca* (Rome 1982) 292–97 = *DialArch* 2 (1968) 230–33. A. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca* (Graz 1975) 65–68, 265–66; *LIMC* II (1984) 47, n. 368, 170, n. 6; M. Cristofani, in *Civiltà degli Etruschi. Catalogo della Mostra* (Milan 1985) 261–62, no. 10.2.

commissioned to make an image of a mother goddess, for which the reigning Greek artistic style provided no model, might well have produced such a strange work as this one, whose odd appearance expresses a tension between Greek artistic tradition on the one hand and native religion and ritual on the other.

Another peculiarly Etruscan monument reflects the way in which the Greek tradition of nudity was imported and transformed. Again, we have a surprising occurrence of a naked female figure. Later in date, but still earlier than the Hellenistic period, when the type was accepted in Greek art, we see husband and wife lying naked together in a tender embrace on a sarcophagus from Vulci in Boston (fig. 8).[140] They lie under the rounded *tebenna*, which serves as a blanket, a symbol of their marriage. Such an image of a couple does not appear in Greek art. In Etruscan art, too, it is unique: but the pose of husband and wife, united on the *kline*, is Etruscan. Etruscan, too, is the similarity of their way of dressing—in this case, their nudity. Evidently, the Etruscans did not perceive the contrast between male and female nudity, so characteristic of Greek Classical art. What then did this "costume" signify for those who commissioned the work, or for those who saw it? Was this nudity a sign of the intimacy of the marriage bed? Or did it signify a kind of heroization of the couple, as ancestors, shown in death dressed in the Greek manner, in a "heroic" nudity considered fitting for the afterworld? We do not know.

Also related to female nudity, or rather exposure, is the frequent image of the nursing or suckling mother, a motif absent from Classical Greek art. Several monuments, for example, represent the ritual suckling and adoption of the adult Heracles by Uni (Hera). The myth is unknown in mainland Greek art. On an Etruscan mirror from Volterra, the scene refers to a formal adoption rite. Witnesses stand gravely by. An inscription above the head of the goddess, describing the scene, reads like a legal document: "This picture shows how Hercules, son of Uni, drank milk." Here a private act becomes a public, ritual act. The mirror dates from the fourth century B.C. Other representations of this myth occur on Apulian vases of the fourth and third centuries B.C. Evidently this was a motif that developed in Italy.[141]

Figures of nursing mothers or *kourotrophoi* either holding children or actually suckling them were popular all over Italy—they appear in Etruscan, South Italian, and Sicilian art, in regions where the concept of a mother goddess who rules over fertility and the birth of children had never ceased to be important. Some of these images have survived, with their awesome presence: the so-called Mater Matuta from Chiusi, a large stone cinerary urn dating from the fifth century B.C., depicting a woman holding a baby in her lap; a mother nursing two babies from Megara Hyblaea, near Syracuse, in Sicily, from the sixth century; and a whole series of some 200 "mothers" or *kourotrophoi* from a sanctuary near Capua, in South Italy, holding as many as 14 children. (The latter are only occasionally nursing.) All present the theme of fertility on a monumental scale. Thousands of small, cheap terracotta votive figurines from sanctuaries were also offered as gifts to powerful mother goddesses.[142] Written sources and inscriptions give us the names of some of these Italic divinities, for example Uni Astarte, on the gold tablets from Pyrgi. Minerva, too, only incompletely identified with the Greek Athena, was a *kourotrophos* in Italy.[143]

Remarkable, in contrast, is the conspicuous absence of the motif of the nursing mother from Classical Greek art. Here, too, a powerful taboo is clearly involved. It is otherwise difficult to explain why such a universal gesture as that of a mother nursing her child should be so studiously avoided. Like female nudity, this image enters the repertory of Greek art only in the Hellenistic period together with numerous other genre motifs. Even in the fourth century B.C., as

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[140] M.B. Comstock and C.C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (Boston 1976) 244–47, no. 383: "a more or less isolated monument, the culmination of the Greek tradition in Etruria before the Hellenistic period" (246). See also Bonfante (supra n. 127) fig. 4.

[141] G. Bonfante and L. Bonfante, *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction* (Manchester 1983) fig. 20. For other Etruscan mirrors, see G. Sassatelli, *CSE, Italia* I. *Bologna, Museo Civico* (Rome 1981) no. 15; and F. Serra Ridgway, in *Gli Etruschi di Tarquinia* (Modena 1986) 332–33, no. 817, fig. 335.

[142] The following is based on three published articles on mothers in Italy: L. Bonfante, "Dedicated Mothers," in *Visible Religion* III. *Popular Religion* (Leiden 1984) 1–17; "Votive Terracotta Statuettes of Mothers and Children," in *Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum* (London 1984) 195–203; and Bonfante (supra n. 9).

[143] R. Enking, "Minerva Mater," *JdI* 59/60 (1944/1945) 111–24; A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, "Athena and Minerva: Two Identifications," *BABesch* 59 (1984) 69–72.

Brian Shefton has shown, it is used almost exclusively for figures of Aphrodite with her child, Eros, on painted vases of South Italy or Sicily. There, the Greek colonists had become accustomed to local customs and beliefs.[144]

Could the absence of this image from Classical Greek art reflect life? Interesting studies have focused on the issue of breast-feeding by the mother in various cultures and civilizations.[145] Certainly aristocratic—or even "bourgeois"—Greek and Roman ladies rarely nursed their babies—they had wet nurses, often slaves from their own household. The wet nurse is well known from Greek art—for example on Greek funerary stelai, where she hands the baby to the seated mother.[146] It is a sign of civilization for a lady to be freed of this embarrassingly physical necessity, all too reminiscent of our lowly animal nature. And indeed Classical Greek art traditionally represents barbarians, as well as animals or wild creatures such as centaurs nursing their young.[147] The absence of such an important image, however, is not so much due to the fact that ladies did not nurse their own children, or that the image of the wet nurse was too unimportant to be represented, except in a secondary role, in relation to the mother—certainly not in the private act of holding the baby at her breast. The reason is rather to be sought in the attitude to any kind of female exposure or nudity, felt to be too private, special, shameful and dangerous, all at the same time.

The image of the female breast was too powerful to be represented lightly in art. Like the phallus, the eye, and the frontal face, the sight of the naked breast has a double role. It is a sign of helplessness; at the same



Fig. 9. Plastic lamp, naked female nursing an infant. Budapest, Szepmüvészeti Múseum, inv. T.322. (Courtesy Museum)

[144] For Classical art, see the excellent list by B. Shefton, in P. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (London 1962) 389–90, no. 238. For Hellenistic art, see J. Charbonneaux, "Le mythe humanisé dans l'art hellénistique," *CRAI* 23 (1965) 9. For an exception in Greek art, a scene with the wife of Amphiaraos nursing a child on an Attic vase, see *LIMC* I, 697, no. 27, cf. 25, s.v. Amphiaraos (I. Krauskopf). Polygnotus painted an Iliupersis for the stoa at Delphi: one of the 60–70 figures was of Andromache giving her son the breast (Robertson 248). *Greek Anthology* 9.589 describes the scene of Hera nursing Herakles, a motif common in Italy, but not in mainland Greece.

[145] For nurses in antiquity, see H. Herter, "Amme oder Saugflasche," in *Kleine Schriften* (Hildesheim 1975) 620–25. For Greece and Rome, see S. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves. Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York 1975); M.R. Lefkowitz and M.B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome* (Baltimore 1982) 164–66; D. Gourevitch, *Le mal d'être femme* (Paris 1984) 233–58; V. Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles and Babies. A History of Infant Feeding* (Edinburgh 1986) 1–77. For nurses in Rome, S. Treggiari, "Jobs for Women," *American Journal of Ancient History* 1 (1976) 8–89; J.-P. Néraudau, *Être enfant à Rome* (Paris 1984) 281–87; K. Bradley, *Klio* 62 (1980) 321–25; Bradley, in B. Rawson ed., *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1986) 201–29. The image of the nursing mother was avoided in Greece: the *kourotrophos* exists only in cult (Burkert, *Greek Religion* 244). Terracotta statuettes of nurses showed them as old and ugly, with large pendulous breasts: → D.B. Thompson, "The Origin of Tanagras," *AJA* 70 (1966) 56, pl. 17, and R. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London 1954) 103, pl. 44b. Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 2.3, and Lucr. 4.1168, *tumida et mammosa* (imitating Pl. *Resp.* 474d, but changing the sex from male to female).

[146] F. Johansen, *Attic Grave-Reliefs* (Copenhagen 1951) 24, 44, fig. 23. A recently discovered stele from northern Greece shows the scene, so far unique in Greece, of a woman nursing a baby: A. Batziou-Efstathiou, "Two New Grave Stelae of Larisa Museum," *AAA* 1981, 47–54. I am grateful to Brunilde S. Ridgway for the reference.

[147] A famous painting of a centaur nursing her young, by

time it has a remarkable magic force.[148] The face of the Gorgon can paralyze, and therefore protect. The evil eye can destroy, or save. It is no coincidence that the herm consists of a frontal face and an erect phallus: it was meant to serve an apotropaic function, protecting the city and its citizens.[149] A grotesque statuette of a naked woman nursing an infant makes use of the potent image of the naked female breast (fig. 9).[150]

CONCLUSIONS

From the seventh through the fourth centuries B.C. nudity was represented in art in both Greece and Italy, but with different meanings. In Greece the ancient pre-Homeric sense of male nudity was overturned, while for women, especially in Athens, the old significance of the shame, humiliation, and vulnerability of exposure and nudity remained unchanged. In Italy, Greek civilization brought with it its "modern" ways, without, however, changing customs and attitudes deeply rooted in the religion and traditions of the peoples living in Etruria and other regions of ancient Italy. The use of male nudity and female exposure among the Gauls shows the survival of ancient customs and taboos in historical times.

The deep and often painful emotions of pleasure, pain, shock, or shame that the sight of the naked body arouses were used by artists in many ways. Nakedness was, and still is, always something special. It can signify divinity, or show human helplessness. Most impressive is the magic of the erect male genitals, which accounts for the survival of the apotropaic image of the phallus into Classical times, on the herm and the satyr and in Old Comedy.

I have tried to illustrate some aspects of the representation of nakedness, partial and complete, for men and for women, in Greece, and in the barbarian world; to interpret some of the ancient accounts, and to "read" some of the pictures, in the Greek artistic language, as well as in some very queer barbarian dialects. There are obviously problems of translation, often involving our own understanding of the naked figure in art. We tend to think of it as mostly erotic. Eros surely moves behind the sight of the naked human body, but its erotic significance is not the only one in art. In fact, when it is only erotic its meaning is least powerful. The Aphrodite of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, with all her awesome power, was fully dressed. In Greece the remarkable innovation of athletic male nudity, which surely originated in a ritual, religious context, developed a special social and civic meaning. It became a costume, a uniform: exercising together in the *gymnasia* marked men's status as citizens of the polis and as Greeks. On the vases, this is how young men were shown.

Female figures shown naked in public, on the other hand, were usually entertainers. Women represented as exposed were violated, stripped of their clothing, and in dreadful danger, as vulnerable and unprotected before a male attacker as Athenian law conceived them to be in life. Clothing distinguishes men from animals. This distinction is still valid in Classical Greek art for women (though not for men). Polyxena, and Iphigeneia, naked by the altar, are about to be sacrificed like animals.

The view of nakedness among barbarians differs, often contrasting sharply with that of mainland Greece in the Classical period, and allows us to see more clearly, perhaps, just how special the Greek concept and custom were. Hebrews and Romans made a variety of adjustments to include—in a limited way—the classical ideal of Greek male nudity and of the *gymnasia* in their art and in their life. The Gauls' custom of fighting naked was remarked on as "foreign" by the Greeks. In Etruria, and in Italy, female nudity and the image of the nursing mother still mark the power of the mother goddess, as they did in the Mediterranean before Greek art prevailed.

In Classical antiquity, therefore, the contrast between the clothed and the naked human body was used to express some of the most basic contrasts of the human experience: God and man, human and animal, man and woman, public world and private life, wealth

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the painter Zeuxis, was described by Lucian. Zeuxis: see Robertson 413, 488. Barbarian prisoners on Roman trophies are frequently accompanied by their wives, who are nursing babies.

[148] Supra ns. 3, 9–12, 91. S. Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (orig. English publ. 1920; rev., repr. New York 1964) 160: "The number of things which are represented symbolically in dreams is not great. The human body as a whole, parents, children, brothers and sisters, birth, death, nakedness. . . . " See also P. Slater, *The Glory of Hera* (Boston 1971).

[149] Supra ns. 9–10, 38. Among recent studies see L. di Stasi, *Mal Occhio: The Underside of Vision* (San Francisco 1981), with review by A. Burgess, *TLS*, 4 September 1981, 999; A. Riess, "The Mother's Eye: For Better and for Worse," *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 33 (1978) 381–409; and A. Reiss, "The Power of the Eye in Nature, Nurture, and Culture. A Developmental View of Mutual Gaze," *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 43 (1988) 399–421.

[150] From the Collection of P. Arndt: acquired 1908. Provenance unknown: probably southern Italy. H. 15.2 cm. Oroszlán, Cat. No. 1930, No. E 104. I am grateful to J.G. Szilágyi for photograph and references.

and poverty, admiration and pity, citizen and slave, civilization and barbarism, spirit and flesh, life and death, power and helplessness. At the same time, the sight of the naked body has a great magic power, which the artist must use and guard carefully. Its meanings change over time, but not its power, which reminds us—much as we would rather forget—of our own animal nature and our mortality.

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Shame in Ancient Greece

DAVID KONSTAN

Each emotion . . . is a very exact message. This exactness is comparable to the exactness of color sense in those who are not color blind. (For instance, each person knows instantly and without question whether they are seeing red or blue.) (Isaacs, 1998: 13).

To recognize that there can exist a color blindness to blue is as much as to admit that blue exists, which these days seems to me to be more than doubtful (Tomeo, 1986: 6).

SHAME has had a bad press for the past century or so. As Thomas Scheff remarks (1997: 205): "Over the last 200 years in the history of modern societies, shame virtually disappeared. The denial of shame has been institutionalized in Western societies."[1] Shame's status as a moral emotion has been impugned by critics, among them theologians and anthropologists, who consider it a primitive precursor to guilt: shame, the argument goes, responds to the judgments of others and is indifferent to ethical principles in themselves, whereas guilt is an inner sensibility and corresponds to the morally autonomous self of modern man.[2] The shift from a shame culture to a guilt culture, in the formula made popular by Ruth Benedict (1946), is taken as a sign of moral progress. Thus the warrior society represented in the Homeric epics—a shame culture, according to E. R. Dodds (1951)—slowly gave way to a guilt culture, which began to emerge in fifth-century democratic Athens but did not achieve a fully developed expression in the classical world until the advent of Christianity.[3] Psychologists either ignored shame or treated it as characteristic of an early stage in the socialization of the child,[4] at least until Helen Block

Lewis, in a highly influential study (1971), insisted on the importance of shame in adult life. By characterizing shame as the experience of the utter worthlessness of the self, however, in contrast to guilt that is limited to a negative feeling about a particular act (40), Lewis, too, contributed to the general belief that shame is something we would be better off without.[5] True, guilt can get out of hand and become transformed into a generalized emotion or guilt complex, a psychic condition that has in part been fostered in Western culture by the Christian emphasis on original sin.[6] In addition, permissive attitudes toward children and a naïve belief in the essential goodness of human nature have led to a disparagement of guilt as a pernicious form of conscience. Even so, guilt retains a certain dignity as a sentiment, while shame seems at best infantile and other-directed.[7] Thus Stephen Pattison (2000: 129) remarks, "While guilt may have a very constructive role in creating and maintaining social relationships and moral responsibilities, shame has a much more dubious effect." And Zygmunt Bauman writes:

> Just half a century ago, Karl Jaspers could still neatly separate "moral guilt" (the remorse we feel when we do harm to other human beings, whether by what we have done or by what we have failed to) from "metaphysical guilt" (the guilt we feel when harm is done to a human being, although this harm is in no way related to our action). This distinction has lost its meaning with globalization. John Donne's phrase, "Do not ask for whom the bell tolls: it tolls for thee," represents as never before the solidarity of our destiny, although it is still far from being balanced by the solidarity of our sentiments and actions (2001: 11).[8]

Like many other cultures, Greece and Rome did not have distinct terms for what we call shame and guilt, and they seem to have made do with one concept where we recognize two. This view, however, presupposes a natural correspondence among psychological ideas across linguistic and social boundaries. Thus, the

Greek term we customarily translate as "shame" is imagined to match, more or less, the English concept, unless perhaps, in the absence of a word for guilt, Greek shame had a somewhat wider extension so as to include some (or all) of the modern notion of guilt. Alternatively—and this is the more common assumption—the ancient Greeks simply failed to achieve a notion of guilt, which is in turn a sign of the poverty of their moral vocabulary and their incomplete psychological development.

In fact, the ancient Greek emotional lexicon does not map neatly onto modern English concepts. We may illustrate the point with an analogy drawn from the perception of color. Human beings everywhere are capable of sight, although individuals may be partially or wholly blind. If our vision is not defective, we all see more or less the same range of colors. But do we all see blue? More precisely, does what is called blue in contemporary English correspond precisely to some color label in every other human language? I believe that I have been witness to a change in the value of "blue" in my own lifetime. When I was a child, I was taught that the rainbow has seven colors, one of which bore the name "indigo." Today, few people think of "indigo" as one of the basic color terms in English. Indigo lay between violet and blue, occupying a portion of the spectrum that has presumably now been invaded by its neighbors. Blue, then, should designate a wider spectral range today than it did when indigo still nestled comfortably alongside it, in the way that ancient shame may have occupied a portion of the psychological spectrum now colonized by guilt.[9]

In the case of terms as close as indigo and blue, we can readily accept the possibility of cultural variation. But sometimes the differences between languages are more extreme. The Latin word *flavus* denotes a tawny or golden yellow, like that of wheat in the field. And yet the word is etymologically related to the English term "blue."[10] What has blue to do with yellow? According to Robert MacLaury (1999: 20), the association between blue and yellow reflects a categorization of color by way of lumi-

nosity rather than simple spectral proximity, and indeed there are languages today in which blue, green, and yellow form a single category. The Welsh *glas,* for example, covers the range "blue," "pale," "grey," "green," and "silver."[11] So too, the term *glaukos* in ancient Greek is rendered variously as "gleaming," "blue-green," "pale blue," and "gray" (Liddell, Scott, Jones, 1940, s.v.).[12] "For physiological reasons," MacLaury writes, "green and blue appear more similar than green and yellow," and yet "culture sometimes overrides neurology."[13] Now, colors seem to be out there in the world, "neural responses that await a name" (MacLaury, 1999: 24, referring to the hypothesis of Berlin and Kay, 1969). How much more likely is it that such intangible items as emotions should differ from culture to culture? And, just as shifts in color terminology may occur in more than a single dimension, emotions too may resist being aligned on a single axis or continuum, yielding combinations that to us seem odd or unnatural.

*

With this as preamble, let us return to ancient Greek shame. Here, I must beg the reader's indulgence in advance, for the discussion that follows will attend closely to the meanings and connotations of Greek terms. The payoff will be a richer sense of the significance of shame both in ancient Greek society and in our own. As it happens, there are in fact two Greek words that are typically rendered as "shame" in English: *aidôs,* which has received some scholarly attention recently (notably Cairns, 1993), and *aiskhunê* (sometimes transliterated as *aischyne*). These terms are by no means entirely synonymous, and it is a weakness in Bernard Williams' fine book on shame in Greek antiquity (1993) that he lumps *aidôs* and *aiskhunê* together, although he provides an excellent defense of shame as a moral sentiment and challenges the "progressivist" hypothesis of a great conceptual

shift from ancient to modern ethical thought, with its emphasis on guilt (7). Thus, in an endnote Williams observes (194 n. 9): "There are two Greek roots bearing the sense of 'shame': *aid-* . . . and *aiskhun-*. . . . I have not been generally concerned to separate uses of the two kinds of word. Not much turns on the distinction, for my purposes, and, in particular, many of the variations are diachronic," with *aiskhunê* taking the place of *aidôs* as the latter became increasingly obsolete over the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.[14] Williams cites the brief lexicographical analysis by George Shipp (1972: 191), who notes that the two roots are in fact differentiated in Herodotus, where terms based on *aid-* carry the sense "respect the power of," while the *aiskh-* words mean "be ashamed." Herodotus, however, wrote in the Ionic dialect. In the Attic dialect, which was the predominant vehicle of literature in the classical period, Shipp maintains that "*aiskhunomai* [the verbal form] took over both senses." This evolutionary story cannot be right. As Cairns points out (1993: 138), in Homer *aiskhunomai* already serves as an equivalent to *aideomai,* the verbal form of *aidôs* (cf. *Odyssey,* 7.305-06, 21.323-29). What is more, Shipp's claim ignores the fact that *aidôs,* which, along with its associated verbal form *aideomai,* continues to occur in the classical period (especially in poetry), also acquired two senses.[15]

Douglas Cairns, who has written the definitive study of *aidôs,* offers as a preliminary definition of the term (1993: 2): "let *aidôs* be an inhibitory emotion based on sensitivity to and protectiveness of one's self-image"; Cairns suggests that the verbal form *aideomai* roughly means "I am abashed." The standard Greek-English lexicon (Liddell, Scott, Jones, 1940) defines *aidôs* as "reverence," "awe," "respect," and a "sense of honor"; the term does not normally designate the feeling of shame for acts committed. In Homer, where *aidôs* and its relatives occur frequently, "*aidôs* is always prospective and inhibitory" (Cairns, 1993: 13); "it does not approximate to our notion of the retrospective 'bad' or guilty conscience" (145). More crisply, Cairns affirms that "*aidôs* is not shame" (14).[16]

Aiskhunê, on the contrary, is defined in Liddell, Scott, Jones (1940, s.v.) as "shame," "dishonour," as well as a "sense of shame" and "honour"; in this latter sense, we are told, it is "like *aidôs.*" The vast new *Diccionario griego-español* (1980) reports that *aiskhunê* may denote "disfigurement or ugliness," as well as a sentiment induced by public disapprobation, citing Euripides *Andromache,* 244: "shameful things [*aiskhra*] entail *aiskhunê.*" Thucydides (2.37) contrasts offenses against the law, which result in punishment, with those against unwritten customs, which engender *aiskhunê.* But *aiskhunê* is also "a restrictive virtue" (*una virtud restrictiva*), and in this connotation it means "shame or honor [*vergüenza, honor*] in the sense of respecting one's commitments at all cost, principledness [*pundonor*] and at times almost heroism." Thus, Thucydides (1.84.3) is cited for the view that "*aidôs* partakes most of modesty, courage [*eupsukhia*] of *aiskhunê,*[17] testifying incidentally to a still lively awareness of a distinction between the two terms in the classical era.[18]

Although some scholars hold that there is "no discernible difference" in Aristotle's use of the terms *aidôs* and *aiskhunê* in his ethical writings (Grimaldi, 1988: 105),[19] a close analysis reveals that he in fact respects their distinct ranges of meaning, normally limiting *aidôs* to the prospective or inhibitory sense. While this is not the place for a thorough survey of Aristotle's usage, we may take as an illustration an important passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1128b32-33), often supposed to show the interchangeability of the two: "if shamelessness [*anaiskhuntia*] is a bad thing and also not feeling *aidôs* [*to mê aideisthai*] at doing shameful things, then it is not any more honorable for someone who does such things to feel *aiskhunê* [*aiskhunesthai*]," that is, after the deeds have been done. In this passage, *aidôs* is clearly understood to inhibit bad behavior, while *aiskhunê* reflects back on it with regret.

But if *aidôs,* complex though it may be in its own right, is nevertheless a reasonably coherent concept,[20] what shall we say of *aiskhunê,* which seems to have both a prospective and a retro-

spective dimension, signifying equally "shame" and a "sense of shame"?[21] The two meanings are ostensibly quite diverse: Why should they cohabit in a single concept? To be sure, they also overlap in English: "Have you no shame?" means "Have you no sense of shame?" (so too in the negative compound "shameless"). But Greek evidently had available a vocabulary by which to distinguish the two senses. Indeed, the two concepts would seem to be psychologically discrete, "shame" being an emotion while a "sense of shame" is more like an ethical trait.

Greek philosophers and rhetoricians also seem regularly to have classified *aiskhunê* as an emotion or *pathos,* whereas the status of *aidôs* was more ambiguous. It is *aiskhunê,* not *aidôs,* that Aristotle chooses to analyzes in the *Rhetoric,* his most extensive and penetrating discussion of the emotions. True, Aristotle at times lists *aidôs* among the *pathê* (plural of *pathos*), and Douglas Cairns states categorically (1993: 5): "that *aidôs* is an emotion is, I take it, uncontroversial; Aristotle regards it as more like a *pathos,* an affect, than anything else." But the question is not quite so straightforward. For while *pathos* often approximates the English "emotion," it can have a much wider extension. What is more, precisely in those passages where Aristotle identifies *aidôs* as a *pathos,* it is clear that he is using *pathos* in the broad sense to include a variety of psychological states. Thus, in the *Eudemian Ethics* (1220b37-21a12) we find included under the *pathê,* along with *aidôs,* such items as courage, moderation, justness, and liberality, which Aristotle normally treats as virtues (cf. also *Eudemian Ethics,* 1233b16-34b14; 1233b26-35). Indeed, already in antiquity the scholar Alexander of Aprhodisias (or someone writing in his name), commenting on Aristotle's discussion, wondered whether *aidôs* could properly be classified as a *pathos.*[22]

The Stoics, in turn, cite the unusual form *aidêmosunê* as a form of *sôphrosunê,* "modesty" or "self-control"—usually one of the four cardinal virtues—and define it as "a careful knowledge of appropriate

blame."[23] Typically, the Stoics contrasted *aidôs* with *aiskhunê,* treating the former as a healthy sentiment (*eupatheia*) characteristic of the sage, whereas *aikshunê* was classified among the vicious emotions to which that everyone except the sage is subject (*SVF,* 431.1-9 = Diogenes Laertius, 7.115). Thus, *hagneia,* "purity" or "chastity," turns up in the same category as *aidôs,* namely, *eulabeia* or "caution," the wise man's equivalent of the fear (*phobos*) to which ordinary people are exposed.[24] *Aiskhunê,* in turn, is precisely "a fear of disgrace."[25] It is true that Aristotle at one point in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1128b12-13) says of *aidôs*: "it is defined as a kind of fear [*phobos*] of disgrace [*adoxia*]"—or at least, he adds, it is something like fear [*paraplêsion*]—and as a species of fear it ought, in Aristotle's terms, to be an emotion.[26] If so, however, it is one that looks to future rather than to past or present events, as Aristotle's definition of fear in the *Rhetoric* stipulates (2.5, 1382a21-22): "Let fear be a kind of pain or disturbance deriving from an image [*phantasia*] of a future evil that is destructive or painful." In this, as we shall see, *aidôs* is quite distinct from *aiskhunê.*[27] My guess is that Aristotle is casting about here for an adequate determination of the psychological status of *aidôs,* and brings in fear as a rough approximation in part because it is prospective.

The Christian bishop Nemesius of Emesa, writing in the fourth century A.D., locates *aidôs* under the Stoic rubric of fear—an emotion or *pathos*—rather than caution, and defines it as a "fear of the expectation of blame," though Nemesius adds the proviso that "this is the finest emotion [*pathos*]."[28] But this is clearly a mistake in regard to orthodox Stoic doctrine. More interesting, however, is the distinction that Nemesius draws between *aidôs* and *aiskhunê.* Nemesius defines the latter as "a fear in the case of a shameful thing that has been done," and remarks that it is not unpromising in respect to salvation. He then adds that "*aidôs* differs from *aiskhunê* in this, that a person who feels *aiskhunê* is shamed [*kataduetai*] for things he has done, whereas a person who feels *aidôs* fears that he will land in some kind of disgrace; the

ancients [i.e., Greeks of the classical era] often call *aidôs aiskhunê,* but in this they misuse the terms." Nemesius is the first, so far as I have discovered, to distinguish explicitly these two meanings of shame—the feeling of being ashamed and a sense of shame—as well as the first to differentiate between *aidôs* and *aiskhunê* on the basis of this distinction.

Nemesius is certainly wrong about the semantics of *aidôs* and *aiskhunê* in classical Greek: we have seen that both meanings of shame coexist in the term *aiskhunê* (see below). But the distinction that Nemesius draws between two concepts of shame, one retrospective and oriented toward the past, the other prospective and oriented toward the future, has had a considerable influence on later thought. Kurt Riezler (1943: 462-63), for example, notes that French, Greek and German all have two words for shame, and explains: "*Pudeur* means a kind of shame that tends to keep you from an act, whereas you may feel *honte* after an act." While he acknowledges that the "Greek distinction between *aidos* and *aischyne* does not correspond to the French," he nevertheless cites the definition provided by the great Renaissance humanist in his *Thesaurus* of the Greek language: "*Aidôs* is shame that derives from reverence, whereas *aiskhunê* is shame that derives from immorality."[29] More recently, Melvin Lansky (1996: 769) notes that the English "shame" can refer to a desire to "disappear from view" or to "comportment that would avoid the emotion (the obverse of shamelessness)," and adds: "Many languages have separate words for the emotion," citing French *honte* "for the emotion itself; *pudeur,* for the defense" (769).[30] Thomas Scheff (1997: 209), in turn, differentiates the Greek terms *aiskhuynê* and *aidôs* under the rubrics "disgrace" and "modesty" and compares them with the Latin *foedus* versus *pudor,* French *honte* versus *pudeur,* German *Schande* versus *Scham,* and Italian *vergogna* versus *pudore,* while noting that this distinction is absent in English.[31] None of these contrasts captures the value of the Greek concept of *aiskhunê,* to which I now turn.

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The fullest and clearest analysis of shame, as of a variety of other emotions, bequeathed to us by the ancient Greeks comes from Aristotle. As indicated earlier, Aristotle, like a number of his successors, discusses the emotions above all in his treatise on rhetoric, since exciting or assuaging the passions was primarily associated with the art of persuasion. Aristotle's definition of *aiskhunê* in this work runs as follows (1383b12-14): "Let *aiskhunê,* then, be a pain or disturbance concerning those ills, either present, past, or future, that are perceived to lead to disgrace, while shamelessness is a disregard or impassivity concerning these same things."

Aristotle's inclusion of future ills, along with past or present ills, in the definition of *aiskhunê* as a cause of shame may seem surprising, since if we feel shame at something still to come it might be supposed that we would avoid the situation or behavior that will induce the emotion. But Aristotle's definition makes it clear that he draws no distinction between prospective or restrictive shame on the one hand, and retrospective or remorseful shame on the other. A key element in the definition is the term "perceived" or "imagined" (the Greek word, *phainomena,* may also mean "are seen"). We remember past events, sense present ones, and anticipate future events, and things good or ill may "appear" to us in all three modes. If the ills we perceive or imagine are of the kind that bring about a loss of reputation or disgrace (*adoxia*), we respond with the emotion of shame.[32] Of course, such phenomena, if they are memories, can no longer be altered or avoided, save insofar as one can perhaps change the opinions that others hold of them and thus limit the damage to one's status or repute. By contrast, one will ordinarily try to prevent foreseen events of this type from being realized. But envisioning an anticipated ill evokes the emotion of shame just as much as recollecting a past one does, and the very same sentiment that galls us in the

case of things that have been done moves us also to avert them, if we can, in the future.

It seems to me that Aristotle has, in a stroke, resolved the problem of two kinds of shame—retrospective and inhibitory—or recast the question in such a way that the distinction between them is otiose. It is not that *aiskhunê* includes both kinds of shame, one properly denoted by *aiskhunê* and the other by *aidôs,* as Nemesius proposed. Whatever the case with the French *honte* and *pudeur,* the German *Scham* and *Schande,* or the Spanish *pudor* and *vergüenza,* classical Greek did not divide the conceptual sphere of shame between two distinct terms. Nor is *aiskhunê,* as Aristotle defines it, a complex idea, as the English "shame" is said to be, embracing within itself the two distinct notions of the experience of shame and a sense of shame. The emotion, as Aristotle understands it, is uniform; what varies is simply the timing of the perceived ills. The lexicographers are thus wrong to split *aiskhunê* into subdefinitions, for there is nothing to disambiguate.

The opposite of shame, in turn, is simply "shamelessness" (*anaiskhuntia*), a failure of sensitivity to the relevant kinds of ills, whether past, present, or future. Whereas "shamelessness" in English is ordinarily taken to be the antonym of a sense of shame, as opposed to the feeling of being ashamed, for Aristotle, again, there is no need to differentiate the two connotations. His interpretation of *aiskhunê* as a unitary sentiment allows him to treat shamelessness as an insensibility to all evils, regardless of tense, that tend to a loss of reputation or disgrace. A person who is not ashamed at having committed such an act will not refrain from committing it in the future.

Shamelessness, as Aristotle defines it, does not seem to be a distinct emotion that is shame's opposite, but rather a lack of feeling or insensibility (*apatheia*) with respect to the kinds of ills that arouse shame. Generally, in the *Rhetoric,* Aristotle tends to pair contrasting emotions, such as love and hatred, fear and

confidence, or pity and indignation. Pity, for example, is defined as pain at the undeserved misfortune of another, while indignation is pain at another's undeserved good fortune. It is easy to construct an emotion that is contrary to shame as Aristotle conceives it: for example, one might define it as "pleasure concerning those goods that are perceived to lead to a good reputation or approval." Such a sentiment we might well label something like "pride." Many modern investigators, in fact, couple shame and pride as opposites. Thus, Donald Nathanson (1992: 86) writes: "Shame, of course, is the polar opposite of pride."[33] Classical Greek, however, seems to lack a basic emotion term corresponding to a positive sense of pride, though the negative sentiment of arrogance is well attested (for example, in the form of *hubris*).[34] It is beyond the scope of this paper to consider the reasons Aristotle and his contemporaries seem not to have identified pride as a positive concept; perhaps one reason why is that in the competitive world of Greek city-state society, people were more likely to be struggling to preserve their status under the critical gaze of their fellow citizens than to be basking in their admiration. Jon Elster (1999: 75) observes that the world implied by Aristotle's account of the emotions in the *Rhetoric* is one "in which everybody knows that they are constantly being judged, nobody hides that they are acting like judges, and nobody hides that they seek to be judged positively." But such a judgment was unlikely to be granted freely.

Returning to Aristotle's definition of *aiskhunê,* it is important to note that shame is not conceived as a response to perceived ill repute or disgrace (*adoxia*) as such, but rather to those ills that lead to such a state. It is true that, a little later, Aristotle recapitulates the definition in an abbreviated form: "since *aiskhunê* is a perception [or impression: *phantasia*] of disgrace, and this on its own account and not for what results from it. . . ." But the wording of the initial and fuller description is, I think, significant. Shame arises not at the contemplation of loss of honor in the abstract, but from specific acts or events that bring about dis-

grace. Aristotle immediately offers examples of the kinds of ills he has in mind: "If shame is as we have defined it, then it follows that we feel shame for those kinds of ills that seem disgraceful, either for ourselves or those we care about. Such are all those actions that arise out of vice, for example throwing away one's shield or fleeing; for they come from cowardice. Also confiscating a deposit, or wronging someone; for they come from unjustness. And sleeping with the wrong people, or those who are related to the wrong people, or at the wrong time; for they come from sensuality." Other examples of vices are wrongful gain, illiberality or servility, effeminacy, small-mindedness, meekness, and conceitedness, each manifested in visible outward behavior, such as making a profit off the poor, lack of generosity, flattery, lack of endurance, and blowing one's own horn. All these actions are evidence of personal defects, and it is these in turn that, when recognized, lead to a loss of esteem and status. There are thus three elements that together prompt the emotion of shame: a particular act (throwing away one's shield in battle); the fault of character that is revealed by the act (cowardice); and the disgrace or loss of esteem before the community at large.

With this schema, Aristotle seems to bridge the difference that modern investigators suppose exists between shame and guilt, according to which guilt is elicited by a specific act of wrongdoing, while "we feel shame about the very essence of our selves" (Morrison, 1996: 12). Shame, for Aristotle (and I would say for Greeks in the classical period generally)[35] results from imagining particular acts or events, whether committed or intended—for example, doing someone an injustice or failing to help another when it is in one's power to do so. It is possible to make amends for such offenses, whether by apologizing or by some other form of compensation. They are limited acts, and do not necessarily entail an annihilation of one's sense of self. At this level, Aristotle's discussion encompasses the modern idea of guilt. Shame-inducing behavior, however, in addition to being unjust or

inappropriate, also testifies to a character flaw or moral failing, and in this respect it is damaging, like modern shame, to one's self-esteem, or at least to one's self-representation in the world. But to what degree? It is only a particular trait or vice that is exposed—for example, avarice or boastfulness—and this need not destroy a person's standing completely. The close connection between shame and honor in fact allows for gradations in the phenomenological effects of shame. There is no reason why it must be experienced as an assault on one's essential being, and Aristotle, for whom shame was a fact of everyday life, does not suggest such drastic consequences.

To the causes of shame indicated, Aristotle adds the condition of not sharing in those advantages that most or all of one's peers enjoy, whether fellow citizens, age-mates, or relatives (for example, the same level of education or culture).[36] Such a deficiency could be the result of a personal failing, but there might also be other reasons for it. It is doubtless productive of shame to appear boorish in cultivated company, even if it is not one's own fault. Here, then, Aristotle recognizes that shame may arise from circumstances beyond one's control, in contrast to modern guilt, which is commonly taken to presuppose moral responsibility.[37] Nico Frijda (1993: 367) reports, however, that despite current theories, his research indicates that while responsibility perhaps pertains to the way we experience guilt, it is not necessarily a component of the antecedent appraisal; that is, one can feel guilty for hitting or narrowly missing a child who jumps in front of one's car without believing one is at fault. So too, "Norm violation does not seem prominent in the causation of guilt emotions that emerged after serious loss for which the subject is not responsible; for instance, when a relative has died, towards whom they felt they should have been more kind or caring."[38] The borderline between modern guilt and shame seems fuzzier than one might imagine, and it may well be reasonable,

with Aristotle, to see both culpable and morally blameless behaviors as eliciting a single emotion.

Aristotle adds, however, that all such defects are the more shameful "if they are perceived to occur on one's own account; for it is all the more a consequence of vice, if one is oneself responsible for what has happened, is happening, or is going to happen." In his discussion of shame, then, Aristotle is not indifferent to the question of accountability. Rather, it figures as an exacerbating condition in relation to those kinds of ills that do not derive from vice or ethical deficiency. It would appear, then, that responsibility plays a primary role in Aristotle's concept of shame. While Aristotle acknowledges that certain behaviors, though strictly speaking beyond one's control, may elicit shame if the deficiencies they expose are closely related to character (and hence are easily imagined to be moral shortcomings), he is not concerned with trivial accidents that indicate nothing about the ethical self (we may recall that the Greek word for character is *êthos,* whence the term "ethical").[39]

Bernard Williams (1993: 78) writes that "The basic experience connected with shame is that of being seen, inappropriately, by the wrong people, in the wrong condition. It is straightforwardly connected with nakedness."[40] Now, Aristotle indeed observes that one feels shame more intensely when the acts that evoke it are "in the eyes [namely, of others] and in public; whence the proverb that *'aidôs* is in the eyes.'"[41] But rather than being fundamental to shame, exposure is treated as an aggravating factor, like responsibility in the case of deficiencies relative to one's peers. I doubt that nakedness and sexuality in general played so central a role in Greek shame as modern critics sometimes suppose; after all, Greek males in the classical period exercised naked in public. As we have seen, Aristotle mentions sexual misconduct among the acts that can lead to shame, but his concern is with the character flaw to which such behavior testifies, not with sex as such.[42]

For Aristotle, shame has to do above all with loss of reputation or *adoxia,* and since, Aristotle argues, "no one worries about reputation [*doxa*] except via those who have an opinion of it [*hoi doxazontes*], it follows that we feel shame before those people whom we take seriously." Examples are those whom we admire or who admire us, those with whom we compete, and older or cultivated people, along with righteous folk not inclined to pardon or forgive. The opinions of others are clearly relevant to shame, but they must be opinions of those we have reason to respect. This again indicates the fundamentally ethical character of shame, as Aristotle understands it. Aristotle goes on to say that we feel shame also before those likely to divulge what we have done; "for not proclaiming it is the same as not believing [*dokein*] it." Here, Aristotle's shame seems to part company with a wholly interiorized sense of guilt. Whatever we may feel at the knowledge that we have inflicted a secret injury on another, it only becomes shame in the fullest sense when the evidence of our vicious character has reached the ears of those whose opinions we value. But this is not to say that we may not disapprove of our private vices. Such a condemnation of our own behavior, however, would take the form of a moral judgment rather than an emotion, like the response of those before whom we feel shame. If Aristotle had considered the judged rather than the judging self, the emotion he would have ascribed to it would, I expect, be shame.[43]

Aristotle's analysis of *aiskhunê,* which plausibly represents, I believe, the quality of the emotion among Greeks of his time, sheds a different light on problems attaching to the modern idea of shame, such as the tension between its inhibitory and its a posteriori manifestations, the relation between judgments concerning specific actions and those concerning the self as a whole, and the role of responsibility versus events beyond our control. The Greek concept no doubt is consistent with a society that placed a high value on public honor and reputation;[44] it may also be that different values and practices in child-rearing favored a more positive

role for shame, in contrast with modern accounts that emphasize its devastating effects on the self. The very idea of a "self" may have differed in antiquity from the way it is conceived and experienced today.[45] Without entering into these complex questions, I should like to conclude by examining the role of *aiskhunê* in a literary text that is particularly indicative, I think, of the different ways in which ancient and modern shame are conceived.

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After the death of Achilles at Troy, his arms were awarded as a special prize to Odysseus. Ajax, enraged at what he considered an insult to his own valor, undertook to kill the Greek leaders he held responsible, including Odysseus himself along with Agamemnon, the chief commander of the Greek expedition, and his brother Menelaus. The goddess Athena, however, muddled the wits of Ajax, so that he mistakenly took captive, tortured, and finally slaughtered a herd of sheep rather than his enemies. Sophocles' tragedy, *Ajax,* dramatizes the aftermath of these events, in which Ajax comes to his senses, realizes his blunder, and then, deceiving his comrades about his intentions, seeks out an isolated place and slays himself. The play concludes with a debate between Odysseus, Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Teucer, Ajax's half-brother, over whether to permit the burial of Ajax's body after his attempt at vengeance.

In an illuminating study, Melvin Lansky (1996: 761) argues that Ajax's shame "leads to narcissistic rage" (from the abstract), and remarks that "classicist critics, for the most part, have failed to distinguish an adherence to the heroic code from pathological shame and vengefulness" (765).[46] In the text, however, neither Ajax nor anyone else indicates shame as the reason for his suicide, although the chorus of Ajax's companions connect the rumor concerning his actions with their own *aishkunê* (173-175). How

then are we to decide Ajax's motive? It is true that Ajax sings (403-404): "Where can one flee? Where can I go and stay?" But the reason why he wishes to hide is that "the whole army would kill me sword in hand" (408-409); not shame but prudence moves him. Again, he dreads to face his father, who brought home great spoils in his campaigns (462-463); but the reason why is that he must return naked, without the armor of Achilles that, in his view, he most deserved (464). The closest Ajax himself comes to suggesting shame as a motive is in the remark (473-474): "It is ugly [or shameful: *aiskhron*] for a man to desire a long life, when he is inalterably embroiled in evils."[47]

There is, however, another possible motive for Ajax's suicide, and that is anger—the same anger that inspired his attempt to murder the Greek generals (cf. verse 41, Athena speaking; 776-777, Agamemnon speaking). Aristotle defines anger as "a desire, accompanied by pain, for a perceived revenge on account of a perceived slight" (2.2, 1378a31-32). Ajax sought to exact revenge for what he perceived as a derisive insult, but failed because of a temporary spell of insanity. Nothing in the play suggests that he regrets the attempt, or that he sees it as indicative of a flaw in his character. Thus there is no basis for shame; the disgrace that he acknowledges derives exclusively from the award of Achilles' arms to Odysseus.[48] He is distressed because his life is now in danger, and despite his enduring anger he no longer has an opportunity to avenge himself. Aristotle does not specify the emotion involved in such frustrated rage; perhaps he would just label it anger. But it is not shame or *aiskhunê*.

Richard Shweder and Jonathan Haidt (2000: 406) observe that "the contemporary Hindu conception of *lajja* (or *lajya*) . . . is often translated by bilingual informants and dictionaries as 'shame,' 'embarrassment,' 'shyness,' or 'modesty'; yet . . . every one of these translations is problematic or fatally flawed." They go on to remark on "how hazardous it can be to assume that one can render the emotional meanings of others with terms from our

received English lexicon for mental states" (407).[49] This is perfectly just, and yet a careful examination of the value of emotion terms in other languages can also enrich and clarify our own emotional vocabulary.

Shame was a vigorous emotional category for the ancient Greeks. Although it has tended to be suppressed in contemporary American society, or else treated as a morally deficient emotion (we are ashamed of shame), writers in classical Greece saw it as fundamental to ethical behavior. And yet, we may have difficulty recognizing the Greek concept as "shame," since its phenomenology and modes of expression may well have differed from our own. What Ajax feels in the play is shame for us, but not, perhaps, for him, just as we may perceive the color blue in an ancient painting where a native of the culture would have identified a different complex of hues, defined not just by a shift in spectral range but by visual elements that have ceased to enter into the classification of basic color terms in modern English.[50] And just as one may gain in visual sensitivity by learning to apprehend an alternative color system, so too, by attending to the meanings and contexts of the ancient terms, we may expand our awareness of how the emotions function, even in our own social world. I hope this discussion of Greek terms for shame has made a small contribution in that direction.

Notes

[1]Cf. Tangney and Dearing (2002: 11): "In everyday conversations, people typically avoid the term 'shame'"; Barton (2001: 235): "At the time I am writing, the idea is popular in the United States that no one should ever be shamed. We forget that teasing and mild shaming are among the most important socializing mechanisms of society—*provided that trust is there and that the teaser is prepared to exchange roles with the teased.*" Correspondingly, the study of shame has been largely neglected; cf. Gilbert and Andrews (1998: v): "Shame has been recognized since antiquity. A strong theme of shame exists in the early stories of Adam and Eve. However, it has only been in the last 20 years or so that shame

has been subject to systematic research and theory development." For a good survey of recent theories, see Gilbert (1998).

[2]Cf. Wurmser (1981: 17), although Wurmser maintains that one can "be ashamed in front of oneself and feel guilty in front of someone else"; Creighton (1990: 296): "Shame, with its corresponding fear of rejection, is not a very effective sanction in American society, where individuals are *encouraged* to become independent." For a critique of the idea that shame requires an audience, see Taylor (1985: 57-68); Cairns (1993: 16-18); and Morrison (1996: 16): "To feel shame, therefore, we do not need the presence of an actual *shamer* or even a viewing *audience*; we need only these internalized figures who have become a part of what we are." Tangney and Dearing (2002: 14) report that in their empirical studies, "'solitary' shame was about as prevalent as 'solitary' guilt." Seidler (2000: 3) discusses the phenomenology of the self-visualization involved in shame.

[3]Cf. Pattison (2000: 43-44); for criticism of the idea of a shame culture, see Lloyd-Jones (1987: 2); Creighton (1990); Cairns (1993: 27-47) (who affirms that criticism has left the antithesis "in tatters" [42]); and Wissmann (1997: 17).

[4]Creighton (1990: 286): "Shame feelings precede the development of the superego, although they may later be integrated into the superego formation. Guilt develops later during the Oedipal phase and requires the presence of a superego"; Scheff (1997: 210).

[5]Nathanson (1992: 19): "Whereas shame is about the *quality* of our person or self, guilt is the painful emotion triggered when we become aware that we have acted in a way to bring harm to another person or to violate some important code. Guilt is about *action* and laws. Whenever we feel guilty, we can pay for the damage inflicted"; Williams (1993: 89-90); M. Lewis (1992: 10); Morrison (1996: 12): "We feel guilt about our wrongdoing; we feel shame about the very essence of our selves"; Denham (1998: 40-41): in shame, "the offensive behavior is seen as a reflection of an equally offensive self . . . ; guilt motivates corrective action rather than motivating avoidance"; M. Lewis (2000: 629): "The emotional state of guilt or regret is produced when individuals evaluate their behavior as failure but focus on the specific features or actions of the self that led to the failure. . . . In fact, the emotion of guilt always has associated with it a corrective action that the individual can take (but does not necessarily take) to repair the failure. . . . As such, the emotion is less intense and more capable of dissipation. . . . The emotion of guilt lacks the negative intensity of shame"; Ben-Ze'ev (2000: 498); Tangney and

Dearing (2002: 24): "Shame involves fairly global negative evaluations of the self (i.e., 'Who I am'). Guilt involves a more articulated condemnation of a specific behavior (i.e., 'What I did')," although surveys show that the two terms are often used "inconsistently or interchangeably" (11). But contrast Solomon (1993: 259, 301): "What distinguishes guilt [from shame] . . . is its ability to encompass the sense of worth of the whole person"; shame "is more specific than guilt . . . and not generally self-demeaning"; Cairns (1993: 23-24): "I doubt very much whether shame must involve the . . . complete denigration of the self"; also: "even if a distinction between self-evaluations which focus on what we are and those which focus on what we do is tenable in the abstract, this distinction will not furnish an absolute criterion for the separation of shame and guilt in ordinary usage" (25).

[6]Plutarch (*On Extreme Bashfulness,* 528D) discusses an exaggerated shyness or sensitivity to shame (*dusôpia*), but this is a disposition (in Aristotle's terms, a *hexis*) rather than a generalized emotional state; Plutarch refers, however, to the intense shame itself as a harmful *pathos* (529E); cf. Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics,* 1108a33-34.

[7]Cf. Ohly (1992).

[8]Barkan (2000: xxviii) remarks on what he sees as a new sensitivity on the part of entire nations to guilt: "One new measure of this public morality is the growing political willingness, and at times eagerness, to admit one's historical guilt."

[9]Interestingly, English seems to owe the importance of indigo as a basic color to Isaac Newton, although Newton himself vacillated over whether the spectrum should be divided into six or seven zones; in the end, he opted for seven because of the mystical value of that numeral; see Gage (1995).

[10]MacLaury (1999: 20); cf. Partridge (1959): s.v. "blue"; for Latin "fl" = English "bl"; cf. "in-flate" / "blow," "flower" / "blossom," "flagrant" (= "burning") / "black" from fire's effect on wood.

[11]Evans and Thomas (1989, s.v.). I am grateful to Hugh Mason for this information.

[12]Irwin (1974: 5-7) notes that the difficulty in interpreting Greek color terms according to spectral values led some scholars, including Goethe and William Gladstone, to conclude that they were color blind. In the late 1920s, the German semanticist Jost Trier (1931, ch. 1) observed that, in the time of Goethe, the German word *Braun* signified not only what we call "brown" in English (which is more or less what Germans mean by *Braun* today), but also tones in the region of violet or pur-

ple, which, unlike modern brown, are grouped with the spectral colors of the rainbow.

[13]MacLaury (1999: 21); cf. Lyons (1999: 39, 41); Lyons (1995: 197-98); also Pastoureau (2001: 13-48) on the absence of a coherent category of "blue" in classical antiquity.

[14]The noun *aiskhunê* first occurs in the sixth-century poet Theognis (verse 1272), in the sense of being a "disgrace," and becomes common toward the middle of the fifth century B.C.

[15]Shipp endorses Dodds' hypothesis of a development from shame culture to guilt culture in Greece, which he sees reflected in the shift from *aidôs* to *aiskhunê.* I ignore here the different nuances of the noun *aidôs* and the verb *aideomai,* although as Cairns (1993: 2) observes, they "do have different senses." In Euripides' *Hippolytus,* verse 244, Phaedra exclaims: "I feel *aidôs* [verbal form *aidoumetha*] at what has been said," which indicates that the verb can assume the sense of remorseful shame; for a similar use of the noun, cf. Euripides *Hecuba,* 968-72, where it is equivalent to *aiskhunê.* See also Gauthier and Jolif (1970: 320), who affirm that *aidôs* in the classical period "n'est plus seulement l'appréhension d'un déshonneur futur, mais aussi la honte d'un déshonneur *présent* . . . et le *regret* d'une faute *passée.*"

[16]Hooker (1987) argues that *aidôs* and related terms only acquired sense of "shame" in post-Homeric literature.

[17]Cf. Miller (2000: 70): "Shame bears a close connection with courageous motivation; it might in fact be its chief motivator"; also Wissman (1997: 13-18).

[18]In Euripides' *Ion,* 934, cited by Shipp, Creousa exclaims: "I feel *aiskhunê* [verbal form, *aiskhunomai*] before you, aged sir"; cf. also verses 341, 367, 395, 1074.

[19]Gauthier and Jolif (1970: 321) specify that Aristotle does not distinguish *aidôs* from *aiskhunê* in the *Rhetoric.*

[20]Cairns (1993: 13) distinguishes two senses of *aidôs,* namely "I feel shame before . . ." and "I respect," but he adds that the two are related: "to feel inhibitory shame . . . is to picture oneself as losing honour, while to show respect is to recognize the honour of another. The combination of the two in one concept, however, is unfamiliar," though it is also, Cairns affirms, quite logical. For the rich metaphorical texture surrounding the idea of *aidôs,* which includes the image of a protecting mantle, see Ferrari (2002: 74-81).

[21]The verbal form *aiskhunomai,* like that of *aidôs,* is used in the sense of "feel shame before . . . "; cf. Aeschines (fourth century B.C.) *Against*

Timarchus, 24, also 180: "one of the old men before whom they feel shame [*aiskhunontai*] and whom they fear stepped forward." Aeschines uses the negative expressions *anaides, anaideia* = "shameless" (e.g., 1.189), but not *aidôs,* which was, as I have said, obsolete by this time.

[22]*Questiones naturales et morales* Book 1, problem 21 ("On *Aidôs*"), in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca,* suppl. 2.2, ed. I. Bruns; the treatise is generally supposed to be wrongly attributed to Alexander. Once again, I cannot enter into this question exhaustively here, and limit myself to observing that Aristotle tends to treat *aidôs* in the ethical works as an emotional temperament or *dunamis,* and speaks in these contexts of *ho aidêmôn* or "a man given to feeling *aidôs.*"

[23]*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* (= *SVF*), 3.264.9-10, from Stobaeus, 2.60.9. The sense of *aidôs* as "chastity" comes particularly close to that of *sôphrosunê* in erotic contexts.

[24]Cf. *SVF,* 432 = Andronicus, *On Emotions,* 6, p. 20 Kreuttner; *SVF,* 439.1-3 = Plutarch, *On Moral Virtue,* 449A; *SVF,* 440 = Galen, *On the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato,* 4.4 [140] p. 354 M. 21; etc.

[25]The definition is Zeno's, recorded in Diogenes Laertius, 7.112; cf. *Definitions,* 416A9 (ascribed to Plato but almost certainly a later product of his Academy).

[26]In common parlance, both *aidôs* and *aiskhunê* might be associated with fear; cf., for example, Xenophon, *Memorabilia,* 3.7.5.

[27]There are various other indications in this passage that Aristotle considers *aidôs* to be different from *aiskhunê,* as Alexander of Aphrodisias too observed (in the text cited earlier)—for example, that *aidôs* is particularly appropriate to young people.

[28]*SVF,* 3.416.17-22 = Nemesius, *De natura hominis,* ch. 20.

[29]"*Aidos* est pudor profectus ex verecundia. *Aischyne* est pudor profectus ex turpitudine." Riezler adds: "The origin of *Aischyne* is dishonor, of *Aidos,* awe," and affirms that the former pertains to "man-made codes," while the latter responds to a sense of how things naturally are.

[30]So too Cope (1877: 71-72), commenting on Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* distinguishes between "*aidôs, verecundia,* a subjective feeling of honor which precedes and prevents a shameful act" and "*aiskhunê, pudor,* an objective aspect which reflects upon the consequences of the act and the shame it brings with it" (as summarized in Grimaldi, 1988: 107).

[31]Cf. Scheff (1995: 1053): "When we compare the concept in other languages, the definition of shame in English is narrow and extreme"; Scheff adds (1053-54) that the French *honte* is equivalent to the English shame, *pudeur* to a "sense of shame."

[32]For the close connection between *aiskhunê* and disgrace or *adoxia,* see, for example, Demosthenes, *Oration,* 19.41, 83, 146.

[33]Cf. Scheff (1997: 206): "We propose that pride is the emotional correlate of a secure social bond; and shame, the emotional correlate of a threatened bond"; also Lewis (2000); Ben Ze'ev (2000: 491, 512); Manstead and Fischer (2001: 231). Contrast Seidler (2000: 103): "The postulation of shame and pride as polar opposites is frankly unconvincing. Only if we decide to limit 'shame' to the affective expression of the impairment of self-esteem can we conceivably regard 'pride' as the opposite pole, and even then it would appear more appropriate to regard the capacity for realistic self-evaluation to be the more convincing alternative."

[34]Scheff (1997: 208) notes that in the Hebrew Bible, "Virtually every reference places pride in a disparaging light," and speaks of the need for a notion of "justified pride." Cf. Lewis (1992: 78): "Hubris can be defined as an exaggerated pride or self-confidence. . . . It is an example of pridefulness, something dislikeable and to be avoided. . . . The emotion I label pride is the consequence of a specific action."

[35]This point requires documentation through an examination of texts, but such an investigation exceeds the bounds of this paper.

[36]Those of an inferior social class will not necessarily feel shame at shortcomings relative to their superiors: the humble farmer to whom Electra has been wedded in Euripides' *Electra* (357-432) does not hesitate to invite two well-born guests into his modest home, although Electra herself is mortified at the idea.

[37]Izard (1977: 423-24): "Guilt results from wrong-doing"; Lewis (1971: 81): "Guilt . . . is evoked by . . . the acceptance or acknowledgment of moral transgression" (both cited in Frijda, 1993: 364).

[38]Cf. Gilbert (1998: 11).

[39]If Aristotle had the word, he might perhaps recognize such events as productive of embarrassment. But cf. the Hippocratic treatise, *On the Sacred Disease,* 15, where it is observed that people on the point of an epileptic attack hide "because of shame at the condition and not out of fear of a demon, as most people suppose. . . . But children allow themselves to fall anywhere at first, and later run to their mothers or other people whom they know, out of terror and fear of the condition; for they do not yet know what it is to be ashamed [*to gar aiskhunesthai oupô gignôskousin*]." Plutarch, however, writing in the first century A.D., argues that Homer "scorns those who cast shame [*aiskhunomenôn*] upon lameness or blindness, since he does not consider blameworthy [*psekton*]

what is not shameful [or ugly: *aiskhron*] nor shameful what occurs not through ourselves but by chance [*tukhê*]" (*On How a Young Man Should Listen to Poetry,* 35C).

[40]"The most primitive experiences of shame are connected with sight and being seen, but it has been interestingly suggested that guilt is rooted in hearing" (Williams, 1993: 89).

[41]There is some debate about the original meaning of the proverb; Grimaldi (1988: 117) argues that it refers to the look of the guilty person (cf. Ferrari, 2002: 54-56 on the visibility of maidenly *aidôs*), but Kennedy (1991: 146 n. 57) defends the possibility that it pertains, as Aristotle evidently takes it, to the disapproving look of others.

[42]Let me note here that the shame and honor complex identified by so-called Mediterranean anthropology (see, e.g., Cohen, 1991) is not particularly evident in the Greek world of this period. Aristotle observes that we may feel shame over the deeds of ancestors or near kin, but he does not single out sexual misconduct of female relatives as a cause of such shame. See Herman (1995).

[43]The idea of a divided self was perfectly familiar to Aristotle and his contemporaries; see Aristotle's discussion of self-love in *Nicomachean Ethics,* 9.4, and cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations,* 2.20.47.

[44]Corbeill (2002) argues that the Roman public speaker had a positive duty to maintain a "desirable fear of shame" (198), and in the service of this moral goal made vigorous use of vituperation and personal insult.

[45]See especially Foucault (1985), and the essays in Larmour, Miller, and Platter (1998).

[46]On shame as the motive for Ajax's suicide, cf. Williams (1993: 85). Of course, if shame is understood to affect the essence of the self and to induce a desire for concealment, it is natural to take it as the cause of self-destructive violence.

[47]*Aiskhunê* occurs elsewhere in the play in contexts unrelated to Ajax's sentiments. In the debate over the burial, Menelaus insists that fear (*deos, phobos*) and shame (*aidôs* and *aiskhunê*) are necessary to the well-being of a city, since they prevent the kind of outrage that Ajax sought to commit (1073-86). Later, Teucros declares he feels no shame before Agamemnon and Menelaus for their ostensibly nobler birth (1304-05). The first is an instance of prospective, the latter of retrospective shame.

[48]Unless perhaps he perceives his madness as contributing to a loss of standing; but this motive is not emphasized in the drama.

[49]Shweder and Haidt explain that "to be full of *lajja* is to be in possession of the virtue of behaving in a civilized manner and in such a way that the social order and its norms are upheld" (408), and they add: "In a cultural world based on an ethics of community, emotions may exist that are not fully felt by those whose morality is based on an ethics of autonomy. *Lajja* is a clear example" (409).

[50]This does not mean, of course, that it is illegitimate to interpret Ajax's behavior as shame in the modern sense, or to detect "hidden shame" in his behavior. I am grateful to Melvin Lansky for comments on this and other aspects of the present paper.

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Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress (βινῶ, κινῶ, πυγίζω, ληκῶ, οἴφω, λαικάζω)
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SIX GREEK VERBS OF SEXUAL CONGRESS
(βινῶ, κινῶ, πυγίζω, ληκῶ, οἴφω, λαικάζω)*

There existed in Greek a multitude of words denoting or connoting sexual congress. The list of verbs given by Pollux (5.92) only skims the surface. In what follows[1] I discuss words which with one exception (ληκῶ) are absent from this list and belong, as will be seen from their distribution, to the lower register of the Greek language. They are all demonstrably direct expressions, blunt and non-euphemistic. Only one of them, κινῶ, is at all common in non-sexual contexts.[2] As for the rest, if they originated through metaphor like many more respectable verbs of intercourse, this had long since been forgotten by native speakers. They rarely undergo any significant weakening, retaining their basic sexual denotation.

Not all of them are adequately covered in the lexica and, in the case of several, there exists much more copious non-literary attestation than would appear from consultation of LSJ. Indeed there is a tendency in LSJ for entries on the lower areas of Greek vocabulary to leave the reader in the air. For example, all that we are given by way of information regarding the distribution of such basic words as πέος, πέρδομαι, and πρωκτός is in each case a single Aristophanic example to which is appended a mysterious and distinctly unhelpful 'etc'.

Each of the words here considered has its individual pattern of distribution and

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[1] The following works are cited by author's name and page number: J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London, 1982), K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978), J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (New Haven and London, 1975), L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: revised edition with a supplement by A. W. Johnston* (Oxford, 1990), H. D. Jocelyn, 'A Greek Indecency and its Students: *ΛΑΙΚΑΖΕΙΝ*', *PCPhS* n.s. 30 (1980), 12–66, M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti: the Athenian Agora xxi* (Princeton, 1976), 'E. Lenaiou' (C. Charitonidis) *ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ* (Thessaloniki, 1935), L. Robert, *Noms Indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1963), W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1935), G. P. Shipp, *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary* (Sydney, 1979), L. Threatte, *A Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (Berlin and New York, 1980–), and J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen, 1916): *Bull. Epigr.* = L. Robert and J. Robert, *Bulletin Epigraphique* (cited by item and year number in *REG*), *DELG* = + P. Chantraine, [O. Masson, J.-L. Perpillou, J. Taillardat], *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* (Paris, 1968–80), *DIEG* = *Delectus ex iambis et elegis graecis*, ed. M. L. West (Oxford, 1980), *FGE* = *Further Greek Epigrams*, ed. D. L. Page (Cambridge, 1981), *FMP* = *Fragmenta Mimorum Papyraceorum* (in I. C. Cunningham, *Herodas, Mimambi* [Leipzig, 1987]), *Garland* = *The Greek Anthology: the Garland of Philip*, ed. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (Cambridge, 1968), *HE* = *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, ed. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (Cambridge, 1965), *PGM* = K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (revised by A. Henrichs, Stuttgart, 1973), *PMG* = *Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1960), *SB* = *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten* (Berlin, 1915–), *SH* = *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones et P. J. Parsons (Berlin, 1983), *TGrF* = *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, various editors (Göttingen, 1971–).

[2] Why such a common word took on its sexual meaning and became a quasi-obscenity in sexual contexts is problematic. See below, pp. 63f.

Table 1. *Distribution patterns of selected words fairly common in Old Comedy*

	Other literature	Technical	Non-literary
κύσθος	iambi, mime[3]	none	defixiones[4]
πέος	epigram (1)[5]	none	vase inscriptions[6]
πέρδομαι	epigram, prose?[7]	1 (*Cyranides*)[8]	inscriptions[9]
πρωκτός	iambi,[10] Artemidorus[11]	late[12]	magic, graffiti[13]
στύω	4[14]	none	magic, vase inscriptions[15]
χέζειν	Babrius, prose[16]	2[17]	inscriptions[18]
ψωλή/ψωλ-	mime[19]	2 (late)[20]	several[21]

[3] It is not absolutely certain that Hipponax used the word (Hipp. fr. 174 West is a quotation from Tzetzes mentioning a series of words for the female organ including κύσθος: it ends καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ὁ Σώφρων καὶ ὁ Ἱππῶναξ καὶ ἕτεροι λέγουσι). The mime example occurs in the 'adulteress mime' (*FMP* 7.15: see below p. 55).

[4] Wünsch 77b15. For modern Greek dialect reflexes of κύσθος see Shipp 576 (compare also 'Lenaiou', 24).

[5] Antipater of Thessalonica, *Garland*, 631. Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 12 has the adjective πεώδης.

[6] For the satyr name Πέων see Schulze 716 and C. Fränkel, *Satyr-und Bakchennamen auf Vasernbildern* (Bonn, 1912), 24f. Wilamowitz rightly objected to the restoration πέος in a bilingual Sicilian dedication to Priapus where the Latin has *penis* (*SEG* 2.533: see *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus: neue homerische Untersuchungen* [Berlin, 1927]), p. 179 n. 1).

[7] 6.2 *FMG* (πορδή occurs several times in this mime). ἀποπέρδομαι is found in a metaphorical use at *Anth. Plan.* 4.15. There are few reflections in prose. Lucian has the adjective πορδαλέος (*Lex.* 10) and Epictetus apparently used the nickname Πόρδων (Arr. *Epict.* 3.22.80).

[8] 2.31.24. Alex. Aphr. Pr. 1.144 contains a reflection of πέρδομαι, the only other medical or quasi-medical example apart from πέρδησις in Hippocrates, *Coan maxims*, 1.100 Erm.: ἀπὸ πάρδης, as the context makes clear, is a corruption of a noun in the nominative case, either ἀποπορδή or ἀποπαρδή (cf. ἀποπάρδαξ): LSJ give παρδή as a variant. The word σιληπορδεῖν used by Posidonius (fr. 253 Edelstein–Kidd) probably has nothing to do with πορδή (see P. Maas, *ZVS* 54 [1927], 156–8 = *Kleine Schriften* [Munich, 1973], pp. 215–18 who points out that the meaning *tamquam oppedens* is 'stilistisch unmöglich').

[9] πέρδε is found in one of the recently published acclamations from Aphrodisi→(C. Roueché, *JRS* 74 [1984], 181–99, 192; see R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 61 [1985], 127–30, 130) and πέρδου on a temple wall in Syria (*Bull. Epigr.* 1939.474 and D. Bain, *ZPE* 63 [1986], 104).

[10] Hipponax 104, 32.

[11] Artemidorus 5.5 (303.8 Pack) and 5.68 (317.16). It has been conjectured twice in mime (6.4 and 6.17 *FMG*) and is found in prose elsewhere, [Lucian], *Asinus* 56 and Aeschines, *epist.* 77.27.

[12] The word is found in Leo Medicus, *CMG* 10.4.71. Either this is a grave stylistic lapse or by his time it had departed from the vernacular and had been revived as a learned term. In view of the presence of πρωκτός in a Byzantine apotropaic inscription (see the following note), the former seems the more likely supposition.

[13] *PGM* 3.15 and the abusive epithets found in graffiti, εὐρύπρωκτος (temple of Rameses II at Abydos – see O. Masson, *CdE* 51 [1976], 305–13) and λακκόπρωκτος (Lang, C 23). πρωκτός is also found in a Byzantine apotropaic inscription (G. Schlumberger, *REG* 5 [1892], 73–93, 79 n. 8).

[14] See Lucian, *Alexander*, 11 and Diogenes, *Epist.* 35.3, 52.31. Phylarchus is cited by LSJ for the adjective στυτικός (81 *FGH* 35b), but we cannot be sure that this is a verbatim quotation on the part of Athenaeus. The plant-name ἀστυτίς is acceptable to composers of materia medica and medical writers. The emendation ἐστυκότα at Longus 4.12.4 is stylistically out of court and in any case does not give the required sense. Strato has ἄστυτος at *AP* 12.1.

[15] *PGM* 7.186. The satyr names Στύων and Στύσιππος are attested on vases (see Fränkel [note 6] and Schulze 716).

[16] Babrius 40.2. χέζω also occurs once in Epigram (*AP* 7.683) and is found no less than six times in the work known as *Philogelos* (on its vulgar character see below p. 55: significantly all but one of the occurrences are in direct speech). Similarly it is found six times in the G life of Aesop (*Vit. Aes.* 28 [the corresponding passage in *Vita W* also has the verb], 32, 67 [4 times]), on each occasion in direct speech. It is also found in a papyrus collection of anecdotes about Diogenes (I. Gallo, *Frammenti biografici da papiri*, ii [Rome, 1980], III.8 5a). Plut. *apophtheg. Lacon.* 232f. is a rare example of its use in a prose narrative, albeit prose of an anecdotal kind.

some no doubt were regarded as more or less offensive than others, but it will become clear that as a whole (*οἴφω* as a dialect word belongs in a somewhat different category) we are dealing with a group of words that show similarities in the environments in which they are found to certain words for body parts such as *πέος*, *ψωλή*, *κύσθος*, and *πρωκτός*, and some other words which are used of bodily functions. Such words are almost entirely absent from the higher prose genres like oratory, philosophy, and history (as well as from romance) and, although they describe entities and activities which are often the concern of doctors, they are scrupulously avoided by literate writers on medicine. Naturally they are also absent from the higher poetic genres. Their literary appearances and those of their reflexes tend to be most prolific in Old Comedy. Elsewhere their appearances are practically restricted to iambic poetry, New Comedy (which with new discoveries has proved to be less inhibited linguistically than was once believed: Dorian comedy is too badly preserved to supply us with very much evidence of their use, but there is an example of *στύω* in an Epicharmus papyrus), and satirical and sub-literary prose. Often they figure in non-literary provenances, in graffiti, curse tablets, and magical texts.

Table 1 illustrates the kind of distributional patterns I have in mind. It comprises seven words that are fairly common (some extremely common) in Old Comedy and sets out their appearances or non-appearances elsewhere in Greek. Allowance should be made for possible omissions of literary occurrences in authors unindexed or inadequately indexed (it is very difficult to establish the non-existence of a Greek word in any genre of literature): I hope to discuss the words in question more fully elsewhere and to consider the alternative ways which authors found to express the objects or activities they denote. It is obvious that certain literary genres would have no accommodation for some or all of the words. For example, there is little place for abusive terms in technical writers (other than perfervid Atticist grammarians) and direct references to crepitation, defecation or erection would be out of place in lyric and would surprise in the less sensational kind of historical prose. The category 'technical' excludes grammarians, lexica, and scholia. It should be noted that I have allowed myself a very wide chronological span, both in the description of the words included in the table and in the discussion of the six verbs of intercourse which follows. With occurrences in the Byzantine vocabulary, it is hard to determine whether a word is still part of the vocabulary or has been revived by the writer on the basis of his own reading. This of course creates great difficulties when one is attempting to assess the tone of a particular word, since a learned revival can never

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[17] In the form of the word for a purgative plaster, *χεζανάγκη* (Aetius 3.135, Paul. Aegin. 7.9).

[18] *SPAW*, 1905, 536 = *MAMA* iii.214a (a Christian curse from Ephesus against those who defile grave stones). *χέζω* and *καταχέζω* are found in notices warning against defecation on holy ground: see P. Jouguet, *BCH* 20 (1896), 242–50, 246 and P. Perdrizet–G. Lefèbvre, *Memnonion d'Abydos* (Nancy, Paris and Strasbourg, 1919), no. 311.1.6ff.

[19] The fictional river *Ψωλιχόν* is found in mime (6.129 *FMP*). A puzzling semi-literate epigram on an ostracon contains the word *ψωλή* (*FGE* 1688 = *SH* 975): this work must be classified as non- or sub-literary.

[20] Again the uncouth Leo Medicus (*CMG* 4.74). The word is also used in a Greek–Coptic glossary from late antiquity (H.-I. Bell–M. E. Crum, *Aegyptus* 6 [1925], 177–226, no. 165).

[21] There are a good many examples of this: a fifth century graffito from Panticapaeum (*SEG* 3.596); defixiones (Wünsch 77b1.5 bis); an obscene papyrus letter (P. Oxy. 3070); Pompeian graffiti (*CIL* 4.1363, 4142); a magic papyrus (see F. Maltomini, *SCO* 29 [1979], 55–124, line 161). The scribe of P. Lond. 3.604 insults his readers with the marginal comment *ψωλοκοπῶ τὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα* (3.604 B col. 7). Is *ψυλοδέφον* (*Inschriften von Ephesus*, 539 [*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Band 12, Teil 2]) a misspelling of *ψωλοδέφων*? The word survived in the vernacular (see 'Lenaiou', 38f., 66).

stand on the same level as a living taboo word. Occasionally continuity with the modern language can be detected with some plausibility (see notes 4, 21, and 107), but in many instances of alleged survival there remains the possibility of revival, given the problem of the language question in modern Greece.

Very similar patterns will be found in the distribution of the verbs discussed below.

i βινῶ (βενῶ)

A word of uncertain etymology,[22] *βινῶ* was apparently in use as the primary vulgar term for sexual congress throughout antiquity. It has disappeared from the living language and survives only as a learned word in the katharevusa: the dictionaries of E. A. Sophocles and of the Academy use it to gloss *γαμῶ* which is now itself a coarse word, having shifted in meaning from 'marry' to 'have intercourse with'.[23] In his article on Byzantine obscenity and euphemism, P. E. Koukoule makes frequent use of *βινῶ* and of the coinage *βινητικός*.[24] On the other hand, the desiderative *βινητιῶ* has some reflexes in modern Greek dialects (cf. below p. 61).

Apart from two or three puzzling occurrences in unexpected contexts, the distribution of *βινῶ* and its derivatives strongly suggests that the word was always vulgar and coarse in tone.[25] *βινῶ* is very rare in prose, occurring only in lower genres which have affinities with comedy.[26] We find *βινῶ* in company with the obscenity

[22] See *DELG*. The most popular etymon has been *βία* (Schwyzer i.300), not unreasonably given the nature of the verb (see below, p. 59), but it has not been convincingly established. Attempts to find a correspondence in other indo-european languages lack conviction (see J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Berne, 1959–69], p. 470); the most recently proposed etymology, *βι-* = 'vivre' (A. J. van Windekens, *Dictionnaire étymologique complémentaire de la langue grecque* [Louvain and Paris, 1986], p. 43) is most implausible. The existence of the form *βενῶ* (only attested in inscriptions) complicates matters. The quality of the vowel represented by its *ε* is uncertain, as is its relationship to *βινῶ*. Schwyzer postulates an intermediary form **βῑνῶ* (i.181 n. 2) while Threatte (138) suggests that the Attic form may at one time have been *βεινῶ*. He guesses that some of the diphthongal spellings found in the papyri of the Roman period (e.g. in the Archilochus papyrus cited below p. 55) may represent the original spelling and not what they have hitherto been taken to exemplify, instances of itacistic error. It should be noted that by the time *κινῶ* began to be used as its synonym, the first syllable of *βινῶ* must have contained a long iota.

[23] Shipp 187f., L. Robert, *RPh* 41 (1967), 7–84, 7 → A. Cameron, *CQ* n.s. 32 (1982), 162–73, 163f. The fact that *βινῶ* occasionally receives a gloss in the medieval scholia to Aristophanes (e.g. Tzetzes on *Frogs* 422 and *Birds* 796), but never in the *scholia uetera*, is significant.

[24] P. E. Koukoule, '*Τὰ οὐ φωνητὰ τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*', *Athena* 56 (1952), 85–124.

[25] Cicero in his famous letter to Paetus (*ad Fam.* ix.22.3) has an allusion to *βινῶ* which clearly indicates its disreputable character in his time (on the passage see Shackleton Bailey ad loc. and *Philologus* 105 [1961], 263–72, 264ff.). Cicero is not referring to the Thracian city whose name Bine or Binai caused some hilarity in antiquity and the middle ages: cf. Tzetzes, *Chil.* 1150ff. who invents a town called *Βινηρία* on the analogy of the noun *πονηρία*.

[26] The status of a corrupt citation in the *Etymologicum Genuinum* *ὑπὸ δὲ ἀστυφίας καὶ πλήθους ἐτῶν βινεῖν εἰργόμενον/εἴργονται* (G. Berger, *Etymologicum Genuinum et Etymologicum Symeonis* β [*Beiträge zur klassiche Philologie*], 45.1972, 65) is uncertain. Some non-occurrences of *βινῶ* and its cognates may also be noted here: *βινητιῶν* was once the vulgate at Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 12, but rather than Seiler's conjecture, we want a word denoting characteristic behaviour such as Bekker's *μίνθων* which is adopted by Macleod; *βινιῶ*, the ghost word lemmatized in Stephanus, is found in a corrupt version of the proverb *οὐδεὶς κομήτης ὅστις οὐ βινητιᾶι* (on which see below p. 62) where *βινητιᾶι* is guaranteed by the metre (the nonce-word *σκοτοβινιῶ* coined by Aristophanes to cap *σκοτοδινιῶ* at Ar. *Ach.* 1221 does not confirm the existence of *βινιῶ*); Herwerden (*Lexicon Graecum Supplementicium et Dialecticum* [Leyden, 1910]) interpreted *βενέσαι* in John Lydus, *de mens.* p. 116, 23 as *βινῆσαι*; it is in fact Latin *uenisse* which John is etymologising from *Venus*; *βινῶ* is not, as Edmonds supposed (misleading A. Kormonicka, *QUCC* 38 [1981], 55–83, 70 and Degani on Hipponax 84 [86]), one of the words glossed in P. Oxy. 1801.16ff.: see W. Luppe, *Philologus* 111 (1967), 86–109, and *CGFPR* 343. *βινεῖ* is probably an intrusive gloss on *κεντεῖ* at Mnesimachus, fr. 4.55 K.–A.

κύσθος in a fragment of mime (see P. Oxy. 413 verso col. ii.107f. = *FMG* 7.3).[27] This is the only known instance of βινῶ being uttered by a woman speaking *in propria persona*.[28] βινητιῶ occurs in an anecdote in one version of the *Life of Aesop* (an alternative version has κινητιῶ (see below p. 63)). The fragmentary 'novel' contained in P. Oxy. 3010,[29] a prosimetric work not strictly comparable to the extant Greek novels in which the language of love is always extremely delicate, provides in one of its verse sections a further instance of βινῶ. The joke-book which goes under the name *Philogelos*[30] proffers an obscure anecdote about a stupid slave having intercourse with his mistress who is in disguise. This ends with the words ὁ δὲ ἐν τῶι παίζειν συν[εισ]ῆλθεν αὐτῆι. καὶ τῶι δεσπότηι συνήθως προσγελῶν εἶπε· κῦρι, κῦρι, τὸν ὀρχηστὴν ἐβίνησα καὶ ἡ κυρὰ ἦν ἔσωθεν (*Philogelos* 251, p. 122 Thierfelder). It is notable that βινῶ should be put into the mouth of a slave. Coarse and ill-educated language is characteristic of the passages of direct speech in this work:[31] the vulgar forms κῦρι and κυρά in this anecdote are an example and, in 45a, ὀχεύω is found used of human intercourse. Finally, Lucian uses both βινητιῶ and βινῶ (*Pseudologistes* 27 and *de parasito* 10). This may be a reflection of his indebtedness to Old Comedy: in the second instance he is speaking of what he is making out to be Epicurean activities in blunt (that is to say Epicurean) language.[32]

It is in Old Comedy, a genre noted for aeschrology, that most literary occurrences of βινῶ are to be found. An exact total is unattainable because of the problem of βιν/κιν-variation which will be discussed below. A conservative estimate which took into account only those instances where the manuscripts unanimously attested a βιν-form would arrive at a figure in the twenties.[33] This, however, would be a misleadingly low figure since there are several places in Aristophanes where it is possible to demonstrate the superiority of a βιν-variant over a κιν-one or where a κιν-form should be emended. Later Greek comic writers continued to use βινῶ. Philetaerus provides two examples (fr. 6.2, fr. 9.4 K.–A.); Xenarchus one (fr. 4.22 K.–A.), and we meet the compound ὑποβινητιῶ in Menander (fr. 397.11). One anonymous fragment of New Comedy gives us unadorned βινῶ (*CGFPR* 254.1) as does another fragment which might well come from Menander's *Epitrepontes* (*CGFPR* 138.8).[34] Machon, an author who to all intents and purposes can be classified among the poets of New Comedy, provides an instance of βινητιῶ (455 Gow).

Iambography, the genre of which Old Comedy was regarded the heir, contains two or three examples of βινῶ (Archilochus, fr. 152.2 [tetrameter] – the first occurrence in Greek – Hipponax fr. 84.16 = 86 Degani, and possibly fr. adesp. iamb. 37). Elsewhere in verse, occurrences are rare. We have already noted the example in a Sotadean

[27] This is from the 'adulteress' mime. The relevant part is absent from *GLP*.

[28] See Bain, *LCM* 6 (1981), 43–4 (at 43), where it is pointed out that women do use βινητιῶ.

[29] On this work see P. J. Parsons, *BICS* 18 (1971), 53–68. The metre of the relevant passage is Sotadean, well known as a vehicle for salacious writing. There are no examples of linguistic obscenity in our two extant fragments of Sotades.

[30] Edited by A. Thierfelder, Munich, 1953.

[31] Compare note 16 and see Thierfelder, op. cit., p. 195 n. 13.

[32] On this see Jocelyn 27. The second passage exploits terminology and doctrine which emanate from the Cyrenaeans, but it is clear that Lucian wishes to associate the views he is caricaturing with Epicurus: see H.-G. Nesselrath, *Lukians Parasitendialog* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 306f.

[33] The occurrences where no variation is found are *CGFPR* 76.10 (perhaps Cratinus' *Dionysalexandrus* – see E. W. Handley, *BICS* 29 [1982], 109–17), Eupolis, fr. 385 K.–A., Ar. *Ach.* 1221, *Kn.* 1242, *Birds*, 560, 796, *Lys.* 715, 934, 1092, 1180, *Thesm.* 35, 50, 1206, 1225, *Frogs*, 427, 429, 740, *Eccl.* 228, 525, 706, 1090, 1099, Plato, fr. 188.21 K.–A.

[34] See the first volume of W. G. Arnott's Loeb edition of Menander, pp. 525ff. and the appendix to Sandbach's revised Oxford text of Menander (1990, p. 343).

passage of a prosimetric novel. The writers of Epigram, while often exploiting risqué material, unlike their Latin counterparts,[35] did not indulge in linguistic obscenity to any significant extent. In the Palatine Anthology[36] there are just six examples of βινῶ (Philodemus, *Garland*, 3315, 3317, Cillacter (?Callicter), *AP* 5.239. 1 = *FGE* pp. 114f. Strato, *AP* 12.245. 1, [Meleager], *AP* 11.223, 1–2 for which last see below p. 60). In each instance the choice of word seems to have been motivated either by a desire to provoke or else to characterize plain speaking. The first two poems have as their theme the connexion between sex and commerce. In Strato's poem, the poet, a strong advocate of pederasty, uses βινῶ in a specialized sense, to denote intercourse with women rather than boys.

One would not gather from LSJ how extensively βινῶ and its derivatives are attested in non-literary contexts. βινῶ is found in a number of 'graffiti'[37] similar in character and expression to the many Pompeian or Ostian graffiti containing the word *futuo*. Indeed a couple of Pompeian graffiti actually employ βινῶ: *MOYOAIOΣ* (*sic*) *ENΘAΔE BINEI* (*CIL* iv.2216), *ΣYNEPΩΣ KAΛΩΣ BINEIΣ* (*CIL* iv.2253: cf. *Felix bene futuis CIL* iv.2176 and also 2219, 2274, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2260). These can be paralleled in the finds of fragments of archaic and early classical vases from the Athenian agora or the acropolis which contain names coupled with forms of βενῶ:]ος βεν[(Lang, C 2),]ος βενεται (B. Graef–E. Langlotz. *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* II [Berlin, 1933], no. 256 = *ARV*² ch. 25.87), ιον εβε[, and]εβενετ[(Lang, C 14).

There is a jocular graffito on an Olbian scyphos of the fifth century B.C.[38] which runs ὃς ἐθέλει βενεῖν δέκ' ἄρδις καταβαλὼν/πυγιζέτω, a further attestation of the form βενῶ.

βινῶ is used with aggressive intent in a hellenistic wall-graffito incised on a pillar in Karnak. As in the previous example it is coupled with, but not opposed to, πυγίζω:[39] *Πτολεμαῖος βινοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ῥύμῃ | Πτολεμαῖος Ἀβδαίου ἐπυγίζοσαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ῥύμῃ* ...[40] Here the name in the nominative case constitutes a kind of rubric. Comparable in Latin is *CIL* iv.23196b VIISBINVS CINIIDVS VTALIO PIIDICAVIT.[41] An apparently commendatory use of βινῶ is to be found in a proclamation on an undated terracotta disk from Priene (*Inschr. Priene* 317): φιλῶ γυνέκα βινομένη (i.e. βινουμένην) καλῶς/φιλῶ γυνέκα ἄκρα κελητίζοσας/φιλῶ γυνέκα εἰς τὰ γωνάτια[42] εὐείσχι (i.e. εὐίσχιον). A Phrygian grave-inscription of the third century A.D. exploits the famous advice of Sardanapallus[43] using βινῶ as the

[35] See Adams 219f. on Catullus and Martial and compare Wilamowitz (note 6): 'Grobianismus ist der griechischen Literatur fremd. Der Gegensatz zu dem, was römische Ohren vertrugen ist gewältig', a generalization which requires some modification.

[36] See Jocelyn 55 n. 168.

[37] I use the word in its non-technical sense.

[38] See V. G. Vinogradov, *VDI* 1969.3, 142–50, 147, 147 n. 55. I have not been able to trace the publication where this inscription first appeared (see Vinogradov 147 n. 54).

[39] On aggressive (non-literal), πυγίζω see below p. 69.

[40] *SB* 6840 A 1. It was first published by N. Aimé-Ghiron, *Annales du Services d'Antiquités de l'Egypte* 23 (1923), 139–42.

[41] For this kind of nominative compare W. Havers, *IF* 43 (1926), 207–57, 236 and V. Langholf, *Syntaktische Untersuchungen zu Hippokrates Texten* (Mainz, 1977), pp. 54f.: it is very common in Hippocrates' *Epidemiae*.

[42] A full discussion of this particular expression and of the disk in general was twice promised by Louis Robert (*l'Epigramme Grecque, Entr. Fond. Hardt*, 14, 1967, 253 n. 1 and *CRAI* 1974, 508–29, 527 n. 81 = *Opera Minora Selecta* v. 694 n. 81).

[43] On the Sardanapallus epigram, see B. Niese, *de Sardanapalli epitaphio* (Breslauer Program, Somersemester, 1880), B. Blier, *Philologus* 63 (1904), 54–65, F. Dornseiff, *Hermes* 64 (1929), 270–1, W. Jaeger, *Aristotle: Fundamentals of the History of his Development* (Oxford, 1934),

word for love-making: λοῦσαι, πίε, φαγέ, βείνησον 'as you get none of these where I am' (*CIG* 3846f, Le Bas-Waddington 977).

βινῶ occurs several times in magical papyri and lead tablets from late imperial Egypt. We find examples in rubrics to magical prescriptions. πολλὰ βει[ν]εῖν: 'pound fifty pine cones along with two ladles of sweet wine and some pepper seeds and then drink' (*PGM* vii.183ff. = ps. Democritus 68 Diels–Kranz, p. 300.19). πρὸς πολλὰ[44] βεινῖν· σελίνου καὶ εὐζώμου σπ[έρ]μα πρόπιε (P. Yale 135).[45] βινῶ is also to be found in the standardized formula of the love charm in which the lover seeks that the woman he loves should have intercourse with no other man. These will be cited below in the discussion of specialized uses of βινῶ.[46]

Three attestations, however, cause surprise and do not fit into the pattern of distribution suggested by the examples so far cited. They all come from legal or quasi-legal sources. Hesychius' entry under βεινεῖν (β 466) appears to state that Solon used the word of violent intercourse in contrast to intercourse within marriage for which he used the word ὀπυίειν. This is ostensibly a quotation from Solon's *Axones* (F27 = F52b Ruschenbusch) of which there are several in Hesychius, not all of them cited by title as well as author. It is established that Solon used ὀπυίειν in his marriage legislation. (In this Hesychian entry the meaning of the verb is misunderstood just as it is in Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, 20.[47]) It is not, however, altogether easy to believe that he used a word like βινῶ when its equivalent βενῶ was the kind of word his fellow citizens were scratching on broken pots along with the names of the boys they loved (the first of the agora graffiti referred to above belongs to the period of Solon's legislation). Accordingly, it has been suggested that he did use the word, not in his *Axones*, but in an iambus.[48] Unless, however, the word φορτικώτερον, applied in Plutarch's *Life* to one aspect of Solon's verse is pressed very hard,[49] there is no evidence to indicate that Solon wrote iambi in the manner of Archilochus and Hipponax. He did indeed write epodes and included erotic topics in his elegiac poetry (note the pederastic fr. 25), but βινῶ is not the sort of word that would occur in either of these genres.

One might, then, at first glance be inclined to discount the testimony of Hesychius,[50] dismissing it as a misunderstanding.[51] There is, however, an apparent (if

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p. 252, L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965), 184ff., A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, i (Oxford, 1980), pp. 193f., and W. Ameling, *ZPE* 60 (1985), 35–43 (especially 39).

[44] πρὸς πολλά = πολλά (see LSJ s.v. πολλά C iii.8): cf. *Cyranides* 1.4.42.

[45] First edited (as P. Yale inv. 1206 col. vi.) by G. M. Parássoglou, *Hellenika* 27 (1974), 251–3.

[46] See below, p. 59.

[47] On this verb see G. P. Edwards, 'Meaning and Aspect in the Verb 'ΟΠΥΙΩ'', *Minos* 20–2 (= *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek presented to John Chadwick*), 1987, 173–81.

[48] See J. Henderson, *LCM* 5 (1980), 143.

[49] τὸ δ' οὖν εὐδάπανον τῶι Σόλωνι καὶ ὑγρὸν πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν, καὶ τὸ φορτικώτερον ἢ φιλοσοφώτερον ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν, τὸν ἐμπορικὸν οἴονται βίον προστετρῖφθαι (Plut. *vit. Sol.* 3).

[50] As does Henderson in his note on Ar. *Lys.* 715.

[51] One might, for example, hazard the guess that βινῶ was put in the mouth of Solon appearing as a character in comedy or that, in a comic discussion of Solon's marriage legislation, someone used the word. For misunderstandings of a similar kind see Ruschenbusch's edition of Solon's legislation, p. 56. It is worth noting that Bentley in his 'Epistles of Phalaris' (*Works*, ii [1836], 6) accepted the authenticity of the report and defended βινεῖν = βιάζεσθαι as an archaism, referring to Lysias 10.16–17, the locus classicus for the discussion of obsolete Athenian legal terminology.

not quite certain) further occurrence of the verb, or rather its equivalent, in a legal context.[52] βενῶ is to be seen on a bronze plaque[53] from Olympia which contains instructions regarding the conduct of visitors to the temple precinct. The date of this document is not established for certain, but there is no doubt that it was produced sometime after 500 B.C. After a defective opening, the inscription runs αι δε βενεοι εν τιαροι, βοι κεν θοαδοι και κοθαρσι τελειαι και τον θεαρον εν ταυτη: 'if (he) were to have intercourse in the temple precinct, he would pay with an ox and a complete purification and ? the visitor in the same (way)...'. The letters εβενεοι have been interpreted in other ways. Some have seen in them a misspelling of ενεβεοι or ενεβοι[54] (with ενεβειν = ἐνηβᾶν and meaning 'to sport/enjoy oneself in'[55]), presumably a euphemism for the sexual act, since mere enjoyment is unlikely to be the object of fines or to require purification.[56] These two legal occurrences of a verb elsewhere used for vulgar effect and in unrespectable contexts would seem to protect each other, but they stand out as being extraordinarily at variance with the normal reticence which Greek legal language employs when making reference to sexual and physical matters.[57] A kind of parallel is provided by the distribution of οἴφω, which is used and reflected in erotic graffiti from various Aegean islands and is also to be found in the law-code of Gortyn (see below, p. 72). If indeed βενῶ or βινῶ was to be seen on a public notice-board in Athens in 594 B.C., it makes us pause and consider how we are to regard its use some sixty years earlier by Archilochus. It is questionable whether it should make us revise our opinion of its tone and ambience from the period of Aristophanes onwards.

There is a further, quasi-legal, occurrence of βινῶ emanating from Ptolemaic Egypt. At first glance one is tempted to regard it as jocular. It is found in the rule book of one of the many local, semi-religious guilds or clubs that functioned in Egypt during that period.[58] Several such books, written either in Greek or demotic or both, survive on papyrus and are datable to the period between 223 and 137–6 B.C. The one in question contains in its Greek version the assessment of the fine to be paid when a member βινεῖ another man's wife (*SB* 6319.45).[59] Oddly the sum demanded is less than the penalty imposed for verbal abuse. It may be that the use of this particular verb is a reflexion of the low level of education of the club members.

[52] Compare H. D. Jocelyn, *LCM* 6 (1981), 45–6 and D. M. Bain, ibid. 43–4.

[53] Entered in the LSJ supplement as Inscr. Olymp. VII, it appears in many of the standard epigraphical and dialectal collections (for references see Bain and Jocelyn cited in the previous note): the most convenient access to the text is plate 42 no. 5 in Jeffery.

[54] → D. Comparetti, *JHS* 2 (1881), 365–79, 374 and Blass in *SGDI* 1156.

[55] For ἠβᾶν see L. Weber, *Anacreontea*, 97f.

[56] For the sexual nuance of ἠβᾶν cf. Anacreon 374.3, the scolion 902 PMG, and other passages adduced by Weber.

[57] Note, for example, the euphemisms in the Delphic decree in Salviat-Vatin, *Inscriptions de Grèce centrale* (Paris, 1971), pp. 63ff. where the sexual offender is referred to as ὁ αἰσχύνας (cf. R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Greek Religion* [Oxford, 1983], p. 95 n. 84) and his victim as ὁ παθών. The journal's referee, however, rightly raises the possibility that βενέω may have been an inoffensive word in the dialect of Elis, noting that 'what is obscene in one region may be polite in another'. This calls into question the relevance of the document from Elis to the problem of the supposed occurrence of βινῶ in Solon's axones. It may be that βινῶ/βενῶ was offensive only in Ionic and Attic territory.

[58] On this sort of documen → : C. H. Roberts, T. C. Skeat and A. D. Nock, 'The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos', *HTR* 29 (1936), 39–87 ≙ A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1972), i.436ff.

[59] A more reticent version is to be found in P. Michigan 243.8ff.: ἐάν τις τὸν ἕτερον ὑπονομεύσηι ἢ οἰκοφθορήσηι.

As regards usage, it is clear that βινῶ is at all periods a comprehensive term for intercourse. It is often applied to homosexual intercourse (e.g. Ar. *Kn.* 1242, *Lys.* 1092, *Thesm.* 35, 50 – in these last two sodomy is implied – and the Karnak graffito mentioned above). The Athenian graffiti on sherds are most probably homosexual in character. βινῶ is frequently used absolutely (*CGFPR* 76.10, Ar. *Lys.* 934 [the locus classicus], 1180, *Frogs* 740).

It has often been said that βινῶ connotes forced or violent intercourse.[60] This is mistaken, as is the notion that its use is confined to illicit or extra-marital sex. Ar. *Lys.* 934, where Cinesias in the company of his teasing wife desperately cries βινεῖν βούλομαι, is sufficient to refute these assertions.[61] βινῶ is the basic word for intercourse, the uox propria, and as such is in some contexts capable of indicating aggression or evoking shock, without necessarily having these connotations every time it is deployed.

In certain contexts, βινῶ takes on a specialized meaning. This happens when it is opposed to other verbs which denote specialized, deviant forms of intercourse. In the pederastic epigram *AP* 12.245, Strato, in making the point that boys are preferable to women as sexual partners, opposes βινῶ to πυγίζω using it to refer to 'orthodox' heterosexual intercourse. Heterosexuals are no better than the beasts who only know βινεῖν: we, οἱ λογικοί, have invented πυγίζειν and are thus superior to the beasts. Similarly in a graffito from Stabia written in the first century A.D.,[62] the wish is expressed that a good looking boy who refuses to offer himself πυγίζειν may fail, once he has grown up and fallen in love with a pretty girl, to obtain a βείνημα. This is the first and only occurrence of the *nomen actionis* derived from βινῶ. It is comparable with κίνημα (see below, p. 65) and, perhaps, λήκημα (see below, p. 70).[63]

Specialization in heterosexual contexts is found in the formula that recurs – with various omissions and additions – in love charms from Egypt which belong to the third and fourth centuries A.D.[64] The caster of the spell seeks to bind to himself the woman he loves and ensure that she grants her favours to him alone. Different forms of sexual gratification are specified or hinted at with phrases like 'do anything with a view to pleasing'. Of those charms in which the caster uses more precise language, *PGM* 4.349 (from the great Paris papyrus magic book) has the opposition μὴ βινηθήτω, μὴ πυγηθήτω, like a lead tablet which is most conveniently to be found in *SEG* 26.1717[65] which has μὴ βινηθῆι, μὴ πυγισθῆι. Two other lead tablets, however, employ three specializing verbs, βινῶ, πυγίζω, λαικάζω,[66] a clear reference to the exploitation of the three orifices of the woman. βινῶ, then, is used of vaginal penetration as opposed to anal (πυγίζω) or oral (λαικάζω) intercourse.

On the other hand the word was still capable in later Greek of being used with reference to a variety of sexual acts. The βινητιῶν Πολύφημος found in Lucian (see below p. 61) is a fellator. An epigram of unknown authorship in the Palatine

[60] So, for example, LSJ and Henderson 151 (retracted in *LCM* 5 [1980], 143).

[61] See A. H. Sommerstein, *LCM* 5 (1980), 47.

[62] First published by L. d'Orsi, *PP* 23 (1968), 228–30: → C. P. Jones, *HSCPh* 75 (1971), 81–3, *Bull. Epigr.* 1973.552, and C. Gallavotti, *MCr* 13–14 (1978–9), 363–9.

[63] Compare also πύγισμα, Theocritus 5.43. Another nomen actionis from βινῶ, βῖνος, is almost certainly correctly restored in Plato, fr. 43 K.–A. by Wilamowitz (as βείνου apud Kaibel, Athenaeus, *Deip.* 367c). Kaibel's manuscript note (cited by Kassel and Austin) aptly draws attention to the analogously formed βάδος at Ar. *Birds*, 42.

[64] See D. Wortmann, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968), 56–111, 60, S. Kambitsis, *BIAO* 76 (1976), 212–23, 217–20, and Jocelyn 20f.

[65] Edited by Kambitsis, op. cit.

[66] Misspelled as λεικάζω and as ληκάζω: see below p. 77.

Anthology employs βινῶ with reference to *cunnilinctio*. This is *AP* 11.223, wrongly assigned to Meleager:[67]

εἰ βινεῖ Φαβορῖνος ἀπιστεῖς; μηκέτ' ἀπίστει·
αὐτός μοι βινεῖν εἶπ' ἰδίωι στόματι.

Werner Krenkel, in his article 'Fellatio and Irrumatio',[68] glosses βινεῖν στόματι without further reference with 'give suck'. If he is thinking of this poem, he is mistaken. This epigram belongs to a sequence of epigrams joking about the cunnilingus. The Favorinus in question is none other than the famous rhetorician from Arles, famous for his physiology as well as his eloquence, since he was a hermaphrodite (Souda iv.690.16–26 = T 1 Barigazzi, T 3, T 12 Barigazzi). Despite his physical condition, he was accused of having committed adultery with the wife of a consul (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 1.8 = T 12 Barigazzi: see S. Swain, *ZPE* 79 [1989], 154) and was described by Philostratus as θερμὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά (see also Lucian, *Demonax* 12). The point of this epigram lies in the ambiguity of the second line. This can bear the relatively innocent surface meaning 'he told me with his own mouth that he βινεῖ' as well as the underlying and real meaning 'he told me that he βινεῖ with his mouth'. For βινεῖ στόματι, one may compare *moechus ore Nanneius* (Martial 11.1) and *ore uir es* (id. 3.81.6) and note also *linguam ... fututricem* (Martial 11.61.10) and Σ Ar. *Wasps* 1275 τῶι στόματι αἰσχρουργοῦντα used of Ariphrades, the notorious cunnilingus.[69]

While in many languages, including Greek, it is often the case that sexual terms weaken in their denotative value and take on secondary, transferred, non- or not totally sexual meanings, this does not appear to have happened with βινῶ (the use of βινῶ in the epigram just discussed is admittedly a kind of transfer, but the verb is still firmly situated in a sexual semantic field). There is one place where such a transfer has been detected, but on closer inspection it turns out that, there too, the sexual force of βινῶ is retained. This is Ar. *Thesm.* 1215. Unfortunately the text is corrupt and interpretation is not made any easier by the identity of the speaker, a Scythian archer who speaks pidgin Greek. The line stands thus in the Ravennas:

ὀρτῶς δὲ σὺ βήνη 'στί· καταβηνῆσι γάρ.

Interpretations which posit a metaphorical use of καταβινεῖν here go back to Brunck who was at least correct in restoring the word συβίνη, 'quiver', both here and in 1195 and also in identifying καταβηνησι as a combination of κατα- and βινεῖν. As ὀρτῶς makes clear (cf. Ar. *Kn.* 1083ff.), we are faced with an etymology. With Brunck's interpretation, the Scythian is saying that the quiver has been his undoing (for such a transfer he compares the use of *foutre* in French). The Budé translator who follows Brunck in this – he agrees with his editor in having the archer address his quiver – interprets the text as meaning 'you are rightly called συβίνη, *car tu m'a foutu dedans*'.[70] Whatever one might think of the text printed in the Budé edition,[71] Coulon, the editor, seems to have had a better appreciation of the nuance of the verb than his translator. His apparatus makes it clear that, following Blaydes, he takes the Scythian to be saying that he has lost his quiver by indulging in fornication: 'τῶι βινεῖν *amissa*

[67] The quantity of the *o* in his name and the very mention of Favorinus rule out Meleagrian authorship. In the first line, contrary to Meleager's practice, Naeke's law is flouted. See *HE* ii.593 and the literature cited there.

[68] *WZ Rostock* 29 (1980), 77–88, 78.

[69] Compare Jocelyn 154 n. 160.

[70] He is followed by Henderson 152.

[71] 'Wild' according to Dr Colin Austin to whom I am grateful for correspondence on the textual problems in this line.

es (*amissa est* I would prefer since the object is no longer visible)'. What he means is that the object he has lost, has been lost because he βινεῖd it away (for the force of κατα- compare *Ar. Clouds*, 856f.[72] What the Scythian says is factually correct since, while he was off stage βινῶν, Euripides was able to rescue his captive and depart, taking with him the quiver.

While there exist no true transferred uses of βινῶ, there is no doubt that βινητιῶ did undergo weakening. In Men. fr. 397.11, ὑποβινητιῶντα is applied to food (Shipp translates 'aphrodisiac') and there are reflexes of βινητιῶ in MG dialects where the word is found applied metaphorically to oxen driven mad by the gadfly.[73]

It is questionable whether the middle voice of βινῶ exists. LSJ give the iterative form βινεσκόμην as a middle, but provide no examples of βινῶ itself so used. *DELG* assumes the existence of such a form and Henderson (section 209) finds several examples which he equates with the absolute use of the active. He also interprets the form βινητιῶ as a combination of desiderative ending plus βινεῖν absolute or βινεῖσθαι middle.

LSJ are mistaken about βινεσκόμην.[74] In the context of its single occurrence (Ar. *Kn.* 1242) it can only be a true passive.[75] The sausage-seller brazenly reveals details of his sordid early career. In reply to the question about the trade he pursued in his youth, he admits he was a male (pathic) prostitute.

Henderson's examples[76] of middle βινῶ can all be taken as passives and indeed positively demand to be taken as such. All three have woman as their subject, Ar. *Eccl.* 228, 525, and Philetaerus, fr. 9.4 K.–A. The last of these has the same point as another fragment of Philetaerus (fr. 6). These both deal with persons who expired during intercourse. In fr. 6, where a man is the subject, we have the active, βινοῦνθ', while in fr. 9 where the subject is a woman, βινουμένη. It might be argued that βινοῦμαι used of a woman was analogous to γαμοῦμαι, but it should be remembered that, while the construction γαμοῦμαι τινί is well attested, we never meet βινοῦμαι constructed with a dative.

With only one exception,[77] the desiderative form, βινητιῶ, can be rewritten as βούλομαι βινεῖσθαι, with βινεῖσθαι being understood as a passive. Contrast the way in which Cinesias, a man desiring heterosexual intercourse, expresses his desire: βινεῖν βούλομαι (Ar. *Lys.* 934). Normally the subject of βινητιῶ is a woman or a pathic (this also applies to κινητιῶ: see below p. 63): Lysistrate says of her weak-willed sex βινητιῶμεν (Ar. *Lys.* 715); at Plato com. fr. 188.21 K.–A., the people addressed and referred to in connection with βινητιᾶν are women;[78] in Machon 455 Gow, the speaker is a hetaera addressing a client; in the passage from the *Life of Aesop* cited above (p. 55), the feminine participle is found; the pseudologistes of Lucian who is described as a βινητιῶν Polyphemus (Luc. *Pseud.* 27) is clearly a pathic and in the

[72] Compare also Eubulus, fr. 54.3 with Hunter's note and Carey and Reid on Dem. 54.40. For something similar in Latin compare *aurum effutuisti* said of Julius Caesar (Suet. *Div. Iul.* 51 = *FPL*, p. 92).

[73] See Shipp 149.

[74] For the form see Wackernagel 119: 'ein Kontrast plebeischen Inhalt und vornehmer Form gesucht ist und sicher ein Mustervers aus einem ionischen oder tragischern Dichter vorschwebt'. See also Neil ad loc. and Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 950 to whose examples may be added *TGrF* Adespota, 268.

[75] See Dover 141, 141 n. 8.

[76] I exclude those instances where the verb is κινῶ. See below p. 64.

[77] Apart from the transferred ὑποβινητιῶ mentioned above.

[78] It has often been stated that κινητιᾶν is the reading h[illegible] (B. Baldwin, *AJPh* 102 [1981], 79–80 actually asserts that κινητιᾶν and βινητιᾶν are variants in this place). In fact, the sole witness for the text, the Marcianus of Athenaeus, has βινητιᾶν, as is confirmed by Cobet (*Variae Lectiones*, 208) from autopsy and Sandbach (on Men. *Dysc.* 462) from microfilm.

same chapter his frustrated attempt at fellatio is described. The trimeter proverb *οὐδεὶς κομήτης ὅστις οὐ βινητιᾶι* which exists in differed versions with alternative verbs (*περαίνεται*, *ψηνίζεται*) at the end of the line[79] is completely misunderstood by Henderson (216) who takes it to mean that every noble is a pederast and tries to associate long hair with active homosexuals. Clearly we have a reference to *pueri capillati*.[80] It has been suggested with some plausibility that *βινητιῶ* is habitually passive because of the analogy of those other verbs in *-ιᾶν/ᾶν* which are used of animals in heat:[81] Sandbach on Men. *Dysc.* 462 draws attention to the parallel structure of *μαστιγιᾶν* (contrast, however, *χεζητιᾶν*). The one exceptional use of *βινητιῶ* (or, as is equally likely, *κινητιῶ*) comes in a recently published fragment of New Comedy (possibly Menandrean) where we are presented with *]εινητιᾶν τε καὶ τρυφᾶ⟨ν⟩ λίαν δοκ[* said to or of a young man in love (P. Köln 203 A14).

Some light on the diatheses of *βινῶ* may come from consideration of the chief word for copulation in the animal kingdom, *ὀχεύω*. How this verb is employed can be observed in writers on natural history such as Aristotle.[82] When the male of the species is the subject, *ὀχεύω* is used absolutely.[83] When the female of the species is the subject, the verb form is medio-passive.[84] At Aristot. *GA* 30d7 we meet a syntagm in which the verb is indisputably passive, *ἐάν τε ὑφ' ἑτέρου ὠχευμένη ἦι*. When, however, reference is made to the species, there are two possibilities. Either we meet two forms of the verb, active and passive in combination,[85] or else the medio-passive form on its own.[86] The latter must represent the middle. By analogy one expects that if a middle voice of *βινῶ* existed, it would only occur in statements about the human race in general or when its subject was a *couple* copulating, as in instances of *ὀχεύω* like the following: *ἄν τις διαιρῆι τὰς ὀχευομένας μυίας* (Aristot. *HA* 542a6ff.), *ἐὰν δὲ ὀχευομένας* (lizards) *δύο ἀρσενόθηλυ*[87] *ἀγρεύσηις* (*Cyranides* 2.14.10ff.).

There is one possible example of *βινῶ* so used. This is Ar. fr. 393 K.–A., *κείσεσθον ὥσπερ πηνίω κινουμένω*, a line known from the Souda and Photius' lexicon. In Photius and in one of the manuscripts of the Souda, the participle is transmitted, perhaps correctly, as *βινουμένω*. Two people are being compared to copulating moths. This would not mean that the two people are themselves copulating as Henderson appears to think.[88]

Finally it should be observed that *βινῶ* affords no analogy for a use of *futuo* observed by Adams[89] where, illogically from the point of view of language, a woman is the subject.

[79] See below, p. 67 on *πυγίζω*.

[80] See Dover 142 (wrongly indexed as 138). It is clear that Synesius understood that the proverb referred to a pathic (see below p. 67).

[81] E.g. *καπρῶ*. See Shipp 150 and Bain, *ZPE* 52 (1983), 56.

[82] Cf. also *Geoponica* 1.4.22: *καὶ αἶγες καὶ οἶες ὀχευθεῖσαι, καὶ πάλιν ὀχεύεσθαι βουλόμεναι μακρότερον σημαίνουσι χειμῶνα* (contrast 16.21.8 [Apsyrtus] *οἱ μέλλοντες ὀχεύειν ὄνοι*).

[83] Aristot. *HA* 510a3 (male bird as subject), *HA* 510b4 (bull), 545b3, 13–15 (goats, stallions).

[84] *HA* 500b12 (female elephant), 545b4, 14 (bitch [note *ἐνιαυσία*], mare).

[85] *HA* 540a8f. (wolves, dogs), 545b1f., 3f., 21 (pigs, the dog, the ass).

[86] *GA* 718n17 (snakes), *HA* 491a4f. (mules) *καὶ γεννῶνται*, 541b 20 (crustacea). *HA* 575a30 (of the cow) is anomalous: *ὀχεύει* there must be corrupt (read *ὀχεύεται*?). Phlegon, *Mir.* iv.73–4 appears to use the active absolutely of the species snake.

[87] The dvandva compound (cf. MG *ἀνδρόγυνον* 'man and wife') means 'a couple of lizards, male and female': cf. P. Maas, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 206.

[88] The passage, however, is obscure. See M. Davies–J. Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects* (London, 1986), p. 112. As Dr Davies points out to me *per litt.* '*πηνίω* as normally understood can't and don't copulate'.

[89] Adams 122.

ii κινῶ (προσκινοῦμαι)

For a long time scholars expressed doubt as to the existence of κινῶ as a term of sexual intercourse. There are many places in comedy, our main source for the verb, where the manuscripts offer a choice between forms of κινῶ and forms of βινῶ. Editors consistently preferred the βιν-forms and indeed some went so far as to eliminate κινῶ even when no such manuscript evidence existed,[90] assuming a type of corruption which is very common in early minuscule or, alternatively, positing bowdlerization on the part of scribes. This procedure was attacked by L. Sternbach and, independently, by Headlam and Knox in their commentary on Herodas.[91] Since they wrote, papyrus discoveries have provided incontrovertible support for their stance.

Since beta and kappa are not at all similar in the literary hands of antiquity, an occurrence on papyri of a form of κινῶ used in a sexual context cannot be ascribed to mechanical corruption. Nor is systematic bowdlerization a plausible explanation for its existence.[92] There are two unassailable examples of κιν-forms in sexual contexts in literary papyri. Although the first of these was known to the world by 1911, it was not until Handley annotated Men. *Dysc.* 462 that its relevance was properly spelled out.[93] In the parabasis of Eupolis' *Demes* we meet the word κινητήριον (Eupolis, fr. 99.27 K.–A. = *CGFPR* 92.27) which must mean something like 'knocking-shop'.[94] In Men. *Dysc.* 462, the slave Getas complains that the serving-girls know only one thing, κινητιᾶν, 'the desire for intercourse':[95] the verb is identical in meaning with βινητιᾶν (for which see above, p. 61).

It is not immediately obvious why the Greek verb of motion should have become a comprehensive vulgar term for intercourse. The use in Latin of *moueo* and *agito* is hardly comparable since the first verb is only used in the middle in sexual contexts[96] and the second (like *ago*) is highly specialized in use.[97] It is scarcely plausible to detect, with commentators on Herodas,[98] the 'origin' of the sexual sense of κινεῖν in the phrase used in Herod. 5.2, τἀμά... σκέλεα κινεῖν where the subject is the man and the legs the woman's. Since, as we shall see, κινῶ takes over all the functions of βινῶ, it does not seem likely that it was originally used independently solely to describe the commencement of the sexual act.[99]

[90] This is the practice advocated by A. Nauck, *Mélanges Gréco-Romains* (St Petersburg, 1891), 4.660.

[91] See Headlam and Knox on Herodas 5.2 and L. Sternbach, *Meletemata Graeca* 1 (Vienna, 1886), 60ff. and *WSt* 8 (1886), 231–61, 236f. (cf. also van Leeuwen on Ar. *Clouds* 1102).

[92] Cf. L. D. Reynolds–N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: a Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*[2] (Oxford, 1974), p. 210.

[93] G. Pascucci (*A&R* 4 [1959], 102–5) surprisingly does not mention it in his article dealing with the problem. Neither this passage nor the one in *Dysc.* is mentioned by B. Baldwin (see note 78), 79f.

[94] So Page in *GLP*.

[95] A second, possibly Menandrean, example of this verb may occur in the recently published papyrus mentioned above (p. 62): we cannot know whether βινητιᾶν or κινητιᾶν was intended.

[96] See Adams 195. The journal's referee draws my attention to the occurrence of the word 'shove' used of the sexual act in the mid-Victorian pornographic sexual autobiography *My Secret Life* (for which see Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians: a Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth Century England* [London, 1966], pp. 82ff.).

[97] See Adams 194.

[98] So Headlam and Knox ad loc. They are followed by Cunningham.

[99] The distinction suggested by Pascucci whereby κινῶ denotes the act of beginning intercourse while βινῶ describes the completed act (see the article quoted in note 93 and *Studi in onore di Vittorio di Falco* [Naples, 1970], pp. 211f.) is unjustified. It is probably an accident that no aorist or perfective forms of κινῶ used sexually are attested.

The prime motivation for the use of κινῶ as a verb denoting intercourse was most likely its acoustic quality. Since it sounded very like the vulgar and offensive βινῶ,[100] humorous exploitation of this potentiality for suggestion will have led to its acquisition of sexual connotations. If this assumption is correct, there are important consequences for the interpretation of the phonology of βινῶ. It has already been stated that the problem under discussion is complicated by the existence of βενῶ. If κινῶ was used with sexual connotations primarily because it sounded like βινῶ, we can assert that, whatever the original quality of the vowel or diphthong in the first syllable of βινῶ, by the time of Aristophanes that syllable contained a long iota. If Threatte is correct (see above p. 54 n. 22) in postulating an original *βεινῶ, we must assume that a change in the quality of the vowel had taken place before the second half of the fifth century B.C.

It cannot be correct to state, as Henderson (151) does, that 'since there is no difference between the two in actual use, we may treat them as equivalent terms' (he goes on to cite under βινῶ passages where the manuscripts only transmit κιν-forms or where there is variation in the tradition). While it is true that there is no difference between the verbs in *meaning*, it does not follow that they are 'equivalent terms'. There must be *some* difference between an outright vulgar word which has virtually no secondary connotations and lacks a transparent metaphorical origin, and a word which is extremely common in contexts without a sexual reference and which is used because it suggests the other word. The tone of the two words cannot be identical. This need not mean that κινῶ used in its sexual sense was completely inoffensive: the link with the basic word which it suggested was bound to make it so.

The evidence strongly suggests[101] that sexual κινῶ originated in Attica. Most of its attestations are from Athenian comedy.[102] Of instances where the manuscripts offer no variant βιν-forms, we can quote Ar. *Clouds*, 1102 where ὦ κινούμενοι (which is passive – see above, p. 61) corresponds to εὐρυπρώκτοις (1098), *Clouds*, 1371, Eupolis, fr. 247.3 K.–A., Ar. *Peace*, 341, 869a, Eupolis, fr. 99.27 K.–A. (κινητήριον), 104.2 K.–A., Ar. *Lys.* 1166, *Frogs*, 148, *Eccl.* 468, 470. There are no certain occurrences before Old Comedy. In Archilochus fr. 36 the manuscript's ἐκινήθησαν is most likely a corruption of ἐκλίνθησαν.[103] An anonymous iambic fragment (adesp. iamb. 37) which runs παχυσχελὴς ἀλετρὶς πρὸς μύλῃι[104] κινουμένη might well have a sexual reference, but we know nothing of its date and provenance and it is always possible that βινουμένη was what the poet intended. It has been suggested that Semonides of Amorgus used κινεῖται μόγις of the ape-woman (Sem. 7.75) to describe her 'poor performance on the couch', but this interpretation is disputable.[105]

Although most of the examples of sexual κινῶ are to be found in comedy – Men.

[100] The other verb capable of suggesting βινῶ, δινῶ (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 1221) was probably too restricted in use to take over its functions. L. R. Palmer's attempt (*Minos* 5 [1957], 58–92, 62) to make an etymological connection between this verb and βινῶ has not found acceptance.

[101] The appearance of the echt-Attic ἐς κόρακας in Archilochus, fr. 196A 31 *DIEG* suggests, however, that caution is needed when making statements of this kind.

[102] It is extremely unlikely that κινῶ has any sexual connotations in Hermippus, fr. 14 K.–A. There is one occasion where the manuscripts of Aristophanes offer us a choice between βινῶ and κινῶ when neither seems satisfactory: at Ar. *Kn.* 364, I would follow J. Jackson, *Marginalia Scaenica* (Oxford, 1955), p. 107, E. Degani, *MCr* 5–7 (1970–2), 228–9, and Sommerstein, in his edition, in reading βυνήσω rather than κινήσω or βινήσω.

[103] Toup's conjecture, accepted by West.

[104] The credit for this emendation should go to Sternbach.

[105] See H. D. Jocelyn, *LCM* 8 (1983), 48 and the arguments to the contrary advanced by Bain, ibid. 93–4.

Dysc. 462 quoted above provides an instance of a reflex from New Comedy – it is clear that the word still figured in the sexual vocabulary of later Greek.[106] There are two occurrences in Epigram (*AP* 11.202.4 and 11.7.2) and the word is also used in a dream interpretation offered by Artemidorus (1.50, p. 56, lines 14–18 Pack). Dreaming of a woman changing into a man is good for a prostitute (but bad for a slave girl) because ἡ δὲ οὐ παύσεται κινουμένη. One version of an anecdote in the *Life of Aesop* has κινητιᾶν where another version has βινητιῶσα (*G. Vit. Aesop. 32* ≙ *Vit. Aesop.* W 15).

There are no non-literary examples of κινῶ used in its sexual sense, but κίνημα, a MG reflex attested from Thera and meaning 'Schandtat',[107] suggests that the word survived in the spoken language.

The problem for editors faced with βιν–κιν variants is a difficult one and no criterion which would hold good for all instances can be arrived at. Since not every play of Aristophanes is as yet equipped with an adequate modern critical edition, assembling the evidence is also difficult. It should also be borne in mind that the quality of witness varies greatly from play to play in Aristophanes and that, consequently, not all that much weight should be attached to an attestation of one form without variant in those plays with a meagre tradition. In *Eccl.*, for example, we have two attestations without variant of κινῶ, but in that play we have no Venetus to set beside the Ravennas.

It would seem that κινῶ has taken over all the functions of βινῶ. Like βινῶ, it is used absolutely. This is in conflict with the non-sexual use of the verb. To 'move (oneself)' in classical Greek is expressed by κινεῖσθαι, not κινεῖν. So complete, however, is the assimilation of the two verbs that we meet at least two examples of active κινῶ used absolutely of the sexual act. These are Ar. *Peace*, 341, 869a. On each occasion, without comment, Platnauer prints forms of βινῶ, but the fact that in both they stand in an alliterative coupling with καθεύδω surely renders them invulnerable to emendation. At Ar. *Ach.* 1052 where κινοίη and βινοίη are variants, it might be thought that κινοίη should be preferred because it produces the paradoxical juxtaposition, κινοίη μένων.

In some places the surrounding context or some other internal factor helps determine the choice between variants or, in cases where only the one form is attested, protects it from emendation. At Ar. *Lys.* 1166 which occurs during the scene where the Spartans and Athenians engage in peace negotiations, there can be no doubt about the reading. Lysistrate tells the Athenians to hand back Pylos to the Spartans. The Athenian negotiator objects κἆιτα τίνα κινήσομεν;. The need here for a double meaning supports κινήσομεν. Throughout this scene each item in the negotiations is spoken of in terms which have both an innocent surface meaning and an underlying, sexual one.[108] Here the verb expresses a surface meaning such as 'what place shall we tamper with'[109] or 'cause trouble to'.[110]

Likewise at Ar. *Lys.* 852, there can be no doubt that the character introduced is

[106] Merkelbach (ap. M. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of Greek Combat Sports*[2] [Frankfurt am Main, 1988], pp. 102, 104ff.) conjectures κινοῦ or κίνησον for κοίμισον at [Luc.] *Asinus*, 10.

[107] See M. Andreotis, *Lexicon der archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten* (Vienna, 1974) quoted by Shipp 152.

[108] See K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (London, 1972), p. 161 and Henderson on Ar. *Lys.* 1159.

[109] Cf. Dem. 56.16 τὴν μὲν συγγραφὴν μὴ κινεῖν.

[110] Cf. τὴν πατρίδα κινεῖν in a decree ap. Plut. *Mor.* 851f.

called Cinesias since his is a real Athenian name.[111] Nor is there any difficulty with Ar. *Eccl.* 980 where, in one branch of the tradition, we are presented with a clear-cut example of a $\beta > \kappa$ corruption. One speaker explains his arrival by saying that he has come looking for *'Αναφλύστιον... τιν' ἄνθρωπον*. When asked for the man's name, he replies, according to the manuscripts *οὐ τόν σε βινοῦνθ'* (or *κινοῦνθ'*) *ὃν σὺ προσδοκᾷς ἴσως*.[112] Bentley saw that the true reading was the proper name *Σεβῖνον*: Aristophanes is repeating a joke he made thirteen years earlier in *Frogs* 1427.[113] On the other hand, a case like Ar. *Kn.* 877ff. where twice we are confronted by *κινουμένους* and *βινουμένους* as variants[114] does not lend itself to certain decision. There is no secure criterion available to the editor who, in this instance, can do little more than weigh manuscripts.[115]

The compound *προσκινοῦμαι* is not a synonym of *βινῶ*.[116] It is, rather, a technical term referring to an aspect of intercourse. Two passages from comedy illustrate this clearly. In the oath-taking scene in Aristophanes' *Lysistrate*, one of the promises Calonice makes when speaking on behalf of the conspirators is *κακῶς παρέξω κοὐχὶ προσκινήσομαι* (Ar. *Lys.* 227f.). Since what preceded this was the question *ἐὰν δέ μ' ἄκουσαν βιάζεται βίαι;*, *προσκινοῦμαι* cannot be intended simply as a passive of *βινῶ/κινῶ*. It is one of a series of descriptions of the particular favours the wives will deny their husbands[117] and must be referred to the responsive movements of the woman during intercourse. The word could also be used of the man, as the second passage (Xenarchus, fr. 4.20ff. K.–A.) shows:

> *ἃς πῶς ποτ', ὦ δέσποινα ποντία Κύπρι,*
> *βινεῖν δύνανται, τῶν Δρακοντείων νόμων*
> *ὁπόταν ἀναμνησθῶσι προσκινούμενοι;*

It is obviously quite mistaken here to treat *βινεῖν* and *προσκινούμενοι* as synonymous. The verb is also found at Ar. *Peace* 902.

The expression *προσκινῶν σέλινα* found at Pherecrates, fr. 138.3 K.–A is very difficult to explain. The other flower and plant-names that are coupled with participles in this fragment are mostly to be regarded as internal accusatives. It is

[111] The demotic which precedes, *Παιονίδης*, makes it clear that the name Cinesias has been chosen because of its sexual connotations. Wilamowitz is strangely imperceptive here. It is not Aristophanes' affection for the smaller demes that determines the choice of demotic: it is the link with the verb *παίω*, for which see Henderson 171. Compare D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 335, 335 n. 55.

[112] *βινοῦνθ'* R*Λ*: *κινοῦνθ'* *Γ*.

[113] While it is obvious that Sebinus Anaphlystius is a comic creation (a Sebinus is also found in Plato com. [fr. 125 K.–A.]) rather than the product of two extremely innocent Athenian parents, I do not think that Ussher ad loc. is justified in assuming that *Σεβῖνος* is a name *invented* by Aristophanes. (He is certainly mistaken in adducing as a kind of hypothetical parallel for the assumption he rejects names and nicknames like Posthalion which are formed from words for intimate body-parts. These are common in, but not exclusive to Asia Minor in the imperial period: see Robert 17f. and S. M. Sherwin-White, *ZPE* 47 [1982], 551–70, 62f; and for MG parallels, C. Höeg, *Les Saracatsans: Un Tribu Nomade Grecque*, i [Paris, Copenhagen, 1925], p. 282 who draws attention to *putsará* and even *putsarina* being formed from *putsa*. Such names are obviously affectionate which would hardly be the case with Sebinus). Sebinus, if it ever existed as a real name, would have been formed from *σέβω* (cf. Charinus and Philinus).

[114] According to Coulon's apparatus, in 877 we have *κινουμένους* in V (*in ras.*) $R^2VM^2\Gamma^1$, *βινουμένους* in $R^1A\Gamma^2$Souda and in 879 *κινουμένους* in $RM^2\Gamma^1$, *βινουμένους* in $VAM^1\Gamma^2$.

[115] For a discussion of the variants in Ar. fr. 393 K.–A., see above p. 62.

[116] See Henderson 151: he is followed by Baldwin (cited in note 78).

[117] Including the 'lioness on a cheese-grater' posture which formed the subject of P. Jacobsthal's famous article in *Athen. Mitt.* 57 (1932), 1–7.

surely mistaken to take προσκινῶν as the equivalent of βινῶν and σέλινα as the female pudenda and direct object of the participle (so Henderson 151).[118] Hermann's conjecture προσκυνῶν would make good sense if we allow προσκυνῶ to be the equivalent of κυνῶ, a meaning not yet attested in Pherecrates' time. It is hard, however, to account for the expression 'his obeisance is celery' which results if we give προσκυνῶν the meaning that would be expected in the fifth century B.C.

iii πυγίζω

πυγίζω is the commonest verb denoting anal intercourse in Greek. Although undoubtedly a coarse expression, it was perhaps less blatantly offensive than βινῶ, except to those, like Synesius quoted below, whose horror at the act coloured their view of the word describing it. There is nothing inherently obscene about the word from which it derives, πυγή, an anatomical term which was not thought too low to be used occasionally (along with some of its derivatives) in prose when mention was made of the buttocks.[119] One derivative, however, καταπύγων, is confined to genres which admit aeschrology.[120] πυγή itself is disdained by the higher poetic genres. It is avoided by Homer who uses instead γλουτοί,[121] while Hesiod (*WD* 373) is prepared to admit it only in the compound πυγοστόλος. Perhaps popular terms for the posterior always have comic potential and are *per se* undignified. The city of Pygela near Ephesus allegedly had its name changed to Phygela by its embarrassed citizens.[122]

The distribution of πυγίζω is on the surface similar to that of βινῶ and other low words, but displays some differences and unexplained peculiarities. In prose it is even rarer than βινῶ and perhaps non-existent. The one possible example, Athenaeus, *Deip.* 45b6, occurs in a paraphrase of a passage from the comic dramatist Diphilus (fr. 49 K.–A.: see below p. 68 n. 123). It may be that the word is simply taken over from the dramatic text. The Christian writer, Synesius, alludes to the word in horrified fashion when discussing the proverb οὐδεὶς κομήτης ὅστις οὐ ψηνίζεται, but refrains from writing it: τὸ δὲ ἀκροτελεύτιον αὐτὸς σὺ πρὸς τὴν ἠχὼ τοῦ τριμέτρου συνάρμοσον. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε φθέγξομαι τὸ δεινὸν ἐκεῖνο πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα (Syn. 5.22).

[118] J. Taillardat, *REA* 58 (1956), 169–204, 190 n. 1 takes προσκινῶν as *ceuens* with (presumably) σέλινα the direct object and equivalent to πυγήν. This is not convincing, but it must be conceded that the passage has sexual undertones.

[119] Note, for example, the appearance of the phrase πρὸς πυγὴν πηδῆσαι in the Hippocratic corpus and of πυγηδόν and ἀντίπυγος in Aristotle.

[120] There are several καταπύγων-graffiti from the Athenian agora (Lang, C 12, C 18, C 24, C 25, C 26, C 27). For such other such graffiti from Attica → C. W. Blegen *AJA* 38 (1934), 10–28 ; → M. J. Milne and D. von Bothmer, *Hesperia* 22 (1953), 215–24. There is also an early Sicilian example (from Akrai: see G. Manganaro, *Helikon* 2 [1962], 485–501, 493ff.). A full collection of such inscriptions has now been set out by M. Lombardo apropos of a recently discovered graffito from Metapontum (see *PP* 40 [1985], 294–307: for κατάπυγος see A. Johnston, *PP* 45 [1990], 41 who refers to A. Cambitsoglou and A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia II* [Oxford, 1982], p. 510, no. 131). For prose-literature LSJ have the entry 'Lucian, *Tim.* 22, Alciphro. 3. 45 etc. [compare above p. 51]': to the Lucian examples may be added *Adv. ind.* 23 and *Lex.* 12 (Jocelyn, 51 n. 114). Lucian also uses καταπυγοσύνη (*Gall.* 32).

[121] See Wackernagel 224ff.

[122] See W. Roscher, *RM* 53 (1898), 169–204, 184 and the testimonia gathered in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* vii.1.104ff. (*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 17.1 [Bonn, 1981]).

Surprisingly, πυγίζω hardly features at all in what we have of Old Comedy. There is but a single occurrence and that in the mouth of a non-Greek, the pidgin-speaking Scythian, at Ar. *Thesm.* 1120. Noting this, Shipp[123] drew attention to its occurrence in epigrams from the Greek Anthology which have a Doric colouring (*AP* 9.312 which contains three Dorisms and 9.330 where we have the Doric form of the aorist πυγίξαι) and the occurrence of the verb and its reflex, the *nomen actionis*, πύγισμα in Theocritus 5.43. He suggested accordingly that the verb had passed into the κοινή via Doric.

Some support for the suggestion of a Doric origin for the word can be added from inscriptional evidence of which Shipp was apparently unaware. There are at least four occurrences from Doric provenances. The earliest attestation of the verb comes from Gela in Sicily (for whose Dorian character one can cite Thuc. 6.4.3). Part of a vase-graffito first published in 1969[124] and dating from the early fifth-century B.C. ends with an expression of a type of threat to the reader that has ample parallels in Latin graffiti:[125]

ὁ γράψας τὸν ἀννέμο⟨ν⟩τα[126] πυγίξει.

Secondly, in an article about the site of Kalos Limen (on which see *RE* suppl. ix.1117), a community which shared its institutions with Tauric Chersonesus (Megarian in foundation, by way of Heracleia Pontica – *RE* suppl. ix.2265), V. E. Grinewich published without comment a picture of a black lacquered dish[127] on which Louis Robert subsequently observed three occurrences of πυγίζω.

Against Shipp's theory, however, there is the Olbian graffito which was quoted above (p. 56) in connection with βενῶ: ὃς ἐθέλει βενεῖν δέκ' ἄρδις καταβαλὼν πυγιζέτω. This provides an early example of the verb in an Ionic environment.

Like βινῶ, πυγίζω is frequently attested in non or sub-literary contexts. In addition to the examples just quoted, there are, as well as the two occurrences on the graffito on the Karnak pillar (cited in part on p. 56 – the third line continues ὁ πυγίσας αὐ/τόν) and the examples from the love-charms from Egypt cited on p. 59, a good many instances from all over the Greco-Roman world to be noted. πυγίζω allegedly occurs among graffiti on tiles discovered in Amphipolis and dated to the classical period.[128] A Hellenistic stone found in a sanctuary in Thasus reads Δορυμένης/χαίρει/πυγίζεται.[129] From the same island the message τὸν παράγοντα πεπύγικα is found written on the ramparts of the town.[130] A bowl from Nikopolis in Epirus

[123] Shipp 138. His collection of literary occurrences is not complete. He does not mention the example from Athenaeus (where incidentally and mystifyingly Doric forms are found in the account of the passage from Diphilus) and omits two further instances in the Palatine Anthology, *AP* 12.240 and 245.3 (both from Strato and discussed above, p. 59).

[124] This graffito (see also *SEG* 31.824) was first published by G. Manganaro, *Kokalos* 14–15 (1968–9), 195–202, but misunderstood until B. Forssman, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 34 (1976), 39–46. and C. Gallavotti, *QUCC* 20 (1975), 165–91, 172ff. independently, and more or less simultaneously, put forward the correct interpretation of its content. It has been edited afresh by O. Masson and J. Taillardat, *ZPE* 59 (1985), 137–40, 140.

[125] For these see Forssman, op. cit. and Adams 125.

[126] For ἀνανέμω, a Doric word meaning 'read', compare Parthenius, *SH* 606 and the annotation there (see also ΣP. *Isth.* 2.68).

[127] *VDI* 1949, 155–61, 159 fig. 1. See *Bull. Epigr.* 1952.107.

[128] See P. Lazaridis, *PAAH* (Πρακτικά), 1979, 71–9, 74 (cf. *SEG* 31.622). The words on the tile seem to be written at random. I confess I cannot make out πυγίζω from the photograph in Lazaridis's article.

[129] J. Servais, *Aliki* 1 (*Etudes Thasiennes* 9) Ecole Française d'Athènes, 1980, 48 n. 4 (compare *SEG* 31.764).

[130] See J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* (Paris, 1954), i.223 n. 5 (plate xviii 4) who corrects the dating suggested in *IG* 12 suppl. 702: 'la date est indéterminée'.

dated to the first century of our era is inscribed *'Ολυμπᾶ | ὅς ἂν ἄρηι | πυγισθή- | σεται.*[131] The threatening message (to Phthonos?) *πυγίσω σε* is inscribed on a gold ring of unknown provenance.[132] A boastful graffito from the Palatine reads *Βάσσος πυγίζω*[133] and from Ostia[134] we have the threatening *πυγίζω πάντες* (*sic*) *τού⟨τους⟩ οἳ ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου γράφουσι*. Two Pompeian graffiti give examples of the verb, one written in the Latin, the other in the Greek alphabet: *dos pugiza* (*CIL* iv.2425) and *Λυκρίων/πυγίζι* (*CIL* iv.3202). The graffito from Stabia quoted above[135] which contains the hitherto unknown noun *βίνημα* also has the expression *ἔδωκε πυγίσαι*. An illustrated papyrus 'letter' written in Egypt in the first century A.D. contains, as well as an indecent proposal to the addressee and the rare word for anus, *φίκις*, a further example of *πυγίζω*.[136] In Syria, an apotropaic inscription on a Byzantine lintel has been found containing the verb.[137] Most recently there has emerged from Rome a somewhat mysterious graffito which starts as a kind of sightseer's inscription (of the well known type *μνησθῆι ὁ δεῖνα*), but ends with dire sexual threats, including one of buggery.[138]

While, in some of these examples, *πυγίζω* retains its full sexual force and takes on no secondary meaning, as for example in the graffiti from Pompeii and Stabia and the Egyptian erotic letter, it is clear that *πυγίζω* was frequently used to express aggressive intent rather than to denote a particular sexual act. The writing on the bowl from Nikopolis is scarcely an expression of an 'erotic' curse.[139] It is a threat of punishment issued against any potential thief. In the Roman world it is common to find graffiti which insult and threaten the reader passing by.[140] Clear evidence that such practices existed also in the Greek world is provided by the second inscription from Thasus quoted above and, more significantly, by the early inscription from Gela. These insults are non-literal: an inscription cannot 'bugger' a passer-by as the writer of the Thasian graffito claims to have done (the perfect here must represent a kind of 'performative'; 'once you have read this, you will have been buggered'). The verb in such an instance does not lose its sexual content completely since it is used to suggest an act which will humiliate the victim sexually, but by being used in such a way undoubtedly undergoes a kind of weakening.[141]

Nothing much can be said with any kind of certainty about *CIG* iii.4854 (*SB* 6872)[142] *ἔξω | Πετεχνοῦμις | 'Ερταῆσις πυγ*[. *πυγ*[might possibly represent an

[131] See *SEG* 27.240 and *Bull. Epigr.* 1979.252.

[132] *Catalogue of the Collection of Ancient Rings E. Guilhou*, Sotheby's, 12 xi.1937, no. 402.

[133] V. Väänänen (general editor), *Graffiti del Palatino* i.230 (*Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae* iii, Helsinki, 1966).

[134] Re-edited by H. Solin, *Arctos* 7 (1972), 163–205, 195: see J. Rea, *ZPE* 36 (1979), 309–10.

[135] See above p. 59. *CIL* iv.2425 cited above provides a parallel for *ἔδωκε πυγίσαι*. Compare also Plaut. *Cas.* 362 *comprime istunc. :: immo istunc qui didicit dare,* occurring in a context of homosexual innuendo.

[136] Compare above p. 53 n. 21 and see D. Bain, *ZPE* 30 (1978), 36 and C. Gallavotti (note 62).

[137] R. Mouterde, *Mélanges Beyrouth* 36 (1959), 53–87 (*Bull. Epigr.* 1961.785–6).

[138] Edited by H. Solin, *Glotta* 62 (1984), 167–74. My interpretation of this inscription, which differs somewhat from Solin's, is this: the writer, Eutyches, hopes that his friend Gamos will remember him (or else announces his wish that Gamos be remembered) and, at the same time, warns him not to indulge in cunnilinctio, threatening him with buggery and irrumation if he continues to do so. The text ends *εἰ δὲ καὶ θέλει 'λί'χειν, καὶ πυγιζέσθω ἢ ληικαζέτω* [*sic*].

[139] As it is designated in *SEG* 27.240.

[140] See the works referred to in note 125.

[141] See Adams 125.

[142] F. Preisigke–W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften und Graffiti a. d. Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile* (*Oberägypten*) (1915), no. 115: similar uncertainty attends Lang, C 12.

agent-noun *πυγιστής: so LSJ following *SB*). Alternatively one might interpret it as πυγαῖος (pathic: or else πυγαῖοι) or as πυγίζονται.

The relationship πυγή/πυγίζειν finds an analogy in πύννος/πουνιάζειν where a verb denoting buggery is derived from a noun signifying part of a person's rear anatomy, in this case the anus.[143]

iv λῆκῶ

Confusion arises here because at one time there coexisted two contract verbs of similar appearance, ληκάω and ληκέω. The second verb whose original meaning was 'shout' came to be used of cracking sounds and ultimately shifted to describe the action of bursting (cf. διαφωνῶ). Pollux's list of verbs for intercourse includes this verb, ληκεῖν, rather than ληκᾶν (Poll. 5.92), but Hesychius (λ 848, 849) makes a distinction between the two, glossing ληκᾶσθαι by περαίνεσθαι and ληκεῖ by ψοφεῖ, βοᾶι, κροτεῖ. ληκέω is actually a rare and predominantly poetic word. In later Greek it is replaced by a form with Doric vocalism, λακέω, famously used at *Acts* 1.18 to describe the spectacular death of Judas Iscariot.[144] Björck suggests that the change of vowel was motivated by the need to avoid confusion with the obscene ληκάω.[145] One wonders, however, whether ληκάω was a common enough word for this to have happened. As will be seen, it is attested only in Attic writers.

In Pollux's list, the sexual verb is classed among τὰ τεθρυλημένα ἃ δὴ παίζουσιν οἱ κωμικοί. In fact, there are only two examples of the uncompounded verb in Old Comedy, Ar. *Thesm.* 493 and Pherecrates, fr. 253 K.–A. (= 177 Kock).[146] Hesychius gives us ὑποληκᾶν· ὑποκρούειν which is presumably also taken from comedy.[147] Other literary occurrences are doubtful. The verb has been detected in Callimachus' *iambi* (fr. 193.10 Pfeiffer),[148] but this is far from certain: we have not sufficient context to enable us to choose between a form of ληκάω and a form of ληκέω. Epicurus is known to have used a noun λήκημα[149] which might be taken as a *nomen actionis* to set beside βίνημα, κίνημα, and πύγισμα.[150] Unfortunately we cannot tell for certain whether Epicurus meant 'bouts of intercourse' or 'cries of love-making'. It is clear from the source, Cleomedes, that the reference is erotic.[151]

It has been suggested that ληκάω survived into the Roman period and is to be observed in an 'atonement' inscription of the third or fourth century A.D. from Dionysopolis in Asia Minor.[152] In this inscription the sequence of letters

[143] For these words see *Bull. Epigr.* 1955.156.

[144] See also K. M. D. Dunbabin and M. W. Dickie, '*Inuida Rumpantur Pectora*; the Iconography of Phthonos/*Inuidia* in Graeco-Roman art', *JAC* 26 (1983), 7–37, 13 n. 3 for apotropaic inscriptions where the verb is used to express the hope that envious people may burst.

[145] G. Björck, *Das Alpha Impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache* (Uppsala, 1950), p. 56. His remains the basic discussion of the two verbs.

[146] The Ravennas actually has κινούμεθα, with κιν written *in rasura*. Kassel and Austin are doubtful about the status of the Pherecrates fragment and suggest that only the occurrence of the verb ληκῶ is attested by Pollux. L. Sternbach (note 91 [*WSt*], 237), defends κινούμεθα in the Ravennas, arguing that the Souda citation is a contamination of the two passages.

[147] Hesychius iii.286: see Lobeck, *Rhematicon*, 320.

[148] → C. M. Dawson, *AJPh* 67 (1946), 1–15, 5.

[149] Epicurus, fr. 414 Usener = Cleomedes, *de motu circ.* 2.91 (p. 166 H. Ziegler).

[150] See above, pp. 59, 65.

[151] Seager (cited below in note 160), 140 quite unjustifiably rejects the possibility that λήκημα has any link with ληκάω. The bluntness of Epicurus' language was often remarked upon in antiquity (see E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* [Berlin, 1898], 124).

[152] The inscription was first publishe[→ D. G. Hogarth, *JHS* 8 (1887), 376–400, 386 no. 16. See F. Steinleitner, *Die Beicht in Zusammenhang mit der sakralen Rechtspflege in der Antik. Ein*

ληκηνησαμην was taken to represent a form of ληκάω and assumed to mean 'I fornicated'.[153] This most improbable assumption was rendered obsolete long ago since it in fact depended on a misreading. What the penitent actually says in his confession is ἐγὼ Γέα (i.e. Γαίαι, a woman's name) ἐκηνησάμην ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. The verb-form in question is an incorrectly used middle of κινῶ governing the understood object τοὺς ὄρχεις (reference having previously been made to them in the words ἢ κήνσετε [i.e. κινήσεται] τὸν [*sic*] ὄρχις).[154] It has been noted that it is characteristic of these Phrygian inscriptions to misuse Greek middles.[155]

The etymology of ληκάω is disputed. It has been regarded as being originally a verb of striking.[156] Metaphorical transfers to the sexual field are easy to parallel for such verbs[157] and the existence of a compound ἐλληκάω attested for comedy and glossed as 'I strike' provides some support for this view.[158] A noun ληκώ meaning 'penis' is also attested.[159]

ληκῶ was once thought of as a by-form of λαικάζω. This view is no longer tenable now that it has been established that λαικάζω is not in fact a synonym of βινῶ (see below p. 74) and it is therefore unnecessary to suppose an etymological relationship between the two verbs.

Recently it has been argued that, far from being a mere synonym of βινῶ, ληκάω has in fact a much more specialized meaning, being the equivalent of Latin *irrumo*, the verb denoting the role of the active participant in the act of fellatio. This is asserted by Robin Seager on the basis of a passage which has already been mentioned, Ar. *Thesm.* 493f.[160]

> οὐδ' ὡς ὅταν μάλισθ' ὑπό του ληκώμεθα
> τὴν νύχθ' ἕωθεν σκόροδα διαμασώμεθα.

According to Seager, the eating of garlic has more point if the women described have been indulging in fellatio. This is not a necessary interpretation. Since passages reflecting the view that one can deduce from another person's body odour that he or she has recently had intercourse are easy to find in antiquity[161] and since it is also a commonplace that garlic eating alienates one's potential sexual partner,[162] the traditional view of the passage is perfectly acceptable. ληκάω is chosen here simply for variation. Elsewhere in this speech we meet ἠρειδόμην (488) and σποδούμεθα

Beitrag zur näheren Kenntnis kleinasiatischer-orientalischer Kulte der Kaiserzeit (Diss. Leipzig, 1913), no. 26, *MAMA* iv no. 283, and *SEG* 6.251.

[153] The suggestion was made by R. Ellis, *JPhil* 17 (1888), 128–41, 139. Surprisingly it is accepted by Björck, op. cit. 56.

[154] See W. M. Ramsay, *Philologus* 47 (1889), 754–5.

[155] So Ramsay (cited in the last note). On the inability of foreigners to handle the genera of the Greek verb see J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basel, 1925), i.123.

[156] See *DELG*.

[157] Compare Henderson 170ff. There is some plausibility in the suggestion that the Latin primary obscenity *futuo* had such an etymology: see Adams 118.

[158] ἐνελήκησα· ἔπληξα, ἐψόφησα (Hesychius ε 2893: cf. also Phot. ined. Zav. = Crat. fr. 169 K.–A.).

[159] ληκώ· τὸ μόριον (Hesychius iii.34): τὸ μόριον λέγουσι τὸ ἀνδρεῖον (Photius [ii.385 Naber]). L. Sütterlin, *Zur Geschichte der Verba denominativa* (Strassburg, 1891), p. 24 derives ληκάω from ληκώ, implausibly connecting it with verbs of sickness ending in *-âv*.

[160] R. Seager, 'Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 493–6 and the comic possibilities of garlic', *Philologus* 127 (1983), 139–42.

[161] Cf. Plut. *Quaest. nat.* 36, Columella 9.14.5, *Geoponica* 15.2.15. On links between garlic and the requirement of sexual abstinence in cult observance → W. Burkert, *CQ* n.s. 20 (1970), 1–16, 10f. and *Homo Necans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), 145 (on garlic eating at the Scira).

[162] Cf. Hor. *epod.* 3.19f. and L. C. Watson, *Philologus* 127 (1983), 80–6.

(492). Seager's collection of lexicographical material pertaining to ληκάω is incomplete. He omits to mention the compound ὑποληκάω[163] which, if it is used in a sexual sense, would be hard to account for on the assumption that ληκάω meant *irrumo*.

ληκάω and ληκώ have been connected with two famous and controversial passages in classical literature where the suggestion has been made that the word for 'oil-flask', λήκυθος, is used with a sexual innuendo. In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Aeschylus triumphantly routs his rival Euripides by inserting the phrase ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν into his prologues.[164] Ariston in the *Speech against Conon* alleges that Conon's son belonged to a disreputable men's society named the αὐτολήκυθοι (Dem. 54.14). Obviously if these two passages had a sexual content, it would be enhanced by the suggestive nature of the first syllable of the word for oil-flask. But, in fact, the arguments in favour of such a content for either of the passages are very weak.[165] In Aristophanes' *Frogs* it is the humdrum nature of the object denoted by the word ληκύθιον and not any hypothetical sexual connotations that determines the choice of expression.[166] In the speech, what is in question is (feigned) poverty, not sex.[167]

v οἴφω (οἰφῶ)

οἴφω is generally regarded as a kind of Doric equivalent of βινῶ, as forthright perhaps, but not quite as offensive. If βενῶ is indeed the equivalent of βινῶ, we have in βινῶ/βενῶ and οἴφω two verbs with parallel distribution since οἴφω too is found in a legal context, being twice used of intercourse in the famous fifth century law code incised on a wall in Gortyn in Crete.[168] Like βινῶ/βενῶ, οἴφω is found in non-literary contexts, most notably in the famous archaic graffiti (of uncertain date[169]) which are carved on rock in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinius on the island of Thera, a Laconian colony. Those containing the verb combine it with masculine names which sometimes function as the subject of the verb used absolutely and sometimes as the subject and object of the transitive verb: 'Pheidippidas ὤιπηε'; 'Timagoras and Empheres and I ὤιπη[ομες'; 'by Apollo Delphinius, Krimon ὤιπηε Amotion here, the son of Bathykles, brother of...'; 'Euponos ὤιπηε, Pasiokhos, Euaischros, Kreilas'.[170] A further occurrence of οἴφω in a Dorian provenance is provided by an anecdote in Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* where a Spartan enjoins his fellow countryman:

οἶχε[171] Ἀκρότατε καὶ οἶφε τὰν Χιλωνίδα· μόνον παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς τᾶι Σπάρται ποίει.[172]

[163] See above p. 71.

[164] Ar. *Frogs*, 1208, 1213, 1219, 1226, 1233, 1238, 1241.

[165] On ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν → D. Bain, '*ΛΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕΝ*: Some Reservations', *CQ* n.s. 35 (1985), 31–7 (for a bibliography of recent discussions of the question see 31 n. 2) where it is argued that the context positively excludes the possibility of any sexual innuendo. αὐτολήκυθοι almost certainly means 'carrying one's own oil flask' (cf. αὐτόφορτος at Aesch. *Cho.* 675, 'carrying one's own luggage'): see Carey and Reid ad loc.

[166] The anecdote about Diogenes breaking up a pompous seminar by spraying the participants with salt fish and proclaiming triumphantly τὴν Ἀναξιμένους διάλεξιν ὀβολοῦ τάριχος διαλέλυκεν (D.L. 6.57) is relevant to our understanding of the humour of the *Frogs*-scene (see Bain, op. cit. 36f.: cf. also Ar. *Kn.* 682).

[167] So Carey and Reid.

[168] See R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (*Kadmos*, Supplement i [Berlin, 1967]), II.3, II.17 (see the same author, *Kadmos* 7.2 [1964], 170–6).

[169] See Jeffery 195.

[170] *IG* xii.3.536, 537, 538, 539. A reading which involves a sexual nuance extracted from 553a (P. Kretschmer, *Philologus* 58 [1899], 467–9) is highly dubious.

[171] For the anomalous οἶχε (Toup's certain conjecture), created to match the other imperative, see Wackernagel 253 (an addendum to 63 n. 1).

[172] Plut. *Vit. Pyrrh.* 28.

There are enough reflexes of *οἴφω* in non-Dorian areas in the archaic Greek world to suggest that, while the verb was characteristically Doric, it was not exclusively so. An inscription from Naxos which is set above a drawing of a plough, here obviously a sexual symbol, reads *Δωρωφέα κα*[173] | *Καρίων οἰφόλης*,[174] the last word seemingly the work of some malicious third party. It recurs in an inscription from Tenus.[175] In addition, a deity named Oipholios is mentioned by Archilochus[176] and Athenian vase inscriptions reveal an ithyphallic satyr named Oiphon.[177] There has been much debate concerning the proverb *ἄριστα χωλὸς οἰφεῖ*[178] which is said to have occurred in the work of the Colophonian poet, Mimnermus (fr. 21a). This report has given rise to the suggestion that he wrote iambic poetry in addition to elegy. Given that reflexes of *οἴφω* are found in non-Dorian provenances during the archaic period, use of *οἰφῶ* (the contract form, as the journal's referee points out, is also attested in one of the principal manuscripts of Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* where, in the Spartan bon mot quoted above, P has *οἴφει*) would not in itself be an argument against the authenticity of the report, but the learned debate is beside the point. All we know is that Mimnermus *mentioned* the proverb (*μέμνηται*): such an attestation does not compel us to assume verbal quotation.[179]

Controversy still rages about the nature of the Theran rock-graffiti and hence about the tone of *οἴφω*. There are many who believe that they are not simply boasts and insults of a kind attested in graffiti containing coarse sexual language found elsewhere in the ancient world, but represent solemn avowals connected with initiation rites. They argue that 'Knabenliebe' was part of the trials and experiences Greek youths underwent when they passed from boyhood into adulthood and took their appointed place in their communities.[180] This view of these particular inscriptions is hard to sustain (those Theran inscriptions containing names with *ἀγαθός* appended are another matter). The fact that they are found in a sanctuary argues against rather than for the proposition. It is scarcely conceivable that, if a sacral and serious matter

[173] On this misspelling (*φ* for *θ*) see M. K. Langdon, *ZPE* 33 (1979), 180–2. The *κα* that follows has been interpreted by some (implausibly) as *κα(ταπύγων)*: see, for example, Lombardo (note 120), 299 n. 22.

[174] See P. Kretschmer, *JÖAI* 4 (1901), 142–4 and *IG* xii.5, 97: for the form compare *μαινόλης* and see L. Lehnus, *Scripta Philologica* [Università degli Studi di Milano, Istituto di Filologia] ii (1980), 159–74, 162f. Lehnus discusses at length the Hesychian lemma *οἰφόλις* and suggests that the entry *ο* 435 may contain an undetected Archilochean fragment, *οἰφόλις γυνή*.

[175] See A. K. Oikonomides, *Κυκλαδικά* 5 (1956), 245–7. A recently published vase inscription from Berezan has the words *τοῦ οἰφώλη* [*sic*] added to the owner's name: see *SEG* 32.724 and 35.858. The form of the genitive is extremely surprising in an inscription from the archaic period (for the *η* genitive see K. Dieterich, *Zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert n. Christ* [Leipzig, 1898], pp. 170f.) and it therefore seems questionable whether it has been read or interpreted correctly.

[176] Archilochus, fr. 251.5. See M. L. West, *Studies in Early Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin and New York, 1974), p. 25, and T. B. L. Webster ap. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*[2] (Oxford, 1962), p. 196.

[177] See Schulze, 716 and Fränkel (note 6), 37.

[178] See S. Szádocsky-Kardass, *Acta des IV Int. Kongr. f. griech. u. lat. Epigraphik* (Vienna, 1962), pp. 379–85 and *Miscellanea Critica*, Teil I (Berlin, 1964), 271ff.

[179] See R. Kassel, *RhM* 112 (1969), 97–103, 97f.

[180] See, for recent expressions of this view, F. Graf, *MH* 36 (1979), 1–22, 13 and H. Patzer, *Die griechische Knabenliebe* (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 84ff. For the contrary opinion, see Dover 123 and *The Greeks and their Legacy* (Oxford, 1988), 125f. (part of an essay questioning the validity of the initiation-theory as an explanation of the origins of Greek male homosexuality), ; → D. Bain, *CR* n.s. 34 (1984), 86–9, 88 where I might have mentioned, as a further parallel for frivolous inscriptions located in sacred spots, the stone from Hellenistic Thasus referred to above (p. 68).

was being described, the inscriptions would mention intercourse in a sacred place: two of the graffiti proudly proclaim that the act was performed 'here'. This goes against everything we know about Greek attitudes to pollution in holy places.[181]

It cannot be denied that *οἴφω* and related words were often used pejoratively. As well as the inscriptions from Naxos and Tenus containing *οἰφόλης*, we know of the abusive epithets *φιλοίφας*, *φίλοιφος*, *κόρσοιφος*.[182]

Lexicographers also allege that there was a term *οἰφός* for the male organ.[183]

The etymology of *οἴφω* is totally obscure.

vi λαικάζω

This word which is of unknown etymology was taken in late antiquity and the Byzantine period to be a synonym of *βινῶ*. With a few notable exceptions scholars in modern times have shared this misapprehension. The verb is highly restricted in meaning, being used of one specialized sexual act, fellatio, the activity often known in antiquity as the 'Lesbian vice'.[184] The nature of the act denoted by *λαικάζω* makes the verb active in form with a passive meaning.

The meaning of *λαικάζω* is put beyond doubt[185] by its appearance in a formula that occurs in two of the love charms from Egypt that have been mentioned above in connection with *βινῶ* and *πυγίζω*. In each of these the man casting the spell seeks to ensure that the loved one will take part in sexual activity with no other man, particular forms of intercourse being specified. One of the charms expresses its purpose thus:

ὅπως μὴ βεινηθῆι, μὴ πυγισθῆι, μὴ λεικάσηι, μηδὲν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιήσηι ἄλλωι ἀνδρὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνωι Ποσιδωνίωι.[186]

In similar terms the second runs:

ἵνα μὴ δυνηθῆις ἑτέρωι ἀνδρὶ συνμιγῆναι[187] *πώποτε μήτε βινηθῆναι μήτε πυγισθῆναι μήτε ληκάζειν μηδὲ καθ' ἡδονὴν μεθ' ἑταίρωι ἀνθρώπωι εἰ μὴ μόνος ἐγὼ 'Αμμωνίων 'Ερμιτάρις.*[188]

[181] See Parker (note 57), 74, 74 nn. 3, 4.

[182] *φιλοιφᾶ* is to be found at Theocr. 4.62 (cf. the scholion ad loc.). For *φίλοιφος* see Suet. *π. βλασφημιῶν β* 16 Taillardat: it has been restored in a Byzantine poem where its appearance must have been brought about by its author's love of obscure and antique words (see L. Sternbach, 'Ein Schähgedicht von Michael Psellos', *WSt* 25 [1903], 10–39, 17: line 119 of the poem). For *κόρσοιφος* see LSJ s.v. *κόρυφος* III. *Οἶφε* has sometimes been read at Theocr. 5.43. Gow demonstrates that the correct reading there is *ὑβέ*.

[183] See *Σ*Theocr. 5.43.

[184] See Jocelyn 18 and 48 n. 66.

[185] See G. P. Shipp, *Antichthon* 11 (1977), 1–10, 1f. Shipp was the first to draw the attention of scholars to the significance of the first of these love charms. He was apparently unaware of the second passage which was first adduced by Jocelyn 20. Jocelyn's article provides exhaustive coverage of the interpretation of the word from antiquity to the present day, thereby making possible a relatively brief treatment here and less full reference to sources and secondary literature than has been made elsewhere in this article. Even so, all examples known to me from literature and epigraphy are taken into account. For *λαικάζω* in ancient grammarians and lexicographers see Jocelyn 18ff., 21ff. and 24ff.

[186] *SB* 7452.9–10.

[187] *συνμιγῆναι* has sexual connotations here: Wilhelm's attempt (A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Wien.* 1937, 39–57 = *Akademieschriften zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* ii.582ff.) to deny such a use for the compound as distinct from the simple verb, which is extremely common as a verb of intercourse, is only a partial success. It is clear that by late antiquity no such distinction existed. Compare also Aristaenetus 2.8.14 Mazal (see W. G. Arnott, *YCS* 27 [1982], 291–320, 312 n. 60).

[188] For this text see J. Martin, *Genava, Bulletin du Musée de Genève* 6 (1928), 56–64.

In both passages the use in combination of the three verbs, βινῶ, πυγίζω, λαικάζω, alludes to the three orifices of the woman, a topic which, as Jocelyn remarks, 'often exercised the talents of more sophisticated users of the Greek language'.[189]

λαικάζω has a long history. Its earliest appearance, or more precisely a sequence of letters that alludes to it, is at Corinth in the sixth-century B.C. This is on a clay votive plaque which is illustrated by a picture of an ithyphallic figure set above the spy-hole of a pottery kiln.[190] The epigraph *ΛΑΙ* must allude to some part of this verb and clearly has an apotropaic function. In the light of other passages, as Jocelyn demonstrates, the writer intends a second person imperative or optative.[191] Nine centuries later, as the Egyptian examples show, the verb was still in use.

The distribution of λαικάζω and its reflexes shows its vulgar character and affinity with the other words discussed in this article. There are attestations in Attic graffiti of the archaic and classical periods. From the agora comes a graffito on a skyphos which reads Θεοδοσία λαικάδει εὖ.[192] The feminine noun λαικαστρία is found twice on a stone from the Piraeus[193] and once on a spindle-whorl from the agora.[194] The feminine adjective λαικάς occurs four times on a strip of lead of Attic provenance, dated to the fourth century B.C.[195]

Almost all the literary appearances of the word are in Attic comedy. In Old Comedy there are two Aristophanic examples Ar. *Kn.* 167 and *Thesm.* 58. A further example from Old Comedy is Cephisodorus, fr. 3.5 K.–A. which contains a first person future.[196] There are two occurrences in later comedy, Strato, *CGFPR* 219.36 and Men. *Dysc.* 892. The noun λαικαστής is found at Ar. *Ach.* 79 and its female equivalent λαικαστρία in Ar. *Ach.* 529, 537, Pherecrates, fr. 159.2 K.–A, and Men. *Peric.* 485.

Elsewhere in literature, λαικάζω, λαικαστρία and λαικάς are harder to find. The final word of an epigram by Nicarchus[197] has sometimes been restored by emendation to read λαικάσεται. The point of the epigram is similar to that of Horace's eighth epode. An old woman is so physically unappealing that the only way she can hope to interest a potential lover is by fellating him. λαικάσεται would therefore make excellent sense in this case, but it would be the only occurrence of the verb with a object expressed and it is questionable whether Nicarchus would have been quite so blunt.[198]

[189] See Jocelyn 20 and for further references 50 n. 83.

[190] *IG* iv.313: for further references see Jocelyn 46 n. 31.

[191] Jocelyn 17. [192] Lang, C 33. [193] *IG* i².921. [194] Lang, C 34.

[195] First published by E. Ziebarth, *SPAW* 1934.1023–4 (no. 1). See L. Robert, *Collection Froehner I Inscriptions grecques* (Paris, 1936), 14 and *Bull. Epigr.* 1938.24 and 1961.199.

[196] On the interpretation of this fragment see Jocelyn 39f. The future is attested here and in Strato and Menander with a middle form. At Ar. *Kn.* 167 the better attested active λαικάσεις may represent deliberately bad grammar motivated by a desire for assonance (Sommerstein prefers it). However that may be, the word comes as a παρὰ προσδοκίαν insult of a type common in Old Comedy. Such gratuitous insults of persons whose support and favour the speaker should be seeking are quite commonly ignored by their victims: see K. J. Dover (see note 108), 60 and D. Bain, *Actors and Audience*² (Oxford, 1987), pp. 88f., 88 n. 4. Jocelyn's sociolinguistic inferences are therefore misplaced.

[197] *AP* 5.38.4. This epigram is not the work of the more distinguished epigrammatist of this name (see *HE* 2.425).

[198] See Jocelyn 27. None of the other conjectures suggested to replace the MS' δικάσεται is really satisfactory. λειχάσεται (Toup) is unacceptable since the word does not enter the Greek vocabulary until later (see W. Heraeus, *RhM* 70 [1915], 1–41, 38 n. 2). A conjecture on the same lines, λιχμάσεται (Brunck), is stylistically acceptable, but the parallels for this manner of speaking of fellatio are as yet confined to Latin (for these see Adams 135f.).

Jocelyn (27) speculates that the notoriously free spoken Stoic philosopher, Chrysippus, may have used λαικάζω or λαικαστρία or both in his discussion of the shocking legend of Hera's fellation of Zeus. Diogenes Laertius said of Chrysippus that the language he used on that occasion was 'more appropriate to street-walkers (χαμαιτύποις) than gods' (D.L. 7.188). As I shall argue elsewhere, we have little control over statements of this kind. What might to us or to Chrysippus' more enlightened contemporaries seem merely blunt, not necessarily coarse (as the use of the words in question would undoubtedly have been), may have been regarded as obscene by later, more prudish readers.

A secure reflex in prose, presumably taken over from some lost Attic comedy, is provided by the adjective λαικαλέος used of an effeminate man at Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 12 (W. Dindorf's certain correction). Such coarse language (if indeed λαικάζω was still felt to be as coarse in Lucian's time as it undoubtedly was in Aristophanes') is not common in Lucian, but it can be paralleled by his use of βινῶ, βινητιῶ, and στύομαι (see above pp. 52 n. 14, 55).

At the end of antiquity, one of Aristaenetus' amatory letters attests λαικάς, a word otherwise known only through epigraphical examples. A courtesan writing to the lover who has abandoned her for another courtesan says:

ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἡ λαικὰς τῶν κακῶν ἐμαυτὴν αἰτιῶμαι (Aristaen. 2.16.14–15 Mazal).

Jocelyn considers that ἡ λαικὰς τῶν κακῶν should be obelized (28). This is most implausible. ἡ λαικάς gives us exactly what the context demands,[199] a self-disparaging expression used by a prostitute blaming herself for the results of her own stupidity. It is hard to believe that a word like λαικάς could have arisen here through textual corruption. The only objection that can reasonably be levelled at λαικάς is that it is too coarse an expression for a writer as decorous as Aristaenetus.[200] Aristaenetus, however, who habitually pillaged New Comedy for vocabulary as well as material will have known of the existence in the genre of words of that family (see above p. 75) and, finding λαικάς there too, will have regarded it as acceptable as an abusive epithet for a prostitute. It may be that by his time, the sixth century A.D., λαικάζω and its reflexes were no longer properly understood.[201]

Given the nature of the act it describes and the attitude of many people towards the act, λαικάζω is a very suitable vehicle for expressing verbal aggression and abuse. A good many occurrences find it used in this way. Such a use may involve a weakening of its basic, sexual meaning.[202] The Corinthian votive plaque is a case in

[199] The conjectures mentioned by Jocelyn 55 n. 177 are uniformly unappealing.

[200] On Aristaenetus' decorum see Arnott (note 187), 310ff.: he notes that the use of προσεμβατεύω (2.22.1 Mazal) as a verb of (human) intercourse looks like a miscalculation.

[201] Despite Jocelyn's assertions, 23, some of the explanations of λαικ- words found in the grammatical tradition strongly suggest that the words had become obscure in late antiquity. The two glosses found in the Aristophanic scholia (λαικαστάς· πόρνους Σ^{REG^2} Ar. *Ach.* 79, λαικαστρίας· πόρνας Σ^{EI^3} Ar. *Ach.* 537), unless we interpret them as being deliberately intended to explain an indecency in the mildest possible way, are cases in point.

[202] Compare Adams 134 and Kay on Martial 11.58.12. In view of the difficulty noted by Adams of assessing 'how important the cognitive element in a sexual term is to its user', Jocelyn's statement 'affective use cannot be said to have obliterated the denotative force of the verb' is too sweeping. His rigid adherence to this doctrine in dealing with some passages of comedy (compare his view, discussed in note 196, of Ar. *Kn.* 167) leads to interpretations that are scholiastic in character and insensitive to the dramatist's intention. This is especially true of Men. *Dysc.* 888–92 (Jocelyn 40f.), where there is no need (or warrant) to postulate obscene gestures by the actors or to see one character trying to outdo the other in a contest of sexual insult. The explanation offered by Sandbach ad loc. is perfectly adequate. Getas innocently uses the expression ὧν ἀρτίως ἔπασχες with reference to Sicon's earlier discomfiture at the hands of

point. Whoever is being addressed (Phthonos?) can only be enjoined metaphorically to accept the writer's penis with his mouth. The same can be said of the two passages where Latin authors use the verb. One of the freedmen attending Trimalchio's banquet says *frigori laecasin dico* (Petr. *Sat.* 42.2) and an epigram of Martial ends with the words *at tibi nil faciam, sed lota mentula lana*|λαικάζειν *cupidae dicet auaritiae* (Mart. 11.58.11–12). Here the entities invited to indulge in fellatio are respectively a climatic state and an abstraction.

The Egyptian charms misspell λαικάζω as λεικάζω and ληκάζω. In the most recently discovered example of the verb (published after Jocelyn's article), the Roman graffito mentioned above (p. 69), we find ληικαζέτω. These do not look like phonetic errors and Jocelyn (20) suggests contamination with λείχω as a possible cause of the confusion.

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Cnemon. The slightly inebriated cook mistakenly thinks that πάσχω is intended as a sexual insult and angrily responds with the abusive words οὐ λαικάσει φλυαρῶν; Likewise I see no need to stress the technical implications of λαικαστρία at Men. *Peric.* 485 where it is simply a term of abuse (contra Jocelyn 15, 46 n. 29).

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Sexuality in Fifth Century Athens

by Brian Arkins

1

In recent decades and particularly in the last ten years, much valuable work has been done on the theme of sexuality in the world of Greece and Rome. In a post-Freudian era this is presumably to be expected, but we should not forget that, until quite recently, it was virtually impossible to discuss sexual issues in an open and non-judgmental way; it is sufficient to point to the bowdlerisation of Aristophanes, and to Fordyce's scandalous edition of Catullus, which omitted 32 poems on the spurious grounds that 'they do not lend themselves to comment in English'.

Now, happily, a saner climate of opinion prevails, in which the present essay on sexuality in fifth century Athens is not exceptional. Such essays as this have been greatly facilitated by the appearance of a number of books on ancient sexuality and, in particular, by the appearance of David Halperin's great book *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (London 1990).[1] What follows here is considerably indebted to Halperin.

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[1] For an important review of Halperin's book and of two other related works - J.J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (1990) and *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, eds. D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler, F.I. Zeitlin (1990) - see D. Cohen, *CPh* (1992), 145-60.

2

There is now a very considerable body of evidence to suggest that human sexual behaviour is, to a great extent, socially constructed. That is to say that the way women and men conduct their sexual lives is determined to a marked degree by what a particular society finds acceptable. Before we come to Athens in the fifth century BC, it is instructive to consider the case of Ireland in the 19th and 20th centuries.

From 1820 on sexual behaviour in Ireland was constructed out of the economics of the small farm[2] and had little to do with the doctrines of Roman Catholicism, and still less to do with those of Jesus Christ. This highly puritanical organisation of sexuality obtained, without interruption, until 1960 and caused a great deal of suffering to many women and men. The Roman Catholic Church has never seen fit to acknowledge publicly the grave scandal which its enthusiastic endorsement of this wretched puritanism constituted.

All revolutions are betrayed, but some are betrayed more spectacularly than others. After 1922 Ireland was controlled by the emerging Catholic bourgeoisie, whose aim was independence itself rather than social reform and the provision of an adequate standard of living for the people. This bourgeoisie clearly subscribed to De Valera's dictum

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[2]K.H. Connell, *Irish Peasant Society* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 113-61; T. Brown, *Ireland - A Social and Cultural History 1922-1979* (London 1981), pp. 17-26.

that 'Labour must wait'; used independence to further their own interests; and inevitably imposed their value system on the new State. As Kavanagh said, 'The Revolution created a new rich class at the expense of the general population'.[3]

That value system was necessarily conservative because the Irish bourgeoisie consisted of a large number of peasant proprietors of small and medium-sized farms, and of those in business, the professions, the civil service and the Catholic clergy who came from that social background. Permeating society as a whole, the ethos of this class was socially regressive, because of the particular economic factors that shaped it. Having achieved ownership of land after a considerable struggle in the late 19th century, farmers sought to preserve their holdings intact, and hand them on to a single son. The social pattern that usually resulted from this basic economic fact was that the son who inherited had to marry late, that one daughter was provided with a dowry to marry, and that the remaining unmarried children had to emigrate. Since there was no question of sexual activity outside marriage, the Irish people from 1820 to 1960 were subjected to a degree of sexual continence virtually without parallel. As Kavanagh wrote, 'From the point of view of chastity this must be the most remarkable country in the world'.[4]

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[3] *Kavanagh's Weekly*, June 7, 1952.
[4] *Ibid.*

Hence the form of sexual behaviour that seemed to many Irish people to be immutably determined by the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church turns out to be socially constructed out of the economics of the small farm.

3

Sexuality in fifth century Athens was also socially constructed. The basic point here is that human sexuality in Athens was organised to meet the needs of the adult male citizen, whose body was the locus of all power in the state. All other human beings - all women, all slaves, all foreigners, and adolescent aristocratic boys - existed sexually in relation to the adult male citizen and existed for his sexual gratification. Aristocratic women existed to provide, after marriage, legitimate children; all other women were regarded as sexually available to the male citizen, whether they were prostitutes, concubines, or high-class courtesans. Slaves, who were women and boys, the lowest level of society, were similarly sexually available to male citizens. These citizens also engaged in homosexual relationships with adolescent boys between the ages of 12 and 18 from their own class, these relationships being more complicated in their practice and ideology.

The result of all this is that 'Democracy at Athens ... was not what we might call a purely "political" system; it was a system of sex and gender as well'.[5] This sexual system, in which the adult

[5] *Ibid.*

male citizen entered into an arranged marriage, was free to have sexual relationships with other women, and also courted adolescent boys, does not correspond to anything in modern Western experience; it was, as Louis MacNeice says, 'so unimaginably different / And all so long ago'.[6] Consequently, we have to reckon with the fact that 'Homosexuality and heterosexuality, as we currently understand them, are modern, Western bourgeois productions. Nothing resembling them can be found in classical antiquity'.[7]

The deep division between Greek and modern attitudes to sexual matters can be most obviously seen in the way sexual acts are viewed. For the Greek sexual acts are not mutual, taking place between two consenting adults, but are deeply polarising and involve hierarchical domination; in masculine discourse sex is something that you do to somebody. To be specific: *sex takes place between an active, penetrating actor who possesses the phallus and a passive, penetrated person.* These active and passive roles in sex precisely correlate with superior and inferior social status: the superior person is the adult male citizen who can have sexual relations only with his inferiors, with women, slaves, foreigners, or boys. The Greeks, like many Mediterranean peoples, were puritans about *virility*; because he is a citizen the man has sexual precedence.

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[6]Louis MacNeice, 'Autumn Journal', section ix.

[7]Halperin (note 4), p. 8.

As a result, in fifth century Athens the system of sexuality is constituted by politics, by the principles on which Athenian public life is organised. So we must conclude that 'it is not sexuality which haunts society, but society which haunts the body's sexuality' (Maurice Godelier).

Indeed we can go so far as to say that for Athenian citizens there was a single form of sexual experience, in which they were dominant. There were not, therefore, as we like to think, two differently structured psychosexual states of heterosexuality and homosexuality, but a single state available to adult males, in which the same kind of desire could be attached to any desirable person, woman or boy. Gender does not, then, enter into this system at the level of difference between men and women; rather, gender enters in at the level sexual subjects are constituted, the system being gendered as a specifically male form of desire, wide-ranging, acquisitive, object-directed. As a result, women and boys are considered sexually inert, with women's desire being passive and objectless.

4

The feature of Athenian sexual life that may appear most different from our arrangements is the practice of homosexual relationships between an adult male and an adolescent boy. In the past this topic was rigorously avoided, due to the operation of a specious syllogism: the Greeks are a good thing; homosexuality is a bad thing; therefore the Greeks could not have done it. These wretched evasions about 'the love that dare not speak its name' (Alfred

Douglas) led to Mahaffy's book *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander* (1874) being withdrawn because it treated (and condemned) male homosexuality; they also led the Dean of a Cambridge college in E.M. Forster's novel *Maurice* (published only in 1970) to tell a student who is translating from an unnamed Greek author: 'Omit: a reference to the unspeakable vice of the Greeks'.

Now we know better. A crucial moment was the publication in 1978 of Sir Kenneth Dover's great book *Greek Homosexuality*, illustrated with pictures of vase-painting that leave no doubt about the reality of sexual relationships between Athenian men and adolescent boys. A further important moment was the publication of Volumes 2 and 3 of Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality: The Uses of Pleasure* (1984) *The Care of the Self* (1986). Foucault, who divorced sexuality from nature and regarded it as cultural production, raised crucial issues:

(1) how is sexual experience constituted in a given culture, i.e. what are the actual types of sexual activity?

(2) in what terms - terms of power or equality - is sexual experience constructed?

(3) how does sexual experience relate to other forms of experience, to political, social, and economic experience?

(4) is sexual activity different for different members of society, for men and women, for members of different social classes?

Let us now try and answer these questions in regard to homosexual behaviour in Athens. Since

all power resided in the body of the adult male citizen, we are not talking about a relationship between equals, but between a powerful man and a powerless boy. Nevertheless, since casual social contact between aristocratic men and women was virtually impossible and since these men entered into an arranged marriage, romance was displaced from being between men and women to being between men and adolescent boys.

The ideology involved here is complex. On the one hand, it was considered natural for the man to pursue beautiful boys; as Pindar says, 'I melt when I see the fresh young limbs of boys'. On the other hand, the boy was required to yield reluctantly and to do so because of his respect for the man. Various restrictions - no access before dawn or after dark - made the courtship tricky and public decorum was required. To some extent, a double standard obtained: the man should pursue, the boy should not yield.

In practice, of course, the boy did yield and physical sex took place. One position that seems to be preferred and which does not involve phallic penetration is that of 'intercrural' intercourse, in which the adult man puts his erect phallus between the thighs of the boy. At other times, anal intercourse will have taken place, in which the man is the active penetrating actor, the boy the passive penetrated sufferer.

It must be stressed that the man engaging in this homosexual activity was or could be married to a

woman. Consequently, the labels we have - homosexual, heterosexual, even bisexual - are utterly inadequate to what we are talking about: the man is in an arranged marriage, pursues adolescent boys, and sleeps with women or boys who are prostitutes. Furthermore, the male in this system enacts a cycle of sexual behaviour: at one time he is the sexually pursued adolescent boy, at a later time he is the sexually pursuing adult male.

5

We move on now to consider the position of women in this sexual system.[8] To begin with, Athenian women had no power: they were excluded from politics; from the army, navy, and war; from the law courts; from the Olympic and other Games; from agriculture and trade. In short, women were excluded from the male agonistic world of challenge and response, from what Athenian males saw as the real world. They were also uneducated and men had a low opinion of women's intellectual capacity; Shelley said this led women to acquire 'the habits and qualities of slaves', and an Athenian male could be held incompetent at law for being under the influence of a woman. Indeed Athenian women had to have a guardian (*kurios*) in law, a male with authority over her.

The domain of the Athenian aristocratic woman was the house (*oikos*). So while men worked in *public* space, in the Ecclesia, the law courts, the agora, the streets, women worked in *private* space at

[8]See R. Just, *Women in Athenian Law and Life* (London, 1991).

cooking food, spinning clothes, supervising slaves. What we are talking about here is a form of Mediterranean social control; male honour is at risk through women and women must therefore be confined to the house, with women who leave the house a lot being morally suspect (conversely a man who is at home a lot is regarded as effeminate). As Pericles says in the funeral speech, 'the greatest glory of a woman is to be least talked about, whether for praise or blame'.

Athenian aristocratic women were defined by the social significance of their bodies. They entered an arranged marriage at about the age of 14 to a much older man and the purpose of the marriage was to produce legitimate children. As the father of the bride says to the groom: 'I give you this woman for the ploughing of legitimate children'; and, as the speaker in *Against Neaera* says,[9] 'courtesans we love for the sake of pleasure, and concubines for the daily care of the body, but wives we love to bear us legitimate children and be the trusted guardians of our household'.

The implications of this after modern psychoanalysis are all too clear: a woman is either a wife or a whore. Compare Victorian England where this classic 'split' is also found: on the one hand, there is the Angel in the House, on the other sexually available whores, servants and so on. In Athens this sexual scenario clearly lends an edge to an idealised homosexual love for boys, as it does in

[9]Demosthenes, *Against Neaera*, 59.122.

the male world of Victorian England (in public schools, the army, the navy).

Adultery with an aristocratic woman was considered a heinous crime, a more serious crime than rape, because it was *the offence against the man that mattered*; his honour was offended and, besides, how could he know whether his children were legitimate? The penalties for such adultery were therefore severe and, technically at least, an adulterous man caught by a citizen having sex with his wife, mother or sister could be killed on the spot; in any case, other heavy penalties could be exacted.

In reality, therefore, Athenian aristocratic women led extremely restricted lives; in Greek literature, on the other hand, and particularly in tragedy and comedy, women play a very prominent role. This paradox struck Virginia Woolfe forcefully in 1929:[10]

> 'If woman had no existence save in the fiction written by men, one would imagine her a person of the utmost importance; very various; heroic and mean; splendid and sordid; infinitely beautiful and hideous in the extreme; as great as a man, some think even greater. But this woman is in fiction. In fact .. she was locked up, beaten and flung about the rooms. A very queer, composite being thus emerges. Imaginatively she is of the highest importance; practically she is completely insignificant. She pervades poetry from cover to cover; she is all but absent from history. She

[10]Virginia Woolfe, *A Room of One's Own* (London 1929), pp. 45-46.

> dominates the lives of kings and conquerors in fiction; in fact she was the slave of any boy whose parents fixed a ring upon her finger. Some of the most inspired words, some of the most profound thoughts in literature fall from her lips; in real life she could hardly read, could scarcely spell, and was the property of her husband.'

The classicist Helene Foley has remarked on the same paradox in regard to Athenian women:[11]

> 'Although women in fact play virtually no public role other than a religious one in the political and social life of ancient Greece, they dominate the imaginative life of Greek men to a degree almost unparalleled in the Western tradition ... Greek writers used the female - in a fashion that bore little relation to the lives of actual women - to understand, express, criticize, and experiment with the problems and contradictions of their culture.'

Halperin[12] explains this paradox by claiming that the silence of actual women in Greek public life and the volubility of fictional 'women', who are invented by male authors, are connected by strict logical necessity: Greek men effectively silenced women by speaking for them on those occasions when men chose to address significant words to each other in public, in the drama, and they required the silence of women in public in order to

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[11]Helene Foley in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger eds. *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome* (New York 1988), pp.1301-02.
[12]Halperin (note 4), p. 146.

make themselves heard and impersonate women without impediment. As 'Agathon' says in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (155-56), 'whatever we don't have, we capture by imitation (*mimesis*)'.

These impersonated women have been described as 'female intruders', who go into the male world and disrupt it.[13] Two examples must suffice here, one from tragedy and one from comedy. In Euripides' *Medea*[14] Medea champions the value system of sexual love and of the house (*oikos*), which have been trampled on by Jason, who champions the value system of a royal marriage and of the state (*polis*); Medea enters the *polis*, becomes male and destroys Jason's world by killing first his new wife Glauke and her father Creon, and then her own two children. *Medea is then given sanctuary in Athens by King Aegeus, brought there from Corinth in the chariot of her grandfather, the Sun-god.* So this quadruple murderess is endorsed by the gods and by the City of Athens - surely one of the most shocking statements ever made in the history of Athenian drama, something to send shivers down every male back during this intensely civic occasion in the theatre of Dionysus in 431 BC.

In Aristophanes' *Lysistratra* Lysistrata, whose name means 'disbander of armies',

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[13]For the concept of 'female intruder' → M. Shaw, *CPh* 70 (1975), 255-66 and H.P. Foley, *CPh* 77 (1982), 1-21.

[14]For a new Irish translation of *Medea* see *Euripides - Medea*, translated by Desmond Egan, with an Introduction by Brian Arkins (St. Andrews Press, U.S.A./Kavanagh Press, Ireland, 1991).

champions the value system of the *oikos* as represented by sex and attacks the value system of the *polis* which privileges war ('Make love, not war'). Because of the sex strike that Lysistrata engineers, the male world is forced to capitulate and end the war, and Lysistrata is therefore another example of a woman who enters the world of men and successfully conquers it.

6

The fact that Athenian aristocratic women were not sexually available, except in arranged marriages, led inevitably to widespread prostitution in Athens.[15] Indeed prostitution flourished because sexual pleasure had to be democratic, in the sense of being there for all the male citizens and there cheaply. Whether the story that Solon instituted brothels is historically accurate or not, the story clearly articulates the ideology: the state must ensure that citizens' sexual needs are catered for. Prostitution was therefore an ordinary feature of daily life in Athens and there was no shame attached to using prostitutes; indeed prostitution was not merely legal, but the city taxed it.

Prostitutes, who frequented certain areas of the city - the Lycabettos hill, the Piraeus, the Ceramicus - were both women and boys. Boy prostitutes were usually below the age of 18 and were disbarred from functioning as a citizen later in life, because the body of a male citizen was

[15]For prostitution see Halperin (note 4), pp.88-112.

sacrosanct and could not be subjected to phallic penetration, a form of *hybris*.

Women prostitutes were socially stratified into five categories: (1) *slaves in brothels*; (2) *street walkers* (slaves, foreigners, poor women); (3) *dancers and flute players* at symposia, who offered music and sex; (4) *concubines*, who were involved in long-term relationships that constituted an alternative to marriage for the poor and were exempt from the tax on prostitution; (5) *courtesans* (*hetairai*), the forerunners of all high-class tarts, educated women who were the nearest thing perhaps to liberated women (Pericles' companion Aspasia is an obvious example).

Athenian prostitutes were regarded as cheap (those at Corinth were thought dear), with one drachma, the daily wage of a labourer, being the standard charge. Dancers and flute players at the symposia could charge two drachmas. Presumably concubines and courtesans made more satisfactory and more long-term arrangements.

7

The system of sexuality outlined in this essay has considerable implications for the understanding of the Lesbos of Sappho about 600 BC. *Mutatis mutandis*, the sexual system of Lesbian society, both male and female, was similar to that obtaining in fifth century Athens. Members of aristocratic bands of male *hetairoi* will have contracted arranged marriages and engaged in homosexual relationships with adolescent boys. Similarly,

Sappho will have entered an arranged marriage - she had a daughter named Kleis - and engaged in lesbian relationships with adolescent girls. So the answer to the age-old question Was Sappho a lesbian? is yes and no; she was, if you like, bisexual (though that term does not adequately describe an arranged marriage and lesbian relationships not with women of her own age, but with adolescent girls).

If in sexual terms Sappho simply replicates the male system from a women's angle, in cultural terms she offers something radically different. The male *hetairoi* will have been devoted to war and to dining in the Great Hall (as in Homer), but Sappho and her friends will have been devoted to the worship of the goddess of love, Aphrodite and to the cultural pursuits of dance and song. In that limited sense, Sappho must be viewed as providing a woman's view and as counter-cultural.

8

The argument of this essay has been that human sexual behaviour is socially constructed. We are so used to our own Western bourgeois system of sexuality that it requires a very great effort to step back and imagine systems of sexuality that are completely different. Fifth century Athens and Lesbos about 600 BC provide us with such a radically different organisation of sexuality and suggest that what we take as a universal norm is, *au contraire*, socially constructed and time-bound. As I write these words, in Nepal a system of fraternal polyandry obtains, where one woman marries

several brothers simultaneously (the reasons are economic), while in Muslim countries a man is allowed to have four wives. There is therefore no human sexual norm; rather, each society constructs a system of sexuality that seems to meet its own special requirements, and which may be changed as these requirements change.

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GREEK SANCTIONS AGAINST SEXUAL ASSAULT

SUSAN GUETTEL COLE

GREEK LITERATURE offers no strict definition of sexual assault, but there were definite sanctions against the offense in both law and custom.[1] While the victim of such assault could be either male or female, the issue of sexual assault of women raises special problems, because in certain circumstances sexual assault could have been treated as adultery.

The sexes were usually segregated from each other in ancient Greece,[2] and the opportunity for sexual contact with women from men outside their families was far more limited, especially in times of peace, than it is in modern Western society. Husbands and fathers kept their wives and daughters under their protection at home in part because they did not trust them,[3] but also because they did not trust other men.[4] Women themselves were aware of the need for protection from men outside their families.[5] Greek standards of modesty demanded that women be protected from any sort of physical contact with any man not her husband,[6] and

1. The original version of this paper was presented before the panel of the Women's Classical Caucus at the meetings of the American Philological Association in Vancouver in December 1978. I would like to thank M. Alexander, M. Gagarin, A. Henrichs, M. Ostwald, and the anonymous referee of *CP,* all of whom read the paper at various stages and whose comments and suggestions improved it at many points.

2. Segregation of the sexes varied according to social class; see K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 1974), p. 98; S. J. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (New York, 1975), pp. 79 → J. Gould, "Women in Classical Athens," *JHS* 100 (1980): 40.

3. Although Euphiletus is represented as trusting his wife after she had given birth to a child (Lys. 1. 6), his suspicions could be easily aroused (1. 17). One reason for close supervision is the Greek male view of female sexuality. For the Greek view that women enjoy sex more than men, see Dover, *Greek Popular Morality,* p. 101; idem, "Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behavior," *Arethusa* 6 (1973): 65 (with a reference to Hes. frag. 275 Merkelbach and West); cf. Gould, "Women in Classical Athens," p. 38, n. 1.

4. For the natural sexual urges of men, see Dem. 54. 14, and for the difficulty of restraining these urges, Xen. *Mem.* 2. 1. 4–5. Cf. Men. *Epit.* 1123–24 *ἡ φύσις ἐβούλεθ', ἣ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει· / γύνη δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷδ' ἔφυ*; Plut. *Con. Prae.* 144E; and Ar. *Nub.* 1070 (for the male view that women enjoy rough sexual treatment). The idea that males are the natural initiators of heterosexual intimacy is reflected in the fact that Greek verbs for sexual intercourse are used in the active of the male and in the passive of the female (e.g., LSJ, s.vv. *βινέω, λαγνεύω, ὀπυίω, σποδέω*; Arist. *EN* 1148b15–9a20). Verbs used in the active of the female are derisive and would not apply to proper Athenian matrons: see D. Bain, "*φίκις, φικιώ, *φικιδίζω*," *ZPE* 52 (1983): 56. For the threat of young men to married women, see [Plut.] *De lib. ed.* 12A.

5. Plut. *De mul. vir.* 249E–F, where the women of Amphissa, fearing that the Dionysiac Thyiades who had fallen asleep in the agora might be assaulted, set up a silent vigil around the sleeping women. It should be noted that the men from whom the women of Amphissa wanted to protect the Thyiades were not the local men of Amphissa, but soldiers quartered there. The women of Amphissa were not themselves at risk because they were protected by their *kyrioi* or guardians. In the same account (249D–E) Plutarch says that if men and women were allowed to associate with one another daily, there would be less fear about seduction and adultery—an idea not generally accepted.

6. The most exaggerated delicacy of this sort is represented by Lys. 3. 6 and Dem. 47. 53.

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the situations in which a woman's (and therefore her family's) reputation were considered compromised encompassed a wide range of behavior.[7] Despite such care, however, unacceptable sexual contact did occur. Seduction of a free woman under the protection of a *kyrios* was considered wrong. The term for this activity was μοιχεύειν (usually translated as "commit adultery"), whether the woman was married or not.[8]

Ancient Greek has no explicit term for "rape" in the sense of "sexual intercourse committed by force," but several expressions used in Greek to mean assault can, in certain circumstances, denote rape. The noun βιασμός, "violence," when used with an objective genitive meaning "girl" or "woman" covers what we would call "rape" (Men. *Epit.* 453 Sandbach); the fact that pregnancy could result from βιασμός means that the word could be used for sexual attacks (Dion. Hal. 1. 77). There are several verbs used to express an act of violence or the use of force against another person, and some of these can be used in certain contexts to mean "assault sexually," especially if the direct object is female. Βιάζεσθαι (Plat. *Leg.* 874C; Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4. 7; Plut. *Sol.* 23, *De mul. vir.* 250A; Paus. 4. 4. 2) and βιᾶσθαι (Hdt. 3. 80, 4. 43, 6. 137), "force," and δαμάζεσθαι (*Leg. Gort.* 2. 11–12), "subdue," belong to this category. With these words the emphasis is on the use of force (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 885–86). Ὑβρίζειν, "outrage," and αἰσχύνειν, "shame," are also used in the context of sexual assault (Lys. 1. 32; Plat. *Leg.* 874C; Isoc. 15. 251; Aeschin. 1. 15; Plut. *Eum.* 9, *Alex.* 12; Dio Cass. 76. 7. 1; Paus. 1. 21. 4). In these cases the violence of the act is defined by its effect on the victim. Ἁρπάζειν, "seize," can be used in conjunction with one of these other verbs in a context where sexual assault is meant (e.g., Plut. *Sol.* 23; Lucian *Hermot.* 81), but when used independently with a female or child as direct object, does not in itself refer to sexual assault, but to abduction.[9] The Greeks con-

7. If a man made suspicious remarks to a woman in the presence of her *kyrios*, he could expect retaliation (Hyp. *Lycoph.* frag. 4b. 5–6). In Macedonia before the first Persian invasion of Greece, the fondling of married women's breasts by Persian envoys was grounds for the men's deaths (Hdt. 5. 18–20).

8. U. E. Paoli, "Il reato di adulterio in diritto attico," *SDHI* 16 (1950): 123, 130–39; Dover, *Greek Popular Morality*, p. 209. The issue of the woman's consent is a delicate one. The verb μοιχεύειν is not used in the active voice for a female subject. This fact, however, is consistent with the use of verbs for sexual intercourse; see n. 4 above. Euphiletus' wife, as portrayed in Lys. 1, is certainly a willing, even provocative partner.

9. P. Walcot, "Herodotus on Rape," *Arethusa* 11 (1978): 137–47, claims that Herodotus, in his preliminary discussion of the source of enmity between the Greeks and Persians, attributes the hostility to a series of rapes. Herodotus uses the term ἁρπαγή, which Walcot translates as "rape," using it in the modern English sense of "sexual assault." LSJ, s.v. ἁρπαγή, however, when translating the Greek word by "rape," uses "rape" in its original English sense of "violent robbery" or the "act of taking something by force." The examples given do not refer to sexual assault, but to robbery, plundering, and abduction. It is in this last sense that Herodotus uses the term to describe the stealing of Io by the Egyptians, of Europa by the Cretans, of Medea by the Greeks, and of Helen by Alexander. When Herodotus means "sexual assault," it is its violence that his language stresses: βιᾶται γυναῖκας (3. 80), ἐβιήσατο παρθένον (4. 43), βιᾶσθαι σφέας (6. 137). Where he uses ἁρπαγή or ἁρπάζω, he describes only abduction (2. 118; 5. 94; 6. 65, 138). Plutarch makes the same error as Walcot, describing the women in the first chapters of Herodotus as βιασθεῖσαι (*De Her. mal.* 857A), the type of term which Herodotus himself avoids. Plutarch is more accurate elsewhere (*Amat.* 755C), where abduction (ἁρπαγή) is coupled with, but precedes, rape (βιασμός). L. Gernet, "Observations sur la loi de Gortyne," *Droit et société dans la Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1955), p. 53, also makes a distinction between abduction and rape. For ἁρπαγή as a term for homosexual abduction, see J. Bremmer, "An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty," *Arethusa* 13 (1980): 285.

sidered ἁρπαγή as reprehensible as sexual assault, but not identical to it.[10]

For our understanding of Greek legal sanctions against rape, we must rely upon two types of sources: legal evidence from inscriptions recording laws or from speeches presented in court; and literary accounts (historical or legendary anecdotes and works of fiction). Evidence of the first kind is, of course, more reliable, but most of what is preserved comes from Athens and Gortyn. Other cities may have had similar sanctions and laws, but it is likely that there was some diversity.

In Athens there were several laws concerned with *moicheia* and sexual assault. These laws were not systematic and did not strictly define either offense. There was a law against forcible rape, reported in two versions, one in a speech of Lysias (1. 32), and the other in Plutarch's *Solon* (23). In both versions the emphasis is on the penalty, and in each case that penalty is a monetary fine. Each version describes the fine in a different way, but I shall argue later that both versions belong to the same law.

There was no specific lawsuit for sexual assault in Athens, but the offense would have been covered under one of two more general charges. A man who had been raped or the *kyrios* of a female or a boy who had been raped could bring a δίκη βιαίων (a charge of assault) against the offender. Such a suit was not restricted to cases of sexual assault, however,[11] and the penalty was only monetary.[12] Because the suit was private, the damages would have been paid to the victim himself, if he were a male adult, or to the *kyrios,* if the victim were a female or a boy. Another suit that could be brought in cases of sexual assault was a γραφὴ ὕβρεως. Because a *graphe* was a public and not a private suit, action could have been brought by someone other than a victim or a victim's *kyrios*. *Hybris* against a free man, woman, child, or slave was actionable (Aeschin. 1. 15; Dem. 21. 45–50). *Hybris* as a legal term is not strictly defined, but it appears that it was felt to involve a kind of arrogant attitude accompanying excessively violent acts meant to bring shame or dishonor to a victim.[13] The charge of *hybris,* however, was rather general, applicable to crimes other than sexual assault.[14]

10. Ἁρπαγή was not an offense at Athens: J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren* (Leipzig, 1905–15; repr. Darmstadt, 1966), p. 442. Cf. *RE* 7.2 (1912): 2395, s.v. ἁρπαγῆς γραφή (Thalheim), where it seems that the suit for ἁρπαγή elsewhere was one for theft.

11. It could be used in cases of illegal enslavement: see Lys. 23. 12.

12. A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* vol. 1 (Oxford, 1968), p. 35.

13. D. M. MacDowell, "*Hybris* in Athens," *G&R* 23 (1976): 16–31, esp. 26–27, emphasizes the attitude of the offender, while N. R. E. Fisher, "*Hybris* and Dishonour: I," *G&R* 23 (1976): 177–93 and "*Hybris* and Dishonour: II," *G&R* 26 (1979): 32–47, concentrates, more correctly, on the effects of *hybris* on the victim; M. Gagarin, "The Athenian Law against *Hybris*," *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M. W. Knox on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday,* ed. G. W. Bowersock et al. (Berlin and New York, 1979), pp. 229–36, points out that in *Rhet.* 1373b28–74a17 Aristotle indicates that the definition of *hybris* depends not so much on the attitude of the offender, but on his intent.

14. K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 36, argues that rape would not necessarily make the offender liable to a charge of *hybris*. He would exempt rape that was the result of exuberant sexual feeling, committed with no intention of harming the victim; but certainly it is the effect on the victim, not the attitude of the rapist, that is the determining factor. In support of Dover, it is rape of the kind that he describes for which the young men of Menander's plays seem so easily to be forgiven; but we should note that Menander's young men never have to face an Athenian jury.

Fourth-century writers associate three Athenian laws with *moicheia*. One law requires a husband who catches[15] an adulterer to cease living with his wife or face the possibility of *atimia;* the guilty woman is barred from public religious ceremonies ([Dem.] 59. 86–87). A second law exempts from prosecution a *kyrios* who kills an adulterer caught in the act with a woman under his guardianship. Demosthenes includes this law in a list of four situations where homicide is not considered a crime. Describing one of two situations of intentional homicide,[16] he says that if a man kills a person whom he finds in intercourse with his wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubine with whom he consorts for the purpose of producing freeborn children, he shall not be exiled [for homicide] (23. 53). The law applies only in situations where the offender is caught in the act and protects only a man who is connected by kinship, marriage, or a recognized relationship with a free woman. A third law protected an accused adulterer and allowed for a suit (*γραφὴ ἀδίκως εἱρχθῆναι ὡς μοιχόν*) to be brought against the man who had unjustly detained him. If the suit was unsuccessful, the offended *kyrios* could perform in court on the assailant any punishment he chose, as long as he did not use a knife ([Dem.] 59. 66). None of these three laws actually defines *moicheia;* they are concerned instead only with the penalties for those involved.

The statement that comes closest to defining *moicheia* occurs in the law on intentional homicide attributed by Demosthenes to Draco, where Demosthenes describes the offense as being caught in the act of intercourse with a free woman under the protection of a *kyrios*. A paraphrase of this law by Lysias (1. 30),[17] and a reference to the law by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 57. 3),[18] indicate that later Athenians took it to refer to *moicheia*. Both Lysias and Aristotle use the same phrase: *μοιχὸν λαβών*. Plutarch refers to the same law but calls it a law of Solon, and says that it gave the man who caught a *moichos* the right to kill him (*Sol.* 23). Nothing in Demosthenes' version of the law, however, excludes rape. In fact, in a myth about the first trial for intentional homicide at Athens, Ares is acquitted of the killing of a man caught in the act of raping his daughter (Paus. 1. 21. 4 *αἰσχύναντα*).[19] The myth obviously incorporates the law on inten-

15. Or "procures the conviction of": see Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* 1:36, n. 1.

16. See M. Gagarin, "Self-Defense in Athenian Homicide Law," *GRBS* 19 (1978): 116–17.

17. Lysias paraphrases the law in a speech written for the defense of Euphiletus, a husband who claims to have caught an adulterer with his wife. The content of two of the laws read in court can be inferred from Euphiletus' gloss. One of these, which he calls "that law from the stele on the Areopagus," is the same one that Demosthenes attributes to Draco. Euphiletus says that whoever catches an adulterer with his wife (1. 30 *ὃς ἂν ἐπὶ δάμαρτι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μοιχὸν λαβών*; for *ἐπὶ δάμαρτι*, cf. Dem. 23. 53) will not be punished. In the next sentence, when Euphiletus adds that the lawgiver allowed a man caught in *moicheia* with another man's *pallake* to be killed, he repeats another of the protected relationships mentioned by Demosthenes. The law summarized by Lysias and cited by Demosthenes is not included on the preserved part of a fifth-century copy of Draco's law on homicide from the Stoa Basileios (*IG* I^2. 115), for which, see R. S. Stroud, *Drakon's Law on Homicide* (Berkeley, 1968). M. Gagarin, *Drakon and Early Athenian Homicide Law* (New Haven, 1981), pp. 26–28, suggests that a separate stele was located on the Areopagus, recording the laws of concern to that court.

18. Giving three of the four cases of justifiable homicide listed by Demosthenes, Aristotle includes the situation of a man who catches and kills an adulterer.

19. Cf. Apollod. 3. 14. 2 (*βιαζόμενος*); the original version goes back to Hellanicus, for which see *FGrH* 323a F 22.

tional homicide attributed to Draco. It does not seem likely that the Athenians would have tolerated a legal inconsistency in a story meant to glorify the Areopagus, one of their hallowed institutions. At the time the story was invented, therefore, the law attributed to Draco was apparently believed to cover rape as well as *moicheia*. There are two possible explanations: either Draco's law did not distinguish between *moicheia* and rape, but covered all types of proscribed sexual intercourse with a free woman; or the definition of *moicheia* itself could in certain circumstances (e.g., when the *moichos* was caught in the act?) include a situation where the woman was not a willing partner.

Neither of these explanations is entirely satisfactory, because in both sources where the penalty for rape is compared with the penalty for *moicheia, moicheia* is contrasted with rape and distinguished from it by the severity of the penalty imposed. Both Lysias and Plutarch believe *moicheia* to be a far more serious crime in Athens, and both believe that the penalty for *moicheia* exceeded the penalty for sexual assault. In his discussion of laws about sexual offenses, Plutarch says that Solon gave "to the one who catches a *moichos* the right to kill him, but if anyone seizes (*ἁρπάσῃ*) a free woman and forces (*βιάσηται*) her, he assigned the penalty of one hundred drachmas" (*Sol.* 23).[20] Plutarch is distressed that the punishment for *moicheia* is so severe, while the penalty for sexual assault is so mild. If, however, there were some basic distinction between the two acts, the difference in penalty might be explicable. One distinction might lie in the fact that *moicheia* was thought of as taking place in the woman's home, as in the case of Euphiletus' wife in Lysias 1,[21] and that rape was considered to be an act that took place outside her home, as in Menander's *Epitrepontes,* where a young woman is assaulted on the way home from a religious festival (450–54).

In Lysias 1, Euphiletus' discussion of the penalties for *moicheia* and sexual *bia* makes the same distinction in penalty as Plutarch does and offers an explanation. In order to prove that the punishment for *moicheia* is greater than the punishment for sexual assault, he paraphrases a law on sexual assault: "If someone shames by force [*αἰσχύνῃ βίᾳ*] a free man or child, the penalty is assessed at double the damage.[22] If anyone [shames by force] a woman for whom it is permissible to kill [him], he is liable to the same penalty" (1. 32). For dishonoring by the use of force a woman in the category of wife, mother, daughter, sister, or concubine of an Athenian citizen, the offender owes double the damage. In other words, a *moichos* could be killed, but a rapist only pays a fine. The difference in penalty, according to Euphiletus, is due to the fact that *moicheia* occurs by means of persuasion, sexual assault by means of force. He argues that the law allows a greater penalty for the *moichos* because the use of persuasion to effect compliance corrupts the woman's soul and casts doubt

20. E. Ruschenbusch, ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ NOMOI, Historia Einzelschriften 9 (Wiesbaden, 1966), p. 64, T 8 and p. 77, F 28.

21. Paoli, "Il reato di adulterio," p. 123.

22. It is not clear from the Greek whether *διπλῆν* refers to the doubling of the assessment of the damage to the victim, or to the doubling of the fine in a previous law: see below, pp. 102–3.

on the paternity of her husband's children. It can be argued from this that sexual assault, only *bia* against the body of the woman, does not cause her to betray her *kyrios* or guardian. Here, then, is one explanation for the problem that troubles Plutarch; the possible distinction between *moicheia,* as an offense that takes place in the home, and sexual assault, as an offense that takes place elsewhere, provides another.

The law on sexual assault paraphrased by Lysias is consistent with the law on sexual assault described by Plutarch. The language defining the offense is similar. Plutarch uses the verb βιάζεσθαι; Lysias uses the expression αἰσχύνειν βίᾳ. The use of the verb αἰσχύνειν by Lysias' speaker is more apt to reflect the appearance of decorum that he is trying to convey than the wording of the law itself, but the idea of force (*bia*) as the defining feature in sexual assault is present in both versions and indicates that both laws covered the same offense. The law reported in Lysias' text, however, extends the range of sexual assault to include both free men and boys as well as women. Nevertheless, while Plutarch includes his version of the law among a list of sexual offenses against women, there is no reason to believe that the law on sexual assault he attributes to Solon referred in its original form only to women. Plutarch paraphrases only that part of the law that refers to women because sexual offenses against women are his immediate subject.

One issue troubling commentators is the apparent inconsistency between the penalty for sexual assault described by Plutarch (one hundred drachmas) and the penalty described by Lysias. Lysias' text might mean that the amount was fixed by assessing the damage to the victim and doubling that amount. Lipsius and D. M. MacDowell accept this interpretation and assume that the law had changed since the time of Solon.[23] If this were true, the earlier version of the law, the one attributed to Solon, would cover a case where the penalty was fixed by law (ἀτίμητος) and the second, the one paraphrased by Lysias, one assessed in court (τιμητός). G. Glotz, whom Harrison appears to follow, suggests that Lysias paraphrases only part of the law and that the complete version defined the penalty for violating a free person as twice that for violating a slave.[24] In this case both versions could cover a situation where the penalty was

23. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht,* pp. 259, 435, 639; MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (London and Ithaca, 1978), p. 124, appears to follow Lipsius, accepting (n. 261) the questionable evidence of Harpocration, s.v. βιαίων (which he wrongly attributes to *Lex. Cant.*, s.v. βιαίων δίκη), that the offender had to pay equal amounts of compensation to the woman's *kyrios* and to the state.

24. *La solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce* (Paris, 1904), pp. 393–94. Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* 1:34–35, n. 2, puzzled by the procedure for assigning a value to a person's chastity and the doubling of it, is inclined to follow Glotz. Unfortunately, a similar law parodied by Herondas (who attributes it to Charondas from Ionian Catana) is no help: ἐπὴν δ' ἐλεύθερός τις αἰκίσῃ δούλην / ἢ ἐ(λ)κων ἐπίσπῃ, τῆς δίκης τὸ τίμημα / διπλοῦν τελείτω (2. 46–48). The offense seems to be assault, not rape, and the speaker, a pimp who probably owns female slaves for hire as prostitutes, could be compensated for damage to his property. F. Salviat and C. Vatin, "La répression des violences sexuelles dans la convention entre Delphes et Pellana, le droit d'Athènes et les *Lois* de Platon," *Inscriptions de Grèce centrale* (Paris, 1971), p. 72, suggest that in Lysias 1. 32 Euphiletus quotes only part of the fourth-century law on sexual assault, maintaining that there must have been a two-part penalty, a fixed amount set by law (as in the law attributed to Solon) plus an amount to be set by the court to cover twice the loss of other damage incurred in the attack. They seem right on the first point, wrong on the second.

fixed by law. The fine mentioned by Plutarch refers to the case of sexual assault of a free woman. Sexual assault of a slave, by the formula in Lysias, would therefore require a fine of fifty drachmas. On the whole, the interpretation of Glotz seems preferable to that of Lipsius and MacDowell because it would not then be necessary to assume that the procedure for fixing the penalty for sexual assault had changed over time. Further, a graduated scale of fines for sexual assault at Athens would correspond to the system at Gortyn.[25] Whichever the case, it still remains that at Athens it was believed that *moicheia* could be punished more severely than sexual assault.

We do not know whether Euphiletus' arguments convinced the jury, but he at least expected these arguments to be believable. The fact that he so carefully distinguishes between *moicheia* and rape indicates that he thought his audience would make the same distinction. What then does this mean for our discussion of the original law attributed to Draco? That law did not distinguish between *moicheia* and rape. A myth whose plot depends on an interpretation of that law assumes that it referred to rape as well as to *moicheia*. I would like to suggest that the original law on intentional homicide was stated almost exactly as it stands in Demosthenes' text (23. 53), that its intention was not to distinguish between rape and *moicheia,* but simply, as it states, to exonerate a *kyrios* who killed someone caught in intercourse with a woman under his protection.[26] At some time between this law and the speech of Lysias, another law, one on sexual assault, was introduced, whether by Solon, as Plutarch says, or by someone else. This new law encouraged a distinction between rape as an act of violence, and *moicheia* as an act of choice. Because of this distinction, the original law came to be thought of as a law on *moicheia,* and when later writers, such as Lysias, Aristotle, and Plutarch, refer to it, they describe it as a law on *moicheia*.[27]

In spite of Euphiletus' rhetoric, it is important to notice that his argument is sophistic. He wants to argue that the punishment for the adulterer is death, but he alludes only to that law which allows for the death of a *moichos* in one specific situation. The law does not require but only allows the offender to be killed, and it allows this only if he is caught in the act. Euphiletus tries to make the jury believe that the law on intentional homicide (1. 30) sets death as the penalty for the *moichos*. He chooses not to mention that there was a legal procedure for redress in cases of adultery, a γραφὴ μοιχείας, heard by the Thesmothetai (*Ath. Pol.* 59. 3). Granted, the penalty in such a case could be more severe than the penalty for sexual assault, but it is not the death penalty, as Euphiletus

25. As argued by S. Cataldi, "Commento storico-giuridico al trattato di assistenza giudiziaria tra Delfi e Pellana," *ASNP,* 3d ser., 7.2 (1977): 540–41.

26. Gagarin, *Drakon,* p. 118, points out that such a law "allowing the killing of an adulterer caught in the act . . . can easily be thought of as a prescription for lawful homicide."

27. Cf. Lys. 1. 30, *Ath. Pol.* 57. 3, and Plut. *Sol.* 23 for the phrase μοιχὸν λαβών. It is possible, but not likely, that such a phrase stood in the original law. At any rate, other later writers assumed the law to refer to *moicheia*. Xenarchus frag. 4 Kock (Ath. 13. 569A) and Pausanias 9. 36. 8 both refer to Draconian legislation about *moicheia*.

would like the court to believe.[28] From the speech delivered against Neaera, it is clear that in another type of suit, where an accused *moichos* charged the woman's *kyrios* with illegal imprisonment and lost, the *kyrios* could do in court whatever he wished to the adulterer, as long as he did not use a knife ([Dem.] 59. 66). Physical punishment of the adulterer was allowed, but the offended *kyrios* probably could not kill a convicted adulterer in this type of suit.[29] Although we do not know what the possible penalties were in a γραφὴ μοιχείας, it is unlikely that this suit would have allowed a greater punishment.

If little is known about the procedure for prosecution of violence against women, even less is known of actual cases.[30] Dinarchus says that a man named Themistius was condemned to death because during the festival at Eleusis he had dishonored (ὕβρισεν) a young female musician from Rhodes (*Dem.* 23). There is nothing to show that the offense of *hybris* accompanied an act of sexual assault,[31] and it is not even clear that the suit was a *graphe* for *hybris*.[32] Lucian describes a scene in which the uncle of a youth complains that he had to pay a talent because his nephew had lost a δίκη βιαίων for raping a neighbor's daughter (*Hermot.* 81), but Lucian is not necessarily a reliable source for the classical period.

28. As Lipsius points out, *Das attische Recht,* pp. 432–33, n. 50. Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* 1:35, and W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London, 1968), p. 114, apparently believe Euphiletus. In Lysias' text Euphiletus says that a man who catches an adulterer can do anything to him he wishes (1. 49). One assumes that this refers to situations where the *moichos* is caught in the act. The nature of the punishments popularly thought to have been possible is indicated by Ar. *Nub.* 1083 (and schol.), *Plut.* 168, and schol. ad *Thesm.* 537. That adulterers actually survived such punishment is shown by a remark in Isaeus 8. 44, where it is said that Diocles had been caught in adultery, but that the punishment he suffered had not made him give up the habit. As Harrison points out (ibid., n. 2), Lycophron was charged with *moicheia,* but the death penalty to which he was liable if convicted was the result of the procedure (εἰσαγγελία), not the charge (Hyp. *Lycoph.* 20). On punishments for adultery at Rome, see A. Richlin, "Sources on Adultery at Rome," *Women's Studies* 8 (1981): 228 (repr. in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity,* ed. H. P. Foley [New York and London, 1981], p. 382) and "The Meaning of *Irrumare* in Catullus and Martial," *CP* 76 (1981): 40–46.

29. Paoli, "Il reato di adulterio," p. 149, suggests that the convicted adulterer could be thrashed to death in court, but can cite no evidence.

30. MacDowell, "*Hybris* in Athens," p. 29, says that there is no extant speech from a γραφὴ ὕβρεως, but Fisher, "*Hybris* I," p. 192, n. 15, points out that a speech of Isaeus against Diocles (frag. 6 Budé) was written for such a case. The issue of that speech, however, is not rape, but disenfranchisement. In Dem. 54. 8–9 Ariston argues that Konon showed *hybris* when he assaulted him, but Ariston brought a δίκη αἰκείας against Konon instead of a γραφὴ ὕβρεως. Cf. Harp., s.v. ἀξιοῖ, for a possible lost speech of Antiphon about *hybris* against a boy.

31. Fisher, "*Hybris* I," p. 193, n. 44, lists passages where *hybris* seems to refer to sexual acts between men and women. Of the passages which he says refer to rape, only Hdt. 6. 137 and Eur. *Hipp.* 1073 are unambiguous. Men can behave with *hybris* toward women in many ways. The possible range of the actions by a man against a woman that can be described as originating from *hybris* can be illustrated by three examples. In the first, Electra's peasant husband explains that he has refrained from sexual relations with his wife because it would be an act of *hybris* for a man of his status to sleep with a woman of her class even though she is his wife (Eur. *El.* 45–46). In the second, when Hippias refuses to allow the sister of Harmodius to carry a basket in a religious procession, the dishonor to the sister (and therefore to Harmodius) is described as *hybris* (Arist. *Pol.* 1311a–b; cf. Thuc. 6. 57). In the third, Andocides attacks Alcibiades for openly bringing mistresses into the same home with his legal wife and calls this an act of *hybris* (*Alc.* 14). None of the acts called *hybris* in these examples would be actionable in a court of law. For use of the term *hybris* in situations where rape might be part of disrespect to women, see Thuc. 8. 74; Isoc. 4. 114; Hyp. *Epit.* 20 (corrupt).

32. MacDowell, "*Hybris* in Athens," p. 29, suggests that the case was one of προβολή and that the charge actually involved not the *hybris* itself, but interference with the religious festival. There is nothing in Dinarchus to imply that sexual assault was involved.

No other contemporary evidence for legal proceedings in specific cases of sexual assault is extant from classical Athens. The only other evidence comes indirectly from Roman comedy and the late rhetorical tradition. In Roman adaptations of lost Athenian plays, an unmarried man could be compelled to marry his rape victim.[33] Further, in Greek and Roman rhetorical exercises of late antiquity, there are references to different laws relating to the punishment of men who rape young women. For instance, Hermogenes reports that a girl who has been raped can choose either that the rapist die or that he marry her (*Peri stas.* 10 Rabe 87). Sopater says that the penalty for rape was a fine of one thousand drachmas (*Rhetores Graeci* 8. 362 Walz); he also reports that if a man raped a girl at a *panegyris,* he had to pay ten thousand drachmas (8. 370–73). As with the story told by Lucian, these amounts seem very high when compared with the actual Athenian evidence.[34]

The *Controversiae* of the elder Seneca preserve several model debates based on two hypothetical laws, one of which says that a girl who has been raped can choose either death for a rapist or marriage to him without dowry,[35] and another which says that a rapist will die unless he wins over the injured girl's father and his own within thirty days (*Controv.* 2. 3). The second is in obvious contradiction with the first, where the choice is left to the girl instead of her father. S. F. Bonner argues that the first is not inconsistent with Athenian custom, basing his argument on the tradition from New Comedy as it appears in the plays of Plautus and Terence.[36] Except, however, for a single example where one of Menander's characters seems obliged to obtain his father's permission to marry a girl whom he has seduced (*Fab. inc.* 30–31),[37] there is nothing extant from Athens to confirm this. In general, the laws quoted in the rhetorical exercises are not reliable. Their origins are unknown, and they are quoted in exercises whose purpose was not to teach law, but to teach public speaking. Further, all the laws on rape, as reported in the rhetorical exercises of the Imperial period, both Greek and Latin, are concerned with the seduction or rape of unmarried virgins, a limitation that is not characteristic of the laws for classical Athens.

There is no way to know just how many cases actually came to trial at Athens. Women, of course, although they could appear as witnesses, could not prosecute a suit.[38] A woman's *kyrios,* in any private suit, would

33. Plaut. *Aul.* 793–95; Ter. *An.* 780, where it is emphasized that Glycerium is an Athenian. For comments on these passages, see Lipsius, *Das attische Recht,* p. 482, and Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* 1:19, n. 2. On the reliability of Roman comedy for Athenian law, → E. Fantham, "Women in New Comedy," *Phoenix* 29 (1975): 44–45.

34. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht,* p. 639, and Cataldi, "Commento storico-giuridico," p. 539, discount them. Cf. [Quint.] *Decl.* 252. For other examples, almost certainly fictitious, see J. Meurs, *Themis Attica,* vol. 2 (Lugduni Batavorum, 1685), pp. 18–19.

35. *Controv.* 1. 5, 3. 5, 7. 8, 8. 6; cf. [Quint.] *Decl.* 262, 270, 280, 286.

36. *Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire* (Berkeley, 1949), pp. 89–90.

37. Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* 1:19, n. 2.

38. But they could issue the summons: Ar. *Vesp.* 1406–8; MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens,* p. 238. Women could not conduct suits themselves: see Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* 1:32, 108; schol. Ar. *Eq.* 969a–c (Jones), cited by Harrison as 965.

have had to act as prosecutor, but a comment by Aeschines indicates that husbands were reluctant to testify about a wife's infidelity.[39] In addition to the scandal of a public trial, the requirement that the husband divorce an unfaithful wife might have been awkward because the husband would have had to return her dowry. From the fact that Eratosthenes tried to strike a bargain with Euphiletus before Euphiletus killed him (Lys. 1. 25), it is clear that an offended *kyrios* could have made a cash settlement out of court with a *moichos* in order to avoid the scandal that a court case would have involved. Such a settlement would be risky, however, because the suit for *moicheia* could be brought by someone else. The foregoing rules apply to *moicheia;* in the case of sexual assault, one would expect a *kyrios* to be ready to initiate a suit because the offense was clearly not the woman's fault, but there is no evidence on this point.[40]

Socially at least, the consequences of *moicheia* were considered more important to the woman's family than to the woman herself. The consequence to be feared was the introduction into the family of a bastard child, especially a bastard son.[41] One would expect the same concern to apply in cases of sexual assault of a female, but there is no evidence on this point. Nevertheless, if pregnancy resulted from a sexual assault, it is possible that the child would have been exposed. A literary illustration of a rape followed by pregnancy and exposure of the child occurs in Euripides' *Ion,* where the text makes clear that Creusa was raped and not seduced (437–38).[42] In several plays of Menander the plot turns on the fate of a child who is born after a rape and exposed.[43]

The consequences of sexual assault for a female victim are not a consideration in Attic law. Any monetary compensation would go to her *kyrios,* not to her. Harrison assumes that a married victim of rape would have been liable to the same fate as a woman caught in *moicheia,* who could not continue to live with her husband and who was permanently barred from participation in public religious rites.[44] The law on this issue, however, may not distinguish married from unmarried women,[45] and would not necessarily apply to a victim of sexual assault. The issue of exclusion from religious ceremonies raises the issue of possible ritual pollution for a woman caught in *moicheia.* If the issue is one of defilement,

39. Aeschines claims (1. 107) that he had been unable to get any men whose wives had been seduced by Timarchus to testify in a suit for *moicheia.*

40. Plato's proposal for a law on sexual assault is of course no evidence for actual Athenian practice, but it is of interest to note that he gives to the victim the right of killing a rapist (*Leg.* 874C). He states that the punishment for sexual assault of a free woman or child is death at the hands of the victim or the victim's father, brother, or sons.

41. This point is developed by Lacey, *The Family,* p. 115; see also Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* 1:32.

42. Cf. Soph. *Tyro* (frags. 648–69 Radt) and Eur. *Mel. Des.* (frags. 489–516 Nauck[2] and Page, *GLP* 13).

43. For example, *Samia, Epitrepontes, Phasma.* For a discussion of the motif of rape in the plays of Menander, see Fantham, "Women in New Comedy," pp. 53–55, 67–68.

44. For the Athenian penalties for a woman caught in *moicheia,* see [Dem.] 59. 85–86, discussed by Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* 1:36, n. 1.

45. Unless γυνή means "wife" in [Dem.] 59. 87.

it might also have applied to a woman who had been raped: she may have been considered defiled whether it was her fault or not.[46]

An unmarried woman guilty of *moicheia* was considered unfit for marriage. One of the accusations brought against Lycophron, allegedly a notorious seducer, was that he had made many women unfit for marriage, forcing them to remain unmarried in their fathers' homes (Hyp. *Lycoph.* frag. 4b. 12). This evidence is inconsistent with a law attributed to Solon by Plutarch, which, while unattested elsewhere, allowed a father or brother to sell an unmarried daughter or sister into slavery (*Sol.* 23), and may have been designed to provide a remedy for a *kyrios* who did not want to risk *atimia*. The evidence about Lycophron, then, may only indicate that fourth-century custom did not necessarily coincide with earlier law.

An unmarried victim of sexual assault may have suffered the same fate as a girl who had been seduced. Menander's plays, however, suggest that an unmarried victim of rape might escape conventional opprobrium by marrying her assailant (if he were also suitably eligible). The successful resolution of Menander's plots often depends in fact on the satisfactory marriage of a victim and her attacker. It is important to observe in these cases that the girl has been raped and not seduced.[47] Sexual passion is expected of a young man but is unforgivable in a young woman. The victim of rape is superior to a woman who has been seduced in only this respect: the sexual activity was not her fault. Consequently, she is still marriageable, but only to her attacker. How common such marriages were, we have no way of knowing. Menander is certainly not to be trusted on this point, just as he is not to be trusted on the survival of exposed infants, another frequent motif in his plays.

The discussion thus far of Athenian laws and customs about *moicheia* and sexual assault results in the following observations. The Athenians did distinguish between the two offenses in law, in procedure, and in penalty. Our difficulty in reconstructing these distinctions arises from the chance survival of the evidence. While we know that there was a law

46. Aeschines says that a woman caught in adultery would be excluded from public sacrifices because she might corrupt other women (1. 183), but it is clear from the treatment of women caught in adultery at Cumae that it was thought that such a woman could be a source of pollution (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 219F). In the speech against Neaera ([Dem.] 59. 85–86; see note 44, above), it is argued that a woman caught in adultery must be excluded from sanctuaries and sacrifices on pain of any punishment just short of death for two reasons: (1) to protect sanctuaries from pollution and impiety (*μιάσματα* and *ἀσεβήματα*) and (2) to establish a punishment great enough to inspire fear in order to encourage women to live modestly. For control of women's ritual activity as a means of social control, see B. J. Garland, "*Gynaikonomoi:* An Investigation of Greek Censors of Women" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1981), pp. 150–53, and H. Mills, "Greek Clothing Regulations: Sacred and Profane?" *ZPE*, forthcoming. Included on a list of ritual prohibitions relating to sexual abstinence, from a cult of Men at Sunium in the second century, is a requirement that a man who has committed sexual assault or forcible rape not be allowed to sacrifice: F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1969), p. 106, no. 55.8. I know of no such restriction for victims of rape. See Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 300E, for an explanation of the exclusion of women from the sanctuary of the hero Eunostus: he died because of a woman's false accusation of rape. For a different view on punishment of adultery and pollution, see R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 94–97.

47. See A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 33–34, where it is made clear that marriage would be preferable to a lawsuit.

against *moicheia* because we know the procedure for prosecution (γραφὴ μοιχείας), we may not have the law about *moicheia* itself. We do know that there was a law against sexual assault, but we are not told, except in myth, what could happen if a *kyrios* killed a man he caught raping his wife, sister, daughter, or *pallake*.[48] We know the laws concerning the penalties for women guilty of *moicheia,* but we have no legal evidence for possible consequences for the victim of sexual assault. The last two issues would not be troublesome if there were some reason to believe that *moicheia* with a woman and *bia* against a woman were considered to have the same result, but there is no evidence for that belief.

Although the penalties for adultery in cities other than Athens are sometimes known,[49] little is known about the penalties for sexual assault in other cities of Greece. An exception is Gortyn on Crete, the only place for which there is evidence of a clear linguistic and legal distinction between *moicheia* and rape. The laws of that city, preserved on an inscription of the mid-fifth century B.C.,[50] list separate penalties for each offense and refer to adultery and rape by different terms. Rape is described by the expression κάρτει οἴπῆι (*Leg. Gort.* 2. 3), which refers explicitly to sexual intercourse by force.[51] The penalties for rape vary with the social class of the victim and the social class of the offender. The highest compensation is demanded in the case of the rape of a free man or woman by a slave (2. 5–7: two hundred staters). Half of that amount is required in the case of the rape of a free man or woman by a free person (2. 3–4). Rape of a person of the rank of ἀπέταιρος (a term which may refer to a free person with no political rights)[52] is compensated by the payment of ten staters (2. 5). If a free person rapes a male or female slave, the penalty is only five drachmas (2. 7–9; two drachmas equal one stater), while if a male slave rapes a male or female slave, the penalty is five staters (2. 9–10).[53] In none of these cases is there any distinction between

48. But see Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* 1:34–35.

49. At Locri a man caught in adultery had his eyes cut out (Heraclid. Pont. 30. 3, *FHG* 2:221; Ael. *VH* 13. 24). At Leprium a man caught in adultery was bound and led through the city for three days and a woman was punished by being forced to stand in the agora wearing transparent clothing (Heraclid. Pont. 14, *FHG* 2:217). In Pisidia an adulterer was led around the city on a donkey (Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 103.1); see P. Schmitt-Pantel, "L'âne, l'adultère et la cité," *Le charivari* (Paris, 1982), pp. 117–22.

50. Inscribed in the middle of the fifth century, the laws of Gortyn reflect an earlier tradition. For the date, see L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 310, 315; R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn,* Kadmos Suppl. 1 (Berlin, 1967), pp. 8–9.

51. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality,* p. 123, describes οἴφειν as a "very blunt word for sexual intercourse," referring to its appearance on a series of early (seventh-century B.C.) inscriptions on Thera: *IG* 12.3. 536, 537, 538b. It is likely that Mimnermos used this word (frag. 21a West).

52. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn,* p. 12.

53. The issue of social classes at Gortyn is a thorny one. In the laws of the city free citizens are called ἐλεύθερος/ἐλευθέρα. There is a second class of free people called ἀπέταιροι who, although free, are excluded from rights of citizenship. The non-free population is described by two terms: ϝοικεύς/ϝοικέα and δοῦλος/δοῦλα. Late writers describe a class on Crete halfway between slave and free, defining it as attached to the land (Strab. 12. 542, 15. 701; Ath. 6. 263E–64A). Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn,* pp. 13–15, argues that this is actually a class of serfs, to be distinguished from slaves that could be bought and sold. The fifth-century laws, however, use the terms ϝοικεύς and δοῦλος almost interchangeably, usually to refer to the class attached to the land. Willetts (pp. 16–17) suggests that the laws refer only twice to slaves that can be bought and sold, namely, in 2. 11–16, the passage on sexual violation of a female domestic slave, and in 7. 10–15, where the rules for buying and selling of slaves are listed. Concurring with M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae,* vol. 4 (Rome, 1950), p. 153, I have translated both ϝοικεύς

the rape of a man and the rape of a woman.[54]

Immediately following the list of penalties for rape, the inscription records two special categories of offenses related to, but not identical with, rape. As opposed to rape, which could be directed against either a male or a female, these two offenses are directed only against women. The first is described by the expression κάρτει δαμάσαιτο (2. 11–12), which refers to subjection or seduction by force. Δαμάζω and δάμνημι are commonly used to mean "tame" if the object is an animal, and to mean "seduce" if the object is a woman.[55] Implied in the second meaning of the term is the idea of domination of a man over a woman and the consequent sexual submission of the unwilling female. The term could be used of the submission of a wife to her husband,[56] or of an unmarried woman to an aggressive seducer. The action described by the word is not necessarily immoral. In the law from Gortyn, however, it is the accompanying expression "by force" and the characterization of the victim as a female slave "belonging to the home" that makes the activity illegal. Compensation for the crime is high: five staters. The same amount is demanded for the rape of a slave by a slave, but in the present situation five staters would be demanded even from a free man (who otherwise would be liable for a fine of only five drachmas for rape of a female slave not "belonging to the home"). The reason becomes clear in the next line, where it is stipulated that if the victim has been previously seduced (δεδαμν[α]μέναν), the fine is only one obol by day, two by night (2. 13–15). Clearly a higher premium is placed on a female domestic slave who is a virgin. There are two possible explanations for this. One is that a virgin would be more valuable should she be sold. The other is that her master has *ius primae noctis*. Thus the activity described by the expression κάρτει δαμάσαιτο would not be rape in the technical sense, but sexual subjugation of a woman the sexual rights to whom belong initially to her owner.

The second offense is described by the words ἐπιπ̄ερ̄ε̄̂ται οἴπεν (2. 17), which mean "attempt to have intercourse," and which have been taken by Gernet to refer to attempted rape.[57] The language describing the of-

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and δοῦλος as "slave," although the word used in the law about rape is usually ϝοικεύς and the word used in the law about adultery is δοῦλος. For the synonymity of ϝοικεύς and δοῦλος in the Gortynian inscription, see M. I. Finley, "The Servile Statuses of Ancient Greece," *RIDA*, 3d ser., 7 (1960): 169–70 (repr. in *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* [New York, 1982], pp. 135–37).

54. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn*, p. 58, suggests that a gloss of Hesychius gives the reason: Κρῆτα τ(ρ)όπου· τὸ παιδικοῖς χρῆσθαι. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, p. 189, thinks that Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 149) describes "ritualized homosexual rape" on Crete, but from the description in Ephorus, it is clear that the issue is actually abduction, and that any sexual activity must not result from the use of force. There is nothing described in Ephorus that would be illegal under the laws of Gortyn. [Plut.] *De lib. ed.* 12A expresses disapproval of the Cretan custom.

55. See E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979), pp. 101 and 235, n. 22. The term δαμάζειν is used of the reluctant submission of Thetis to Peleus (*Il.* 18. 432), of Trojan wives about to be raped by Greeks (*Il.* 3. 301), and of Clytemnestra seduced by Aegisthus (*Od.* 3. 269).

56. For advice to a woman on how to behave in such a situation, see Ar. *Lys.* 162–66; cf. Eur. *Med.* 623 and 1366.

57. "Observations," pp. 53–54.

fense, however, does not imply that the offense is thought of as accompanied by violence, and it seems more correct to interpret the offense, as Willetts does,[58] as an attempt at seduction. The victim is defined as a free woman under the jurisdiction of a καδεστάς, a relative other than father, brother, or husband.[59] The victim, therefore, would be an ἐπίκληρος, and the fine, only ten staters, is less than that for rape of or *moicheia* with a free woman, because the intercourse is only attempted and not completed.[60] This is the only instance among the sexual offenses on this list where a witness is necessary.

The next section of the column deals with the fines for *moicheia* (2. 20–28). Like the fines for rape, the fines for *moicheia* are graduated according to social class. The amounts of compensation for rape and adultery are the same, except that adultery with a free woman must take place in the house of her father, brother, or husband for the full compensation to be required. The fine for adultery taking place anywhere else is set at only half of the full amount.

From the description of the procedure for dealing with captured offenders in cases of rape and *moicheia,* it is clear that at Gortyn, at least, the ransoming of the captive is controlled by members of the offended family. The amounts of compensation provided by law would be awarded directly to the victim or the victim's family. In the case of the rape of a free male, the victim himself would receive payment. In the case of the rape of or *moicheia* with a free female, the money would probably be paid to the woman herself.[61] In the case of the rape of a slave woman, the money would be awarded to her owner. As opposed to Athens, where the penalty for *moicheia* could be death if the offender were caught in the act, at Gortyn the highest penalty is only monetary.[62] At Gortyn, however, rape is considered more serious than *moicheia* in two ways. The rape of a free person demands compensation regardless of the location of the offense, but *moicheia* must take place in the home of the woman (and therefore of her *kyrios*) in order to require the full amount. Adultery is a violation of the family and of the *kyrios,* but especially so when it takes place in the family's home. Further, while there is a penalty for the rape of a slave by a free person, there is no penalty for adultery between a free man and a slave woman. *Moicheia* does not apply to a slave woman because she does not have a *kyrios*.

The distinction between free women and slave women, so carefully

58. *The Law Code of Gortyn,* pp. 19, 58–59; it should be noted that the controversy over the meaning of this passage rests on real problems in determining the meaning of ἐπιπερῆται, ἀκεύοντος (the meaning of which depends on a lemma of Hesychius), and καδεστάς.

59. Gernet, "Observations," p. 53; Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn,* p. 18, argues that in the Gortynian inscription the καδεστάς could be the mother or the mother's brothers.

60. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn,* p. 59, suggests that it is less because a καδεστάς is not as close a relative as a father or brother.

61. At Gortyn in the fifth century women apparently controlled their own property; see D. M. Schaps, *The Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh, 1979), pp. 58–60.

62. In later periods the penalty for adultery may have been more severe. Aelian says that at Gortyn a convicted adulterer had to wear a wreath of wool, pay a fine of up to fifty staters, suffer disenfranchisement, and be excluded from public affairs (*VH* 12. 12).

defined at Gortyn, is implied in references to offenses against women at Athens and elsewhere. Violation of a free woman is always considered to be a greater offense than violation of a female slave, because an offense against a free person is always considered by the Greeks to be more serious than the same offense against a slave. The respect usually accorded free women is reflected in the expression of contempt for men who disregard that respect. Lysias' accusation of Simon takes its sting from the fact that Simon dared to intrude upon free women at night (3. 23). Likewise, Lysias criticizes Agoratus for seducing free women (13. 68). One of the offenses of Timarchus was licentious violence (ἀσέλγεια) toward the wives of free men (Aeschin. 1. 107). Theopompus tells of a tyrant of Methymna who punished female procurers of free women (*FGrH* 115 F 227). The same author, in detailing the offenses of Hegesilochus of Rhodes, includes as a special outrage the sexual assault (described by the verb αἰσχύνειν) of free women (some even εὐγενεῖς) who, after being selected by a throw of the dice, were forced to submit to intercourse with Hegesilochus and his drinking companions (F 121).

Greeks expected their enemies, both Greek and non-Greek, to behave outrageously toward their women in times of war (Dem. 23. 56).[63] Although most literary anecdotes about sexual assault of women occur in the context of war, such behavior was not generally condoned.[64] For instance, the defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra was attributed by ancient historians to the rape of Scedasus' daughters by Spartan envoys years earlier.[65] The daughters were said to have killed themselves and their father to have committed suicide on their tomb after a fruitless attempt to obtain compensation from Sparta. The suicide of the girls illustrates the extent to which rape was considered a source of shame for female victims and their families; their father's frustration illustrates the limitation of local law and custom in dealing with an offender from another city;[66] and the use of the story as an omen to predict the Spartan defeat indicates disapproval of sexual assault itself.

63. See also Plut. *Arat.* 31–32 and *De mul. vir.* 258; cf. 244B–E for a plan by the Phocians to save their women from assault in time of war. The Athenians expected the worst of the Macedonians in the fourth century B.C.: see Hyp. *Epit.* 20.

→ D. M. Schaps, "The Women of Greece in Wartime," *CP* 77 (1982): 203–204.

65. There are five versions of the story, but four have a similar plot (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 4. 7; Diod. Sic. 15. 54; Paus. 9. 13. 5; Plut. *Pel.* 20. 3). In the fifth (Plut. *Amat. nar.* 773D–E) the young women were killed because they exhibited too much distress. For the suggestion that the plot of rape followed by suicide owes its origin to ritual rather than history, see C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome, 1977), p. 261, and W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979), pp. 73–75.

66. Salviat and Vatin, "La répression des violences sexuelles," pp. 68–70, argue that a treaty between Delphi and Pellana, which sets up procedures for tribunals to judge disputes between the citizens of the two cities, includes sexual assault as one of the crimes for which a citizen of one city has protection from a citizen of the other: see B. Haussoullier, *Traité entre Delphes et Pellana* (Paris, 1917); H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums,* vol. 3 (Munich, 1969), pp. 336–45, no. 558. By placing frag. IVB next to frag. IIA, they claim to have restored the procedures in cases of sexual assault. As they read it, the inscription sets the fine for sexual assault of a free man or woman at one thousand drachmas, payable to the victim, and the rape of a slave at fifty drachmas. Their reading is accepted without comment by J. and L. Robert (*Bull. ép.,* 1972, 208), but the fragmentary state of the stone leaves some doubt as to the reliability of the restoration. Cataldi, "Commento storico-giuridico," pp. 459–73, argues, correctly, that the penalties listed in the treaty refer not to sexual assault, but to illegal enslavement or kidnapping.

Abuse of women of an allied city was also discouraged. In his speech against Aeschines, Demosthenes accuses him of having been corrupted by Philocrates, with whom he had served on an embassy to Olynthus before the city was destroyed in 348 B.C. (19. 309). Because Olynthus had been an ally of Athens, and because her citizens deserved protection, it would have been considered scandalous if Philocrates had brought freeborn Olynthian women to Athens for immoral purposes; this is what Demosthenes tries to imply he did. Apologizing for not being able in court to describe in detail exactly what Philocrates had done to the women (although his affectation of reticence encourages them to think the worst), and asking the jurors to let Philocrates' reputation speak for itself, Demosthenes says only that he had brought the women to Athens "for *hybris*."[67] Although Philocrates need not have expected prosecution (even if he had done what Demosthenes implies),[68] Demosthenes clearly assumes that the jury would not approve of the mistreatment of women from an allied city.

Women were especially at risk at the hands of a victorious enemy in times of war, but an anecdote preserved by Plutarch and others shows that restraint on the part of commanding officers could be considered a virtue. It is said that when Alexander captured Thebes in 335 B.C., a Theban woman, Timocleia, killed one of his officers after he had raped her, by pushing him into her well (Plut. *Alex.* 12, *De mul. vir.* 259E–260D; Polyaenus 8. 40).[69] Impressed by her courage, Alexander allowed her to leave as a free woman. There is no question of a legal issue here. At the worst, having killed one of Alexander's officers, Timocleia could have been killed on the spot. At the least, as a female resident of a captured city, she might have been enslaved; but Alexander, who elsewhere is shown to have respect for women captured in war, allowed her to go free.

Sexual assault of women may have been the inevitable consequence of war, but that consequence was felt by some to be unfortunate and even repugnant. This attitude had a long history in Greece. In his comparison of democracy with other forms of government, Herodotus includes the raping of women among the vices of an uncontrolled monarch, implying that he believes this sort of thing is less likely in a democracy (3. 80). Excessive violence against women is for some Greek historians a mark of a tyrant (Clearch. *FHG* 2:307 = Ath. 541C–E; Plut. *De mul. vir.* 253C–E) or a poor ruler (Polyb. 6. 8. 5),[70] and courtesy toward conquered women is estimable in a commander (Plut. *Mar.* 19). Alexander was held

67. Cf. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality*, p. 207, n. 5.

68. Because the Olynthian women had no male relatives in Athens, and because their own city had been destroyed, it seems unlikely that anyone would have bothered to instigate (or even could have instigated) a suit on their behalf. The incident, which indicates the vulnerability of women whose *kyrioi* were dead or absent, shows that women without *kyrioi* could not expect protection in a foreign city, even one formerly allied with their own.

69. Cf. Polyb. 21. 38. 1–7 and Plut. *De mul. vir.* 258E–F on Chiomara at Sardis. Timocleia is not the only woman who avenges a rape. Legend preserves another: see [Plut.] *Par.* 310B–C, where a young woman kills her father.

70. For assaulting women and children as a mark of despotic rule, cf. Thuc. 8. 74; see also Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 61.

up by historians as a model of sexual restraint, not only in his personal life, but in the behavior he expected from his troops.[71] Whether or not this is an accurate representation of Alexander himself is for our purposes irrelevant.[72] What is important is that historians attributed to Alexander a virtue they expected their audience to admire.

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71. According to our sources for Alexander, after the battle of Issus, although his soldiers were excited by the captured Persian women, Alexander himself refrained from abusing the wife and daughters of Darius (Diod. Sic. 17. 38. 1–7; Curt. Ruf. 3. 12. 12, 17, 18, 21; Plut. *Alex.* 21). Alexander's restraint was not always reflected in the behavior of his troops. Plutarch makes it clear that his soldiers, when they arrived at Damascus, were as excited about the Persian women as they were by the Persian gold (*Alex.* 24). Alexander himself, however, is said to have shown *sophrosune* (Arr. *Anab.* 4. 19. 6). It is this aspect of his character that W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great,* vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 319–26, takes as the clue to understanding Alexander's attitude toward women. Alexander's *sophrosune* found expression in his criticism and punishment of soldiers who abused women (Diod. Sic. 17. 108. 4); he even returned one hundred Median women sent to him as tribute in order to protect them from his soldiers (Arr. *Anab.* 7. 13. 2–3).

72. For suspicions about the sources on this point, see A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's "History of Alexander,"* vol. 1 (Oxford, 1980), p. 221.





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SEXUALITY, VIOLENCE, AND THE ATHENIAN LAW OF *HUBRIS*

By DAVID COHEN

In recent years a considerable literature on the scope and meaning of the word *hubris* has done much to clarify the nature of this important concept.[1] However, some important aspects of *hubris* deserve more detailed attention. In particular, a full account of the social context and moral psychology of the ideology, social practices, and legal prosecutions involving *hubris* would make a fundamental contribution to our understanding of Athenian society and the role which litigation played in moderating or exacerbating social conflicts. Indeed, such an account, particularly if it drew upon recent advances in the social anthropology of agonistic societies, would necessarily increase our appreciation of the centrality of *hubris* and the related values of honour and shame in Athenian social relations. While the goals of the present study are far more modest, in a sense they represent a first step in this direction. Since, as I will argue, the relation of the law of *hubris* to certain kinds of sexual misconduct and to sexual aspects of honour and shame has not been fully recognized, an exploration of this relation may help to mark out some of the ground which a fuller treatment would have to cover.

Scholars have long recognized that the concept of *hubris* encompassed some forms of sexual violence.[2] Though the application of *hubris* to cases of rape in particular is often mentioned, such discussions have not gone further in exploring the nature of the concept of *hubris* as it relates to the regulation of sexual misconduct, whether in heterosexual or homoerotic contexts. In what follows, I will first introduce the evidence concerning the range of reference that the word *hubris* might have in the sexual sphere. Next, I will focus in particular upon the relation of the law of *hubris* to the regulation of certain forms of illegitimate sexuality. Finally, I will make some suggestions as to the larger social context of which such legal practices are a part.

I

As mentioned above, scholars have recognized that the word *hubris* is used in Athenian sources to refer to certain forms of sexual violence. MacDowell and Gagarin, for example, have claimed that there was no reason why a prosecution for rape might not be brought under the law of *hubris*, though they have not pursued this suggestion in any detail.[3] In a previous publication on Athenian homosexuality I suggested that because of its relation to rape and to sexual honour, *hubris* might be an important concept for understanding the Athenian regulation of homoerotic practices, and, further, that in many contexts the word '*hubris*' could have a strong sexual connotation. Both of these claims have aroused some controversy, and in this section, I will both sketch the broad range of sexual reference associated with *hubris*, and also document the centrality of sexual connotation in ordinary Athenian usage of this term.

In surveying all the usages of the words *hubris*, *hubrizein*, *hubristes*, and *hubrisma* in the principal 5th and 4th century Athenian prose authors, one finds that more than fifty per cent of all occurrences refer in a general way to some unspecified kind of wrongful, insulting, insolent, or excessive behaviour. For example, Plato (*Philebus* 26b7; 45e2) describes how pleasure holds sway over *hubristai* to the point of mania, but is not explicit as to specific sorts of pleasure (gluttony, drunkenness, lust, etc.) or to the precise nature of the *hubris* involved. Similarly, in Demosthenes (e.g., 21.98.6, 8; 21.159.3; 21.211.3) and other authors (e.g., Plato, *Laws* 679c1), it is a commonplace that wealth produces *hubris*, but again, the claim does not focus upon a specific kind of conduct. Further, *hubris* or *hubrizein* are often used simply to mean 'insult' or 'to insult' (e.g., Aeschines *Ctesiphon* 245.3, *Embassy* 8.8), but in such contexts its usage seems largely synonymous with other words denoting insulting or abusive behaviour. Finally, in many passages *hubris* or *hubrizein* merely appear to provide a negative characterization of wrongdoing. Again, such usages, in the absence of reference to particular kinds or qualities of action, appear to stigmatize, in a general way, hubristic conduct as wrongful, excessive, degrading, abusive, or insolent. Given the exhaustive descriptions of the range of usage provided by Fisher and MacDowell there seems little reason to multiply such examples. The point here is that of the approximately 500 occurrences of *hubris* and its cognates in the principal Athenian prose authors, more than half fall into this general category.

It is not my purpose here to provide an exhaustive typology of usages of

hubris. From the standpoint of Athenian law, however, two particular categories of usage are of particular relevance: physical assault against free persons, and conduct related to sexual violence, sexual aggression, or to violations of sexual honour. Indeed, far more occurrences of *hubris* and its cognates describe each of these categories of behaviour than any other specific types of misconduct. More specifically, 73 passages, or about 15% of all usages, explicitly characterize a physical assault against a free person as *hubris*. 82 passages, or about 18%, refer to various kinds of sexual aggression, sexual misconduct, or violations of sexual honour. These proportions of usage are quite significant in themselves, accounting for about a third of all occurrences. However, as indicated above, these two categories represent a far higher proportion of the passages which use *hubris*, *hubrizein*, or *hubristes* to refer to particular categories of hubristic behaviour. In other words, I would argue, these two categories are clearly the most prominent *foci* for characterizations of misconduct as hubristic.

What kinds of conduct are referred to as hubristic in sexual contexts? Though rape of women or children constitutes the most frequent category of such usages, individuals use *hubris* and its cognates to characterize a wide range of behaviour connected in one way or another to sexual aggression and sexual honour. From the philosophical perspective the conceptual link between *hubris* and sexuality appears clear. For Aristotle, for example, *hubris*, unlike anger, involves conduct engaged in for the pleasure it brings (*N.E.* 1149b23, *Rhetoric* 1378b20ff.).[4] Thus, unrestraint (*akrasia*) arising from desire involves *hubris*, while unrestraint arising from anger does not (*N.E.* 1149b20ff.).[5] Accordingly, monarchs, tyrants, and the wealthy, who are freest to act with deliberate unrestraint, are most likely to engage in hubristic action (*Politics* 1313a14). Aristotle's subsequent discussion of tyrants and monarchs in *Politics* makes clear what kinds of unrestraint he has in mind.

In a long passage of *Politics*, Aristotle advises rulers above all to avoid two kinds of *hubris*: corporal punishment of free men and sexual abuse of boys and girls (*Politics* 1315a15–28). These two forms of *hubris* should be shunned because they are most likely to cause attempts at revenge by the outraged families.[6] *Hubris* here clearly refers to sexual intercourse gained through a relation of power, for Aristotle advises the tyrant to appear to be acting under passion (and cf. *Politics* 1311b19). This would presumably ameliorate the appearance of *hubris*, and hence might placate the guardians of these youths who would take revenge if they thought that *hubris* was being done to their charges (1315a27–8).[7] The connection to sexual honour and shame appears explicitly when Aristotle further advises

the ruler to make good such dishonours by granting public honours to the victims.

It is important to note here that there is no suggestion that this *hubris* must necessarily be accomplished by actual *physical* violence or assault. Indeed, whether physical violence is used seems largely irrelevant. The point is that the hubristic tyrant exercises a coercive force to gain his pleasure at the expense of the dishonoured boy or girl. However, if he creates the appearance of acting under passion, though the same coercion might be involved, the attribution of *hubris* is attenuated. This means that relatives or guardians will be less likely to risk vengeance, particularly if the tyrant makes good the dishonour through tokens of honour and distinction. If, for Aristotle, the underlying motivation of hubristic behaviour is the affirmation of one's superiority by disgracing or humiliating another person (*Rhetoric* 1378b20, 1374a13), one arena in which to find such affirmation is in sexual relations. If the sexual relation arises from an act of power, rather than passion, then it is necessarily a relation of domination where the boy or girl submits to *hubris* and the disgrace it entails.[8] Aristotle intends these remarks to extend beyond his immediate discussion of the sexual exploitation of minors, for in *Politics* 1311b19 a man who comes to believe that he submitted to someone who was not motivated by passion regards himself as the object of *hubris*.[9]

The second important point that emerges from Aristotle's discussion concerns the normative weight that attaches to hubristic conduct in the sexual sphere. In societies where honour and shame are dominant social values, any act which dishonours a family requires vengeance as the only possible means of eliminating or diminishing the stain. Indeed, numerous passages in Aristotle's *Politics* attest to his belief that *hubris* represented one of the major causes of civic disturbance in monarchies. The examples he gives in *Politics* (1311a37ff.) show that sexual offences against the women or children of a family were one of the prominent forms that such *hubris* might take.[10] Moreover, Aristotle was not alone in harbouring this opinion, for Isocrates in several passages (e.g. *Nicocles* 36.5) expresses the same sentiment when he claims that men are particularly outraged by *hubris* to their women and children, and that this has been the cause of many civil disturbances and the overthrow of many rulers.[11] Hubristic sexual aggression clearly appears here as a transgression of social norms which dishonours its victims and their relations, and which gives rise to retaliatory or punitive responses.

While I argued above that Aristotle's description of the monarch's or tyrant's hubristic sexual transactions did not conceptually require actual

physical violence, there are numerous passages which unequivocally use *hubris* and its cognates to refer to rape. These include references to the fate of women and children in war, as well as in other settings (e.g. Isocrates *Paneg.* 114.3, *Arch.* 36.6, *Epis.* 102; Thucydides 8.74.3.6, 8.86.3.6; Hyperides, *Funeral Speech* 8.14, 12.31, 12.35; Demosthenes 19.309; 23.56.2, 5; Dinarchus, *Demosthenes* 19.6, and cf.23.7 ff.; Herodotus 3.80, 4.114; Aristotle, *N.E.* 1115a 23, *Rhetoric* 1314b, 1315a 15–20, 1373a 35; Lysias 29.98.6). The causational relationship of the one responsible for the *hubris* may be direct or remote. Thus, Dinarchus (cited immediately above) refers to the *hubris* of Demosthenes who caused Theban women and children to be distributed among the barbarian tents. On the other hand, Plato's law of rape (*Laws* 874c4) uses the passive tense of *hubrizein* to describe what the victim has suffered at the hands of the assailant, who may be killed with impunity. It is significant, however, that the act constituting the offence itself is described not by *hubrizein*, but rather *biazomai*. This use of *hubrizein*, it would seem, describes the intentional sexual dishonouring of the victim, not the physical violence used to accomplish it. This suggestion finds further support in the formulation Plato uses to describe the victim's right to kill the aggressor, where he refers to the victim as having suffered *hubris by force (hupo te tou hubristhentos bia)*. This statutory language also seems to indicate that it is necessary to spell out that all hubristic sexual transactions do not constitute rape, only those acts of intercourse accomplished by actual violence.

Indeed, *hubris* is also used to describe a wide range of heterosexual and homosexual conduct which may either involve an element of coercion, or may be consensual. To begin with, some passages include both heterosexual and homosexual conduct and make no reference to coercion. Thus, in Plato's *Symposium* (181c4) chaste Aphrodite is described as untinged by *hubris* (*hubreos amoirou*), unlike the unchaste kind where men love women and boys for their bodies.[12] This passage may involve a peculiarly Platonic formulation, but the notion is a general one. Aristotle, for example, (*Rhetoric* 1373a35) mentions that some wrongs the victims are ashamed to disclose, such as acts of *hubris* against their women or sons. Here rape, or adultery, or consensual homosexual anal intercourse could all be meant. Indeed, from the standpoint of sexual honour, both rape and adultery against one's wife stain a man's reputation (though to differing degrees). Both constitute *hubris* against the woman and her husband, despite the fact that the woman consents to one and not to the other.[13] In Lysias' *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*, for example, the aggrieved husband repeatedly refers to the *hubris* of the adulterer.[14] Since the adulterer, through his

hubristic act, has damaged the honour of the husband, an appropriate form of revenge which stops short of murder is to humiliate him sexually. Thus, Xenophon (*Mem.* 2.1.5.5) states that the *moichos*, if apprehended, will be subjected to *hubris*. If Aristophanes' (*Clouds* 1083) reference to the conduct described by the verb *raphanizein* refers to a type of mistreatment to which adulterers were sometimes subjected by outraged husbands, then the specifically sexual dishonour implied by Xenophon's reference to *hubris* is clear enough.[15] Similar acts of sexual abuse motivated by wounded sexual honour also refer to such abuse as *hubris*. Xenophon (*Cyr.* 5.2.28.2), for instance, says that a ruler committed an act of *hubris* when he castrated a man who had insulted him by praising the beauty of his concubine.[16] Similarly, Aristotle (Fr. Rose3 611.132) calls a ruler *hubristes* and *chalepos* because he has a man castrated and forces him to eat his testicles.

In addition to straightforward cases of adultery and rape, a variety of other kinds of heterosexual conduct is characterized as involving *hubris*. The thrust of such descriptions emphasizes the sexual insult and dishonour which such *hubris* involves.[17] Thus, Aristotle (Fr. Rose3 556.14) describes drunken young men who burst in upon a father and his two marriageable daughters and commit *hubris* against them. In response the community take up arms against them and *stasis* results.[18] The description of this act as hubristic does not make clear whether the men raped the girls or merely mistreated them and their father in some other way. In either event they damaged the sexual honour of the family, and any such acts may presumably fall within the scope of the concept of *hubris*.[19] Likewise, in an oration of Demosthenes (48.55.5) the women of a family are described as suffering *hubris* when their brother's mistress appears in public decked out with the jewels and regalia that he has given her. Here there is no violence at all, and the hubristic nature of the act involves its damage to the family's reputation. Significantly, it is the women of the family who are characterized as the specific victims of the *hubris*, for the egregious conduct besmirches the sexual honour/virtue which it is their duty to embody, the men's duty to guard.[20] Similarly, Alcibiades (Andocides, *Alcibiades* 14.3, 15.8, 29.2) is said to have committed *hubris* against his wife by dishonouring her through bringing other women into the house.[21]

Another oration of Demosthenes also demonstrates the way in which insults to the sexual honour of a family could be described as *hubris* even where there is no hint of violence. This passage (Demosthenes 36.30, 8), in reply to an accusation, argues that when a man ordained that after his death his wife should marry his former slave, he did not commit *hubris*

against her or his sons. The accusation of *hubris* in such a case is presumably based upon the notion that a marriage which involves an honourable woman submitting sexually to a former slave is degrading. Since sexual insults to a mother directly affect her son as well, the accusation also includes him as a victim. Indeed, in another oration (Demosthenes 45.4.3) we learn that the son actually prosecuted his step-father by bringing an action (*graphe*) for *hubris* (see also 45.80.2). Finally, the Demosthenic oration, *Against Neaera* (59.37.6) describes how a man has intercourse with his concubine in public and also allows other men to do so. This conduct, though neither adultery nor rape, is said to involve *hubris* against her.[22]

In short, *hubris* arises in heterosexual contexts through behaviour which damages the sexual honour or reputation of a person or family. Violence or coercion are not necessary components of *hubris* in ordinary usage, but most of the cases do involve conduct that enhances one's own position at the expense of another's honour and reputation. The word *hubris*, then, serves as an important category for describing not just rape, but a wide variety of intentionally insulting or demeaning conduct which dishonours free persons.

In homoerotic contexts hubristic conduct includes similar gradations of violent, coercive, and consensual behaviour. The discussion of rape and sexual coercion by tyrants above referred to women and boys as the victims. Perhaps more interesting, however, are the discussions of *hubris* in consensual homoerotic relations. On the one hand, boys may suffer hubris. Thus, claims Aristotle (*N.E.* 1148b30), those subjected to *hubris* in childhood may acquire the disposition towards intercourse with men.[23] This attribution of *hubris* does not arise merely because the victim is a child. For example, when accusing Androtion of selling his favours, Demosthenes (22.58.2) says that Androtion suffered hubristic and abusive behaviour from those men who did not love him but could pay his price. This passage seems to employ a similar distinction to that articulated by Aristotle when he advises tyrants to feign passion when subjecting others to his will so as to diminish the appearance of *hubris*. In the case of Androtion, it is not that he does not consent when he sells his favours. Rather, because the sexual transaction is not based upon any sort of mutual attachment, the active partner, for his own gratification, subjects Androtion to behaviour which is abusive, demeaning, and dishonouring. Further, not only does the passive partner submit to this act of *hubris*, in some passages this submission itself is characterized as an act of *hubris* against oneself (Aeschines, *Timarchus* 185.4–8, and cf. 29.8 and 108.1).[24]

Qualification of homoerotic intercourse as involving *hubris* does not only arise in the contexts just described. Though Demosthenes' reference to Androtion suggests that the intercourse involved *hubris* because it was for pay and not for love, other passages do not make this distinction. Xenophon, for example (*Mem.* 2.1.30.14) says that using men as women is to commit *hubris* against them.[25] The same passage refers to the partners as *philoi*, so the basis of the attribution of *hubris* cannot arise from the mercenary quality of the relationship. Rather, for Xenophon it is the fact that a man is being sexually used as a woman which renders the conduct of the active partner hubristic. Here the description of the act as *hubris* arises from the view that a man is always dishonoured by adopting the submissive sexual role of a woman. Plato, of course, refers to such a switch in sexual roles as unnatural (*Phaedrus* 250e5, *para phusin*, and cf. *Laws* 836e, 841d, and cf. 837c). Though Plato's description of such relations as 'against nature' is often dismissed as idiosyncratic, Aeschines also describes Timarchus as having wronged his body with the *hamartemata* of a woman. In doing so, claims Aeschines, he has committed *hubris* against himself *para phusin*. Such a sentiment surely also underlies the statement of Xenophon with which this discussion began. In the sexual sphere, then, *hubris* may characterize the act of the person who demands the submission which dishonours. In such a case the victim is the passive object who 'suffers *hubris*' and, hence, is dishonoured. Further, as these latter passages indicate, individuals may also inflict *hubris* upon themselves by freely consenting to sexual behaviour which dishonours them.

In sum, authors use the vocabulary of *hubris* to describe a wide range of homoerotic conduct. This conduct includes both consensual and non-consensual relations, and is applied both to boys and to men. Most importantly, it is used, in certain situations, to characterize both the behaviour of the passive *and* the active partner. This, as will be seen, is particularly significant because it is often claimed that the only social reprobation directed at homoerotic activities focussed upon the person who adopted a passive role unworthy of a free citizen.

II

This section considers the legal implications of the foregoing discussion of the ways in which sexual conduct may be described as hubristic. Since, as MacDowell and Gagarin have pointed out, there was no reason why a prosecution for *hubris* could not be brought in a case of rape, the discussion

will focus on more problematic applications of the law. More specifically, I will argue that the law of *hubris* may have had considerable relevance for the regulation of consensual sexual conduct, and, in particular, for certain kinds of homoerotic relations.

Before addressing these issues directly, however, a preliminary question requires clarification. This question concerns the nature of the limitations placed upon what kinds of misconduct might be prosecuted as *hubris*.

Contemporary legal systems typically rely upon technical definitions of offences to determine whether a particular act constitutes rape, theft, arson, etc. In American criminal law this definition consists of certain 'elements of the offense' which, in cases where each of them is not present, operate to exclude conduct as falling outside the statutory definition. Likewise, in German criminal law the *Tatbestand* serves a similar function. In Athenian law, as in the Roman, Biblical, and Assyrian law, and, indeed, most legal systems before the 19th century, statutes normally provide no such technical definition. The law of *hubris*, for example, merely seems to have defined itself self-referentially by including any act of *hubris* within its scope. But what was an act of *hubris*? In attempting to cope with this question Athenian law was constrained by institutional arrangements which sharply restricted the possibility of providing a definitive answer.

Whereas in other ancient legal systems jurists, scribes, priests, or judges might authoritatively resolve such questions, either in individual cases or through articulating general definitions, Athenian law left this matter solely to the large body of lay judges/jurors who were responsible for deciding a particular case. Since the judges were bound only by the statute and not by any authoritative commentary, precedent, or pronouncement, in an individual case a person might be convicted of *hubris* if that particular body of citizens collectively thought, without discussing the matter amongst themselves, that what the accused had done was, in fact, hubristic. In other words, the kinds of linguistic and normative categories which the previous section described would have constituted the criteria upon which individual dikasts reached their decision. In doing so, some of them may have reflected upon the wide range of contemporary usage of the word *hubris*, as well as the inconsistencies, ambiguities, and contradictions which such usage embodied, others may not have been so aware of the source of the criteria which determined their vote. The point to be emphasized, however, is that in Athenian law *hubris* was defined by the normative expectations of those citizens who represented the polis on a given day. Athenian orators, well aware of these facts, played upon the institutionalized ambiguity of concepts like *hubris* and upon the normative expectations of their audience

in attempting to convince them that in this particular case the defendant did or did not deserve to be condemned.

The result of this situation is that unless we know of specific cases where a person accused of *hubris* was actually convicted we cannot definitively say whether or not particular kinds of conduct were generally accepted as violating the statute. On the other hand, we similarly have no fixed criteria by which to exclude with similar definitiveness almost any attested linguistic attribution of *hubris*. After all, in the Athenian system, if on a particular day an effective speaker was capable of swaying the court against a particular defendant for whatever reason, then this defendant's conduct constituted *hubris*. On the other hand, certain kinds of conduct can probably be seen as constituting 'standard cases' which were essentially unproblematic. Abusive and humiliating public assaults and rape (whether heterosexual or homosexual) would in all likelihood fall into this category. However, because we know of so few actual convictions for *hubris* it is difficult to go much beyond this with any certainty. The cases we do have for the sexual sphere are, however suggestive. Dinarchus (*Dem.* 23.7), for example, enumerates three cases where sexual wrongdoers were punished by death. In only one does he explicitly mention the crime as *hubris*, but the context perhaps indicates that all three cases fell into this category.[26] The three cases involved very different kinds of conduct: keeping a free boy locked up in a mill, committing *hubris* against a female lyre player at the Eleusinian festival, putting an Olynthian girl in a brothel. In the absence of more information about these cases one cannot say a great deal about them. However, it at least appears that prosecutions for *hubris* may have led to convictions in cases involving various kinds of sexual misconduct extending beyond violent rape. A more striking instance, however, involves the case mentioned above, where a son prosecuted the family's former slave for marrying his (the son's) mother. In the absence of a reference to an actual prosecution one might have been tempted to dismiss such an instance as an extended usage arising out of the rhetorical imperative of blackening one's opponent's character. If in fact true, this prosecution testifies to the way in which the Athenian law of *hubris* could encompass conduct devoid of either violence or coercion. In this respect, as in others, the action for *hubris* is reminiscent of the Roman action for *iniuria*, where even following a respectable woman in the street was held to meet the requirements of the offence.

The foregoing discussion raises a number of important issues concerning the way in which the law of *hubris*, and the normative categories whch constituted it, may have served to regulate various kinds of sexual mis-

conduct. In the heterosexual sphere, for example, did adultery or seduction constitute *hubris*? As noted above, Lysias, for example, repeatedly refers to the adulterer as having committed *hubris* against him. Surely, adultery provides at least as clear a case of a deliberate insult to sexual honour as does the misalliance with a former slave which Demosthenes refers to. We know almost nothing of the treatment of seduction in Athens, and we also possess no references to actual prosecutions (*graphai*) brought for adultery.[27] There may be a number of reasons for this. First, we possess knowledge of relatively few criminal prosecutions, so one cannot speak at all about relative frequency of prosecutions. Further, Aristotle refers to certain wrongs which men prefer to hide rather than publicly disclose their shame (*Rhet.* 1373a35), so such prosecutions may have been relatively infrequent in a society which may have preferred more direct forms of revenge as a way of repairing dishonour. Finally, however, the action for *hubris* may have served as a convenient 'catchall' category for prosecuting offences against sexual honour. Over time, the action for *hubris* may have functionally replaced an earlier action for seduction. This suggestion, however, must remain purely speculative.

In the realm of homoerotic misconduct a number of other issues emerge. These concern first the role of the law of *hubris* in regulating sexual misconduct among adult males, and second its implications in paederastic relationships. I will take up each of these in turn.

Some recent scholarship, following the interpretation developed by Sir Kenneth Dover, has maintained that no normative or legal sanctions were levelled against the active partner in homoerotic relations, or against the passive partner unless he engaged in the conduct for pay.[28] While Aeschines' oration *Against Timarchus* seems to me to demonstrate that the man who purchases the sexual favours of a male Athenian citizen may be prosecuted, the general legal situation regarding homosexual prostitution at Athens is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, it is another aspect of this oration which must concern us here, namely its relevance to the law of *hubris*.

Aeschines repeatedly refers to Timarchus as submitting to *hubris* against his own body (see, e.g. 116.3). This usage is consonant with those passages from Xenophon and Aristotle cited above which also characterize the passive partner as submitting to or suffering *hubris*. This usage by Aeschines is significant because it implies that sexually using a free man in the passive role is *hubris*, i.e. that the active partner commits *hubris* by hiring the free prostitute. Clearly, if the passive partner 'submits to' or 'suffers' *hubris*, then the active partner must be the agent who commits the

hubristic act. A later passage in *Against Timarchus* (163.9) confirms this view when it describes the conduct of the active man as an act of *hubris* against the passive free Athenian. One might, of course, argue that this characterization arises from the financial nature of the transaction, but the passage does not seem to emphasize this aspect. Rather, what Aeschines repeatedly underscores, and what he seems to expect to incense his audience so as to convict the accused, is the description of what the man hired for sexual services is expected to do (presumably anal and perhaps oral intercourse). For Aeschines it is not just 'sex for pay', but the very nature of such sexual services rendered which is unworthy of a citizen. Hence, it is *hubris* to desire place a citizen in that demeaning role. Later (188.11), Aeschines again characterizes Timarchus as having trafficked in the *hubris* of his body: he submits to that hubristic sexual treatment which other men abhor. Thus, Timarchus is a man who has wronged a man's body with the *hamartemata* of a woman (185.4–8). Again, the emphasis here is not simply upon selling sexual services but the nature of those services. Performing them is in itself to dishonour oneself by submitting to *hubris*: the man who exacts such services, accordingly, commits *hubris* by demeaning a citizen by treating him as only a woman or slave should be treated. This judgment is repeated in several passages.[29]

The law of *hubris* may have represented another normative parameter of social control in regard to paederastic relations in particular. Dover's widely accepted view of Athenian paederasty maintains that there was no *legal* prohibition against unremunerated consensual sexual intercourse in which an adult took the active role and an Athenian youth played the passive partner. Some scholars have gone further and maintained that there was also absolutely no *social* sanction directed at such behaviour provided that the relationship was not perceived as mercenary or promiscuous.[30] Such discussions, however, seem to me to overlook an important aspect of paederastic intercourse. This aspect arises from the potentially problematic nature of the consent by which the younger partner permits the *erastes* to use him sexually.[31]

In Athenian law, as in most other ancient and modern legal systems, young males of an age to attract paederastic courtship, that is before the growth of the first beard, are legal minors. That is, they are incapable of entering into legal transactions, and are subject to the authority of their father. In the absence of parental authority their affairs are managed by a guardian until they come of age. Further, most legal systems carry over this legal incapacity into the sphere of criminal law. In particular, females below a certain age are seen as incapable of consenting to sexual inter-

course. This lack of the capability of meaningful consent renders as rape what might otherwise have been seduction. Modern legal systems have clearly defined such occurrences as statutory rape, a variety of rape defined not by the lack of consent, but rather solely by the age of the minor and the fact of intercourse. We have no evidence of a statutory rape provision at Athens, but the problem must none the less have presented itself as it would in any system of criminal law where a man defends himself against an accusation of raping a child by claiming that the child consented. I would suggest that at Athens the law of *hubris*, which explicitly includes children within its scope, provided one of the principal means of regulating such situations.

While Athenian girls seem to have been closely supervised by their families in a way which would tend to diminish their vulnerability to seducers or rapists, the same is not the case with boys.[32] Indeed, attractive boys might find themselves the object of considerable male attention from an early stage of their development. While strict laws protected them at school and parents provided *paidagogoi* to ward off predatory males, there were clearly other opportunities for courtship and seduction. The question which the foregoing discussion of statutory rape raises is, 'How old did an Athenian boy have to be so as to render his consent effective?' Clearly, it seems unlikely that an Athenian prosecuted with the rape of, say, a ten-year-old *eromenos* would have had great success with the plea that the boy consented. On the other hand, a boy of sixteen or seventeen, while none the less legally a minor might have been seen to be in a different position so that his consent might negate an accusation of rape. Surely, however, when blithely stating that there was absolutely no legal prohibition against unremunerated consensual intercourse between an adult and a younger *eromenos*, one must remember that at some age the consent of the boy would be viewed as nugatory. Exactly what that age was we cannot say, but Aeschines clearly acknowledges the existence of such a category. Indeed, in *Against Timarchus* (139.2) he explicitly states that a young boy cannot give meaningful consent. Therefore, he continues, the lawgiver imposed chastity upon the *eromenos* until he comes of age.

This discussion of the age of consent centres upon the notion of statutory rape. The law of *hubris*, however, adds another dimension to this discussion, for, as was seen above, it includes not only rape but consensual sexual transactions as well. In other words, when prosecuting a man for dishonouring a youth by sexually using him 'as a woman' (to use Aeschines' and Xenophon's category) the fact of the degrading behaviour and not the consent would be primary. This is clearly indicated by the

foregoing discussion of consensual hubristic relations. Moreover, in cases where the victim was well below the age of legal consent, his acquiescence would probably have been even more insignificant. That is, in a prosecution brought by the boy's father for the damage to the boy's reputation and honour, the boy's consent would no more negate the hubristic quality of the sexual intercourse than did the consent of Timarchus to the degrading conduct which men were thought necessarily to have demanded of him. An additional advantage of prosecuting for *hubris* would have been that the actual fact of consummated intercourse might not need to be proved. Recall, for example, the case cited by Dinarchus (*Dem.* 23.7) where a man was condemned to death for having shut a free boy up in a mill. *Hubris*, unlike the offence of rape, required only the demonstration of intentionally insulting or degrading conduct.

A man accused of such *hubris* might, following Aristotle, plead that he acted by reason of genuine passion and not out of the kinds of aggressive impulses which characterize *hubris*, but such claims might be rather problematic to prove. Presumably, the younger the *eromenos* the more difficult it would have been to construct a valid defence to the aggrieved father's accusation. At the same time, however, there would be powerful disincentives to bringing such prosecutions which would publicize the dishonour of one's son. Of course, in the absence of actual prosecutions (except for the case of *hubris* against the boy referred to by Dinarchus) much of this discussion must remain speculative, but the following points do seem to support the notion that families could prosecute for *hubris* men who sexually compromised their minor male children:

1. Using a free male (adult or minor) in a passive role for certain kinds of sexual services (particularly anal or oral sexual intercourse) constitutes *hubris*.
2. Other kinds of conduct, like holding a boy under one's control, constitute *hubris* because of the natural inference about the sexual services which such a situation involves.
3. Aeschines indicates the inability of boys to give legal consent to sexual intercourse.
4. The law of *hubris* does not operate in such a way that consent negates the hubristic quality of the act. Whether the passive partner 'submits' or is coerced, hubristic behaviour still dishonours him.

In sum, the law of *hubris* was constituted by a complex normative repertoire which encompassed a variety of forms of aggressive sexual conduct which degrades, dishonours, or insults the victim. As such, there was no

legal barrier at Athens to prosecuting *erastai* for sexual conduct which might dishonour *eromonoi*. Particularly given the lack of emphasis in the law of *hubris* upon consent, as well as the problematic nature of consent of boys, it seems unjustified to conclude that Athenian law provided no sanction for consummated intercourse between free men and boys so long as that intercourse was not coerced or purchased. Indeed, the whole thrust of the above discussion has been to show that normative judgments of hubristic sexual conduct operate largely independently of these categories.

III

In concluding, I would like to draw attention to some of the broader social aspects of the law of *hubris* which deserve further investigation. *Hubris*, of course, is an offence which makes sense only in a social context where the values of honour and shame, and the moral imperatives to which they give rise, play a central role. Lysias' oration *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* and Demosthenes' prosecution of Meidias provide striking examples of the different kinds of conduct which such moral imperatives might inspire. Campbell's study of the way in which such values operate in a highly agonistic society is instructive. He summarizes the situations in which honour is typically violated as involving the drawing of blood, verbal insult, adultery and seduction, rape, and broken betrothal. Honour, he concludes, is a condition of integrity, of being 'untouched' by this kind of attack, insult, or betrayal. The integrity of a family and its social status is recognized when others take care not to offend their honour in such ways. If they do gratuitously commit an outrage against a family, the offence must be answered at once, and with violence, if its reputation is to survive.[33]

The categories of conduct violating honour which Campbell enumerates significantly overlap with the range of acts which constitute *hubris* at Athens: physical violence, verbal insult, and sexual outrages encompassing rape, adultery, and seduction. Further, the appropriate response to such conduct precisely describes the way in which the cuckolded husband in *Against Eratosthenes* responds (and also the husbands who mistreat and abuse, but do not kill, adulterers). The legitimacy of such a reponse is enshrined in Athenian law, as is the right to physically retaliate to an assault which one did not provoke by striking the first blow, or to kill a thief taken in the act. Unlike the acephalous society of the Sarakatsani, however, Athenian institutions also provided other outlets for the satisfaction of injured honour and pursuit of social and political rivalries. Demosthenes,

for example, chose to pursue his feud with Meidias through litigation. Indeed, rather than seeing the law as instituting the absolute suppression of private violence, Athenian society incorporated litigation into its agonistic framework as an alternative, and considerably less risky, channel for the imperatives of honour. As the many stories of assault and hubristic behaviour recounted in the Athenian orators make clear, some chose physical retaliation, some the courts, probably depending upon their relative resources and social position, as well as upon their individual characters. As a legal category the *graphe* for *hubris* must appear bizarre in its contours unless one views it as the institutionalization of this agonistic realm of conflict, covering just the range of insults to honour described by Campbell: physical violence, verbal insult, and sexual aggression.

NOTES

1. In particular, see D. MacDowell '*Hybris* in Athens', *G & R* (1976), 14–31; M. Gagarin, 'The Athenian Law Against *Hybris*', *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M. W. Knox* (Berlin, 1979), pp. 229–36; and N. Fisher, '*Hybris* and Dishonour I', *G & R* (1976), 177–93, '*Hybris* and Dishonour II', *G & R* (1979), 32–47. Ruschenbusch's '*Hubreos Graphe*', ZSS (1965), 302–9, has been superseded by these later treatments.

2. E.g., Gagarin, supra n. 1, p. 230; MacDowell, supra n. 1, 25.

3. Ibid.

4. *Rhetoric* 1378b20 ff. defines *hubris* as inflicting a harm which causes disgrace for the pleasure of doing so, not for one's advantage. See also *N.E.* 1149b23 on the connection of pleasure and *hubris*, and *Rhetoric* 1374a13, where a blow only constitutes *hubris* if struck for the pleasure of doing so or to dishonour the victim. The motivation is affirmation of one's superiority. The *Virtues and Vices* (1251b23) adopts a similar definition: *hubris* is the disposition to procure pleasures for oneself while disgracing others.

5. See also *Rhetoric* 1391a19, where Aristotle claims that *hubris* and *akrasia* together produce wrongdoing that is not malicious (all wrongdoing involves either *hubris* or malice). The link of the two categories of conduct that I maintained are central to *hubris* is here affirmed by Aristotle: such non-malicious wrongdoers commit adultery and assaults.

6. See also Demosthenes 17.4 for *hubris* perpetrated by the tyrant upon women and children.

7. See also Demosthenes 21.80, 144, where the issue is whether drunkenness negates the frame of mind required for an assault to be *hubris*tic.

8. This should indicate, *pace* Halperin and others, that for Aristotle such sexual relations did not *necessarily* turn on an axis of domination and submission, activity and passivity.

9. Cf. *Politics* 1311b2 and 1315a24. The same point arises in other contexts, and helps to explain what it is about passion that eliminates the hubristic quality of the conduct, namely the absence of the intent to assert oneself through the infliction of harm, humiliation, or disgrace. This intentional quality is nicely illustrated in *Anabasis* 5.5.16.2, where the men are said to take provisions not from *hubris* but from necessity. The same constellation appears in Thucydides 4.98.5.2 where soldiers say they drank holy water not from *hubris*, but because of necessity.

10. Most of the examples refer to behaviour involving sexual honour: one involves the sister of Harmodius, another an insult to the homosexual favourite of the tyrant Periander (the favourite is asked if he is pregnant), others have to do with adultery and other homoerotic relationships. See also *N.E.* 1115a22.

11. See also Demosthenes 17.4.1., and Aristotle *N.E.* 1115a2.

12. At 188a7 the unchaste kind of love is explicitly referred to as hubristic: *ho meta tes hubreos Eros.*

13. In the language of a fourth-century marriage contract from Elephantine (L. Mitteis, *Chrestomatie*, No.283, p. 317) the sexual transgressions of the wife bring shame (*aischune*) to her husband, and his infidelities constitute *hubris* against her.

14. Lysias 1.4, 17, 25. There are also numerous similar references in tragedy: Euripides, *Electra* 947, *Hippolytus* 1073; Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 29–30, 426, 487, 817–18.

15. See also Isaeus 8.44 on the dangers of adultery. Such mistreatment was, of course, extra-judicial, constituting an extravagant and expressive form of self-help designed symbolically to subordinate the adulterer, thus reversing the relation of dishonour that the adulterous act had established. It must indeed be emphasized that this is not a form of *punishment*, but of private violence. Further, we have no way of knowing how frequently such acts occurred.

16. In *Cyr.*7.5.62.4–5 castration is appropriate for hubristic horses.

17. Isocrates (*Lochites* 5.5), for example, claims that the reason for prosecuting someone for an act of *hubris* is not the injury itself, but the *dishonour* (*atimia*) which it brings. Although we know of relatively few actual prosecutions for *hubris* Isocrates' statement may reflect social reality. Aristotle (*N.E.* 1267b39), for example, reports that Hippodamus' theory of law embraced only three categories, death, damage, and *hubris*, because these are the three things men litigate about. Further, the fact that we possess no orations from cases of theft hardly indicates that this was an insignificant category of litigation.

18. Providing another illustration of the general point made by Aristotle and Isocrates about the way in which acts of *hubris*, particularly those directed at the sexual honour of women and children, can lead to civic violence.

19. Thus, Lysias (3.6, 23) makes clear that strangers who forcibly intrude into the presence of respectable women in their homes are insulting them by violating their sexual honour, and, hence, the honour of the men of the family.

20. There is no need here to set out the way the values of honour and shame operate in the sexual sphere. See Cohen, 'Separation, Seclusion, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens' (*G & R*, 1989), 'Law, Society, and Homosexuality in Classical Athens' (*Past and Present*, 1987), and *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* (C.U.P., forthcoming 1991) for discussions of these values and the social practices and legal regulations associated with them.

21. Whether such accusations are true is, of course, irrelevant. The point concerns rather the normative expectations by which the author expects such exploits to be judged.

22. The passage is interesting in a number of ways, for it raises the question of to what extent concubines were thought to possess sexual honour which could be besmirched by an act of *hubris*.

23. And see also 1148b29.

24. Not only is hiring a free man as a prostitute *hubris*, but Demosthenes (22.21.2) also refers to accusing a man falsely of prostitution as committing *hubris* against him.

25. See also Thucydides (8.45.2.7), who claims that the Athenians keep the pay of the navy low so that the sailors will not weaken their bodies by engaging in *hubris*.

26. Further indication that this is *hubris* is his comparison with Demosthenes who he says caused Theban women and children to be distributed among the barbarians' tents. In 19.6 he explicitly refers to this as *hubris* committed against 'free bodies' (*ta eleuthera somata*).

27. I have suggested elsewhere that there was no *graphe* for *moicheia*, and that the *graphe* which Aristotle refers to is the only one which contemporary Athenian sources actually attest: the *graphe* which could be brought to procure the release of a *moichos* being held by the family of the adulteress, as attested in the pseudo-Demosthenic *Against Neaera*. See Cohen, 'The Athenian Law of Adultery', RIDA (1984).

28. K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (1978).

29. See, in addition to 163.9, 55.2 and 87.8. Cf.108.1 and 29.8. Apart from passages cited above, see also Plato, *Phaedrus* 254e2, 250e5 for characterizations of hubristic intercourse.

30. See generally D. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (London, 1990) and J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (London, 1990), who are far less critical than Dover in the way they develop this interpretation.

31. I refer here to the Athenian view of such relations which typically portrays the active partner alone as deriving sexual satisfaction from the transaction.

32. As Campbell's study of the Sarakatsani indicates, this was probably less true in rural settings (J.

Campbell, *Honour, Family, and Patronage* [Oxford, 1964], pp. 200ff., 268ff.). Hence, Biblical and Assyrian law distinguish between rape in the town and rape in the fields, where the woman's outcry cannot be heard. Menander, of course, indicates the exceptional possibilities which religious festivals represented. For fuller references see Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society*, chapter 5.

33. Campbell, *Honour*, pp. 268–9.





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RAPE AND ADULTERY IN ATHENIAN LAW

It is a truism of modern discussions of Athenian law and oratory that the Athenians regarded adultery as a more heinous offence than rape. This consensus has been challenged in a valuable paper by E. M. Harris.[1] But although Harris has successfully (at least in my view) placed in question a number of assumptions about this area of Athenian law and ethics, I wish to argue that the traditional position is in its broad outlines correct. In this as in so many aspects of Athenian law it is difficult to make firm statements. Firstly, for the Athenian system as a whole we lack evidence for many issues of legal prescription and procedure for the period before the restoration of the democracy, and our evidence is frequently lacunose even for the period after the restoration. As a result we are presented with a 'snapshot' of the Athenian system at a particular stage in its development and are rarely able to trace chronological developments in detail and frequently unable to trace them in broad outline. A further result of this 'snapshot' effect is a false impression of coherence. Legislative measures belonging to different periods are likely to present themselves as the result of an integrated design rather than the product of accretion. Finally, and most importantly, our sources distort. Occasionally they provide information on the laws and on legal procedure in passing, in order to contextualize an argument or narrative; but in general they are presenting us with information in an attempt to persuade. Their jurisprudence is therefore not objective but designed to produce specific effects as part of the process of persuasion. Nonetheless, a careful scrutiny of such evidence as is available will show that adultery was viewed more seriously than rape.

I begin with definitions. By 'adultery' I mean what the Greeks called *moicheia*. The translation is inexact, since there is good reason to believe that the Greek word was broader in its implications; not in terms of actions committed but in terms of the circumstances under which a sexual act constituted *moicheia*. For the term covered illicit sex with relatives other than a man's wife. This has been denied (by Cohen, followed recently by Todd),[2] but the evidence of [Dem.]59.67 is conclusive:

κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον γράφεται αὐτὸν ὁ Ἐπαίνετος, καὶ ὡμολόγει μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇι ἀνθρώπωι, οὐ μέντοι μοιχός γε εἶναι· οὔτε γὰρ Στεφάνου θυγατέρα αὐτὴν εἶναι ἀλλὰ Νεαίρας, τήν τε μητέρα αὐτῆς συνειδέναι πλησιάζουσαν αὐτῶι, ἀνηλωκέναι τε πολλὰ εἰς αὐτάς, τρέφειν τε ὁπότε ἐπιδημήσειεν τὴν οἰκίαν ὅλην· τόν τε νόμον ἐπὶ τούτοις παρεχόμενος, ὃς οὐκ ἐᾶι ἐπὶ ταύτηισι μοιχὸν λαβεῖν ὁπόσαι ἂν ἐπ' ἐργαστηρίου καθῶνται ἢ πωλῶνται ἀποπεφασμένως, ἐργαστήριον φάσκων καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, τὴν Στεφάνου οἰκίαν...

It was under this law that Epainetos indicated him. He admitted that he had had the use of the woman, but denied being an adulterer; he said that she was not Stephanos' daughter but Neaira's, and that her mother knew that she was having relations with him, that he had spent

[1] → E. M. Harris, *CQ* 40 (1990), 370–77. S. C. Todd, *The shape of Athenian law* (Oxford, 1993) 276 is sceptical.

[2] D. Cohen, *RIDA* 31 (1984), 147ff., *Law, sexuality and society* (Cambridge, 1991) 98ff.; cf. Todd (cited n. 1 above) 277. The view taken in the text is that of U. E. Paoli, *SDHI* 16 (1950), 123–182, esp. 130ff. (= *Altri studi di diritto greco e romano* (Milan, 1976), 251–307, esp. 257ff.). That the effect of the broad definition of *moicheia* is to make the Athenian system radically different from the other systems known to us in its definition of non-violent illicit sex (as Cohen emphasizes), is not a compelling reason for normalizing the Athenian system. Moreover, it is to be stressed that our evidence for the definition of *moicheia* in other Greek states is minimal. The broad definition of *moicheia* in Athens is of a piece with the right which Solonian law granted to a father or brother to sell into slavery a daughter or sister found in illicit sex (Plut. *Sol.* 23).

a great deal of money on them, and that whenever he was in town he used to meet the expenses of the whole household; in addition he cited the law which forbids seizing a man as an adulterer with any women who sit in a brothel or parade publicly, and he said that this was what Stephanos' house was, a brothel...

There Stephanos imprisons and holds to ransom Epainetos of Andros for sexual acts involving a female, Phano, alleged to be Stephanos' daughter. Since the narrator locates the incident after Phano's divorce (as §69 makes clear) and before her (alleged) subsequent marriage (cf. §72), breach of the marriage bond appears to be ruled out.[3] It seems that Stephanos' action is based on his claim to be Phano's father. We are fortunate that the speaker Apollodoros, with the garrulity which makes him an invaluable source of information on some otherwise badly attested aspects of Athenian law, incorporates the details of Epainetos' defence in the private arbitration which led to an extra-judicial resolution of the dispute. Part of his defence is that the female in question is not Stephanos' daughter, the point being (in part) that Stephanos cannot therefore bring an action against him as a *moichos*. The obvious answer to Stephanos, if the law did not recognize sex with a man's daughter as actionable under the law dealing with *moicheia*, would be to insist on this fact. Epainetos' failure to make this obvious riposte suggests that Athenian law did recognize a father's rights as well as a husband's in cases of unsanctioned non-violent sex. Whether this represents a widening of the scope of the definition of and legal provision for *moicheia* with time, as is sometimes assumed, is difficult to say. With the exception of [Dem.]59 all texts which use the term *moicheia* and cognates appear to envisage breach of the marital relationship. None however purports to give the legal prescriptions relating to *moicheia* in their entirety, and it is entirely possible that in concentrating on marriage they are merely reflecting the most common context for *moicheia*. It is also difficult to determine the degree of affinity required for a man to take action under the prescriptions for *moicheia*. The surviving texts which indicate relationships deal with homicide law. Not only is the term *moicheia* not used, with the result, as Cohen[4] has rightly emphasized, that the use of this evidence in the context of definitions of *moicheia* is potentially misleading; in addition, this tells us nothing about other laws dealing with *moicheia*. I shall return to this issue at the end.

Rape differs from adultery in a number of respects. The presence or absence of violence is the most important discriminator. From numerous texts of the classical period it is clear that *moicheia* involves persuasion. Moreover, whereas *moicheia* is always committed upon (though with the consent of) women, rape of both males and females was covered by law (unlike British law, which until recently recognized only the rape of females).

I return to the issue of the seriousness of adultery and rape under the Athenian system. Harris has rightly called into question one of the most important pieces of evidence in support of the traditional view. Euphiletos in Lysias 1 asserts that the law punishes *moichoi* with death, while for rapists the penalty is pecuniary:

ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι κελεύει, ἐάν τις ἄνθρωπον ἐλεύθερον ἢ παῖδα αἰσχύνηι βίαι, διπλῆν τὴν βλάβην ὀφείλειν· ἐὰν δὲ γυναῖκα, ἐφ' αἷσπερ ἀποκτείνειν ἔξεστιν, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι·

[3] Cohen, 1991 (cited n. 2 above) 108–9 suggests that Stephanos' action could be based on a fraudulent misrepresentation of the divorced Phano as still married. This is unlikely to be the case. In a narrative which emphasizes Stephanos' duplicity, it would be remarkable if this falsehood went unnoted. It is equally surprising that there is no attempt on Epainetos' part to assail the fraudulent claim. Indeed §69 (where Phano's divorce is introduced in a matter-of-fact way) suggests that Phano's situation was familiar to all parties.

[4] Cohen, 1984 (cited n. 2 above) 151, Cohen, 1991 (cited n. 2 above) 104.

οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς βιαζομένους ἐλάττονος ζημίας ἀξίους ἡγήσατο εἶναι ἢ τοὺς πείθοντας· τῶν μὲν γὰρ θάνατον κατέγνω, τοῖς δὲ διπλῆν ἐποίησε τὴν βλάβην.

You hear, gentlemen, that it prescribes that if anyone forcibly shames a free man or boy he is liable to double the damages. If a woman, in those cases where it is permissible to kill, he is liable to the same penalty. Which shows, gentlemen, that he considered those who use force deserving of a lesser penalty than those who use persuasion. For the latter he condemned to death, while for the former he doubled the damages.

Though this formulation has been accepted by many modern scholars,[5] including the present writer, at the very least it oversimplifies the picture. That the *dike biaion*, available in cases of rape, prescribed damages for the victim (where this was an adult male) or for *kyrios* if the victim was a female or male minor is incontrovertible. On this Lysias' quotation from the law is explicit. His distortion consists in suppressing less lenient punishments which a rapist might suffer. As Harris notes,[6] the text on which Euphiletos relies for his distinction is not concerned with definitions of *moicheia* but with justifiable homicide. It has been pointed out that it would be difficult on many occasions for the aggrieved party to determine whether rape or *moicheia* was taking place.[7] If a man caught another in bed with a female relative it would be easy to distinguish rape only if physical violence had been used; if only threats of violence had been used, there would be no way to distinguish the rapist from the *moichos*. That a distinction is problematic does not however mean that the law could not draw it. More to the point is Harrison's observation that the law signally fails to distinguish between adultery and rape.[8] The text is cited at Dem.23.53–4. It reads:

ἐάν τις ἀποκτείνῃι ἐν ἄθλοις ἄκων, ἢ ἐν ὁδῶι καθελὼν ἢ ἐν πολέμωι ἀγνοήσας ἢ ἐπὶ δάμαρτι ἢ ἐπ' ἀδελφῆι ἢ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἢ ἐπὶ παλακῆι ἣν ἂν ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις παισὶν ἔχηι, τούτων ἕνεκα μὴ φεύγειν κτείναντα.

If someone kills involuntarily in a contest, or catching him on the road or unwittingly in war, or with his spouse or sister or daughter or a concubine whom he keeps for free children, on these counts he is not to be exiled.

There is here no attempt to define different derelictions. A man may be killed, if he is caught 'with/at'[9] the wife, daughter, mother, sister or concubine of another. It is clear, though not stated explicitly, that what is envisaged by the law is sexual intercourse.[10] The failure to specify the nature of the offence (whether achieved by

[5] See the citations of Harris (cited n. 1 above) 370 n. 2.

[6] Harris (cited n. 1 above) 371.

[7] A. R. W. Harrison, *The law of Athens* I (Oxford, 1968), 34; cf. Harris (cited n. 1 above) 372.

[8] Harrison (cited n. 7 above) 34.

[9] Probably not 'on top of', *pace* Harris (cited n. 1 above) 372, which would effectively narrow the law to cases involving the missionary position. Moreover, it is unlikely that Euphiletos in Lys. 1.24 would tell us so circumstantially that he found the alleged adulterer *lying next to his wife* (*οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι εἰσιόντες ἔτι εἶδομεν αὐτὸν κατακείμενον παρὰ τῆι γυναικί, οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἐν τῆι κλίνηι γυμνὸν ἑστηκότα*, 'those of us who entered first still saw him lying next to my wife, while those who came in after saw him standing naked on the bed'), if one of the laws on which he proposes to base his defence was generally understood to mean that the perpetrator should be *on top of* the female. Better is Paoli's 'presso la moglie' (cited n. 2 above) 127 = 254. I take it that the prepositional phrase expresses the circumstances ('at'), as in *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρωι λαβεῖν*, rather than the position. See also next note.

[10] Interestingly the law does not specify that sex should have been completed or even that it should be in progress when the man is caught. There is moreover no indication that the couple should be naked or partly clothed (though Lysias in speech 1 feels obliged to provide this information; see preceding note). It is of course always possible, since Greek laws notoriously rely on common sense interpretation ('the man on the Clapham omnibus' approach) that sexual

violence or persuasion) means that a defence could probably be offered under this clause of Drakon's law irrespective of whether the dead man was a rapist or a seducer. This remained theoretically true not only in the age of Drakon but also throughout the classical period, since the law remained in force.

It is also probable, as Harris rightly stresses,[11] that the rapist could be prosecuted under a *graphe hybreos*. We have of course no single instance of such a prosecution. But given that the verb *ὑβρίζειν* is used of rape, that with the exception of a single action brought under unusual circumstances and rapidly withdrawn[12] the actual or potential cases of *hybris* known to us involve physical force, and that the *graphe hybreos* appears to have been available for a wide variety of offences, it is exceedingly likely that rape could be pursued as *hybris*. We cannot now gauge the prospects for success. But since the *graphe hybreos* was a *timetos agon*, it was open to the prosecutor to propose the death penalty. If he could convince the jurors, the perpetrator would be killed.

It is reasonably clear therefore that Lysias is guilty at least of a distortion. He also suppresses the alternative remedies available to the aggrieved party in cases of *moicheia*, as has been observed. The aggrieved male could subject the *moichos* to physical abuse, or he could hold him to ransom, or bring a *graphe moicheias*.[13] He was not obliged to kill, as Euphiletos would have us believe. We do not know the penalty under the *graphe moicheias*. But the possibility of financial reparation further erodes the neat distinction between rape and *moicheia* which Lysias creates. This is presumably why he cites the law on homicide rather than the law or laws on *moicheia* to prove his point. The latter would have exposed his distortion of the legal position.

However, to argue that a distinction is exaggerated is not to invalidate the distinction altogether. It can be shown that the extreme position of Euphiletos in Lys. 1 rests on a real distinction drawn by the Athenians. To demonstrate this it will be necessary to examine in greater detail the penalties for the *moichos* and the attitudes to women involved in rape and in *moicheia*.

The law on homicide cited at Lys. 1.30 is not in fact the sole support for Euphiletos' defence. After his account of the capture and evasive reference to the killing of the alleged seducer Eratosthenes, Euphiletos says (1.28): *Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀνάγνωθι τὸν νόμον* ('first of all, read out the law'). That this is the law which justifies his killing of Eratosthenes appears inescapable, from the introduction of 'the law' (*τὸν νόμον*,

intercourse begun or completed is to be understood. More probably in a society which discouraged contact between unrelated males and females the presence of a man alone with a decent woman offers a *prima facie* case for assuming that illicit sex is intended or in progress.

[11] Harris (cited n. 1 above) 373; cf. Todd (cited n. 1 above) 277 and Paoli (cited n. 2 above) 168f. = 294f.

[12] Dem. 45.4, Apollodoros brings a *graphe hybreos* against Phormion for marrying his mother. Since the case never came to court, we do not know how Apollodoros defined the alleged *hybris* and we can only guess at the arguments Apollodoros might have used to induce the jurors to accept his definition of the alleged actions. He does however state that he brought this action because procedures for private suits had been temporarily suspended. The only certain trial for *hybris* known to us, Isai. 8.41 (alleged wrongful imprisonment with the intention of bringing about the disfranchisement of the victim, presumably by preventing him from performing military service or discharging a debt to the treasury) involves the use of force (the treatment of this instance by O. Murray, in *Nomos: studies in Athenian law, politics and society*, Cartledge-Millett-Todd, (ed.), (Cambridge, 1990) 141, places too much emphasis on *atimia* to the detriment of the element of force). For other possible actions for *hybris* (and threats to bring such an action) see N. R. E. Fisher in *Nomos: studies in Athenian law, politics and society* (cited above) 125–6.

[13] See Harrison (cited n. 7 above) 32f. Whether the *graphe hybreos* was also available in cases of *moicheia* (as Harrison 35 supposes) is not clear.

not τοῦτον τὸν νόμον), which suggests that its authority in this context is self-evident, from the position of the citation immediately after the narrative, and from the fact that the speaker goes on immediately afterward (§29) to state that death is the statutory penalty for adultery. This is almost certainly not the same law which is quoted in §30. Firstly, the law in §30 is introduced with the words ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ⟨τὸν⟩ ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου ('please read out this law too from the column on the Areopagos'). καί indicates that this law is cited in addition to that cited in §28; this is not a repetition (a very rare event in the orators in itself). The specification of the location of the law points in the same direction, since one expects further details of a law to be given at the time of its first citation, as is normal practice. The only alternative is to suppose that the word νόμος is used in §§29 and 30 of two distinct clauses in the same law. But since, as we know from Demosthenes 23.53–4, the reference to the killing of a man caught with a female relative was a single brief mention in the homicide law, not a feature developed over several clauses, this alternative appears to be ruled out.

If the law cited in §28 is not the homicide law, what is it? It has been suggested, and is still suggested by Todd,[14] that the law is that dealing with *kakourgon apagoge*. Harris seems to me to have disposed conclusively of the possibility that *moichoi* were classed as *kakourgoi*.[15] The only passage which can plausibly be cited in support of this view is (Aischin. 1.90f.). The text reads:

δέδεικται φανερὰ ὁδός, δι' ἧς οἱ τὰ μέγιστα κακουργοῦντες ἀποφέυξονται. τίς γὰρ ἢ τῶν λωποδυτῶν ἢ τῶν κλεπτῶν ἢ τῶν μοιχῶν ἢ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἢ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα μὲν ἀδικούντων, λάθραι δὲ τοῦτο πραττόντων, δώσει δίκην; καὶ γὰρ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοφώρωι ἁλόντες, ἐὰν ὁμολογῶσι, παραχρῆμα θανάτωι ζημιοῦνται, οἱ δὲ λαθόντες καὶ ἔξαρνοι γενόμενοι κρίνονται ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, εὑρίσκεται δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων.

A clear way has been revealed whereby those guilty of the greatest wrongs will escape punishment. For what mugger or thief or adulterer or killer or any other of those who commit the most serious wrongs but do so in secret will be punished? For any of these who are caught in the act are punished with death at once if they confess, while those who go undetected and deny their guilt are judged in court and the truth is discovered on the basis of probability.

That it lists the *moichos* along with thieves and *lopodytai*, who were certainly classed as *kakourgoi*, is of doubtful significance, since it makes no mention of *apagoge* and does not use the term *kakourgos*. Since it is unlikely that the law dealing with *kakourgoi* listed all categories of *kakourgos*,[16] in principle there is no reason why *moichoi* could not be included in the term. However, it is also likely that there was a general understanding of the types of malefactor who could be so classified, and as Harris stresses no text which explicitly speaks of *apagoge* or *kakourgoi* ever mentions *moichoi*. In support of the view that Aischines' discussion may be taken as a reliable statement on the categories of offender covered by the term *kakourgos*, Hansen has stressed Aischines' knowledge of Athenian law.[17] But in fact the passage is inaccurate in at least one important respect. Although some of the malefactors who were classified as *kakourgoi* could be killed with impunity under Drakon's provision for justifiable homicide,[18] not all could. Moreover, whereas *moichoi* could be killed on the spot, the *Ath. Pol.* tells us that as a class *kakourgoi* were liable to summary arrest and referral to the Eleven; if they then confessed, they were liable to summary execution.[19] Clearly the law or laws dealing with *apagoge kakourgon* did not empower the

[14] D. Cohen, 1984 (cited n. 2 above) 155ff., Cohen, 1990 (cited n. 2 above) 110ff., Todd (cited n. 1 above) 276.
[15] Harris (cited n. 1 above) 376f.
[16] M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* 22 (1981), 22f.
[17] M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* 22 (1981), 26.
[18] See [Dem.] 23, quoted above.
[19] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 52.1.

individual who seized a *kakourgos* to kill him as an alternative to handing him over to the Eleven. Aischines' παραχρῆμα θανάτωι ζημιοῦνται is therefore at best misleading.

However, even if we accept that *moichoi* were subject to the procedure of *kakourgon apagoge*, it is exceedingly unlikely that the law governing this procedure is cited in Lys. 1. Since Euphiletos' point is that in killing Eratosthenes he acted as required by law, and since he cites the law which authorized his action, it is most unlikely that he is referring to the law on the *apagoge* of *kakourgoi*, which neither required nor permitted the killing of *kakourgoi*.

If the law cited at Lys. 1.28 is not that which deals with *kakourgoi*, the only obvious alternative is a citation from the law (or a law, if there was more than one) specifying procedure in cases of *moicheia*. That the law (or laws) dealing with *moicheia* specified procedures to be taken by the aggrieved party, as was the case with most Athenian laws, is clear from [Dem.] 59.87, which lays down the action to be taken by a husband after catching his wife with a *moichos*. If we are correct in detecting a reference to *mocheia* law at Lys. 1.28, then we can be sure that it did specify killing as an option open to the aggrieved party. This agrees with the evidence of Plutarch *Sol.* 23, who states that Solon gave the aggrieved party the right to kill the *moichos* (μοιχὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τῶι λαβόντι δέδωκεν). We can also be sure that *moicheia* law specified other penalties, which Lysias elects not to mention. However, the important point is that homicide was explicitly allowed as a legitimate procedure in the case of *moicheia* (parallel to abuse, prosecution etc.), not merely as a defence under homicide law. From Euphiletos' insistence in §29 that Eratosthenes confessed to being a *moichos* immediately after the citation of the relevant clause of the law, we should probably conclude[20] that it was a precondition for the exercise of this right under the *nomos moicheias* that the individual apprehended should not only be taken in the act but should also admit to the charge. This would explain the inclusion of *moichoi* among those who could be killed if they confessed in Aischin. 1.90. In this respect Aischines is right to include *moichoi* along with *kakourgoi*. Both categories were subject to execution without trial if they admitted their guilt. Aischines distorts only in combining summary execution under the self-help procedure allowed under *moicheia* law (and under the homicide laws of Drakon) with that carried out by the Eleven in the case of *kakourgoi* who confessed after being caught in the act.

There is thus a significant difference between *moicheia* and rape in post-Drakonian legislation. With *moicheia*, the right to a defence allowed under homicide law was further reinforced by subsequent legislation, which listed the right to kill alongside other remedies available to the aggrieved male. In contrast, Solonian legislation dealing with rape specified damages to be paid to the victim or the *kyrios*. There was no supplementary enactment specifying the right to kill. In this respect post-Drakonian legislation did treat *moicheia* as a more serious crime. It is particularly important in this context to differentiate between the possibility of execution resulting from prosecution for rape under the *graphe hybreos* (conditional upon the jury accepting the extreme sanction proposed by the prosecutor), and the formally granted right to kill *without trial* and without reference to any state official or body in the case of the *moichos*.

Probably the right to kill the rapist was still available under the letter of the homicide law of Drakon. But was this a realistic option in the classical period? It is

[20] *Pace* C. Carey *Lysias, selected speeches* (Cambridge, 1989) 75, who errs in concentrating on the law of justifiable homicide, not the law on *moicheia*.

important to note the line of defence taken by Euphiletos in Lys. 1. The law on *moicheia* is given pride of place, while the homicide law is cited by Euphiletos only as a supplementary proof of his right to kill, and to emphasize the seriousness of *moicheia*. This suggests that a defence based on homicide law, together with a claim that the dead man had committed rape, would be unlikely to succeed in practice. Even in the case of *moicheia*, the killer may have found the jury lukewarm in its sympathy, since it would appear that by the classical period the use of ransom had become the most common remedy against *moichoi*.[21] But the claim that the dead man was a *moichos* evidently offered firmer ground for a defence. We may perhaps go further. We have no text from the classical period, beyond the homicide law, which speaks of the right to kill the rapist. In contrast, we do have references to the right to kill the *moichos*. Sometimes the *moichos* is merely cited *exempli gratia* with reference to justifiable homicide.[22] Sometimes a specific point is being made which could not be applied to the rapist.[23] But it is striking that it is the *moichos*, never the rapist, who is cited. Nor, with the exception of the text of Drakon's law, do we get vague references to the right to kill someone caught 'at/with' one's wife etc. in the classical period. It would seem therefore that the homicide law was generally taken in practice as enshrining the right to kill *moichoi*. In this respect the impact of the post-Drakonian legislation dealing with *moicheia* and rape was probably to narrow the definition of the phrase *ἐπὶ δάμαρτι*. An alternative explanation is simply that the code of Drakon acknowledged no distinction between adultery and rape, and that this distinction begins with the code of Solon. At any rate, the letter of the law would still allow a defence on the generic ground that a man was caught 'at/with' one's wife etc. But in the Athenian context a defence based on the letter of the law was not necessarily a strong defence.

The impression that *moicheia* is regarded as a more serious offence is reinforced by a consideration of the alternatives to homicide allowed under the *nomos moicheias*. One of these, it appears from Lys. 1.48, was to abuse the *moichos*.[24] As an alternative to death this was probably not without its attractions to the *moichos* caught in the act. But it was not a light penalty. In a society like our own which places less premium on public face it is difficult to grasp the severity of this sanction. But the effect of this clause in the law was to deprive the *moichos* of the sanction of the *graphe hybreos* when subjected to acts which normally would be classed as *hybris* and which were

[21] Cf. Carey (cited n. 20 above) 60 n. 5.

[22] Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.3 *ἐὰν δ' ἀποκτεῖναι μέν τις ὁμολογῇ, φῇ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἷον μοιχὸν λαβὼν ἢ ἐν πολέμωι ἀγνοήσας ἢ ἐν ἄθλωι ἀγωνιζόμενος, τούτωι ἐπὶ Δελφινίωι δικάζουσιν.*

If someone admits homicide but claims that he killed legally, for instance having caught a *moichos* or in war through ignorance or in an athletic competition, he is tried at the Delphinion.

[23] Cf. Xen. *Hieron* 3.6 *οὐ μὲν δὴ λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις ὅτι ἡ φιλία μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἥδιστον ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν· μόνους γοῦν τοὺς μοιχοὺς νομίζουσι νηποινεὶ ἀποκτείνειν, δῆλον ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι λυμαντῆρας αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι.*

Not even cities are unaware that friendship is the greatest boon and pleasure for mankind. At any rate, they see fit to kill only *moichoi* with impunity, evidently because they consider them defilers of the affection of wives for their husbands.

[24] Lys. 1.48 *[οἱ νόμοι] κελεύουσι μέν, ἐάν τις μοιχὸν λάβηι, ὅτι ἂν βούληται χρῆσθαι.*

[the laws] prescribe that it anyone catches a *moichos* he should treat him as he pleases.

For punishments see C. Carey, *LCM* 18 (1993), 53ff. It is conceivable, but unprovable, that the right to kill granted under *moicheia* law rested on this clause allowing physical maltreatment at will.

normally actionable even when committed against slaves. The existence of the *graphe hybreos* confirms the impression given by many classical sources that personal *time* was important not only to the individual but also to society at large. But under the *nomos moicheias* one citizen was granted the right to commit *hybris* against another. This would always be done in front of witnesses, and would therefore involve public humiliation. In certain circumstances the degree of publicity was increased. For those who were falsely imprisoned and held to ransom as *moichoi* the law allowed the *graphe adikos eirchthenai hos moichon*, which if successful freed the individual imprisoned from the obligation to pay the ransom agreed. If it failed, the aggrieved male had the right to subject the *moichos* to physical abuse in front of the court.[25] Although the principle of self-help remained firmly rooted in Athenian law (the right to *apagoge* in appropriate circumstances, the right to kill, the right to distrain on property under certain circumstances), only in the case of *moicheia* did this include the right to physical abuse. Equally unusual was the right to hold the wrongdoer to ransom. It would of course be wrong to conclude from this that the Athenians regarded *moicheia* as the most serious offence of all. But it remains significant that no such rights were granted in the case of rape.

It is also important to note the different treatment of women in cases of *moicheia* and rape. In some cultures rape and adultery are regarded as equally damning for the woman involved. A woman who is penetrated by a male outside marriage is unchaste, whether or not she consents. There is no reason to suppose that an Athenian would take this view. We do of course find terms such as αἰσχύνειν used of rape. Rape involves a loss of τιμή. But it is important to bear in mind the difference between the objective sense of τιμή and the ambiguity of our term 'honour', which can be both subjective ('chastity') and objective ('face'). Rape shames in the Greek context, since it involves humiliation. But it does not compromise the subjective chastity of the victim. There is no evidence to suggest that a man felt obliged to put aside a wife who had been raped. Nor do we have evidence for any other sanction against the victim. On the other hand, the penalties for a woman taken with a *moichos* were severe. She was barred from the public temples, and if she ignored the bar could be beaten by anyone with impunity; she was also banned from wearing any kind of ornament.[26] Since religion was the only area of Greek life in which a woman could approach anything like the influence of a man, this was a very severe sanction indeed, the nearest equivalent in female terms to *atimia*. Moreover, where the woman was married her husband was compelled to divorce her on pain of *atimia*. Any attempt to determine the attitudes to adultery and rape must take account of this dimension also.

If we accept that *moicheia* was regarded as a more serious offence than rape, we must attempt to answer the question: *why*? Euphiletos in Lys. 1 offers two

[25] [ὁ νόμος] κελεύει, ἐάν τις ἀδίκως εἴρξῃ ὡς μοιχόν, γράψασθαι πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας ἀδίκως εἱρχθῆναι, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἕλῃ τὸν εἴρξαντα καὶ δόξῃ ἀδίκως ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι, ἀθῷον εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς ἐγγύης· ἐὰν δὲ δόξῃ μοιχὸς εἶναι, παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν κελεύει τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς τῶι ἑλόντι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἄνευ ἐγχειριδίου χρῆσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῆι.

[the law] prescribes that if anyone falsely imprisons another as an adulterer the victim may indict him before the Thesmothetai for false imprisonment, and that if he secures the conviction of the man who imprisoned him and it is decided that he has been the victim of a dishonest plot, he is liable to no penalty and his sureties are quit of their bail; however, if it is decided that he is an adulterer, the law prescribes that his sureties are to deliver him to his captor, who may treat him as he chooses in the court, short of using a knife.

[26] Cf. [Dem.] 59.87, Aischin. 1.183.

explanations:[27] (i) while the rapist defiles only the body of the woman, the seducer corrupts the mind as well; (ii) the existence of a clandestine relationship makes it difficult to determine the paternity of all children of the woman in question. The first of these finds an echo in Xenophon's *Hieron*,[28] where it is claimed that throughout the cities of Greece only *moichoi* may be killed with impunity, the reason being that they corrupt a woman's affection for her husband. This is erroneous of course; in Athens at least justifiable homicide extended to others beside *moichoi*, and not all Greek cities allowed the killing of *moichoi*. But in essence it agrees with Lysias in placing the emphasis on the corruption of the mind of a married woman. As an explanation of Athenian law it has little to recommend it. Firstly, it places too much emphasis on the marital relationship. *Moichoi* were certainly included even under Drakon's homicide code (if not exclusively) which allowed the killing of a man taken 'with'/'at' certain categories of female relative, and this extended beyond the marital bond. Subsequent legislation on *moicheia* certainly, as was argued above, allowed for action to be taken against a man who seduced other relatives besides the wife. Equally important, the explanation is psychologically wrong with reference to the attitude of the Athenian laws to marriage. Although we have evidence from the archaic period onwards that personal relationships between husband and wife could be very warm, the purpose of marriage was not to provide a man with a soulmate but to provide the *oikos* with heirs. The formal treatment of marriage always reflects this. When speaking of decisions to marry Athenian speakers always place procreation to the fore. The betrothal formula which we find several times in Menander likewise emphasizes procreation.[29] Arrangements for marriage reflect this perspective, since the betrothal is treated as an agreement between father and prospective groom. The practice of betrothing dependent females, including wives, by will, though it clearly reflects a desire to provide for such relatives, places the emphasis on the practical, not the psychological well-being of the woman. The laws take the same practical perspective, as can be seen especially in the case of the *epikleros*,[30] where the nearest male relative has the right to marry, and where the process sanctioned by law consists of making a claim before the archon (or the polemarchos in the case of metic women). The law appears to have allowed the nearest male relative to compel the divorce of the *epikleros* in certain circumstances. That legislation should seek to preserve the *philia* of man and wife is inherently implausible. Clearly both Lysias and Xenophon are rationalizing.

[27] *οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς βιαζομένους ἐλάττονος ζημίας ἀξίους ἡγήσατο εἶναι ἢ τοὺς πείθοντας· τῶν μὲν γὰρ θάνατον κατέγνω, τοῖς δὲ διπλῆν ἐποίησε τὴν βλάβην, ἡγούμενος τοὺς μὲν διαπραττομένους βίαι ὑπὸ τῶν βιασθέντων μισεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πείσαντας οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς διαφθείρειν ὥστ' οἰκειοτέρας αὑτοῖς ποιεῖν τὰς ἀλλοτρίας γυναῖκας ἢ τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τὴν οἰκίαν γεγονέναι, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀδήλους εἶναι ὁποτέρων τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῶν μοιχῶν.*

Which shows, gentlemen, that he considered those who use force deserving of a lesser penalty than those who use persuasion. For the latter he condemned to death, while for the former he doubled the damages, because he thought that those who get their way with violence are hated by their victims, while those who use persuasion so corrupt the minds of the women that they make other men's wives more their own than their husbands', with the result that the whole household is firmly under their control and it is unclear whose the children are, the husbands' or the lovers'.

[28] Xen. *Hieron* 3.6, quoted n. 23 above.

[29] E.g. *Dysc.* 842f. *ἀλλ' ἐγγυῶ παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότωι γνησίων τὴν θυγατέρ'...*

I bestow my daughter for the sowing [lit. ploughing] of legitimate children...

[30] For the *epikleros* see in general Harrison (cited n. 7 above) 132ff.

Lysias' second explanation is the more plausible. Before the advent of blood tests and DNA 'fingerprinting', paternity is impossible to prove with certainty. The only absolutely certain way of ensuring paternity is to restrict the access of other males to one's women. Paternity is important for inheritance purposes in a patrilineal society. In the Greek context, where inheritance involved religious acts, including the cult of the family dead, purity of the blood line was especially important. Rape does not present a significant danger. By avoiding intercourse for the rest of the month (in the case of married women) a husband can prevent confusion about paternity if it should turn out that the wife is pregnant. If she is, the child may then be disposed of by abortion or in due course by exposure. *Moicheia*, because clandestine and difficult to pinpoint precisely in time, raises a doubt about the paternity of any children born to a woman. And since the woman is by definition unreliable, a clandestine affair involving, say, a widow or divorced woman, raises the possibility that any existing children may be the result of an affair, while in the case of an unmarried female it opens the threat of future affairs which will corrupt the bloodline of her future *oikos*; as a result her *kyrios* will be left with a dependent relative for the rest of his life. Thus the position adopted by Paoli,[31] that the gravity of *moicheia* as an offence resides in its implications for the *oikos*, would appear to be correct. Hence the requirement that a married woman caught in adultery must be divorced by her husband. The legislation on *moicheia* is thus of a piece with the protection of orphans and *epikleroi*, and the duty of the archon to take care of *oikoi* in danger of dying out. It reflects the interest of the state in the preservation of the *oikos*. There was more broadly an issue of citizenship. Where paternity could not be determined with certainty, there was a possibility that individuals enjoying citizen rights were the offspring of aliens, a risk which grew with the increase in the metic population in the late archaic and early classical period. The *oikos* perspective best explains the list of females under the Drakonian provision for justifiable homicide. The most puzzling item is the inclusion of the *pallake* which a man has 'for the purpose of free children'. Since personal relationships did not receive legal protection as such, this provision presumably has a practical purpose. The Drakonian provision is most easily understood if we suppose that an Athenian's male bastards enjoyed substantial inheritance rights.[32] In addition, we know that before 451/0 the requirement for citizenship was Athenian paternity. We have no solid evidence to suppose that marriage was a precondition before or after that date.[33] If, as is entirely possible, bastards enjoyed political rights in pre-

[31] Paoli (cited n. 2 above) 139/266. His further argument (142/269) that the act must take place *within* the family house to count as *moicheia* is supported by no evidence. It is important to note that the relative seriousness of adultery and rape has nothing whatever to do with the value attached to women as a sex or as individuals, since the penalties for rape are not affected by the sex of the victim.

[32] For the developments in the inheritance rights of bastards see Harrison (cited n. 7 above) 67f.

[33] The issue of the citizen status of *nothoi* with Athenian parentage on both sides is controversial (for a recent discussion which argues against the view taken here, with bibliography of the debate, see C. Patterson *Classical Antiquity* 9 [1990], 40–73) and likely to remain so. There is no reason *a priori* to suppose that adult males in this category were or were not included within the number of full citizens, since practice with reference to the rights of bastards varied from polis to polis (Arist. *Pol.* 1278a29). And ancient evidence is disappointingly ambiguous. My own view, that bastards with an Athenian father before 451/0 or two Athenian parents after 451/50 were entitled to citizen rights, is based on four passages, Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 42.1, [Dem.] 57.17, Isai. 12.7, Hyp. fr. 29. *Ath. Pol.* 42.1 omits legitimacy from the criteria for citizenship. This silence alone is inconclusive, but the conspiracy of silence between *Ath. Pol.* and [Dem.] 57.17, which again ignores legitimacy, is more difficult to dismiss. In particular, the speaker of [Dem.] 57 is facing a potentially hostile jury (as he stresses in the proem) who know the conditions for

Solonian Athens, in Drakon's code too the aim may be to protect both the *oikos* and the state.

We can now return to the question of the degree of affinity required for a man to take action under the law or laws dealing with *moicheia*. If, as was argued above and as is generally believed, the purpose of the *moicheia* law was to protect the *oikos*, it is likely that a man could exercise the right to abuse or to hold to ransom in the case of any relative for whom he stood in the position of *kyrios*. But we have seen that *moicheia* law also enshrined the right to kill. How widely could this right be exercised? There is no certain answer. But since the remedies available after Drakon were enhanced at least by the addition of the *graphe moicheias* (even if we assume, as seems possible, particularly in the light of the Demodokos' song of Ares and Aphrodite in *Odyssey* 8.266–366, that ransom and perhaps abuse were already established practice in pre-Solonian Athens), and since the effect was to increase the emphasis on judicial remedies, it is unlikely that the range allowed under Drakon's homicide code was widened by subsequent legislation. Probably therefore the right to kill was reserved under *moicheia* law for the limited sphere of relationships already allowed under Drakon's homicide law.

This is perhaps an opportune moment to deal with another misunderstanding which has been disseminated recently. Cohen has argued,[34] on the basis of comparative evidence, that *moicheia* was an area in which the Greek competitive spirit came to the fore. It was a source of status to seduce the womenfolk of other men and a source of shame to have one's own women seduced. This view is based on a simplistic model of Greek society which has become all too prevalent in recent decades, a model which emphasizes competitive at the expense of cooperative virtues, which ignores the Greek capacity for compromise and pragmatism. It also runs counter to the evidence. *Moicheia* is certainly a source of humour for the comic poets.[35] But comedy makes a habit of treating in a humorous way topics which in real life are taken in earnest. Non-comic sources which discuss *moicheia* are unanimous in their condemnation of the practice. There is thus no support whatsoever for the competitive picture painted by Cohen.[36]

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citizenship as well as he does and will notice any obvious omission. The MSS. text at Isai. 12.7 says that a man is a citizen because ἡ μήτηρ ἀστή τ' ἐστι καὶ ὁ πατήρ; the reference to marriage in printed texts is modern conjecture. In 338 Hypereides (fr. 29) lists as lacking rights slaves, debtors to the treasury, the ἄτιμοι, the ἀπεψηφισμένοι (under the Demophilos decree) and metics, but not *nothoi*. *Nothoi* of Athenian parentage on both sides cannot be tacitly subsumed as a class under the reference to ἄτιμοι (on the assumption that this category automatically lacked citizen rights), since only someone who had lost his rights would be referred to as ἄτιμος. It would be strange if Hypereides ignored a group with a seemingly better claim to citizenship, while mentioning metics and slaves.

[34] Cohen, 1990 (cited n. 2 above) 168.

[35] E.g. Ar. *Av.* 793–5, *Thesm.* 478ff.

[36] This paper was originally delivered at a seminar at the University of Genoa in February 1994. I wish to record my thanks to my colleague at Royal Holloway, Dr. Isa Busticardi, for correcting the original Italian version, and to the Dipartimento di Archeologia e Filologia Classica at Genoa for their hospitality, in particular to Prof. Umberto Albini. Finally, I wish to thank the anonymous referee for sharp criticisms from which the discussion has benefited.



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DIVORCE IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

THE modern literature on divorce in Classical Athens is slight, the only detailed discussion that of W. Erdmann, *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland* (Munich 1934; repr. New York 1979) 384-403. A rare certainty in our knowledge is the ease with which a husband could terminate marriage. He had only to send his wife away, that is, back to her paternal family, and the marriage was at an end. From this it is tempting to infer that divorce in Athens was frequent, even casual. Not surprisingly that view has had a long tradition in works on marriage and family, law, society, and ancient Greece in general.[1] It is a view almost surely incorrect, however, as the following examination of the evidence will show.

The sources are sparse. Tragic drama, for all its focus upon family life and marriage, is just about silent on the subject of divorce. The "other woman" is common enough in tragedy, and although her appearance may bring domestic distress on a grand scale, it does not result in divorce. The single exception, the one instance in the surviving tragedies in which a wife is divorced, is in Euripides *Medea*. The divorce is carried out by nothing more complicated than the husband's unilateral decision (17-19) to improve his financial and social position by an advantageous new marriage. Although there is no impediment to equating both procedure and motivation in the drama to Athenian practice, Medea's position is not comparable to that of an Athenian wife and therefore provides us with no genuine insight into Athenian divorce. Since she was not given in marriage by a father or brother, and indeed was not even a Hellene, in Athenian eyes the marriage to Jason was not a legal union; moreover, she had no family to whom she could be sent back, and whose reaction to the dismissal of their relative had to be taken into consideration, as would normally have been the case in Athenian marriage. In Old Comedy (which, unlike myth-based tragedy, deals with contemporary matters) no passage can be discerned that refers usefully to divorce,[2] and other fifth- and fourth-century authors are no

[1] See above all, Erdmann 388; also *inter alios*, C.A. Savage, *The Athenian family: a sociological and legal study* (Diss. Johns Hopkins U) (Baltimore 1907) 61, U.E. Paoli, *La donna greca nell'antichità* (Firenze 1953) 48, A.R.W. Harrison, *The law of Athens: the family and property* (Oxford 1968) 40 (hereafter Harrison), the implications in S.B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, whores, wives, and slaves: women in classical antiquity* (NY 1975) 64, A. Biscardi, *Diritto greco antico* (Milano 1982) 99-100, E. Cantarella, *Pandora's daughters: the role and status of women in Greek and Roman antiquity*, trans. M.B. Fant (Baltimore 1987) 47; and such durable or recent general or popular works as H. Blümner, *The home life of the ancient Greeks*, trans. A. Zimmern (1893) (repr. NY 1966) 149, R. Cohen, *La Grèce au 5e siècle* (1953 ed.), Vol. ii in G. Glotz, *Histoire ancienne*, 4 vols. (Paris 1925-38) 255, G.W. Botsford and C.A. Robinson jr., *Hellenic history* (5th edit., rev. D. Kagan) (NY and London 1969) 358, L.P. Wilkinson, *Classical attitudes to modern issues* (London 1979) 53, JACT [P.V. Jones *et al*], *The world of Athens: an introduction to classical Athenian culture*, (Cambridge 1984) 163. S. Isager 'The marriage pattern in classical Athens: men and women in Isaios', *C & M* xxxiii (1981-82) 85-87, dealing solely with the evidence from Isaeus, is a rare exception. She notes that divorce 'is held to have been common' in Athens, citing several recent authorities, then observes that although there are five cases in the works of Isaeus in which it is possible that a divorce occurred, only one is certain. The generalization quoted by H. Medick and D.W. Sabean 'Interest and emotion in family and kinship studies: a critique of social history and anthropology', in Medick and Sabean, eds. *Interest and emotion: essays on the study of family and kinship* (Cambridge 1984) 21 provides an interesting comment on this point, but whether it applies to Athens is uncertain: 'It is...almost a universal rule that when married life is insecure, the wife turns for support to her family of origin, so that a weak marriage tie produces a strong blood tie....' (quoted from M. Young and P. Willmott, *Family and kinship in East London* (London 1957, repr. 1972) 189.

[2] Ar. *Lys.* 156 can be squeezed to appear to be a reference to divorce for adultery, but Menelaus is there depicted not as about to divorce Helen, but to kill her. We have no evidence that such a "Divorzio all'Italiano" was permissible under the law that required a cuckolded husband to divorce his erring wife; see below, n. 11. In the next line of the play Kalonike refers to the possibility of husbands simply walking out. Such action, given the freedom of movement of Athenian men, should not be construed as divorce; see, for example, the behavior of Euktemon in Isaeus vi. One may wonder too as to why Strepsiades does not divorce the wife he rants against in *Clouds* 41-74, and a guess is permissible that an inability to return her presumably large dowry might be the reason. (On dowry as a deterrent to divorce, see below, nn. 14, 48, and esp. 53.) The question, however, does not explicitly arise anywhere in the play.

more fruitful than the dramatic poets. There are a few references to divorce in Herodotus, whose examples are all in specifically pre-Classical contexts and chiefly outside of Athens.[3] At best they can serve to confirm what is known, but not to establish Athenian practice. Xenophon also gives no genuine information, although inferences from passages in the *Oikonomikos* have been made to yield dubious support to shaky assertions.[4] Plato in the *Laws* sets up legal norms, but they have no necessary relation to Athenian law or practice and therefore do not serve to inform us.[5] New Comedy and Roman Comedy provide very suggestive material on one particular procedure. Since that material looms large amid the paucity of contemporary evidence and has often been accepted as reliable testimony, it will be considered in detail below. As for the Orators, given the frequency with which the vicissitudes of family life appear in the court cases, the small number of references to divorce is surprising, but it is in this modest number of sources that the most important information is found. Their testimony is especially valuable, because, although the trial orations always have the fierce bias of advocacy and cannot therefore be trusted for veracity, they have the precious aspect of guaranteed verisimilitude. That is, the speaker's assertions were aimed at those ordinary Athenian men who comprised the dikastery, and had to be believable to them: in short, he could make his case with lies, but only if they were credible.[6]

In approximately chronological order, divorces are found in:

1. [Andok.] iv (*Against Alkibiades*) 14
2. Lys. xiv 28
3. Is. ii 7-12
4. Is. iii 78
5. Dem. xxx 4 *et passim*
6. Dem. xli 4
7. Dem. lvii 41
8. Dem. lix 51 and 63.

To these may may be added the testimony of:

9. Plut. *Pericles* 24.5, which is, however, neither contemporary nor above suspicion.[7]

In addition, cases of adultery like that in Lys. i may be presumed to have resulted certainly in divorce, but we have no details.

The testimony of these sources forms the bulk of the inquiry. From them two distinguishing

[3] Hdt. i 59 *ekpempein*, v 39-41 *exeō*, *apenta*, *tēs exesios*, vi 61-63 *apagesthai*, *apopempsamenos*. Not unexpectedly Herodotus, whose interest is not in law but in literary effect, uses a variety of expressions. *Exesis* (v 40) is the only noun in this collection, and it is found nowhere else: L-S-J *s.v.*

[4] Xen. *Oik.* 3.12 and the tendentious inference drawn by Erdmann 88.

[5] Plato *Laws* vi 784b-c, viii 841c-d, ix 868c-d, xi 926b-c, xi 929e. These are all cited by Erdmann 401-03, who concludes his treatment of divorce by observing that Plato's arrangements, being closer to modern law than to the contemporary laws of Athens, are therefore a notable advance.

[6] See S.C. Humphreys, 'The discourse of law in archaic and classical Greece', *Law and History Review* vi (1988) esp. 455-456, 473-482.

[7] C.A. Cox, 'Sibling relationships in classical Athens: Brother-sister ties', *J. Fam. Hist.* xiii (1988) 381 finds another case by treating one feature of the tangled relationship of Plangon and Mantias in Dem. xxxix 24-25, 28 as a divorce 'because she (*sic*) could not provide a dowry from her father's impoverished estate: she and her sons were cared for by her brothers'. To be sure the rejection by Mantias of his sons by Plangon and of Plangon herself can be called a divorce by the loose standard of Athenian procedure, but his later resumption of the marriage renders such a concept of divorce almost meaningless. (In the matter of dowry Cox is surely wrong on several counts: although the speaker asserts (xl 22-24) that Plangon's father was too poor to provide a dowry, her sons claimed there was a dowry (xl 14, 20); after living with a woman as his wife for a long enough time to have two sons, a man would not suddenly discover that he had received no dowry; if the brothers could support her and her sons, they could surely have supplied a dowry; and to split a technical hair, the woman would not herself have been responsible for provision of a dowry.)

features stand out, which will be treated successively: variety of procedure and the grounds on which divorce might be obtained.

PROCEDURE FOR DIVORCE

There were four different procedures, divorce initiated by the husband (*apopempsis*), divorce initiated by the wife (*apoleipsis*), divorce initiated by the wife's father (*aphairesis*), and the disposition (*epidikasia*) of an heiress, who, if already married, would have to be divorced.[8]

Of the nine divorces contained in the list above, five were clearly or probably instituted by the husband.

(9) In Plutarch *Pericles* 24.5, the famous statesman is said to have divorced his wife upon mutual agreement, the amicable nature of the transaction being shown by his having made arrangements for her immediate remarriage.[9] While the testimony of Plutarch is suspect, we do have secure evidence that divorce along these lines did in fact occur in Athens, as shown by:

(3) Menekles, in Is. ii 7-12 a middle-aged, perhaps elderly, man, divorced his young wife after first gaining her acquiescence and that of her brothers.[10] He arranged for her marriage to another man, and as a final demonstration of the absence of any rancor in the case, he allegedly adopted one of her brothers.

The remaining divorces in this group are attended by a sufficient measure of anger, enmity, and bitterness to meet traditional expectations.

(2) According to Lys. xiv 28, the daughter of the famous Alkibiades was divorced by her husband on the ground that her brother, having access to the house, visited her 'not as a brother, but as a husband'. Incest adds an extra dimension of scandal, but the presumption is that the divorce was for adultery, and the law required the cuckolded husband to divorce.[11]

[8] I use the words regularly employed by scholarship, but it needs to be said that, as usual in Athenian law, these words lack the precision and exclusivity that *we* expect from legal terminology. Indeed one of them, as will be seen, is not found as a noun at all in the sources. It is also the case that there is no single word that corresponds to our "divorce", meaning the legal termination of a marriage: Athenians, as the present discussion will show, were more concerned with how and why a divorce occurred than with the legality and the technicalities of the fact of a divorce. Marriage was fundamentally a private matter, defined by law but with no legal or public action required; so with divorce, which normally was a private action.

[9] On divorce by mutual consent, see Harrison 39-40. Although mutual consent is humanly interesting, it was technically of no significance: the divorce was initiated by the husband. As for Plutarch's dependability for fifth century private life, note the difficulty of so much as identifying the lady in question: P. A. Stadter, *A commentary on Plutarch's Pericles* (Chapel Hill 1989) 238-39, where reference is made also to the very different version of the divorce in Athen. xii 533c-d.

[10] While one must always preserve a skeptical stance with regard to any assertion of fact in a trial oration, there is no reason to doubt these allegations, and in any case they are important as indicating that a concern for the blameless wife's feelings would go over well with the ordinary Athenians on the dikastery.

[11] The law is cited in Dem. lix 87. On adultery in Athens the fundamental treatment, that of U.E. Paoli, 'Il reato d'adulterio (moicheia) in diritto attico', *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* xvi (1950) 123-82, was for decades accepted by legal scholars. (A good summary in Harrison 32-36.) A complete bibliography is provided in the notes to D. Cohen 'The Athenian law of adultery', *RIDA* xxxi (1984) 147-65, who proposed a radically different understanding of the Athenian law(s). Cohen's views have been refined and expanded in Chapter 5 of his *Law, sexuality and society* (Cambridge 1991). They are discussed by E. Cantarella, '*Moicheia:* reconsidering a problem', *Symposion 1990* (Cologne 1991) 289-296, who had access to Cohen's new formulation. Cantarella focusses on legalistic issues and rejects the fundamental novelty of Cohen, namely that adultery was defined in Athens, as universally in other societies, as a crime against marriage (that is, in which at least one of the partners is a married person). On this issue she returns to the traditional view (Paoli's) that even for an unmarried man, sexual intercourse with women in certain other categories, including widows and unmarried women, was included under the rubric "*moicheia*" (which thus ought perhaps to be rendered otherwise than as "adultery"). L. Foxhall, 'Response to Eva Cantarella' 297-304 in the same volume, does not deal with legal questions, but with "the social construction of gender" (297) and the "ideology of sexual control" (299). The relation of this controversy to divorce is limited to conjectures as to the underlying attitudes of Athenians toward female sexuality.

(8) In Dem. lix 51 and 63 a husband, one Phrastor, learning that his wife Phano was not an Athenian, simply "threw her out" (*ekbalonta*). The implication of physical violence need not be taken literally, but ought perhaps to be construed as something like 'got rid of without ceremony'.[12] On the other hand, since she was not an Athenian, violence might have been seen as appropriate, and there had been in any case no proper marriage.[13] All the motions as it were of a lawful marriage had been executed, including provision of an appropriate dowry. The efforts of the woman's putative father, Stephanos, to receive monthly interest on the unreturned dowry (52) failed, as did his hope to have the dowry itself restored (62). Although in law there were no circumstances that could prevent a dowry from going with the woman, this instance shows how in practice it might be difficult, even impossible to extract it from an ex-husband.[14]

(5) The circumstances of the divorce(s) talked of in Dem. xxx 4 *et passim* are obscure. The speaker alleges that the divorce in question never in fact occurred but was faked in order to tie up money and property. One of the parties to the financial arrangements is referred to as a previous husband of the woman in the case, implicitly pointing to an earlier divorce, but there is no indication of how or why the earlier marriage ended. Although the terminology for the current actions is that of divorce initiated by the wife, it is clear that the men controlled all aspects of the putative divorce, so that it cannot be known whether the wife in fact wanted a divorce.[15]

There are two divorces instituted by a wife.

(1) The first is the unsuccessful effort of Alkibiades' wife, Hipparete, to divorce him, as recounted in [Andok.] iv 14. The circumstances are interesting and unusually illuminating. The most important feature of the attempted divorce was its formal and public nature. The woman had to appear before the *archon*, obviously a drastically different procedure from the right of a husband simply to send his wife back to her family. Another remarkable feature of the case was Hipparete's failure in her attempt at divorce, for Alkibiades interrupted the proceedings and carried her off by force.[16]

(4) The other instance of divorce initiated by the wife is an oddity in that it is known only because the speaker in Is. iii 78 denies any such divorce (as presumably claimed by his opponent) ever actually occurred. In scoffing at the opponent's claim, he observes the failure to provide evidence of the alleged divorce, and thereby in passing gives us a precious bit of information by confirming that a woman who sought a divorce was required to appear before the *archon*, with the effect of making the action a matter of public record.[17]

[12] The verb is *ekballein*, which L-S-J *s.v.*, i 4, citing this passage, renders simply as 'divorce'. In Dem. lix 59, in reference to the same incident, the more or less technical term, *apopempein*, is used. One may reasonably infer that the more graphic and forceful verb was employed for rhetorical effect, whether to be taken literally or not.

[13] A law cited in Dem. lix 16 indicates that marriage of an Athenian to a non-Athenian was in the fourth century a criminal offense.

[14] In the Athenian system dowry was a significant aspect of marriage. As regards divorce the requirement that dowry be returned with the woman must sometimes have served as a deterrent. On dowry, see n. 40.

[15] Dem. xxvii-xxxi all relate to the orator's efforts to prove that his guardians had swindled him and thereby to recover his patrimony. The woman in the present case was the sister of the defendant, Onetor, and following the alleged divorce he supposedly gave her in marriage to Aphobos, the defendant in xxvii-xxix, to whom Demosthenes' father had willed his widow Kleoboule as wife, but who had taken the dowry and failed to marry her. Demosthenes' mother's fate is a significant part of that story (on which see V. Hunter, *EMC* 8 (1989) 39-48), but is unrelated to the divorce here under discussion.

[16] οὗ δὴ μάλιστα τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν ἐπεδείξατο· παρακαλέσας γὰρ τοὺς ἑταίρους, ἁρπάσας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν γυναῖκα ᾤχετο βίᾳ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδήλωτε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν καταφρονῶν. Reported also by Plut. *Alk.* 8.4: ὡς οὖν παρῆν τοῦτο αὐτὴν πράξουσα κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ συναρπάσας αὐτὴν ἀπῆλθε δι' ἀγορᾶς οἴκαδε κομίζων, μηδενὸς ἐναντιωθῆναι μηδ' ἀφελέσθαι τολμήσαντος.

[17] πρὸς ὁποῖον ἄρχοντα ἡ ἐγγυητὴ γυνὴ ἀπέλιπε τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ τὸν οἶκον [τὸν] αὐτοῦ.

(6) The single case of divorce initiated by the wife's father, Dem. xli 4, is apparently supported by four other instances from New and Roman Comedy, but is nevertheless very problematic in important details, and requires considerable discussion.[18] In the Demosthenic passage a father, Polyeuktos, is said to have had a quarrel with his daughter's husband, Leokrates, to have taken her away (*aphelomenos*) from him, and to have married her to another man. The passage is sufficiently unequivocal in its wording to lead to the conclusion that in Athenian law a father had the right to remove his daughter from a marriage of which he no longer approved, a right that is accepted with remarkable unanimity by historians of Athenian law.[19] As for the supporting evidence from the four passages cited, in two of them, those from Menander and Plautus, the father threatens but does not carry out the action; in the other two the passages are too fragmentary to allow us to know either the circumstances or the outcome of the same threatened action. These four pieces of evidence, along with the Demosthenic text, numerous related passages, and the modern literature, have been vigorously discussed.[20] The most recent conclusions, those of Rosivach, are that no legal right of *aphairesis* is at issue; that the terminology of the four supporting texts differs from the Demosthenic passage, in that the verb used is *apagein* (in one place, *apienai*) in the Greek texts, which parallels the *abducere* of the Latin, suggesting that *aphairesis* was not a technical nor even a usual term; and that the force that is explicitly mentioned or implied in all the texts is psychological or moral pressure, not physical force in the assertion of a legally supported right. Rosivach acknowledges that a legal power of *aphairesis* may have existed, but finds that the five cases cited can all be interpreted as instances of divorce initiated by the wife,[21] whose resistance to such a course could be worn down by a father whose authority she had been accustomed to accept. This is an attractive view and applies readily to the four supporting texts, in all of which the daughter is depicted as trying to oppose the paternal will, and in none of which is the outcome the actual victory of the father in the divorce of the daughter.[22]

[18] The four supporting sources are: Menander *Epitrepontes*, several passages, esp. 656-58, 714-15, 929-31, 1064, 1102-03 (Sandbach); *P. Didot* 1, especially 1-44; Plautus *Stichus*, opening scene through line 148; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* ii 38 (10 lines).

[19] The right is understood as stemming from the nature of the agreement between the father of the bride and the bridegroom, which has the form of a conditional transfer of 'ownership', *engyē* (see also below, n. 26). It is this conditional nature which gives to the father the power to abrogate the agreement. See especially H.J. Wolff, 'Marriage law and family organization in ancient Athens: a study on the interrelation of public and private law in the Greek city', *Traditio* ii (1944) 53 (repr. 1961 in *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Altgriechenlands und des hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten* (Weimar 1961), who emphasizes the limited nature of the exchange: 'The aim of the *engyē* was to entrust rather than to alienate the object'. S. B. Pomeroy 'Greek marriage', in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger, eds., *Civilization of the ancient Mediterranean* (NY 1988) 1340 puts it most strongly: 'A married wman was actually only lent to a husband for the production of legitimate children for his *oikos*. Her family retained the right to reclaim her services to produce its own children'. The reclaiming appears in the legal literature as *aphairesis*: see especially U.E. Paoli, 'La legittima afèresi dell'epikleros nel diritto attico', *Miscellanea G. Mercati,* Vol. 5 (*Biblioteca apostolica vaticana. Studi e testi* cxxv [1946] 524-38) and Harrison 30-32. The noun is entirely appropriate, but not in fact attested in this context. Only verb forms appear in the texts. (R. Just, *Women in Athenian law and life* (London 1989) 74-75 opines that 'most probably' a woman's brothers, if the father was no longer living, could exercise the right. There can, however, be no question but that sons inherited whatever rights and obligations their father had had.)

[20] V.J. Rosivach 'Aphairesis and apoleipsis: a study of the sources', *RIDA* xxxi (1984) 193-230 (hereafter Rosivach) provides an exhaustive analysis, with references to the previous literature. The most detailed earlier treatment is that of N. Lewis 'Aphairesis in Athenian law and custom', *Symposion* 1977 (Actes du 3e colloque internationale d'histoire du droit grecque et hellénistique) 161-78, who concludes that 'Attic law invested a father with an absolute right of *aphairesis*...'. F. Sbordone 'Una tipica contesa familiare nella realtà giuridica e nel teatro antico', *Sileno* xi (1985) (=*Studi Barigazzi* ii) 207-10 deals only with literary questions arising from the texts.

[21] Others have also favored this interpretation of the Demosthenic text, e.g., A.T. Murray p. 7 n. *c* in Vol. v of the LCL Demosthenes (1939), Wilkinson (n. 1) 53.

[22] In the *Epitrepontes* and the *Stichus* the women retain their husbands and all ends happily. If the other two texts followed the conventions of New Comedy they too ended happily with divorce avoided.

The relevance of the four fictional texts to fourth century Athenian law and practice is, however, doubtful. The passage from the *Stichus,* by all odds the most imposing and detailed, simply cannot pass muster as a dependable source for Athenian institutions and manners. In the play respectable women stroll about the city and domestic slaves have drinking parties, dinner parties, and love affairs. These activities are asserted to be specifically the custom in Athens (446-48), a notion so bizarre that it ought to have laid to rest the pretension that such material can selectively be made to yield dependable data.[23] In the *Epitrepontes* the father's power to take his daughter back is not certain,[24] so the text does not support either view in the matter of legal right. In the other two texts the emphasis is upon the arguments for and against divorce, and the question of paternal power is not even clearly raised; they are therefore of minimal use. In the two texts from which significant details are known, the comedies of Menander and Plautus, there exists the important circumstance that the husbands have left home; and in the other two texts there is reference to the father finding some fault in the previously approved husband. In short, it can be argued in respect to all four poetic texts that the father is assuming a responsibility to protect his daughter, rather than arbitrarily asserting a legal right to force a divorce against her will. In the Demosthenic text the situation is quite different, in that the daughter is taken back and married off to another man. According to Rosivach (200-202), the father's action in 'taking away' his daughter, as the text bluntly puts it, is simply a summary way of saying what Athenian hearers would readily know, namely that the father had prevailed upon her to appear before the *archon* to seek a divorce. That is possible, to be sure, but seems an artificial way out of the difficulty of believing what was flatly stated in court, that a father actually exercised control over a married daughter. There is no reason *a priori* to believe that Athenians as well as Athenian law did not distinguish between *aphairesis* and *apoleipsis.*[25] If the latter was the procedure envisaged, why describe it as the former? One might argue (although Rosivach does not) that the speaker in the case wanted to depict the father as a brutal person, but there is nothing in the oration to indicate enmity between him and the now deceased Polyeuktos, who was his father-in-law, the speaker being married to another daughter. Whatever may in fact have occurred, there is no substantive reason to doubt that Polyeuktos had the *right* to remove his daughter from her marriage whether or not she wished it. Both *aphairesis* and *apoleipsis* were legally acceptable procedures, and the choice of which one to employ depended upon specific circumstances.

The father's right to remove his daughter from her marriage may have been unrestricted in

[23] Reliance on Roman Comedy dies hard: see E.J. Bickerman, 'La conception du mariage à Athènes', *BIDR* xvii (1975) 21 n. 102, who on the authority of Paoli accepts that Plautus and Terence 'generally reproduce faithfully the customs and legal rules presented in the original'; also Lewis (n. 20) 171 n. 34, who holds to 'Fraenkel's Law', according to which 'legal elements indispensable to the plot...are surely Greek, while those only superficially connected with the action of the play are likely to be Roman'; M. McDonnell 'Divorce initiated by women in Rome', *AJAH* viii (1983) 54-57 and nn. 7-24; and D. Konstan 'Between courtesan and wife: Menander's *Perikeiromene*', *Phoenix* xli (1987) 122 n. 6 who strains to show that Plautus and Terence knew Greek law and strove to cite it accurately, but fails to explain why comic writers would subject a Roman audience to scholarly precision or what such pedantry would accomplish, even if we allow them to have been students of Classical Attic law. On the other hand Harrison 19 is appropriately cautious and sparing: see his index of sources.

[24] In line 930 Charisios says his wife has not left (divorced?) him (the verb used is *apoleipein*), and there is the possible implication that *her* failure to initiate a divorce settles the matter. The text, however, is fragmentary and does not demonstrate definitively that Smikrines could not on his own have removed his daughter from the marriage. It does suggest that the father would prefer to persuade her to initiate the divorce herself, on which point see below, Grounds for Divorce (p. 9).

[25] Given the fundamentally private and informal nature of the various procedures, an outsider might have been unable to distinguish which one had been used, with the one important exception noted above: *apoleipsis* was a matter of public record.

law,[26] but in sentiment it would probably be limited to situations in which the father could claim that he was exercising it over a daughter who was being abused by her husband and would not herself take the step available to her to end the abuse.[27] The critical question would then have been the husband's response to his father-in-law's action. In this respect it is useful to compare the Demosthenic situation with those found in the four texts from Comedy. In the *Epitrepontes* and the *Stichus* the husbands are not currently living at home with their wives, so that they are in no position to assert their powers over a wife or in any other way dispute the proposed action. Indeed in the *Stichus* the husbands of the two sisters have been away and unheard from for three years, and patently can do nothing in their own behalf. As Rosivach observes (212-18), what we have in all four passages is obviously a stock dramatic situation, so there is a fair probability that in the fragments too an absent husband may be in question. Again, the Demosthenic text offers a different situation, in that there is no suggestion of desertion or any other failure of marital duty on the part of the husband.

The circumstance that may obtain in the two fragmentary texts, and is definite in the *Epitrepontes* and essential in the *Stichus*, namely the absence of the husbands, raises a question that has important bearing upon the lives of married women, a question to which no sure answer is found in the ancient evidence: What provision was made for the guardianship of a wife whose husband was away for a significant period of time on such commonplace activities for an Athenian as, say, military service or business? It is easy to make reasonable conjectures, but there is very little evidence.[28] A husband departing on a lengthy business voyage might have appointed a substitute, or foremost among other possibilities, the right and responsibility of looking after his wife might automatically have devolved upon her father. If the latter conjecture

[26] Wolff (n. 19) 46-53 argues that the terms *engyē* ('solemn promise') and *ekdosis* (giving of the bride), imply a transfer of property that is for a limited purpose, procreation, and allow the original owner to retain his interest in the 'property'. J. Modrzejewski, 'La structure juridique du mariage grec', *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevecchi* (Bologna 1981) 258-60 takes the same position, emphasizing the critical importance of offspring: that is, the existence of a legitimate child nullified the right of *aphairesis*. That view has logic on its side, but no concrete evidence, and is appropriately treated by D.M. MacDowell, *The law in classical Athens* (Ithaca, NY 1977) 88 (hereafter MacDowell) as no more than a conjecture. The sentiments of jurors might, of course, have overridden the letter of the law in such an instance; see below, n. 32. A fresh treatment of the significance and meaning of *engyē*, emphasizing social reality rather than legalistic detail is found in a valuable article by C.B. Patterson, 'Marriage and the married woman in Athenian law', in S.B. Pomeroy, ed. *Women's history and ancient history* (New York 1991) 49-54.

[27] One may conjecture that in such a situation, with the facts not publicly known, a cloud might permanently hover over the reputation of a woman peremptorily taken back by her father, who would therefore prefer she take the step herself rather than leave the initiative to him. Such an hypothesis may explain the apparent contradictions among the passages cited from the comedy of Menander, in which the father tries to persuade his daughter, but says he will remove her anyway.

[28] In Lys. xxxii 4-6 a certain Diodotos, a man of considerable wealth, departing on a military campaign (in which he in fact lost his life), left a will providing for the settlement of his estate and the remarriage of his wife, who was his niece, in case of his death. All these matters he put into the hands of his brother, who as her father would anyway have automatically become her *kyrios* upon her husband's death. This is the only evidence we have directly on this score. In two other instances, Dem. xxvii 4ff. and xxxvi 7-8 men who were ill and anticipating death made wills in which they provided for the guardianship and remarriage of their wives. One is tempted, in the face of such substantial evidence, to take these cases as normative, but the cautionary note needs to be sounded that written wills were always looked upon with suspicion in the fourth century as being untraditional and also easily forged. And apparently with some reason: in two of the cited cases, the appointed guardians swindled their wards, and in the third, Dem. xxxvi, a grown son, whose normal receipt of his father's estate had been pointedly and insultingly bypassed by the will, claimed that there was no such document at all. That he lost the case does not lessen the force of his argument that a man with a mature son would not normally make a will. One may doubt that men leaving home on military service or a lengthy voyage left wills. It is altogether more likely that a verbal transfer of authority to a close relative was customary. For example, Apollodoros (the loser in Dem. xxxvi) describes in another case, Dem. l 24 ff., how while he was on military service, an acquaintance back in Athens, attempting to assist him in a financial matter, brought to the meeting Apollodoros' father-in-law who, although no statement is made to this effect, was the person most likely to have had charge of his affairs and of his family during his absence.

is correct, then the father in the *Stichus* had an unquestionably legitimate power over his daughters, in the *Epitrepontes* an only slightly less secure right, in the other two a possible right, but with insufficient evidence for its confident assertion. In Dem. xli, however, the situation does not conform to the pattern of the fictional cases.

Two items stand out sharply in Dem. xli, the family relationship among the principal parties, and the consequences of the father's forcible ending of his daughter's marriage. The family relationship was one of those complicated interconnections that dazzle the modern observer but appear to have been everyday occurrences in Classical Athens. The husband in this case, Leokrates, was his wife's uncle, that is her mother's brother, her father's brother-in-law. If that were not a sufficiently close family relationship, he had prior to the marriage been brought even more decisively into the family by being adopted by the bride's father. The relation, therefore, of the husband to his wife's father was threefold: he had become brother-in-law, son, and son-in-law, in chronological order. Moreover, the speaker in the case is the husband of Polyeuktos' other daughter, and the defendant, Spoudias, is the man who succeeded Leokrates as husband of the younger daughter.[29] The laconic presentation in Dem. xli 4 gives no hint as to the ground of the quarrel (*diaphora*) between Polyeuktos and his son/son-in-law that caused him to take back his daughter. It does, however, go on to recount in an equally brief way the anger of Leokrates, and the suit he instituted against the father and the new husband, a suit which resulted in a payment to Leokrates, a formal reconciliation, and a quittance from all claims and counterclaims. Included, understandably, was Leokrates' departure from the family.[30] There is no indication here or elsewhere in the speech that Leokrates tried to get his wife back, nor is there any hint as to what his claims might have been against his former father/father-in-law (and still brother-in-law) and against Spoudias, the new husband. The question is therefore left open as to whether Polyeuktos' action in taking his daughter back exceeded what Athenians would have felt to have been his right. If that specific question had come before an Athenian jury one may guess that the decision would have been based not upon what the law permitted, but upon the jurors' sense of the father's justification, perhaps also whether there were children of the marriage. The speaker presents the quarrel between Polyeuktos and Leokrates with no detail, introducing it simply as historical background. This allows free speculation as to the grounds of the quarrel and also as to the speaker's role. He might for example, have been sympathetic to Leokrates, and so presents Polyeuktos as behaving in a peremptory manner. Even so, the jurors would still have to believe that Polyeuktos, overbearing or not, had the power to remove his daughter from her marriage. Since the case actually at issue in Dem. xli concerns money and property, it is tempting to see the divorce and subsequent litigation as entirely venal in character. One may be tempted to imagine a cold-blooded financial calculation, with Polyeuktos having decided that his daughter ought to have a 'better' marriage. The fact that Leokrates' lawsuit ended in a money settlement lends credence to this conjectural reconstruction of the event. Yet one hesitates to find that a divorce would be undertaken with no motive beyond simple greed when the family relationships were as close as those between Polyeuktos and Leokrates.[31] In any case we have no reason to doubt the speaker's flat statement that Polyeuktos on his own "took back" his daughter.

[29] A welcome confirmation of the historicity of at least part of the tale is found in a dedication from the agora, *Hesperia* vi (1937) 341, mentioning 'Kleokrateia, daughter of Polyeuktos of Teithras, and wife of Spoudias'.

[30] He was Polyeuktos' son, and the disinheritance of a son required legal action, see J. Rudhardt, 'La reconnaissance de la paternité: sa nature et sa portée dans la société athénienne (Sur un discours de Démosthène)', *MH* xix (1962) 50-52. In Dem. xli 5 Leokrates' ouster from the family is discreetly glided over: τέως μὲν ὁ Λεωκράτης ἦν κληρονόμος τῶν Πολυεύκτου,... ἐπειδὴ δ' ὅ τε Λεωκράτης ἐξεκεχωρήκειν....

[31] The speaker's circumlocutory claim that the quarrel between Polyeuktos and Leokrates is irrelevant to the present case perhaps suggests a ground other than money for their enmity.

GROUNDS FOR DIVORCE

However the father's action is interpreted, and whatever its basis in law, the case raises the question of grounds for divorce, a question that focuses sharply on the nature and quality of Athenian marriage. Except for the law of adultery, which made the divorce of an adulterous wife mandatory, we have no evidence that there was any legal concept in Athens of what might constitute adequate grounds for divorce. Although a man could divorce his wife for any reason whatsoever simply by sending her back to her father's house, and although a father could apparently reclaim his married daughter equally cavalierly, the pressure of social custom rather than law surely restricted them.[32] Inquiry into the grounds for divorce may usefully begin with the case from among the total of nine that has not yet been examined.

(7) Dem. lvii 41 presents in a few words the situation of the *epikleros*, the heiress.[33] The requirement that she be married to a blood relation could be compromised by the fact that either she or the specified relative or both were already married. In the case in point a poor man, Protomachos, was entitled to claim an heiress and thereby to acquire a large estate.[34] He therefore, with the normal prerogative of a husband, divested himself of the wife he already had, to whom he had been married a sufficiently long time for her to have borne a daughter. The stated ground for the divorce is clear and uncomplicated: financial advantage. It is also clear from the text that his action in divorcing a blameless wife was in the particular circumstance considered not admirable but acceptable. The fortunate Protomachos found a friend to whom his wife's brother gave her in remarriage, testifying at the same time to his maintaining at the least a courteous relation to her family, and to his own appropriate concern for her future, circumstances similar to those presented in Isaeus ii.[35] It is tempting to extend a husband's freedom to divorce to any situation in which advantage, monetary or other, is found, but although there is no reason to doubt that some individuals sought marriage for worldly gain and dissolved it out of the same motive, we have no evidence beyond this single case of any divorce that can be traced securely to that motive. In a reciprocal situation, that in which an already married woman became an heiress, the eligible male relative had the power to claim her, thereby taking her from her husband and putting an end to her current marriage. In the only case in

[32] The distance between law and social sanction is put neatly, in the context of divorce initiated by a wife's father, by Lewis (n. 20) 178: '[the father] was under no legal constraint to justify such action...; ...he...was under strong emotional and social pressures to seek an accommodation'.

[33] There is a huge literature on this subject, in which controversy over technical detail abounds but is not germane to the present problem. The most recent comprehensive treatment is that of J.E. Karnezis, *The epikleros* (Athens 1972) (in Greek with detailed English summaries), containing thorough references to the previous literature; the ancient sources are listed 236-38. Karnezis' work is not universally admired; see the harsh review by MacDowell, *JHS* (1976) xcvi 228. Some of the nuances in interpretation may be observed especially in the work of E. Balogh, 'Some notes on adultery and the epikleros according to ancient Athenian law', *Studi in memoria di Emilio Albertario*, 2 vols. (Milano 1953) ii 697-719, Harrison 10-12, 132-38, W.K. Lacey, *The family in classical Greece* (Ithaca, NY 1968) 139-45, D M. Schaps, 'Women in Greek inheritance law', *CQ* xxv (1975) 53-57, and *Economic rights of women in ancient Greece* (Edinburgh 1979) Chap. 3, MacDowell 95-97.

[34] The question of whether claiming an heiress was a right or an obligation is readily—and cynically—answered by reference to her fortune. If a substantial property came with her, marriage to her was a right which the eligible relative was probably glad to exercise, and if he failed to do so, the next in line could be counted on to supply the necessary eagerness; if she was poor or still worse destitute, it was a duty that could be avoided only by supplying a dowry of a value specified by law. Andok. i 117 ff. is refreshingly explicit and unambiguous on this distinction.

[35] If the existence of legitimate offspring was decisive in sealing a marriage, as some have argued (see n. 26), the situation here under examination illustrates either the apparently still more powerful element of a husband's freedom to divorce at will or the overriding importance of keeping property within the family. Possibly if the child had been a son (the text is messy on this point: in 40 she had a daughter, in 43 "children", of whom only the daughter is specified), it would not have been permissible to remove the mother from her marriage; see Harrison 11-12, 308-11. Perhaps then the mention of the divorced wife's having been given in the new marriage by her brother in the presence of other relatives is an indication of her family's having accepted a situation they might legally have opposed.

which there is concrete evidence for this right, Is. x 19, divorce did not occur: the woman remained with her husband, the estate being taken, by default as it were, by the man who could have claimed her. She preserved her marriage on condition that she not contest (through her husband, of course, who was her *kyrios*) the appropriation of the estate, but the text makes clear that the usurper could have demanded her as his wife had he so wished or if that had been the only way to acquire the estate. In sum, even in the case of an *epikleros,* the purely mercenary divorce could be bypassed for reasons of sentiment.

In the other eight cases of divorce the grounds are not always clear nor even hinted at, and in those for which there is testimony, the grounds are not always what we might expect. In two of the instances of divorce initiated by the husband, the grounds alleged were simple and to an Athenian unexceptionable. In Lys. xiv 28 the ground was adultery, with incest added as an extra spice. In Dem. lix 51 and 63, divorce was the inevitable sequel to a non-marriage, caused by the gross deception practiced upon a husband by the bride's supposed father in falsely claiming her an Athenian citizen. In fact no ground for divorce was in question, there having been, strictly speaking, no marriage.

Two other cases, those of Pericles and Menekles, are quite different from the preceding in that no blame was alleged on the part of the wife. Pericles is said (Plut. *Pericles* 24.5) to have reached an agreement with his wife to divorce because of their mutual unhappiness. One may doubt this report, appearing as it does in a source over half a millennium after the fact, and all the more so because the motive imputed, although appealing to modern tastes and also to the sentiments of Plutarch's day, might have seemed somewhat flighty to Athenians in the fifth century. The case of Menekles proposes grounds for divorce that appear thoroughly proper in an Athenian context. Given the emphasis upon procreation as a motive for marriage, one assumes barrenness to have been a principal reason for its dissolution. Perhaps so, but the case of Menekles is the only instance we have in which that motive is explicit.[36] Another unique element in the case is that Menekles held himself responsible for his wife's barrenness,[37] and whether we are to attribute this opinion to gallantry, honesty, or self-contempt, it is to be noted that his earlier marriage, which had left him a widower, was also childless (4, 7). Menekles' express motive in seeking a divorce was to enable his wife to have children,[38] and he therefore, like Pericles, undertook with her brothers' approval to arrange a second marriage for her. A final and very significant aspect of both these divorces is that the wife's wishes are alleged to have been consulted, the entire transaction having been conducted in an unhappy but amicable atmosphere. (The fifth case, in Dem. xxx, will be treated among divorces initiated by the wife.)

It appears certain from these cases that no formalities and no grounds were required for a man to divorce his wife. He need only dismiss her. At the same time it is clear that in practice attention was paid to the motive for divorce, a number of motives having apparently been acceptable to Athenian sensibilities. Attention was evidently also paid to the effect of the divorce upon the wife in those cases in which no fault was imputed to her. One may infer that in those cases it was normal to arrange a prompt remarriage.

[36] The absence of concrete evidence has not prevented the notion that, as expressed by V. Ehrenberg, *The people of Aristophanes: a sociology of old Attic comedy* (NY 1962) (orig. Oxford 1943) 146, 'childlessness often led to divorce'. The famous instance in Hdt. v 39-41 is not germane: it occurred in an earlier period, in Sparta not in Athens, had to do with royalty not ordinary citizens, and the king in that anecdote, although acknowledging his duty to produce an heir, refused to divorce his childless wife.

[37] Athenians were as unlikely as any others to acknowledge sterility, which was comfortably denied by men before the advent of modern science, as in the case of another Spartan king, Ariston: Hdt. vi 61.2.

[38] He is quoted (7) as saying her goodness should not be rewarded by letting her grow old childless with him. The assertion is clear, the sentiment subject to a variety of interpretation, ranging from the prudential concern to be looked after in old age to the emotional satisfaction of realizing her female destiny by bearing children.

Although the divorces in Dem. xxx appear to have been initiated by the woman's husbands and brother, the verb that is consistently used is *apoleipo* in the passive (4, 8, 25, 26, 29),[39] and the noun *apoleipsis* also occurs (15, 17, 31). The effort seems to have been to show that the woman's initiation of divorce was why her dowry could not be recovered.[40] In any case, no motive on her part is indicated, but the two husbands and the brother appear to have been jointly engaged in a swindle of money and property. These circumstances lend some credence to the possible practice of casual divorce for motives not primarily connected with the marital relationship. On the other hand, the allegation by the speaker that divorce did not actually occur, as evidenced by the fact that the supposedly twice divorced woman was still living with her second husband, suggests that when property and money were at stake, the ease with which a divorce could be had might have been exploited to produce purely *pro forma* divorces, and perhaps reciprocally unconsummated remarriages as well.

Of the two remaining cases of divorce initiated by wives, grounds appear in only one. The other, Is. iii 78, refers to a divorce that according to the speaker did not occur, and no motive for the alleged event is given or suggested. In the case of Alkibiades, recounted in [Andok.] iv 14, the motive of Hipparete, Alkibiades' wife, is explicitly stated as having been a response to her husband's unacceptable behavior in bringing '*hetairai,* slave and free', into their home. The family dwelling was the protected domain of a wife, and to bring into it a disreputable person was a violation of its sanctity.[41] The speaker may be making the point simply to discredit Alkibiades, but it does suggest that a wife had to have serious grounds to terminate her marriage. Indeed even without this explicit testimony to the contrary, one would not have assumed that a woman had the right to divorce without asserting a reason. The very fact of the aggrieved woman's having had to appear before the *archon* indicates that significant cause had to be shown.[42] It is understandable, therefore, when one comes to evaluate this prerogative of women, to emphasize how difficult it was for a woman to divorce her husband, in contrast to the ease with which he could divorce her.[43] Although that is unquestionably true, it is

[39] In 18, and twice in 33, in the active.

[40] Since the divorce was officially inscribed (15), it must have been technically an *apoleipsis*, initiated by the wife. Still, in describing the actions, Demosthenes asserts (17) that it was the men who had the divorce registered, and nowhere is there mention of the wife appearing before the *archon*. One supposes that these confusing details occur because the language of a speaker before an Athenian court was not the precise technical jargon of a lawyer and because the generalities were sufficiently well known so that no confusion resulted. There is, of course, always the possibility of a deliberate effort to befuddle the hearers. Amid a large scholarly literature on dowry, a detailed and balanced account may be found in Harrison 8, 45-60, 297-301, to which may be added the treatment in Schaps (n. 33) Chap. 6, with full bibliography. Divorce provided a real test of the control over dowry. In principle and in law dowry went with the woman, to be administered by whoever was her legal guardian. A divorcee had no place to go but back to her father's family, which would thereby gain control of the dowry. In practice, however, the guardian of a divorced wife might have found it difficult to recover the dowry from her ex-husband, since the breakup of the marriage would strain if not sever the relations between the two families. In the case of divorce instituted by the wife there would almost surely be hostility between the husband and the wife's blood relations, and that could have served to encourage the husband to be defiant about returning the dowry.

[41] For the seriousness of acts envisaged as causing corruption of family and home, see Paoli (n. 11) especially 123, 126, 140-41. The point is powerfully made by Euphiletos in his speech to his wife's lover, Lys. i 26. A slave woman who was part of the household was a different matter, and a husband's trifling with her was a trifle indeed, as indicated in Euphiletos' rather coy reference to his own dalliance with his wife's maid, Lys. i 12.

[42] Harrison 41 disagrees, but on the basis of the quite inadequate evidence of Dem. xxx.

[43] Surprisingly, even this ostensibly unexceptionable assertion has been contested. L. Foxhall, 'Household, gender and property in classical Athens', *CQ* xxxix (1989) 38 finds, with no evidence cited but perhaps following Wolff, that if a woman did not like her husband's management of her dowry 'or anything else he did' she could easily walk out, 'taking her dowry with her'. Although it is possible, even likely, that a wife could walk out without ceremony, there would be no place for her to walk to unless she had persuaded her male kin that her move was justified. The problem of how she was to get hold of the dowry to take with her is discreetly ignored. H.J. Wolff, 'Die Grundlagen des griechischen Eherechts', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* (=*Rev. d'histoire du droit)* (1952)

unremarkable, given the legal disabilities of women. What *is* remarkable is that formal provision was made at all for a woman to take steps to extricate herself from an insupportable marriage. How remarkable can be appreciated by recalling that women had no capacity to undertake legal actions, and that although women could be accused and brought to trial, no woman could defend herself before an Athenian court.[44] The procedure for divorce seems to have been the unique circumstance in which a woman had not merely the right but the requirement of public action in her own behalf.

We have no evidence upon which to base a description of the details of the procedure, and can only speculate upon such matters as what sort of effort was made to confirm the allegations of the woman, and whether the husband was expected to or had the right to rebut charges against him.[45] On one point it is possible to have general agreement, that the woman must have been accompanied by a male relative from her own, that is her father's, family. It is simply inconceivable in the setting of Athenian custom and law that a woman participate in a legal action of the sort without the support of a man.[46] Her solitary appearance before the *archon* would have scandalized the bystanders and, given her normally secluded and protected life, would have been a cruel ordeal for her. More important, her unsupported testimony was worthless in an official proceeding. Since the man who would normally act in her behalf, her *kyrios,* was her husband and in this circumstance her adversary, the reasonable and correct substitute could only have been a member of her original family, under whose guardianship she would again fall once the divorce had taken place. Moreover, in the secluded world of a respectable Athenian wife, the only men to whom she normally had access, and from whom she could expect sympathy and support, were the members of her father's family. Given the need for the woman to be accompanied, indeed represented by male next-of-kin, the potentially complicated hearing becomes clear and probably quite simple, as befits the action of an Athenian magistrate. The critical decision had already been made: her father or brother had accepted her complaint as valid, evidenced by his very appearance in her behalf. The *archon* need only hear his statement and her acquiescence in order to register the divorce. The sole

11 (repr. in *Zur griechische Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. E. Berneker, *Wege der Forschung* xlv [Darmstadt 1968]), perhaps bemused by his effort to show that an Athenian wife was less strictly tied than a Roman *manus*-wife, flatly states that an Athenian wife was free to divorce at will, but he does observe that the actual practice of this right was bound to be restricted by social pressure. E.C. Keuls, *The reign of the phallus* (NY 1985) 101 on the other hand sees the woman's position as very bad indeed: '...the wife's technical right to divorce in case of maltreatment was largely illusory....' because 'her guardian...would normally be loath to have her back to marry off a second time'.

[44] The only way the direct testimony of a woman (as distinct from simply quoting her, for what that would be worth) could be brought into court was by quoting a formal oath, taken in an appropriate temple before witnesses. This procedure is referred to occasionally in the trial orations, but there is no single instance in which it was actually introduced in the proceedings. In Dem. lv 27 and Is. xii 9 reference is to the offer of such oaths, not to their having been taken. The unique case in which the oath was actually taken—with decisive effect—is referred to, but not introduced in court, in Dem. xxxix 25 and xl 10-11. On the subject of women's testimony in court, see S.C. Humphreys 'Kinship patterns in the Athenian Courts', *GRBS* xxvii (1986) *passim*, esp. 72.

[45] The following effort at a reconstruction of the rationale and procedure of this type of divorce is entirely conjectural. Others have imagined the generalities and specific details differently; see e.g., C. Mossé, *La femme dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1983) 54-55, Wolff (n. 43) 11.

[46] Erdmann 395-96 sees the support of a male relative as crucial. This view is not attested in any source but seems certain anyway. Nevertheless J. Gould, 'Law, custom and myth: aspects of the social position of women in classical Athens', *JHS* c (1980) 44 n. 40 believes on the authority of Plutarch that she 'could not be represented by others'. A question arises to which no one has found an answer and that is the relation of the procedure under examination to that of divorce by peremptory action of the wife's father (*pace* Rosivach, see above, who solves the problem by reducing *aphairesis* to a kakophemism for *apoleipsis*, but one may doubt that the undoubted amateurism of Athenian law was quite that casual). If the residual right of a married woman's family to take her back was an unrestricted right, why not just take her back and not bother with the divorce before the magistrate? Perhaps a desire to make the husband's culpability a matter of public record? Or perhaps the publicity of a divorce before the *archon* made recovery of the dowry easier? Or ...?

potential difficulty could have been the husband's contesting of the divorce. This, in the setting of the *archon*'s hearing and in the absence of a formal trial, might have taken the form of a blunt assertion of his rights as *kyrios* of his wife.

For none of this imagined procedure is there documentary evidence, and although it is founded only on probability, one may feel a good deal more confidence in it than in some of the conjectures with which we customarily try to flesh out the skeleton of our knowledge of antiquity. If these speculations are correct, the dramatic incident described in [Andok.] iv 14 (in which the arrogant Alkibiades brought his wife's effort at divorce to a halt by simply carrying her back home) takes on a different coloration from that specified in the source. It is not clear whether a woman seeking divorce, no matter how strong her grounds of complaint, could make good her effort in the face of her husband's determination to retain her.[47] Thus, although Alkibiades may well have been performing an arrogant and defiant action, he may also have been asserting a genuine right.[48]

What does appear to be entirely clear, despite the absence of explicit assertion, is that the point of the procedure before the *archon,* with its particular feature of a written record of the event,[49] was the protection of the woman's reputation. A divorced woman was inevitably under suspicion as in some way unworthy. In order to avoid that stigma the woman whose blood relations supported her desire for divorce would have the disinterested public record as confirmation of her blamelessness. The same motivation is undoubtedly to be seen in the cases in which a husband divorced his wife without wishing to impute any fault to her. In all three instances, arrangements were made simultaneously for the divorce and the remarriage of the woman.[50] The engagement of the husband in the enterprise of immediately marrying off the wife he was divorcing can be understood as comprising a guarantee of her reputation, her qualification to be an acceptable wife to another Athenian.

There is one further procedure and motive for divorce that for the sake of completeness needs to be noticed, that is, divorce initiated by a public agency. The *archon* had the obligation to look out for the welfare of an heiress and the dikasteries had the responsibility and power to dispose of her in marriage, but there is no evidence to show how action was initiated. It is reasonable to suppose that as usual in Athenian litigation such cases came before courts or officials only when initiated by individuals.[51] It is therefore probable that the dissolution of an

[47] Plut. *Alkibiades* 8.5 interprets the episode differently, slightly closer to the conjecture above. Neither the testimony of [Andokides] nor that of Plutarch is altogether reliable. On the less than dependable and perhaps not contemporary text of Pseudo-Andokides, see Maidment 534-39 in the LCL *Andokides* (1941). Cox (n. 7) 381 believes that the husband's right prevailed.

[48] It is perhaps at this point that the woman's blood relations, if they still wanted the divorce, could resort to *aphairesis*, a power presumably greater than that of the husband's claim, if the argument above, at n.19, is correct; unless, of course, the existence of a child served to nullify the family's power (see n. 26), which may have been the situation in the case of Hipparete's unsuccessful effort. Alkibiades' determination to keep his unwilling wife may perhaps be credited to the fabulous dowry ([Andok.] iv.13-14) he would have had to return had she succeeded in divorcing him.

[49] Dem. xxx 15: ἡ δ' ἀπόλειψις ἐγράφη, 'the wife-initiated divorce was registered.' MacDowell 48 notes that a central record office in Athens was an innovation of the period 403-399.

[50] Plut. *Per.* 24.5, Is. ii 8-9, Dem. lvii 41. So also in Dem. xli, the single case of *aphairesis*, the father had a new husband ready, thereby nullifying the possibility of his daughter's return being understood as dismissal by her husband. The situation of a divorcee was somewhat similar to that of a widow of child-bearing age, except that a widow was not as it were automatically under suspicion as somehow unworthy. On widows see the detailed study of V. Hunter, 'The Athenian widow and her kin', *J. Fam. Hist.* xiv (1989) 291-311.

[51] See esp. MacDowell 235-37. It is a commonplace that in general Athenian officials had extremely little initiatory or discretionary power. Divorce for adultery was required by law (above, n. 11), but although some cuckolded husbands may have—for whatever reason—evaded the requirement, there is absolutely no evidence for any public agency ever having taken the initiative to correct such a situation. Even in the hypothetical instance of a husband bringing an adulterer before the Eleven for punishment, Cohen (n. 11) (1991) 116-122 does not suggest that

epikleros' previous marriage would only have come to official notice if it was a matter of dispute. Otherwise it would be settled privately. Support for this negative proposition may be found in Is. x 19, cited above. There an already married woman had become an *epikleros*. The man who could claim her in marriage did not do so, but simply appropriated the estate. When the woman's husband tried to negotiate for the return of the estate to his wife, he was met by the blunt threat that the usurper would hand it over and at the same time get it back by claiming the heiress. The *archon* apparently played no part in the disposition of either the heiress or her estate, and further, the usurper did not indicate that he would take his claim to the *archon* or the courts, but would simply demand the woman, leaving it to her present husband to institute a legal proceeding he was surely bound to lose. The role of public authority was set forth by law, but from this illustration appears to have been activated, as one would expect, only if an interested individual called upon it.[52]

* * *

Patently nine cases of divorce provide too small a body of evidence to be of statistical value. Yet given the large number of family hostilities that occur in the scores of court cases that have come down to us, the small number of divorces that are mentioned may be in itself significant. Also of interest to observe is that in five of the cases the woman either herself played an active role (Alkibiades' wife and the non-instance in Is. iii) or was the subject of considerate treatment by the husband who was divorcing her (Pericles' wife, Menekles' wife, and the wife in Dem. lvii). In two cases (Dem. lix 51 and 63 and Lys. xiv 28) the woman was divorced for behavior that was entirely unacceptable by Athenian standards, but in none of the divorces is there evidence that the woman was mistreated or carelessly used. Even in Dem. xxx, where the woman was evidently a pawn, the allegations of a hostile witness indicate that she was not being abused. Only in Dem. xli is the wife depicted as entirely passive and perhaps the victim of an arbitrary action—and that by her father, not her husband. In sum, the actual cases of divorce that are available for examination offer no support to the view that divorce by an Athenian husband was a casual or frivolous action, indicative of indifference or worse toward his wife. One should not expect it to have been so. Marriage in Athens joined two families as well as two individuals, and the man who would divorce a wife, even for a dazzling improvement in his circumstances, would need to consider carefully his potential advantage as against the almost certain enmity of the family he was rejecting.[53] There may have been numerous divorces in Athens, but the deterrent of family enmity and the general tenor of such evidence as we have suggest the contrary. The most reasonable generalization is that divorce was relatively infrequent and marriage a fundamentally stable institution.

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this or any other public body would take steps to determine whether the required divorce had in fact occurred. Presumably the mere fact of the public airing of the crime would be sufficient to guarantee the husband's conforming to the law.

[52] Just as laws themselves were enforced through suits brought by individuals. One needs to remember that Athens maintained no public prosecutor nor any other agency to initiate legal action even in crimes against the state.

[53] The requirement that the dowry be returned with a rejected wife may well have contributed as a deterrent to divorce. It is emphasized as primary by MacDowell 88, R. Flacelière, 'Crete and Greece', in P. Grimal (ed.), *Histoire mondiale de la femme* i (Paris 1965) 314, Murray (1936) 136-37 in Vol. iv of the LCL *Demosthenes*. While it no doubt played a part, if one wishes to argue on such purely monetary grounds one must accept that the prospect of greater fortune was a simple arithmetical calculation, but the element of enmity with a closely tied family would need to be balanced against the new tie with a richer but not necessarily more powerful family.


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CYNTHIA B. PATTERSON



Those Athenian Bastards

WERE ILLEGITIMATE Athenians citizens? The question and the debate, legacies from the nineteenth century, remain unsettled. In the early twentieth century, William Wyse commented briefly and caustically that this was a "long, confused and unimportant controversy."[1] Recent discussions in *Classical Quarterly* and *Classical Antiquity* indicate that the longevity and perhaps confusion of the debate are even greater than Wyse imagined.[2] What is the reason for the persistence and inconclusiveness of this debate? Is there any justification for yet another discussion of bastards in Athens? In answer to the first question I suggest that unexamined assumptions about Athenian family structure and terminology have both confused the issue and precluded its solution. In answer to the second I argue that clarification of the meaning of the adjective νόθος will show that rather than being "an obscure detail of Athenian life,"[3] the identity and

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1. William Wyse, *The Speeches of Isaeus* (Cambridge, 1904) 280.

2. D. M. MacDowell, "Bastards as Athenian Citizens," *CQ*, n.s., 26 (1976) 88–91; P. J. Rhodes, "Bastards as Athenian Citizens," *CQ*, n.s., 28 (1978) 89–92; K. R. Walters, "Perikles' Citizenship Law," *ClAnt* 2 (1983) 314–36; R. Sealey, "On Lawful Concubinage in Athens," *ClAnt* 3 (1984) 111–33.

3. Wyse (above, n. 1) 278.

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status of those called *nothoi* are important to an understanding of the Athenian family and the Athenian polis.

In this paper I first offer a brief survey of the past debate with particular attention to its failings, then turn to the meaning of *nothos* in Homer and early Classical law and prose, and finally confront the central questions of Athenian *nothoi* and Athenian citizenship. I conclude that νόθος, while properly contrasted with γνήσιος ("legitimate," "well-born"), is *not* equivalent to the English terms "illegitimate" or "born out of wedlock."[4] A closer look at Greek usage suggests a more specific meaning. In general, a *nothos/ē* is a child born of a mixed or unequal union—in the sense that the transfer of the woman (mother) to the husband (father) was not contracted by socially equal partners—who retains a recognized relationship with his or her father. Typically, the *nothos/ē* is the child of a concubine and is known and acknowledged as such by his or her father. Thus, the *nothos* can have a patronymic but is not a legitimate (*gnēsios*) offspring. Understanding νόθος in this way helps clarify the status of *nothoi* as marginal family members excluded formally in Classical Athens from the essential and interconnected privileges of family and polis, but retaining an ambiguous social position at the margins of Athenian society. Further, Athenian use of νόθος in political contexts after 451/0 B.C. highlights the way in which the Athenians in the later fifth century conceived of their polis as an elite "family of families." Finally, an understanding of the peculiarly marginal status of the *nothos* sheds light upon dramatic and philosophic interest in what might might be called the "heroic *nothos,*" the character like Theseus, Heracles, or perhaps Socrates, who by virtue of not fully belonging to the established order gains authority to create something new—or, in the case of Socrates and his circle, to criticize old ways of thinking or acting.

THE "CONFUSED DEBATE"

In his commentary on Isaeus *Or.* 3 ("On the Estate of Pyrrhos"),[5] Wyse singled out for particular criticism two extensive works of nineteenth-century German scholarship on marriage and *nothoi,* those of H. Buermann and O. Müller. In a series of articles published in 1877–78 Buermann argued that Athenian law recognized a relationship of "legitimate concubinage," in which a concubine (*pallakē*) was formally betrothed (*enguētē*) and from which legitimate

4. This is the assumed or stated meaning of the word in the authors noted above (including Wyse) and in all other discussions I have read. It is perhaps worth noting that Latin *nothus* is likewise not equivalent to *spurius* (see Lewis and Short s.v. *nothus*). Vergil uses *nothus* ("Antiphates, *nothus* of Sarpedon from a Theban mother," *Aen.* 9.697) in clear imitation of Homeric usage, for which see text below. Quintilian uses *nothus* in regard to a *controversia* involving inheritance rights (3.6.96–97) and comments (citing Cato) that Latin had no equivalent term. The case involves the respective rights of three sons: one who had been given away in adoption, one who had been disinherited, and one acknowledged *nothus.*

5. See Appendix, below, for a discussion of this speech.

(*gnēsioi*) children were born.[6] Such children might be brought up in the care of their mother or their mother's family and might need to be adopted (*eispoieisthai*) into the father's family,[7] but were nonetheless *gnēsioi.* So, for example, in the case of Isaeus *Or.* 3, Buermann argued that Phile, who the speaker insists is the child of a *hetaira,* is in fact a *gnēsia* daughter of Pyrrhos and a "legitimate" concubine, that is, a woman entrusted as such to Pyrrhos by her own brother. Thus, marriage was not the only road to the production of legitimate heirs; indeed, as Wyse noted, on Buermann's theory there is a great "similarity, coming near to identity" between 'lawful wife' and 'lawful concubine.' "[8]

Buermann's theory was unconvincing as an interpretation both of Isaeus *Or.* 3 and of Athenian marriage,[9] and has "succumbed to time and common sense."[10] However, the underlying confusion about the relationship between the nature of the parental union and the status of the child remains. The implicit assumption of both Buermann and Wyse is that in the pairing *gnēsios/nothos, gnēsios* refers to any child recognized as legitimate heir while *nothos* refers to any and all children not so recognized, because born of nonlegal or nonrecognized unions, that is, illegitimate children. Now it may be that in some specific contexts—for example, one in which the status of a particular child is in question—*gnēsios* and *nothos* present the only two relevant terms of classification. But this is entirely consistent with the possibility that in other contexts, and in the broader scheme of things generally, there is more than one kind of non-*gnēsios* offspring. *Nothos* might indeed describe one sort of person excluded from the *gnēsioi,* but there may be children who, while not being *gnēsioi,* are also not *nothoi* either. Similarly, in another legal context, Athenians might have referred to "citizens and metics" in regard to military recruitment, without implying that all those who were noncitizens were metics. The field of interest and point of view of the law or of the speaker are crucial. As will become evident, the unexamined assumption that *nothos* simply means "not *gnēsios*" or "illegitimate" constitutes a fallacy of false dichotomy that has contributed greatly to the obscurity of the "*nothos* debate."

6. H. Buermann, "Drei Studien auf dem Gebiet des attischen Rechts," *Jahrbuch für classischen Philologie,* Suppl. 9 (Leipzig 1877–78) 569–646. The thesis is announced in the opening paragraph.

7. Ibid. 581–82.

8. Wyse (above n. 1) 277. The *enguē* has the purpose of establishing a woman as mother of legitimate children. To insist that both *pallakē* and wife (*damar*) were *enguētē* and produced *gnēsioi* offspring would seem to make nonsense of the Athenian family and inheritance system and to deny that the Athenians were monogamous, in the sense noted by Herodotus when he comments that "like the Greeks" the Egyptians each γυναικὶ μιῇ . . . συνοικέει (2.92.1). For comment on *synoikein* and other Greek marriage terminology, see text below. *Monogamos,* however, is not apparently a Classical word—and strict monogamy in the sense of having one sexual partner is not part of Greek or Athenian social values, despite Plato's recommendation in the *Laws* (841d).

9. If the institution that Buermann describes existed, the speaker of Isaeus 3 most likely would have mentioned it—in order, at the very least, to argue that this was *not* the basis of the relationship between Pyrrhos and Phile's mother.

10. Wyse (above, n. 1) 277.

One immediate effect of translating *nothos* with the general term "illegitimate" has been to obscure Athenian usage; for in Athens, at least from 414, when Aristophanes' *Birds* was produced, *nothos* could apparently include the meaning "born of a non-Athenian mother."[11] Thus it has seemed to some, including LSJ, that Athenians used *nothos* in two distinct ways, namely, "illegitimate" and "of a foreign mother." This apparent ambiguity has caused no end of confusion, beginning for present purposes with the second theory singled out by Wyse for discussion, that of Müller published in 1899.[12] For Müller, the central meaning of *nothos* in Athens and in Athenian law was *always* "born of an Athenian and a foreign woman," and on this theory *nothoi* rode a roller-coaster career in Athenian political history—disenfranchised by Solon, reenfranchised by Damasias as members not of a phratry but of the Kynosarges *synteleion,* disenfranchised by Isagoras (Cleisthenes included!), reenfranchised by Cleisthenes and given complete equality with *gnēsioi,* disenfranchised by Pericles (who simply revived Solon's law), restored to a special status in 411 (Kynosarges again), and finally excluded again with the restoration of the democracy in 403. This ambitious theory has no doubt also "succumbed to time and common sense" but remains a telling example of how modern interpretation of specific Athenian institutions and structures can skip the rails if the language of those institutions and structures is not read sympathetically and in the context of larger social structures. Müller simply took a specific instance in later fifth-century (comic) usage (*Birds* 1651) and applied it indiscriminately if methodically to all of Athenian history.

Müller was answered in detail and with authority by Ledl a few years after Wyse published his *Commentary.*[13] In a series of three discussions of Athenian marriage law, Ledl enunciated what has become the first principle of the position arguing for both the centrality of marriage in the Athenian polis and the noncitizenship of *nothoi: anchisteia* (the family relationship allowing inheritance)[14] and *politeia* (the right of citizenship) are "untrennbar."[15] Family membership was the basis and necessary condition for polis membership. Thus the *nothos,* clearly opposed in Athenian law to the *gnēsios* or legitimate heir, could not be a *politēs.*

Ledl's thesis was accepted and given a historical dimension in 1944 by H. J. Wolff, who suggested that the complete equation between *anchisteia* and *politeia*

11. *Av.* 1650–52: "*Pisthetairos:* 'You're *nothos* and not *gnēsios.*' *Heracles:* 'I, *nothos?* What are you saying?' *Pisthetairos:* 'You are, by Zeus, for you're [born] of a foreign woman [ξένης γυναικός].' "

12. O. Müller, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des attischen Bürger- und Eherechts," *Jahrbuch für classischen Philologie,* Suppl. 25 (Leipzig 1899). See especially his "Überblick," pp. 857–65.

13. Ledl, "Das attische Bürgerrecht und die Frauen," *WS* 29 (1907) 173–227; ibid. 30 (1908) 1–46, 173–230.

14. Literally, *anchisteia* means the relationship of being "next" or "nearest" and denotes in matters of inheritance those up to the relationship of children of cousins. See, e.g., Is. 11.2 with the commentary of A. H. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* I (Oxford, 1968) 143–49.

15. *WS* 30 (above, n. 13) 230.

was post-Cleisthenic and democratic.[16] The persistently troublesome case of Phile in Isaeus *Or.* 3 caused Wolff further to modify the argument for illegitimate children of Athenian descent. On a straight (but most likely naive) reading of the speech, Phile is both the child of an Athenian man and an Athenian *hetaira,* and also legally married to Xenocles, another Athenian citizen. The speaker asserts repeatedly the Phile was ὡς ἐξ ἑταίρας . . . ἐγγυᾶσθαι (45; also 48, 52, 55, 70, 71), with no indication that the resulting marriage was illegal. But laws quoted in the Demosthenic speech "Against Neaira" (delivered in the 340s) prohibited marriage between an *astos* and *xenē* or *astē* and *xenos.* Thus if the law was in effect at the time of Phile's marriage, it might seem that Phile was both *nothē* and *astē* and, in general, that *nothoi* were citizens in Athens.[17] Wolff, however, took an intermediate position on this issue, suggesting that illegitimate offspring of two Athenian parents, such as he takes Phile to be, were undoubtedly *nothoi,* but as *nothoi* of two Athenians were classed among the *astoi.* Following U. E. Paoli, Wolff distinguished the *astos* from the *politēs* or "full citizen."[18] Along with women and children—likewise *astoi* but not *politai—nothoi,* he suggested, enjoyed a lesser kind of citizenship. Thus Wolff insisted on the principle of the connection between *anchisteia* and *politeia,* but opened a loophole for the Athenian-born *nothos* to enjoy a limited citizenship.

I have reserved detailed discussion of Isaeus *Or.* 3 for an appendix, below, but Wolff's suggestion that Athenian *nothoi* enjoyed a limited or partial citizenship calls for comment here. First, Paoli's distinction between *astos* and *politēs,* although incorporated into the LSJ entry under νόθος and cited with approval by Wolff, Harrison, and most recently Gould,[19] is not supported by Greek or Athenian usage.[20] The basic meaning of *astos/ē* seems to be "native member of the community," and as such the term is typically contrasted with *xenos,* the foreigner or nonmember. While *astos/ē* does not necessarily indicate a person with political rights, it also does not indicate a *lack* of political rights. In fact, *astoi* is frequently used in political or military connections with reference to the adult male citizen body.[21] The distinction *astos/politēs* does not simply translate to civil/political (as in LSJ s.v. ἀστός), and putting *nothoi* among the *astoi* will not clarify the problem of their status.

Despite the ill-founded terminological point, however, the suggestion of a

16. H. J. Wolff, "Marriage Law and Family Organization in Ancient Athens," *Traditio* 2 (1944) 43–95. See below for discussion of the impact of Cleisthenes' reforms on the position of *nothoi.*

17. This conclusion has been emphasized in particular by MacDowell (above, n. 2). See further Appendix, below.

18. Wolff (above, n. 16) 83; U. E. Paoli, *Studi di diritto attico* (Florence, 1930) chap. 3.

19. Wolff (above n. 16) 83; Harrison (above, n. 14) 188 n. 2; J. Gould, "Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens," *JHS* 100 (1980), 46 n. 57.

20. I have discussed this and other aspects of Athenian citizenship terminology at greater length in *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451/0 B.C.* (New York, 1981) app. 1.

21. See, e.g., Ar. *Av.* 33–34, *Ec.* 459; Thuc. 4.91.1.

place for *nothoi* at the margins or edges of Athenian society is potentially more promising than the awkwardness of phrases such as "partial citizen" or "passive citizen" might suggest.[22] In a recent discussion of Athenian citizenship, K. R. Walters objects to the idea of an intermediate position between citizen and foreigner, insisting that a person either was or was not an Athenian citizen.[23] When it was a matter of receiving or not receiving public distributions or holding or not holding public office, this was no doubt true. But in other situations Athenians may have been tolerant of a certain amount of informal ambiguity of status; indeed they may have been increasingly confronted with such ambiguity as they sought to define more closely rules for membership in their polis. The existence, not lack, of rules and definitions produces margins and ambiguities. Thus, although Phile herself may in fact have been *gnēsia* (see Appendix), Wolff's raising of the possibility of an "in-between" position for *nothoi* is important—not as a formally defined in-between status, but as a marginal or ambiguous status created by imposition of formal rules on a traditional social fabric.

Most discussions of *nothoi,* however, have shunned ambiguity and preferred the well-trodden approach to the problem: were they or were they not citizens?[24] To this question, Isaeus *Or.* 3 has been interpreted as giving a positive answer (see above) for *nothoi* of two Athenians. In further support of this view Harrison has asked rhetorically, Why did Pericles' law speak only of birth from "two

22. There is some theoretical support for such terms in Aristotle's *Politics,* Book 3 (see C. Mossé, "Citoyens actifs et citoyens 'passifs' dans les cités grecques: Une approche théorique du problème" *REA* 81 [1979] 241–49), but they are used in reference to neither women nor *nothoi.* At different points in Book 3 Aristotle is interested in defining the status of different groups, such as old men and children, metics, or the working class, each of which he considers to lack true or complete citizenship (see especially 1275^{a}7–24). Mossé gives the name "passive citizen" to Aristotle's ἀρχόμενος, the one who has only the virtue of being ruled, not of ruling. For Aristotle this is a member of the working class. In general, however, Aristotle emphasizes that citizenship is a privilege of active not passive status—e.g., the citizen is one who shares in deliberative or judicial office (1275^{b} 18–19).

While in practical terms *we* with Aristotle might call those aliens who received the right to own land in Attica or were allowed special access to the Athenian courts "partial" or "passive" citizens, in Athenian terms they were still privileged *aliens.* Likewise some have called Athenian women partial or second-class citizens, but the Athenians called them *astai.* (See C. B. Patterson, "*Hai Attikai:* The Other Athenians," *Helios* 13.2 [1986] 49–67, for the question of female "citizenship.") Athenian citizenship was an active status—inclusive of religious, economic, athletic, as well as political and military activity. As revealed by Aristotle's difficulties in *Pol.* 3, "passive citizen" is almost a contradiction in terms. See also n. 24 below.

23. Walters (above, n. 2) 319—in Latin for emphasis: "tertium quid non datur."

24. An exception is D. Lotze, "Zwischen Politen und Metöken: Pasivbürger im klassischen Athen?" *Klio* 63 (1981) 159–78. Lotze does not so much attempt to define what the "passive citizen" might be as show, in a thorough discussion of the evidence, the ambiguities of the *nothos* identity. They were not citizens but also not *xenoi:* Was there an in-between status, both for them and other misfits, such as those excluded from citizenship in the oligarchic revolution? I think the answer is yes, but that it was an informal not formal status, which left them formally out in the cold when it came to economic and political privilege.

astoi," and not of legitimate birth, if legitimacy was required?[25] And why, added MacDowell, did Aristotle not mention legitimacy *per se* in his account of citizenship procedures in his day, or why did the Athenian decree declaring Antiphon and Archeptolemos to be *atimoi* include their children, "*gnēsioi* and *nothoi,*" if in fact *nothoi* were not citizens?[26]

There the debate has rested. On the one side are those who with Ledl and Wolff emphasize the essential familial structure of the Athenian polis: one's membership in kin groups, real and fictional, was the basis for membership in the state. The nonlegitimate, non-*gnēsios* person is formally outside this system. On the other side are those who insist on the significance of what appear to be specific counterexamples such as Phile, on Aristotle's silence, on the logical impossibility (as it seems) of making *atimos* someone who was not a citizen to begin with, or finally on the *a priori* notion that the Athenians just would not have excluded bastard children of two Athenian parents.[27] And all, while assuming that *nothos* is equivalent to "illegitimate," have focused on illegitimate children of two Athenians. The most recent contribution to this discussion, however, offering a novel interpretation of *nothos,* places a foot in both camps at the same time as it brings us full circle back to Buermann. In "On Lawful Concubinage in Athens,"[28] Sealey has suggested that the Athenians were concerned not with the nature of the parental union but only with the identity of the parents. Legitimacy was necessary, but any child of two Athenians was legitimate or *gnēsios. Nothos,* he theorized, referred to the child of "disputable parentage," except when it meant "of mixed descent."[29] In offering this thesis Sealey cites neither his predecessor, Buermann (and his critics), nor Athenian usage. With justified discouragement, we might now ask where this debate has led us.[30]

25. Harrison (above, n. 14) 65. The answer is that Pericles' law put forth not a definition but a new standard requirement for citizenship.

26. MacDowell (above, n. 2) 89–90, also emphasizing the case of Phile. I do not find the argument from the decree against Antiphon and Archeptolemos convincing, since in formulating such a decree the concern would be to use the strongest possible language, even at the cost of strict logical categories. See also the comments of Rhodes (above n. 2), who dismisses all three of MacDowell's points as inconclusive.

27. So even Wolff (above, n. 16) is led to qualify his insistence on the connection between *anchisteia* and *politeia:* "it is, nevertheless unlikely that those born of Athenian mothers were in every respect reduced to the status of aliens" (p. 82). As we shall see, however, children of Athenian mothers would not ordinarily be *nothoi* in Athens. Rather, the mothers of *nothoi* would be women of inferior status, as against the citizen elite.

28. Above, n. 2.

29. Sealey (above, n. 2) 128–29.

30. In addition to the articles or books already noted, a number of other contributions should be mentioned: J. M. Hannick ("Droit de cité et mariages mixtes dans la Grèce classique," *AC* 45 [1976] 133–48) discusses Arist. *Pol.* 1275^{b}21–22, 1278^{a}26–34, and 1319^{b}6–11 on citizenship criteria. (For Aristotle's use of *nothos* in these passages, see below n. 84.) M. H. Hansen (*Demography and Democracy* [Herning, 1985] app. 2) discusses the citizenship of bastards or "*nothoi* born from Athenian parents" (p. 75) and concludes that the evidence is "inconclusive" (p. 76). In her dissertation, "The Social and Political Ramifications of Athenian Marriages, ca. 600–400 B.C." (Duke Univ.,

NOTHOI IN EARLY GREEK

The primary virtue of Sealey's article would seem to be that it makes blatant the faults and sources of confusion in the previous discussion. We are forced to step back and begin where we should have begun initially. What is the contextual meaning of *nothos,* and how does the *nothos* fit into the Greek, and particularly the Athenian, structures of marriage and of family and polis membership? Sealey's view is that "no extant text says what the criterion was for being a *nothos*" and that "conjecture is possible."[31] Surely there is another alternative. In this section I shall consider the use of *nothos* in Homer, and in early Greek law and prose. Here and in the following sections I am trying not so much to find empirically a precise lexical definition, but rather to identify the main elements of the familial and social identity of the *nothos* as revealed by Greek and Athenian usage. In what situations and contexts was *nothos* used, and what does this usage suggest about the place of the *nothos* in Greek family and polis terminology?

HOMERIC *NOTHOI*

The *Iliad* contains numerous instances of *nothoi* whose identity is clear and not at all in dispute. In Book 2 we are introduced to "Medon, *nothos* son of Oileus whom Rhene bore" (2.727); likewise Telamon reared his *nothos* son Teukros in his own household, and Priam had numerous *nothoi* (e.g., 4.499, 16.738) and at least one *nothē* (13.173) in his. Without exception *nothoi* are the recognized children of a man, typically a hero or king, and a woman other than his wife, typically a bought or captured concubine living within the household. The *nothos* is part of his father's household, although generally with an inferior status reflecting the inferior status of his mother. In contrast to its relatively frequent use in the *Iliad, nothos* does not appear in the *Odyssey.* Odysseus's fabricated identity in Book 14, however, would seem to fit the *Iliad* pattern for the *nothos.* He is, he says, the child of a bought concubine, and while recognized and favored by his father he still did not inherit equally with his *gnēsioi* half-siblings (14.203–10). Also in the *Odyssey,* the only son and apparent heir of

1983), Cheryl Cox briefly discusses the *nothos* controversy (pp. 258–90); most of her conclusions are compatible with those offered in this paper. In this paper I have not attempted to address individually each discussion of *nothoi,* but rather to present the essential assumptions and arguments of the debate as a whole.

31. Sealey (above, n. 2) 127. It should at least be noted that the Hellenistic and Byzantine lexicographers did give definitions for νόθος. Unfortunately these definitions are of limited use, since they seem neither complete nor consistent. For example, Pollux defines a νόθος as someone either born from a foreign woman or a concubine (παλλακή), and Photius says simply that a νόθος is not born of two αστοί. Hesychius cites νοθογέννητος as referring particularly to the non-γνήσιος born from a πόρνη, φίλη, δούλη, or παλλακή. How these definitions reflect in different ways the social history of the polis, particularly Athens, will I hope become clear in the course of this paper. For now, it can be noted that the inferior status of the mother seems to be a key element in a resulting status of *nothos* for her child.

Menelaos in Sparta is Megapenthes, born to Menelaos by a slave woman (ἐκ δούλης, 4.12). As recognized son (he is τηλύγετος [4.11], indicating a special affection),[32] Megapenthes, the child of a slave, gained both freedom and an inheritance. He seems to be treated as at least the equal of Menelaos's legitimate daughter, Hermione (also called τηλυγέτην, by Helen at *Il.* 3.175). Both were being honored with wedding celebrations when Telemachos arrived in Sparta. Hermione was being sent off to marry Neoptolemos, while Megapenthes has a Spartan bride. Even though *nothos* is not used of Megapenthes in the *Odyssey,* his peculiar position as the free child of a slave woman, given a place within the paternal *oikos,* is comparable to the situation of *nothoi* in the *Iliad.* An important difference in Megapenthes' position, as against for example that of Teukros, is that he was Menelaos's only recognized *son.*

In contrast to the *nothos,* the *gnēsios* child is the child of a woman designated to produce *gnēsioi* or heirs, by being given (in later Athenian terms "entrusted")[33] to a husband in proper public fashion—with gift-giving and feasting.[34] So Agamemnon offers to give one of his daughters to Achilles (*Il.* 9.286–90), and Menelaos is busy giving his daughter away to Neoptolemos (*Od.* 4.3–9). According to an early Athenian law quoted in [Demosthenes] *Or.* 46.18, the woman who is entrusted (*enguasthai*) by her father or paternal brother or grandfather has legitimate (*gnēsioi*) children. Similarly, if more informally, in Homeric society the exchange of gifts and property between two families validated their marriage alliance and set up the eventual devolution of their property.[35]

It is notable that there seems to be a more explicit distinction in Homer and in later Athenian law between the *gnēsios* and the *nothos* than between the women who bear those children. *Alochos* could mean "wife (and bearer of *gnēsioi*)" (*Od.* 14.20–22) or could refer simply to a "bedmate" such as Briseis in the first book of the *Iliad* (114).[36] Briseis's case is particularly instructive on both

32. See A. Heubeck, S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* I (Oxford, 1988) 194. The authors comment that Megapenthes' "name is evidently chosen to express Menelaos' grief at Helen's desertion."

33. For the significance of the "entrusting" or *enguē* of the woman to her husband, see Wolff (above, n. 16).

34. Cf. *Od.* 4.3. On Homeric marriage as a many-gifted event, see M. I. Finley, "Marriage, Sale and Gift in the Homeric World," *RIDA* 3 (1955) 167–94 (= *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* [London, 1981] 233–45).

35. Thus W. K. Lacey's comment (*The Family in Classical Greece* [London, 1968] 42) that Homeric marriage was a "*de facto* state" is misleading. The marriages of Megapenthes and Hermione did not have official legal sanction, but rather the communal sanction of those who witnessed and enjoyed the marriage celebration.

36. Agamemnon qualifies his description of Clytemnestra by terming her his κουριδίη ἄλοχος (1.114). The adjective is generally agreed to derive from κούρη or κόρη (Chantraine s.v. κούρη) and has been interpreted as referring to the woman given as a virgin to her husband or who at marriage offers her virginity to her husband (so F. Bechtel, *Lexilogus zu Homer* [Halle, 1914] 200). As opposed to a concubine or prostitute (see Hdt. 1.135, 5.18), her sexuality is the sole possession or domain of one man, called by extension κουρίδιος πόσις (*Il.* 5.414). Perhaps then the phrase *kouridiē alochos* is similar to English "virgin bride" or even "chaste wife." In any case, the tendency

the fluidity of marital status in Homeric society and also the significance of the public giving-away of the bride and celebration of the marriage. Speaking to the dead Patroklos, Briseis remembers first how she had seen Achilles cut down the man to whom she had been given by her father and mother, and then how Patroklos himself had comforted her with the promise that he would make her the *kouridiē alochos* of Achilles,[37] take her back to Phthia, and celebrate the marriage with a feast among the Myrmidons (*Il.* 19.287–99). Thus Patroklos would have assumed the role of Briseis's father and given her in marriage to Achilles. After that celebration, we should suppose that Briseis would have borne *gnēsioi,* even if Achilles simply called her his *alochos* or τὴν αὐτοῦ (*Il.* 9.340–42).

Given the looseness of Homeric vocabulary denoting the wife, it is striking that *gnēsios* and (in the *Iliad*) *nothos* are used consistently and precisely. The emphasis of Greek family terminology is on the product rather than the state of marriage, as is evident also from Aristotle's observation that there was no single word in Greek for the relationship (or "yoking together") of husband and wife.[38] Athenians made do with the verb συνοικεῖν ("cohabit," "share an *oikos*"), or to be more specific they added παιδοποιεῖσθαι, "produce children (for an *oikos*)."[39]

The *nothos,* like the *gnēsios,* has a clear identity in Homer. He (or she) is the free, recognized child of a resident woman of non-wife status. As noted earlier, the recognized yet socially inferior status of the mother was passed on to her child. The *nothos* (or *nothē*) belonged to the paternal household but was not a "shareholder" in it. Along with the positive fact of parental recognition and possible parental favor went the negative fact of unequal parental status, an inequality reflected in the relationship between the *nothos* and his half-siblings. Thus we find Priam's *nothos* son Isos (a notable name!) serving as driver for his

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to read into *kouridiē* the idea of "legitimate" or "lawful" (so LSJ s.v.) is not supported by etymology or usage.

37. See previous note.

38. *Pol.* 1.3.2. Although γάμος (or pl. γάμοι) is often translated "marriage," its basic meaning is rather the "marriage celebration" or "nuptials" (see, e.g., *Il.* 18.491, 19.299). Sophocles plays upon the potential ambiguity of the term in the *Trachiniae* when Deianeira foresees new γάμοι in her house (843). Similarly the verb γαμεῖν denotes the active taking of a woman as wife, and Heracles in the same play is said to have "married" (ἔγημε) many women (460). (Note also that both Deianeira and Iole are called δάμαρ [406, 428], a term usually reserved for the [one] wife herself.) γαμεῖν may then mean more "mate" than "marry" and could be used in reference to any regular sexual partner. However, the *gamos* was usually celebrated with the woman destined to bear a man's heirs, and it is noteworthy that γαμετή is used in the phratry oath of the "Demotionid" decrees (*IG* II^2 1237.111) instead of more usual ἐγγυητή. See also Is. 12.10 and *Ath. Pol.* 4.2. I do not agree with Sealey (above, n. 2: 122) that γαμετή in these contexts is significantly different from ἐγγυητή.

For further comment on Greek "marriage" terminology, see J.-P. Vernant, "Mariage en Grèce archaïque," in *Mythe et societé en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1974). The one term that seems most precise in its reference is γυνὴ ἐγγυητή, referring to the mother of legitimate, *gnēsioi,* children.

39. See especially the language of [Dem.] 59.122.

gnēsios half-brother Antiphos (*Il.* 11.102–3), and on the Greek side Teukros stands protected by the huge shield of his half-brother Ajax (*Il.* 8.266–68). But the most significant inferiority would be in inheritance. Against *gnēsioi, nothoi* have no inheritance claim.[40]

In Homer, then, *gnēsios* and *nothos* would in fact appear as exclusive but not at all exhaustive terms for all possible offspring. They are both recognized by their father as his own offspring, but not as equals. Still, the *nothos* had a socially recognized father, which set him or her apart from other irregularly born or illegitimate children. The child of an unmarried woman, termed once a *parthenios* (*Il.* 16.180; cf. the Spartan *partheniai*), would for better or worse be dependent on its mother. The *Iliad*'s *parthenios,* Eudoros son of Polymele, was brought up in his maternal grandfather's house (ibid.). Another nonlegitimate figure in the *Iliad* is Boukolion, whose mother bore him *skotios,* even though he was the eldest son of Laomedon (6.23–24). That his mother bore him *skotios* suggests that she, and her child, were not part of Laomedon's household.

The term *skotios* is suggestive of the circumstances of bastards without the social recognition of their fathers. They would inhabit the dark, lower reaches of a society that had no special term for them and often no room for them. They might be exposed at birth, perhaps surviving to be reared as slaves. The *nothos,* on the other hand, was a paternally recognized child with a place in his father's household. Thus, the distinction legitimate/illegitimate, familiar in the Western legal tradition,[41] in which "legitimate" means born into a legal marriage and "illegitimate" means not so born, cannot be neatly mapped onto Greek social and legal terminology. While we use one term for the offspring of a range of irregular unions—adultery, incest, prostitution, premarital sexual relations—the Greeks had a more varied and, in the case of *nothos,* more specialized usage.

NOTHOI IN EARLY GREEK LAW

Homer's use of *nothos* is clear and appropriate to the heroic world he describes, where heroes exchange women as prizes or seize women as "war brides," while maintaining wives and heirs back home. As an *alochos* one woman was as good as the next (indeed Agamemnon preferred Chryseis to his *kouridiē alochos,* Clytemnestra: *Il.* 1.114),[42] but inheritance and property/status transmission required the distinction between *gnēsios* and *nothos.* Homer's usage leads then to the question of the position of *nothoi* in the early Greek polis. To what extent did Homer's *nothoi* have a distinct social or legal identity in the early polis?

I think it can be argued that the "Homeric" *nothos,* the child of a concubine or

40. Since Megapenthes is Menelaos's apparent heir, *nothoi* perhaps were excluded in "Homeric society" only by male *gnēsioi.* In Classical Athens, a brotherless daughter was an *epiklēros;* by law the property stayed with her, to be passed on to her sons by an appropriate husband.

41. For discussion of the concept of illegitimacy in the Western tradition, see J. Teichman, *Illegitimacy: An Examination of Bastardy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982).

42. On the significance of *kouridiē,* see n. 36 above.

pallakē within the paternal household, did have a recognized social and perhaps legal status in Archaic Greece and particularly in Athens. Further, although the status of the *nothos* became increasingly circumscribed (and although the use of the adjective *nothos* was extended metaphorically in the later Classical period), the basic Homeric meaning and identity persisted as recognized usage through the Classical and on into the Hellenistic age.[43] Solon's legislation on *nothoi* is an important case in point here, as well as a crucial part of the argument for the position of *nothoi* in Classical Athens.

In Aristophanes' *Birds,* Pisthetairos quotes a "law of Solon" in order to persuade Heracles that he has no real interest in the Olympian cause: "A *nothos* has no right of inheritance [*anchisteia*] if there are *gnēsioi.* If there are no *gnēsioi,* the property falls to the next of kin" (1661–66). (Some ten lines earlier Pisthetairos has called Heracles *nothos* since he was born *ek xenēs*—as a mortal his mother was a foreigner in the realm of the gods.) The joke is on Heracles—and on us, as we try to make sense of this comic quotation. S. C. Humphreys has suggested that for comic effect Aristophanes put together clauses from two different laws "one on *nothoi* and one on intestate inheritance,"[44] both to the exclusion of *nothoi.* Wolff, however, argued that Solon merely excluded *nothoi if* there were *gnēsioi,* as suggested by the first clause; their complete exclusion, he argued, was instituted by Cleisthenes.[45] For now it is enough to say that Solon limited in some way the family and inheritance rights of *nothoi,* even if by simply codifying customary disabilities of *nothoi.* In keeping with his effort to curb aristocratic excess and display and to promote the integrity of individual *oikoi,*[46] Solon may have discouraged the practice of concubinage within the *oikos* as an aristocratic flaunting of wealth and status potentially disruptive of polis and family solidarity (cf. the tensions produced by such situations in later Athenian drama, in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon,* Sophocles' *Trachiniae,* or Euripides' *Andromache*). In any case, he excluded, either completely or only if there were *gnēsioi,* the children of *pallakai* from the patrilinear line of descent. He also relieved the *nothos* of family responsibility. According to Plutarch, a law of Solon stated that the *nothos* was *not* required to support his parents in their old age (*Solon* 22.4).[47] These *nothoi* who are the focus of Solon's legislation should be understood as

43. In particular, note Menander's use of *nothos* in *Sam.* 135, *Aspis* 176, and *Epit.* 898. In the *Samia,* Demeas thinks Chrysis has borne him a *nothos* son; in the *Aspis,* Smikrines complains that he is being overlooked as head of the household, as if he is a *nothos;* and in the *Epitrepontes,* Charisios thinks he is the father of a *nothos* before he learns that the child's mother is his own wife, Pamphile.

44. "The Nothoi of Kynosarges," *JHS* 94 (1974) 89 n. 5.

45. Wolff (above, n. 16) 89–91. See text, below, for a discussion of the impact of Cleisthenes' reforms on Athenian family structure.

46. So I would also interpret the Solonian laws on conspicuous consumption, on heiresses, and on wills. See further below. I accept the laws on *nothoi* as genuinely Solonian, primarily because they make sense in an early sixth-century context.

47. Vernant (above, n. 38: 52) comments obscurely on this passage to the effect that the law confirms rather than restricts the place of the *nothos* in the paternal household.

"Homeric" *nothoi,* children of concubines who were recognized as such by their fathers and who previously maintained some kind of connection with the paternal family. There would be no need to relieve unrecognized bastards, or illegitimate offspring of all sorts, of such responsibility or to exclude them from the *anchisteia;* the law dealt rather with the ambiguous and marginal case of the recognized bastard.

Adultery and extramarital sexual activity were also disruptive to the cohesion of the family line, but here the sanctions of Solonian law, and pre-Solonian law insofar as it is discernible, were directed against the sexual partners rather than any offspring. Thus, by the law on justified homicide quoted in Demosthenes *Or.* 23.53, a man could kill anyone he caught in the act of adultery with female members of his household; or by a Solonian law, reported by Plutarch (*Sol.* 23) but perhaps not often used, a father could sell his daughter into slavery if she had engaged in premarital sex. (Most likely, the marriage of the daughter to her sexual partner was a preferable solution, and one that would insure the legitimacy of her children.)[48] In distinction to the *nothos,* whose marginal and ambiguous familial position required definition, the child born of proven adultery, for example, would be without question "not *gnēsios*" and not his mother's husband's heir, while the child born to an unmarried woman was, in the language of English common law, *filius nullius,*[49] with no claim to any paternal inheritance (cf. again Eudoros in *Il.* 16.180). The *nothos,* the paternally recognized bastard, was an anomaly in the Solonian family order, and his (or her) status was the focus of Solonian and later inheritance law.

That *nothos* is a term bearing a specific legal and social reference in the Archaic and early Classical periods, rather than the more vague meaning "not legitimate," is supported by Herodotus's specific use of *nothos* in contexts of family status and inheritance. Herodotus uses *nothos* three times: to note the Persian *nomimon* that the *nothos* son of a king, did not inherit the throne if there was a *gnēsios* (3.2.2);[50] to describe Hegesistratos the son of Peisistratos by an Argive woman (5.94.1);[51] and, again in reference to the Persian royal family, to note that certain *nothoi paides* accompanied Xerxes on his expedition of 480 B.C. (8.103.1). In addition, Nothon appears as the personal name of the father of a certain Aischines of Eretria (6.100.3). Used as an adjective, then, *nothos* in Herodotus denotes the son with an acknowledged if inferior connection to the paternal household. Herodotus's usage conforms completely to that of Homer

48. Cf. the comments of A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach (*Menander: A Commentary* [Oxford, 1973] 32–33) in regard to premarital unions in Menander.

49. This is the description of the bastard in English common law; see J. Teichman (above, n. 41) 53–75.

50. Note that Herodotus is applying Greek terminology—and also perhaps attributing Greek customs—to the Persian court.

51. There is some debate over whether this son was actually *nothos* or simply like Themistocles called *nothos* on post-Periclean criteria. See J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971) 449–50.

and, I would argue, of Solon. The use of Nothon as a personal name is striking and may reflect the social situation of the mid-sixth century, when presumably Aischines' father (and also Hegesistratos) would have been born.[52] Was this Nothon a self-proclaimed "Bastard," born of parents from different social classes in an era of marked social upheaval? Is he perhaps a historical analogue to Theognis's Kyrnos?[53] In any case, it seems that *nothoi* are particularly "at home" in the sixth century and in the Persian court—as that court was seen through Greek eyes. Thucydides, it can be noted, uses *nothos* twice, both times in reference to Amorges, the *nothos huios* of the Persian satrap Pissouthnes.[54]

Finally, a mid-fifth-century inscription from Tegea adds a bit of epigraphical and even non-Athenian support for the interpretation of *nothos* offered here. The inscription establishes the order of claim to a temple deposit, proceeding from Xuthias, to his *gnēsioi* and *gnēsiai,* to his *nothoi,* and finally to collateral relatives.[55] Thus, here again, the *nothos* was a child of inferior yet acknowledged status within the paternal lineage.

Given the specific identity of the *nothos* evident so far in Archaic Greece, it is perhaps surprising that the Gortyn Code, in which family law is a central concern, contains no reference to *nothoi.* The order of succession is stated in column V, lines 9–22:

> When a man or woman dies, if there be children or children's children, they are to have the property. And if there be none of these, but brothers of the deceased and brothers' children or brothers' children's children, they are to have the property. And if there be none of these, but sisters of the deceased and sisters' children or sisters' children's children, they are to have the property.

No *nothoi* are mentioned here. In the section discussing the status of children born of mixed (free and serf) unions, the word *nothos* does not appear. Nor is *nothos* used in the section of the code dealing with the status of children born after divorce or adultery (III.44–52). On the basis of the previous argument we would not expect *nothos* to appear in contexts of divorce or adultery, but the complete absence of *nothos* from the legal terminology of the code suggests

52. *Nothos* continues to appear in a few compound names in the fifth and fourth centuries. For example, Notharchos appears in the Erechtheid casualty list of 460/59 (*IG* I^2 929.89), and is also the name of an arbitrator in Dem. 29.31. Kleinothos appears in the casualty list of 439/8 (*IG* I^2 943.93), and Philonothos in a bouleutic catalogue from the fourth century (*IG* II^2 1697.12 = *Agora* 15 n.o 492.12). That Athenian citizens bore such names is noteworthy (perhaps a name such as Notharchos is an additional indication that *nothoi* were recognized as a distinct social or legal group), but not particularly significant for the question of the citizenship of the *nothoi* themselves.

53. For the significance of the name Kyrnos ("bastard"), see Nagy, in T. J. Figueira and G. Nagy, *Theognis of Megara* (Baltimore, 1985) 54.

54. Thuc. 8.5.5, 8.28.3; cf. Xen. *Anab.* 2.4.24. Xenophon also speaks of "*nothoi* of the Spartiates" in reference to the military recruitment of non-Spartans (*Hell.* 5.3.9).

55. *IG* V:2.159 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*^{3} 1213b.

perhaps that this was not a Dorian word or a Gortynian institution.[56] For present purposes, however, it is enough to recognize that *nothos* is not used for "illegitimate" in the code. The code does use *gnēsios* for "legitimate,"[57] seemingly a general Greek usage. *Nothos,* however, is a more specific term originally used for the child of what might be called "Homeric" concubinage.

NOTHOI IN ATHENS

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATUS: SOLON TO CLEISTHENES

Now, at last, we are in a position to consider the place and identity of *nothoi* in Athens. Before the early sixth century and the special *nomothesia* of Solon, Athenian family and inheritance structures seem to have been essentially "Homeric": a man of wealth and stature would have a *kouridiē alochos* to bear him heirs, but might also have a slave or "war-bride" *alochos* or *pallakē* who bore him *nothoi,* free but unequal members of the household. Traces of the pre-Solonian structure can perhaps be seen in the laws noted earlier defining the *gnēsioi* as those born from an entrusted wife (Dem. 27.17), and that sanctioning the killing of anyone caught in illicit union with a man's wife (*damar*), sister, daughter, or *pallakē* whom he keeps "for the sake of free children" (ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις παισίν, Dem. 23.53). The latter clause, with its use of the early Greek *damar,* has a venerable ring to it. The *pallakē* kept "for the sake of free children" also calls to mind the "war brides" of the Homeric world, who although themselves slaves bore free *nothoi* to their owner or "husband." On Buermann and Sealey's theories of "legitimate" or "lawful" concubinage, the children these *pallakai* bore were also *gnēsioi* and citizens. Some of the problems with Buermann's theory have already been noted above. In addition, Sealey's theory requires a strained interpretation of *eleutheros* as being equivalent to "citizen" here since he considers it equivalent to "citizen" in *Ath. Pol.* 42.1.[58] A reading of the law informed by Homeric and Archaic usage, however, leads to the straightforward conclusion that these *eleutheroi* should be understood as *nothoi,* even though they are not so called. (Perhaps the implicit contrast here is not with *gnēsioi* but with *douloi*—the usual status of children of slave women.) These are the Menons, Teukroi, Isoi of early Athens—free, with known fathers and families, but *nothoi.* As J.-P. Vernant has insisted, these children are not simply "illegitimate";[59] indeed they are *nothoi.* Against a Homeric background,

56. The inscription from Tegea (see text) uses *nothos,* but Xuthias does not appear to be a Tegean. See Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3] 1213b n. 2.

57. E.g., col. X.41, 48: γνέσια τέκνα. The passage concerns the inheritance rights of adopted sons. If there are no *gnēsia* the adopted son can inherit as though legitimate. If there are legitimate children, he receives a daughter's share.

58. Sealey (above, n. 2) 113–15.

59. See Vernant (above, n. 38) 55.

both the law of Demosthenes *Or.* 23 and the practice of calling the "free children" *nothoi* make perfect sense.

In the expanding and often unsettled world of Archaic Greece, the traditional "Homeric" family was both presented with new opportunities and subjected to new pressures. Colonization gave those without a place in the traditional family structure a chance to start new families; tyrants, on the other hand, seemed to threaten the traditional family order by confiscation of property, violent treatment of women, or their own irregular family behavior.[60] While early sixth-century Athens was as yet free of tyranny and not pushed to external colonization, Solon seems nonetheless to have confronted a peculiar Athenian crisis in family structure and stability. "The many were enslaved to the few" (*Ath. Pol.* 5); the small or middling *oikoi* were having difficulty maintaining their economic independence in the face of rapacious kin or larger landowners. Solon's most dramatic remedies were the forbidding of loans taken on security of the person and the allowing of wills (*Ath. Pol* 6, Plut. *Sol.* 21). But I would argue that Solon's formal rules restricting *de jure* the connection of *nothoi* to the paternal family (see above) are also part of the same economic and social program and one step toward the distinctively Athenian system whose first principle was the integrity and continuity of individual Athenian *oikoi.* Just how large a step depends, as noted earlier, on how we interpret the crucial piece of evidence embedded in Aristophanes' *Birds* 1661–66 (above; and see further below). If, however, Solon did not completely cut off the *nothos* from the paternal *oikos,* he still articulated in legal language and in codified law the social and familial inferiority of the *nothos.* He set Athens on the path that led to the fifth-century law of, at the latest, 403 B.C., that "to the *nothos* and the *nothē* there is no *anchisteia,*" no familial right of inheritance (Dem. 43.51; Is. 6.47). Again, although concubinage itself was certainly not prohibited, laws that isolated the *nothos* from his paternal household would also have an effect on the nature and extent of concubinage. While some men in Classical Athens continued to maintain *pallakai* (e.g., Euktemon in Is. 6, or Philoneos in Antiphon, "Against the Stepmother"), they seem generally only to have kept concubines within the household if there was no wife present, and (in the fourth century at least) not generally for the sake of having children.[61]

60. See L. Gernet, "Mariages de tyrans," in *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1968) 344–59. The relationship between family structure and colonization is discussed by James McGlew, "Crime and Illegitimacy in Foundation Legend and History" (unpubl. ms.).

61. After divorcing his wife, Pericles lived with Aspasia, whom Plutarch, following Cratinus, calls a *pallakē* (*Per.* 24.6) and from whom he did have a *nothos* son—later declared legitimate and given the name Pericles. Pericles' ward, Alcibiades, on the other hand, outraged social convention and his wife by keeping *hetairai,* both *astai* and *xenai* according to Plutarch, in his house (*Alc.* 8.3). For the proper keeping of concubines in the fourth century, see the situation in Isaeus 6 and Menander's *Samia.* (The role of concubines in Menander's comedies has recently been studied by M. Henry, *Menander's Courtesans and the Greek Comic Tradition,* Studien zur Klassischen Philologie 20 [Frankfurt and New York, 1985]. An important observation of the book is the significant role of

Solon's legislation as a whole emphasized the essential unity of the household and its importance as a social and economic unity for the stability of the polis as a whole. I suggest that the Athenian wife was thereby both elevated to an unchallenged position as sole bearer of heirs for the *oikos* and also subordinated legally and economically to the *kyrios* of that *oikos,* her husband. An Athenian wife had no economic or legal independence in Classical Athens; her interests were represented by her *kyrios,* whether husband, brother, son, or father. We could say that the status of the woman as wife within the *oikos* was protected and elevated by Solon, while that of the woman as individual within the polis was limited and made dependent upon her male relatives or husband. This is the distinctive Athenian pattern, for which Solon seems in large part responsible.

What then was the political status of *nothoi* after Solon? (To speak of the "citizenship" of *nothoi*—or indeed of *gnēsioi*—before Solon is perhaps misleading or a misnomer in any case, since to a great extent Solon first established a real meaning for citizenship or "being an Athenian.") There is a general agreement that at least until Cleisthenes' reforms the Athenian phratries were the arbiters of Athenian citizenship, or, we could say, that members of Athenian *oikoi* accepted into Athenian phratries *were* Athenian citizens or shareholders.[62] There also seems to be general agreement that in the fifth and fourth centuries, the phratries insisted that their members be *gnēsioi* children of a phratry member and his "wife"—or at least that the phratry member swear that this was so.[63] And a *gnēsios,* as has been emphasized, was only the child of a woman entrusted by a male relative to her husband "for the purpose of (begetting) legitimate children."[64] A natural conclusion from these points of consensus is that legitimacy was a traditional requirement for phratry and polis membership from the time of Solon. Family membership or *anchisteia* was the basis of early polis membership, as the language of family participation, (μετέχειν ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων) was also that of political or polis inheritance (see, e.g., Dem. 39.35). An Athenian expressed membership in the community with the very concrete expression "to have a share in the polis" (μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως), which was a direct extension of sharing

concubines in Menander's family-oriented plots.) But even "proper" keeping of a concubine could lead to family tension, especially over the issue of the status of children if any happened to be born (see again the situation in the *Samia*). In a Greek marriage "contract" from Hellenistic Egypt (92 B.C.) the husband agrees not "to bring home for himself another wife" nor "to maintain a female concubine nor a little boyfriend" (tr. S. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* [New York, 1984] 88). On the status or identity of *pallakai,* see below and n. 80.

62. So, for example, Rhodes (above, n. 2) 91. MacDowell, however, disagrees, insisting on the separation of citizenship from both membership in a phratry and familial *anchisteia* (above, n. 2: 88; similarly, *The Law in Classical Athens* [London, 1978] 68).

63. See, e.g., Dem. 57.54. The father swears that the child is ἀστὸν ἐξ ἀστῆς ἐγγυητῆς . . . γεγενημένον. This point is agreed on by all authors cited in n. 2 above and seems indisputable.

64. Literally "for the *plowing* of legitimate children." The formula is regularly cited in Menander (e.g., *Sam.* 727, *Pk.* 1013–14), but as far as I know is not found in other sources. It is nonetheless generally taken as authentic and traditional.

in his or her family.[65] Therefore, if *nothoi,* the paternally recognized children of (usually) concubines, were excluded from the *anchisteia,* from rights of family inheritance—at least if there were *gnēsioi* children within the household—then they were also excluded from polis participation and membership.

This conclusion, however, still needs to be squared with Aristophanes' "law of Solon" and the Cleisthenic reforms; that is, what effect did the sixth-century history of Athens have upon family law and its relation to polis law? As it stands, Aristophanes' "quotation" fulfills its comic function; it utterly confuses poor Heracles while excluding him completely from his father Zeus's estate. By 403 B.C. at the latest, the *nothos* and *nothē* were completely excluded: νόθῳ μηδὲ νόθῃ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστείαν μήθ' ἱερῶν μήθ' ὁσίων 'απ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος (Is. 6.47, Dem. 43.51). Most likely this law is a reenactment or clarification of previously existing rules, just as, for example, the Periclean citizenship law was reenacted at the same time.[66] So we have a *terminus ante quem* but no certain date of enactment. It is possible that the total exclusion of the *nothoi* from the *anchisteia* is Solonian (as suggested by Humphreys);[67] on the other hand, allowing *nothoi* a place when there were no *gnēsioi* does not seem out of character for an Archaic lawgiver, given the still close connection between *nothos* and paternal *oikos* and also the concern that each *oikos* have an heir. (Compare the position of the adopted son in the Gortyn code, col. X.) So Wolff argued that the complete exclusion of *nothoi* was the work of Cleisthenes, not Solon. Cleisthenes, according to Wolff, sought to establish universal franchise while maintaining the religious and familial foundations of Athenian society: "it was necessary so to solidify the *oikos* as to prevent it from succumbing to the individualist tendencies which inevitably were promoted by the extension of the franchise."[68] This is clearly a theoretical argument, which cannot be taken as proving Wolff's case. It also runs up against Artistotle's statement that Cleisthenes left the *genē* and *phratriai* as they were (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, *Ath. Pol.* 21). Yet again, *if* the laws against *nothoi* were strengthened between the early sixth and late fifth century, then Wolff may be right about the date and context of the change. The fact that Pericles' law of 451/0, excluding those not born of two *astoi* from citizenship or "sharing in the polis," was popularly thought to be a law "about *nothoi*" (see below) strongly suggests that the complete exclusion of *nothoi* was already in effect by this time. It is perhaps then a reasonable guess—in the face of sheer lack of evidence—that Cleisthenes was the author of this exclusion.

Wolff, then, saw the developing democracy tightening the connection between *anchisteia* and *politeia*: citizenship was for everyone—everyone, that is, of legitimate birth within an Athenian family. Others, however, have interpreted

65. I have discussed the Athenian language of citizenship at greater length elsewhere: see above, nn. 20, 22.

66. Eumelos, *FGrHist* 77 F 2 = Schol. Aeschin. 1.39.

67. Cf. Humphreys (above n. 44).

68. Wolff, (above, n. 16) 90–91.

the impact of Cleisthenes' reorganization of Athens' political structure in quite another way. Aristotle's emphasis on Cleisthenes' deme organization and on the role of the deme in his own day (*Ath. Pol.* 21, 42) has led to the common assumption that deme membership replaced phratry membership as the condition for citizenship in Athens.[69] The next step is to argue that the demes did not require legitimacy of their members.[70] Thus, Cleisthenes' system brought about a *de facto* inclusion of *nothoi* in the citizen body.

Evidence of Cleisthenes' interest in such a change is found in Aristotle's cryptic comment in the *Politics* that Cleisthenes brought "many slaves and foreigners" into the polis (*Pol.* 1275^{b}36–37). Then, these "slaves and foreigners" are identified with those "not pure in birth" who had supported Peisistratos (*Ath. Pol.* 13.5) and were (presumably) excluded after the Peisistratids' fall. The pieces fall together: "not pure in birth" are the *nothoi,* to whom Cleisthenes restored citizenship.[71]

There are, however, some problems with this thesis and its supporting arguments. To take the latter argument first, it may be that *nothoi* did flock to Peisistratos as leader, including perhaps his own son Hegesistratos, and that such *nothoi* were *de facto* included in the new deme system devised by Cleisthenes. However, this does not mean that Cleisthenes (or Peisistratos) changed the relationship between polis and family membership, but only that his new system embraced, as potential heads of households and owners of Athenian land, those whom the old system had not. Certainly no one supposes that after Cleisthenes' reorganization the Athenians continued regularly to admit "slaves and foreigners" into the citizen body. If Cleisthenes and the Athenians did admit such people, it was clearly a one-time enactment and not a new principle of polis membership. Second, it is not clear that the demes did in fact waive the legitimacy requirement. The argument that they did so rests primarily on Aristotle's description of contemporary citizenship procedures in *Ath. Pol.* 42. Legitimacy *per se* is not mentioned, but citizens must be "free" (ἐλεύθεροι) and born "according to the laws" (κατὰ τοὺς νόμους). Although others disagree, I do not see why these *nomoi* should not *include* those limiting phratry or deme membership to *gnēsioi* offspring of Athenian households.[72] No extant ancient source quotes the oath required of fathers registering sons in the deme; the oaths that are

69. So M. H. Hansen (above, n. 30: 73) represents the *communis opinio.*

70. MacDowell, (above, n. 2) 89. The weakness of this step, depending almost entirely on the apparent absence of the legitimacy requirement in *Ath. Pol.* 42.1, is not often noted.

71. For the main elements of this argument, see Vernant (above, n. 38) 50–51, cf. Rhodes (above, n. 2) 92.

72. MacDowell (above, n. 2: 89) insists that κατὰ τοὺς νόμους does not mean "legitimately" but "according to the law"—i.e., the law requiring double Athenian parentage. However, if legitimacy was a customary requirement for membership in the Athenian family and polis, the phrase "according to the *laws*" could include both requirements. Cf. the comments of Lotze (above, n. 24) 176. Rhodes (above, n. 2) agrees with MacDowell on this point, but argues that Aristotle's silence on legitimacy is not decisive, since the *Ath. Pol.* contains numerous omissions on important points.

quoted are phratry oaths, which did include a statement of the new member's legitimacy.[73] It seems reasonable that the phratry would most likely have been the model for the organization of the new deme institutions.[74] In any case, given that we have no statement from antiquity that Cleisthenes changed the traditional relationship between family and polis membership—that is, that polis status depended on family status[75]—it seems rash to assume that he did so. Some *nothoi* may have become new Athenian heads of households as a result of Cleisthenes' reorganization of the Athenian polis; that is, some *nothoi* may have been registered as deme members in the canvassing of Attica necessary for the empaneling of Cleisthenes' new tribal council. But the status of future *nothoi* as a whole, I suggest, was not changed at this time, unless perhaps for the worse. *Nothoi* were not heirs of their fathers' households, and not eligible members of their fathers' phratries, and so, *de jure,* not members of the communal family of the polis. Informal inclusion in Athenian families and Athenian society—with a marginal status not legally defined but rather itself the product of new legal rules[76]—is of course entirely possible.

PERICLES' LAW "ON *NOTHOI*"

One of these new rules was the Periclean Law of 451/0 requiring dual Athenian parentage for "sharing in the city" (*Ath. Pol.* 26.4), which Plutarch referred to as a law περὶ νόθων (*Per.* 33). This, together with Aristophanes' more nearly contemporary (414 B.C.) comment that Heracles was a *nothos* because his mother was a *xenē* (i.e., a mortal in the realm of the gods; see above) and the reported decree of Aristophon in 403 that "whoever is not born of a citizen woman is a *nothos*" (Athenaios 577b–c), has led to the idea that in Classical, post-Periclean Athens, *nothos* had two different meanings: "born out of wedlock" and "born of a foreign mother."[77] And this in turn has been the basis for some rather elaborate arguments to the effect that these "different" *nothoi* had different status in the Athenian polis. The latter sort were not citizens by Pericles' law; the former were citizens if they were born from two Athenians, since Pericles' law does not (insofar as we know it) mention marriage or legitimacy, or since, as noted earlier, Aristotle does not mention legitimacy *per se.* K. R.

73. Walters' assertion (above, n. 2: 320) that an oath declaring the son's legitimacy was not part of the deme procedure is misleading. By his own admission (ibid. n. 17) the actual oath sworn at the deme ceremony is unknown. He has assumed that legitimacy was not part of the oath, again because Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 42.1) does not mention it.

74. I have argued this point elsewhere (above, n. 20: chap. 1).

75. On this point, see Rhodes (above, n. 2) 92.

76. In particular, the legal status of citizen and metic were more precisely defined in the first half of the fifth century. For metic status, see D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge, 1977); for citizenship, see Patterson (above, n. 20). As Lotze's title (above, n. 24) suggests, the *nothoi* fell between the defining lines of both.

77. See LSJ s.v. νόθος, and text, above. This view pervades the articles of Sealey and Walters (above, n. 2) in particular.

Walters has recently provided us with a logical analysis of the relation between Pericles' law, as reenacted in 403 on the proposal of Nikomenes (see above) and rephrased by him, and Aristophon's "law" noted earlier. He sets forth the two principles as follows: (1) if X is not born from a citizen mother then X is a foreigner (Pericles/Nikomenes/Walters); (2) if X is not born from a citizen mother then X is a bastard, *nothos* (Aristophon). He then instructs his readers that "the identity of the antecedents does not ensure that the consequents are coextensive," that is, that bastards *are* foreigners.[78] This is straightforward enough, but such logic does not *disprove* the claim that *nothoi* are not citizens, as Walters seems to think or at least wants his readers to think. Given these principles, it is still possible that the consequents coincide wholly or partly and that *nothoi* belong, in a general perspective, to the class of *xenoi.* More important, Walters' analysis does nothing to explain why this usage was adopted by the Athenians—why they would call the child of an alien woman, now to be denied a share in the polis, *nothos*—if prior to this law *nothoi* were "sharers in the city." The apparent popular perception that Pericles' law was about *nothoi* stems from the reduction of all foreign spouses to the level of *pallakai.* Thus, as argued earlier, Plutarch's and Aristophanes' usage suggest strongly that by 451/0 *nothoi* were completely excluded from the *anchisteia,* as the child of an alien was completely excluded from citizenship from this date forward.

Once again, I suggest that a proper understanding of *nothos* is the key to understanding Aristophanes' and Plutarch's usage. Emphasis on the idea that *nothos* means "out of wedlock" has resulted in taking the out of wedlock children of two Athenians as the central case at issue. In my view this is a red herring. The situation usually envisioned in discussions of *nothoi* is that of the child of adultery or premarital union (see, for example, Sealey's story of John Doe, John Roe, and John Doe's wife),[79] but the offspring of such unions are not typically called *nothoi. Nothoi* were the offspring of *pallakai* or concubines, who generally in Athens were of slave or foreign origin.[80] Positive evidence for this interpretation is the use of *nothos* in Athenian drama for characters such as Teukros (Sophocles' *Ajax*) or Hippolytus (Euripides' *Hippolytus*) and in historical writing for, in particular, the son of a Persian king or satrap's concubine (see above). Negative evidence is the absence of *nothos* in contexts of suspected adultery. So, according

78. Walters (above, n. 2) 322.

79. Sealey (above, n. 2) 127–28.

80. For some evidence on the identity of *pallakai* in Athens, see E. W. Bushala, "The Pallake of Philoneus," *AJP* 90 (1969) 65–72. Bushala's argument depends on his establishing that *pallakai* were often free women, since he wants to maintain, against common opinion, that Philoneus's *pallakē* was not a slave. Many of his examples suggest a freedwoman status. If an Athenian woman, due to the poverty of her family, became a *pallakē* for another Athenian, she would bear him *nothoi;* by assuming such a position she would also call into question her own and her family's ability to maintain themselves as members of the citizen elite. I do not think that Isa. 3.39, "those giving their women ἐπὶ παλλακίᾳ make agreements about the benefits for the παλλακαί," should be taken to indicate that this was a normal arrangement within the citizen class.

to Andocides, Callias first denied that Chrysilla's child was his legitimate son and then changed his mind and swore the opposite. In the former situation he did not say the child was *nothos;* he denied paternity completely.[81] In Demosthenes' speeches "Against Boiotos" (39, 40), Mantitheus insinuates that Boiotos is not legitimate and his mother is promiscuous, but he never suggests that Boiotos or Boiotos's brother is *nothos.* Plangon, their mother, was known to be a free, Athenian woman. Likewise in Menander's comedies (considerably later but revealing traditional Athenian family structures), premarital children are not called *nothoi.* Menander reserves that term for specific use in the sense argued for here. When Demeas thinks his concubine, Chrysis, has borne him a child, he says to his son, "Do you expect me to raise a *nothos*?" (*Samia* 135). In general, the child of an irregular union was simply "not *gnēsios*" or μὴ ὀρθῶς γεγενημένος (cf. Is. 3.12). *Nothoi* were also not *gnēsioi,* but had in addition a more specific identity. *Nothos,* a term with a venerable Homeric tradition, referred to the paternally acknowledged offspring of a union not contracted by the act of *enguē* (or other public bestowal) between parties of equal standing.

If we accept that this interpretation of *nothos* fits best its usage, then Plutarch's dubbing of Pericles' law as a law "about *nothoi*" (*Per.* 33) is not at all a "typical error,"[82] but an instructive reflection of popular response to Pericles' law. The citizenship law made all unions between Athenian and non-Athenian necessarily unequal. Athens was now an imperial ruling city and her citizen an imperial elite. Thus, using the language of family and inheritance, any union between an Athenian and non-Athenian could be at best *pallakia* and its offspring *nothoi.* We could say that Pericles' law created a new class of "public" or polis *nothoi,* whose relation to the public Athenian "family" was analogous to that of the private *nothos* to his paternal family. They had a connection with the polis but no membership, no "share," and no inheritance. Pericles' law as we know it did not legislate on familial legitimacy or phratry membership; it is not surprising that the law contains no mention of marriage or legitimacy—these were regulated κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. Rather, Pericles' law established a legitimacy requirement for the polis itself, and can be seen as part of the way in which the Classical Athenian polis structured itself on the model of the family as well as of the striking creation of an Athenian public identity in the mid-fifth century. Pericles' μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως and his law περὶ νόθων are examples of the appropriation by the polis of the language of family inheritance and membership.

81. See And. 1.126–27. A fragment of the comit poet Metagenes (late fifth, early fourth century) apparently concerns this child of Callias (fr. 13 Kock): "Who is a citizen these days unless Sakas the Mysian and the *nothos* of Callias?" As Cheryl Cox has pointed out (above, n. 30: 268–69), this should be added to the evidence against the citizenship of *nothoi.* I would also argue that Callias's son is *nothos* here, because he has a patronymic (Καλλίου) but is clearly not *gnēsios.* Although this son is apparently the product of an unusual sort of adultery—Callias and his wife's mother—that irregular birth is not called to mind by the use of *nothos,* but rather his irregular relationship to his father, Callias.

82. So Walters (above, n. 2) 334.

Whether or not Pericles' law made the marriage of an Athenian and a non-Athenian illegal after 451 is unclear. MacDowell assumes that the law did include such a prohibition ("the other clause" of Pericles' law),[83] but there is no direct evidence of it. However, if the "entrusting" of a non-Athenian woman to an Athenian man was still possible after 451, it allowed the potentially anomalous situation in which a son would be the legitimate heir to his father's (Athenian) property but not heir to public privilege, that is, not a citizen. He would be privately *gnēsios* but publicly *nothos*. This anomaly, in effect the splitting of *anchisteia* and *politeia,* probably led to the passing of laws against mixed unions, known from the later fourth century (see [Dem.] 59.16, 52) but possibly also in effect earlier. In any case, Pericles' law effectively discouraged the production of children in foreign unions; given the Athenian understanding of marriage as "living together for the sake of having children," this was also a strong discouragement of foreign "marriage."

Thus, I would argue, there is only one basic meaning of *nothos,* that is, the paternally recognized offspring of a mismatched or unequal union, which in Athens after 451/0 had both an *oikos* and a polis sense: "man and concubine" and "citizen and foreigner."[84] And just as the "private *nothos*" maintained a nominal connection to the paternal household, through his use of the patronymic, so the "public *nothoi*," the children of one Athenian parent, might have seemed not totally alien despite their lack of a formal citizen "share." Walters' insistence that within the distinction citizen and foreign "tertium quid non datur" ignores the possibility of an informal social recognition of such a marginal status.[85] Perhaps the interest in or sympathy for the new public *nothoi,* created at least potentially by the Periclean law,[86] sparked a reexamination of the private *nothoi* of myth and legend. It seems to me just possible that when

83. *Law* (above, n. 62) 67.

84. Aristotle's use of *nothos* in the *Politics* in connection with different criteria for citizenship in democracies (1278^{a}29, 1319^{b}9) can perhaps be seen as reflecting this double Athenian usage. In the first passage he says that in some democracies the child of a female citizen is a *politēs* and "likewise in regard to *nothoi.*" *Nothoi* here are those born from foreign, rather than citizen mothers—the Periclean meaning of the term. Such rules result, according to Aristotle, from a lack of γνήσιοι πολῖται. A *gnēsios politēs* then is a legitimate member of the polis family. The term is used in a political rather than familial sense. In the second passage, Aristotle comments that a democracy tends to increase the size of the demos, admitting not only *gnēsioi,* but also *nothoi* and those ἐξ ὁποτερουοῦν πολίτου Hannick (above, n. 30: 135) takes *nothoi* here as unquestionably the illegitimate children of citizen parents. Although this is admittedly a natural way to read this passage, the last phrase may simply indicate a further widening of the circle to include those who have one citizen parent, whatever the nature of the union or sex of the citizen parent.

85. Walters (above, n. 2) 319.

86. The *nothos* who comes immediately to mind is the son of Pericles himself and Aspasia (see Plut. *Per.* 14.6, quoting Eupolis). This son was later "legitimated" in both the private and public sense by the demos's allowing him to take the name Pericles and enter his father's phratry. At that time Pericles had no remaining *gnēsioi* sons (see Plut. *Per.* 37.5–6). According to G. Cimino ("Il problema dei nothoi e il filopericleismo erodoteo in Hdt. 1, 173," *ASNP* 6 [1976] 9–14), Hdt. 1.173 on the matrilineal Lycians was written with this *nothos* in mind.

Teukros insists, in the face of Agamemnon's taunts, that although *nothos* he is "*aristos* born from two *aristoi*" (*Ajax* 1304), the Athenian audience would have remembered Pericles' law: "no one shall have a share in the city who is not born from two *astoi*" (*Ath. Pol.* 26.4).

THE *NOTHOI* OF KYNOSARGES

If then, *nothoi* are a specifically recognized class of "bastards with fathers," or "bastards with families," the peculiar Athenian *synteleion* or cult association of *nothoi* at the Kynosarges gymnasium, mentioned in scattered Athenian sources,[87] cannot be understood as an association of any and all bastards. Rather, with Heracles *nothos* as its patron hero,[88] it ought to have been a place for those of mixed descent and marginal status to participate in civic organization and perhaps recruitment.[89] The history of the organization is difficult to determine. Plutarch (*Themistocles* 1) says that Themistocles as *nothos* trained there (and encouraged upper-class non-*nothoi* to join him); this, however, can be seen as anachronistic since, as is often noted, "Themistocles was not a *nothos*"[90]—meaning presumably that Themistocles' mother, even if a Thracian, was married or entrusted to his father according to Athenian custom (cf. Herodotus 6.126–30 on the marriage of Agariste and Megacles).

The first clear association of Kynosarges with *nothoi* (apart from perhaps Heracles himself) is in a decree proposed by Alcibiades, partly quoted by Athenaios (4.234e) on the authority of Polemon and said to be inscribed on a stele standing in the Herakleion at Kynosarges: "The priest is to sacrifice the monthly offerings with the *parasitoi*. These are to be appointed from among the *nothoi* and their sons according to tradition" (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια). However, by the time of Demosthenes' oration "Against Aristocrates" the special cult association no longer existed: Charidemos "is enrolled among the *nothoi* in Oreus, just as the *nothoi* were once enrolled at Kynosarges here" (23.213).[91]

On the basis of this minimal evidence, S. C. Humphreys has suggested that the association of *nothoi* was a short-lived reaction to the Periclean citizenship

87. The main sources are: Polemon fr. 78 Preller (Athenaios 234e); Dem. 23.213; Plut. *Them.;* for discussion, see Humphreys (above, n. 44). Also interesting, particularly for the post-Classical use of the gymnasium at Kynosarges, are: H. L. Versnel, "Philip II and Kynosarges," *Mnemosyne* 26 (1973) 273–79; and J. Bremmer, "ΕΣ ΚΥΝΟΣΑΡΓΕΣ," *Mnemosyne* 30 (1977) 369–74.

88. Heracles is *nothos* in Aristophanes' *Birds* (1651). How far back this idea (perhaps part of the comic character of Heracles) goes is unclear. In the *Apology* (27d8) Plato refers generally to the children of a god and a mortal as *nothoi.*

89. Whether they served with their fathers' tribes or like the metics in a special contingent, it is unlikely that the *nothoi* were not recruited.

90. See, e.g., Humphreys (above, n. 44) 88: "Modern historians are on the whole agreed that Themistocles was not a *nothos.*"

91. It is interesting that Charidemos's mother is said to be a πολῖτις of Oreus, his father's origin unknown. Thus, Charidemos's status at Oreus apparently depends on his mother, suggesting that if the mother had the higher status, the *nothos* child would be identified with her rather than his or her father.

law. On the assumption that the law affected all future deme admissions, and that it was aimed at "the aristocratic practice of contracting marriage alliances with leading families in other states,"[92] she suggested that in the 430s a now-disenfranchised group of young "upper-class" *nothoi* adopted the gymnasium as their social center and Heracles as their patron. But by the time of Demosthenes, when as Humphreys sees it the circumstances of Pericles' law had receded in memory, *nothos* simply meant "child of a prostitute," and no one would therefore proudly claim to be part of an association of *nothoi.*

Although Humphreys' account is plausible in a number of respects,[93] other reconstructions seem possible. The *synteleion* could extend back into the sixth century (perhaps κατὰ τὰ πάτρια should suggest something before the 430s), with its constituents taken from the ranks of those *nothoi* excluded from the family and polis by Solon's law. As a well-known Athenian *not* born from two Athenian parents, Themistocles may have become associated with the cult and *synteleion* in later tradition.[94] Further, Humphreys' idea that the *synteleion* was adopted by defiant and proud upper-class *nothoi* remains a more or less plausible hypothesis, depending on whether one accepts the notion that foreign marriages where characteristic of the Athenian upper class in the mid-fifth century.[95] The specific historical evidence on the *synteleion* is that Alcibiades took an interest in its organization and maintenance. And Alcibiades, after sacking Melos, took a Melian woman as his concubine and reared her son within his household ([And.] 4.22; Plut. *Alc.* 16). A story with Homeric overtones, to be sure! Indeed, we might suppose that in the decree recorded by Polemon, Alcibiades was attempting to bolster a largely obsolete institution. When Athens was a ruling democratic and imperial polis, the advantages of a proper Athenian marriage were notable—and the disadvantages of keeping a *pallakē* with the resulting *nothos* status for her offspring were distinct and pronounced. Athenian men might continue to keep *pallakai,* but, as suggested earlier, not usually in addition to or together with a wife, and not primarily for the purpose of having children (cf. [Dem.] 59.122, Men. *Sam.* 130). *Nothoi,* as marginal persons in a political world characterized by increasing emphasis on the gap between insider *astos* and outsider *xenos,* would have found it difficult to maintain a strong presence. Given

92. Humphreys (above, n. 44) 92–94; quotation from p. 94.

93. I am inclined to agree that, at least in the case of Pericles' law, enforcement of the dual parentage rule was for all future admissions to the demes—as well as phratries. However, I do not agree that *nothos* meant simply and pejoratively "child of a prostitute" in Demosthenes' day. While a gradual collapsing of the distinction between *nothoi* and children of ordinary prostitutes or *hetairai* would have naturally resulted from the exclusion of *nothoi* from polis and *oikos* through the course of sixth and fifth centuries, *nothos* could still be used in its more specific sense in the later Classical period: see n. 43, 105.

94. Humphreys (above, n. 44) 88

95. We simply do not know of prominent Athenians marrying foreign women at this time—that phenomenon belongs in the mid- to late sixth century. See Patterson (above, n. 20) 99–100, and Cox (above, n. 30) 234–35.

the tendency of later fifth-century Athens to isolate its members as a ruling elite, it is not surprising that the *synteleion* of marginal Athenians vanished.[96]

THE PHILOSOPHIC AND DRAMATIC RESPONSE (IN BRIEF)

If the actual historical *nothoi* vanished or retreated into the institutional woodwork at the end of the fifth century,[97] the idea of the *nothos* did not. In this concluding section I want to look very briefly at some of the ways in which the *nothos* status or identity was taken up and extended in meaning by Euripides and the Socratic philosophers as an evocative vehicle for social criticism and reflection. Was "good" or "straight" birth the only way to virtue? Did a homogeneous background necessarily produce good citizens or men? Or, on the model of heroes' births, was mixture perhaps productive of something better than the offspring of homogeneous unions? The *nothos* was not the only one affected by Athenian exclusivity, but his peculiar marginal status made him a particularly effective symbol.

Sophocles' Teukros, as noted earlier, protested that even if *nothos* he was "an *aristos* born from two *aristoi*" (*Ajax* 1304). His claim is borne out by his loyalty to his family and by his insistence on burying his half-brother Ajax—a striking commitment from someone who in contemporary Athens would be excluded from both the privilege and obligations of family and polis membership! Sentiments similar to Teukros's are expressed in a fragment from Sophocles' *Aleadai* (*TRGF* IV F 87):[98] "*Q.*: 'Has a *nothos* the same clout as *gnēsioi*?' *A.*: 'Everything worthwhile has a *gnēsia* nature.' " How can birth alone produce political virtue? Are not the circumstances of birth merely a matter of convention?

While Sophocles seems to have suggested that a *nothos* could be a good citizen and family member, Euripides went a step further in isolating the ironies inherent in Athenian exclusivity. How, he seems to ask, could a polis whose myths celebrated its reception of foreigners—and whose own mythical founding hero, Theseus, was on any account a bastard who fathered a bastard son of his own—insist on a principle of exclusively Athenian and legitimate birth? The *Hippolytus* presents the Potiphar's Wife theme with a Euripidean Athenian twist: Hippolytus is a *nothos* (369, 1083) son of Theseus, residing within the paternal household, who only at the end of the play is recognized as a true son,

96. Informal associations of self-styled social misfits continued to gather at Kynosarges: see Versnel (above, n. 87); and text below.

97. It is important to note, however, that in 403 *nothoi* were still a legally recognized and identifiable group, as evidenced in the decree of Theozotides, which excluded orphans who were *nothoi* or *poiētoi* from state support (Lysias fr. 6 Gernet and Bizos; R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 [1971] 280–301). Again, this might be taken logically as suggesting that *nothoi* were citizens—otherwise why make a point of excluding them? A better solution, however, is to recognize that *nothoi* were an anomaly within the developed Athenian legal structure, whose existence both could not be ignored and necessitated laws such as this one or those on inheritance.

98. ὁ δὴ νόθος τις γνησίοις ἴσον σθένει? / ἅπαν τὸ χρηστὸν γνησίαν ἔχει φύσιν. By using "clout" here in a colloquial way, I intend to indicate the social/political sense of σθένει.

by nature if not convention. Likewise in the *Andromache,* social convention is turned on its head. Andromache, who used to suckle Hector's *nothoi* (224), now is the "war-bride" concubine of Neoptolemos, the son of the man who killed her husband; in fact, she has borne him his own *nothos* son in νόθοισι λέκτροις (928), who will be, the play reveals, the sole heir to the house of Peleus. Andromache, *pallakē* and foreigner, provides the house of Peleus with an heir, while Hermione, the barren wife of Neoptolemos, attempts to destroy that heir. If marriage is cohabitation for the sake of having children and heirs, then who is the true wife in Neoptolemos's household?

The play, however, that shows most clearly Euripides' interest in the problems and ambiguities of legitimacy, bastardy, and mixture is the *Ion.*[99] Ion is the son of Creusa, princess of the royal Athenian family, and of Apollo, the god who seized and raped her in a cave beneath the Acropolis. Creusa exposed the child in the same cave where she also gave birth alone; without her knowledge, the child was then taken up by Hermes (on Apollo's order) and brought to Delphi, where he grew up as a temple servant. Meanwhile, Creusa married the Euboean Xuthos as a special kind of "war bride," since she was his reward for aiding the Athenians in war.[100] The couple is childless, and when in the course of the play they journey to Delphi to seek advice from the oracle, Xuthos is told that the first person he meets upon leaving the sanctuary is in fact his son. This turns out to be Ion. Xuthos, whose most obvious trait is perhaps insensitivity, is not bothered by the question of who Ion's mother might be,[101] but enthusiastically prepares to celebrate his "birth" and take him back to Athens as heir. Ion, however, does not believe that his irregular origins can be so easily overcome. Realizing the disabilities of such mixed and irregular birth in democratic Athens, he says: "They say that the Athenians, famous and autochthonous, are not an alien people; I shall come here having two defects [νόσω], being the son of a foreign father and being *nothagenēs*" (589–92). Not only is he *nothos* (as he thinks, the recognized son of Xuthos and a woman of inferior status), but he is a *nothos* son of a *foreign* father.[102]

99. If produced in the years immediately preceding or following the oligarchic revolution of 411 (so T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* [London, 1967] 5; cf. D. J. Conacher, *Euripidean Drama* [Toronto, 1967] 273–75), the play might reflect the intense contemporary interest in the question, Who is an Athenian citizen?

100. This may be a veiled reference to the Athenian grant of *epigamia* to the Euboeans (Lys. 34.3). The date and exact intent of that grant, however, remain uncertain. Throughout the play, Euripides emphasizes Xuthos's foreignness (e.g., 591) as against the earth-born nativeness of Creusa and Ion.

101. Note the Athenian joke: when Ion suggests that perhaps the earth is his mother, Xuthos replies, "No one is born from the earth!" (542).

102. Euripides thus puts Athenian myth to the test of Athenian law. The point is not that Ion will be *nothos,* but that his legitimation by Xuthos will cause resentment. A. Burnett has, however, a more complicated view of Ion's position. Arguing that by Athenian law Xuthos must have been adopted by Erechtheus in order to marry the *epiklēros* Creusa, and that as an adopted son he could not adopt a son as heir, she suggests that Ion was treated as a *nothos* son of Xuthos, and legitimized

Further, Creusa is not at all happy with the oracle's words, and encouraged by the rabidly exclusive *paidagōgos* she decides to kill this foreign intruder. The plot fails, and the situation has reached the brink of disaster when the priestess of Apollo, Ion's foster mother, finally steps in to restore order. With the aid of birth tokens, mother and son are reunited. It is at this point that Ion asks his mother about his parentage: Was he a νόθον παρθένευμα (1472)? In this idiosyncratic Euripidean construction, the unmarried but royal woman has a child who is both *partheneuma* (= *parthenios*) and *nothon,* since whether we think of Apollo, the true father, or of some lesser mortal (as does Ion), the union is clearly unequal. In the latter case, Ion is *nothos* with a known and aristocratic mother, as opposed to the more usual situation, where the father was of higher status (cf. Dem. 23.213).

All is well that ends well, however, and by the end of the play Creusa has her son and Athens its king, while Xuthos still is innocent of the whole truth. The audience, however, through their double mythical/contemporary perspective, would perhaps have seen Ion as doubly legitimate and doubly *nothos.* He is in fact (or in myth) the most legitimate descendant of Erichthonios and the rightful king of Athens, and yet also *nothos,* as was Heracles, or other heroes or demigods. On the human plane he is declared the legitimate son of Xuthos and Creusa, yet again is *nothos* as either (as Xuthos thinks) the acknowledged son of Xuthos and some unspecified Delphic girl or, in the contemporary Athenian realm, as the child of an Athenian and a foreigner (even if an "adopted" one).

Whatever else Euripides is doing in this play,[103] two points are relevant here. First, he exposes the ironies of Athenian social conventions and pretensions. *Nothoi* or bastards were outside the family and polis structure, yet at crucial moments were essential to its creation. The *nothos* is someone with a special status, which could be inferior—as Ion imagined he would be as "bastard" son of Xuthos—or superior, as Ion is in fact as "bastard" son of Apollo and Creusa. *Nothoi* are necessary both for the self-definition of the Athenian polis and for its mythical origins. Where would Athens be without Theseus, or the Ionians without Ion, or all of Greece without Heracles, the greatest bastard of them all?

Second, Euripides began to extend the use of *nothos* beyond the specific

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because there were no *gnēsioi* (*Ion:* A Translation and Commentary [Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974] 75). However, as argued in the text, this qualification on the exclusion of *nothoi* no longer applied in the late fifth century. If Ion's position is going to be scrutinized in terms of contemporary law, then as *nothos* he had no share in *anchisteia.* But like the *nothos* of Callias, he became *gnēsios* when Xuthos declared him so.

The question is not one of adoption; technically *nothoi* were probably excluded from adoption: see Wolff (above, n. 16) 79–80; *contra,* Harrison (above, n. 14) 68. This issue has again been obscured because of focus on "nothoi whose parents were both Athenian" (Harrison 68).

103. On the *Ion,* see esp. C. Wolff, "The Design and Myth in Euripides' *Ion,*" *HSCP* 69 (1965) 169 ff.; C. Whitman, *Euripides and the Full Cycle of Myth* (Cambridge, 1974); A. Burnett, *Catastrophe Survived* (Oxford, 1971) 101–29; A. Saxonhouse, "Myth and the Origin of Cities," in *Greek Tragedy and Political Theory* ed. P. Euben (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986).

traditional and Homeric sense, with such expressions as *notha lektra* (*Andr.* 928) or *nothon partheneuma* (*Ion* 1473). Now the bed of Andromache can itself be *nothon,* party to an unequal union, and the child of an unmarried "maiden," the *partheneuma,* can also be *nothon,* a pairing of terms that might not have been understandable in an earlier time and that may suggest some ironic playing with the situation in which Creusa is a princess who is raped by Apollo and given as a special kind of "war bride" to Xuthos. What Euripides began, Plato continued, extending further the metaphorical range of the old Homeric adjective. So in the *Republic* Plato speaks of *nothai* pleasures (587c), in the *Laws* of *nothē* education (741a), and in the *Timaeus* of *nothos* reason (52b). In each case, what is *nothos* is not false or even "illegitimate" but rather inappropriately put together or formed, as a *nothē* pleasure results when a part of the soul does not keep to its own proper task.[104] Plutarch's usage is often similarly (Platonically) metaphorical, as when he speaks of a flatterer as a debased and *nothos* friend (*Mor.* 65.A11-B1) or, in his "Dialogue on Love," of the passion for women as a feminine and *nothos* eros, "which ought to be enrolled in the women's quarters just as [*nothoi*] at Kynosarges" (750F5–6). As this last example indicates, the literal and legal meaning of *nothos* was not forgotten, and Plutarch also frequently uses the word in that older way (e.g., as already noted, *Sol.* 22, *Them.* 1, *Per.* 37; see also *Thes.* 17, *Alex.* 9–10).

Plato also could use the term more literally, as when in the *Laws* he forbade the "sowing of *notha spermata* in concubines" (841d4). But perhaps the best illustration of both the metaphorical use of *nothos* together with its persistent Homeric core is Plato's account of the "marriage" of Miss Philosophia. Imagine, says Socrates, a "small and bald tinker who has come into some money and, just released from jail, has taken a bath, put on a new cloak, and is got up like a bridegroom to marry the boss' daughter because of her poverty and loneliness" (*Republic* 495e, tr. Grube). "What sort of children will that marriage produce?" he asks. "Surely *notha* and inferior [φαῦλα]," he answers himself.[105] Euripides

104. A. E. Taylor (*A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* [Oxford, 1962] 343–45) comments extensively on the νόθος λογισμός of the *Timaeus.* Putting together his comments with the arguments of this paper, it would seem that Plato has carefuly chosen νόθος to describe the peculiar kind of reason that apprehends the eternal space (χώρα) that "provides a home for all created things" (52b, tr. Jowett). The λογισμός thus takes its adjective from the mixed character of what it apprehends. So Plato extends νόθος into the realm of metaphysics.

105. Plato, *Rep.* 461b. Note that here the woman (Philosophia) is of higher status than the man: one would say that the offspring are her *notha;* cf. Charidemos's status in Oreus (Dem. 23.213).

Lucian, among other authors, makes noteworthy use of νόθος. He uses it technically (Eubiotos, *nothos* brother of Leukanor: *Tox.* 51.19) or metaphorically (the moon's light is stolen and *nothos: Icar.* 20.15), but most interesting for present purposes is Lucian's use of νόθος in the "Assembly of the Gods" (13.1), a dialogue that seems to present a parody of the passing of Pericles' citizenship law. Momus is enraged over the entry into Olympus of foreign and *nothoi* gods—i.e, those born of a mortal parent, like Heracles. He proposes, with all due Athenian formality, that all those unlawfully enrolled be expelled. Because of τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πινόντων, he says, there is a shortage of nectar in Olympus! Compare *Ath. Pol.* 26.4, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν.

also anticipated later usage, most particularly that of the Socratic circle, in his interest in what might be called the "heroic *nothos.*" On the first point, Socrates himself in the *Apology* seems to play with the notion of being a *nothos,* a heroic sort of person (as well as a social misfit) with a mission as well as labors (22a7).[106] And it is clear that the Socratic Antisthenes, an undisputed *nothos,* took a special interest in Heracles, Cyrus, and other people of "mixed breed," saying among other things, "even the gods had a Phrygian mother" (D.L. 6.1). We know also that Antisthenes and the cynic Diogenes established "schools" in Kynosarges. The official *synteleion* of *nothoi* disappeared, but self-proclaimed *nothoi,* like Antisthenes or Diogenes, continued to gather there.[107] Thus *nothos,* as a term describing someone who stood at the margins of (and perhaps at times above) political society, became a model for the relationship of the philosopher to the political community in which he lived. Despite, however, heroic assertions (by Antisthenes and others) of the irrelevance of parentage or the superiority of mixed birth, the more common view and metaphor by the mid-fourth century was that *nothos* implied a debased and inferior nature because of an impure or debased union. What then might have been the response of Philip, king of Macedon and scion of Heracles, when the Athenians set up *his* statue at Kynosarges?[108]

CONCLUSION

Given the length and range of this paper, a brief summary of its conclusions seems appropriate here.

1. In its first attested use in the *Iliad, nothos* is an adjective with a specific meaning: the *nothos* son (or daughter) is the child of a man, typically a hero or king, and a concubine, usually a purchased slave or a woman bought or won in war. While the *nothos/ē* is recognized as such by his or her father and bears a patronymic, he or she has inferior inheritance rights as against the *gnēsios* or legitimate child.

2. The common pairing of terms "*nothos* and *gnēsios*" in reference to children indicates that children were generally recognized by their father as either *gnēsios* or *nothos,* not that *all* children were either one or the other. Children not recognized or without known fathers are simply not legitimate, not *gnēsios.*

3. Athenian inheritance law formalized the distinction between *gnēsios* and *nothos* offspring and took the decisive step of excluding the *nothos* from the *anchisteia,* the "nearest kin" entitled to inherit family property. Athenian law focused on *nothoi* not because they were the only nonlegitimate offspring who

106. For this motif, see D. Clay, "Socrates' Mulishness and Heroism," *Phronesis* 17 (1972) 53–60.

107. D.L. 6.1.13.

108. See Versnel (above, n. 87).

did not inherit, but because as paternally recognized offspring their case was the most problematic.

4. Because they were excluded formally from the *anchisteia* of the Athenian family, *nothoi* were also excluded from participation in the Athenian polis. The precise chronology of this exclusion is unclear, but it began formally with Solon and was completed by, I have suggested, the mid-fifth century. Athens, unlike Rome, did not separate legitimate family from legitimate polis membership.[109]

5. This formal exclusion may still have left *nothoi* with some informal claim to membership in both family and community. We should not exaggerate the extent to which Athenian society conformed to formal, legal structures.

6. Pericles' law of 451/0, termed by Plutarch a law "about *nothoi*" and establishing that anyone who did not have two citizen parents (*astoi*) would not share in the polis, was couched in the language of family membership. Athens was now an elite ruling "family" of Athenian families, in which someone born of only one Athenian parent would be at best a *nothos*. *Nothos,* like *metechein* ("to have a share") and *poiein* ("to adopt; to make [a citizen]), had from this point both an *oikos* and a polis reference.

7. Finally, although in later Classical writers *nothos* acquired a more general meaning of "base" or "spurious" (see LSJ s.v.) the original and more technical (in regard to inheritance) meaning persisted. And some philosophers and/or social misfits in later years proudly claimed that their relationship to the polis was precisely that of the *nothos*. Perhaps it was at this time that *Es Kynosarges!* became another way of saying *Es Korakas!*

APPENDIX: ISAEUS OR. 3 AS EVIDENCE FOR THE IDENTITY AND STATUS OF *NOTHOI* IN ATHENS

The status of Phile, a claimant to the estate of Pyrrhos in Isaeus *Or.* 3, has traditionally been central to the controversy over *nothoi* in Athens. Is Phile both *nothē* and the wife of an Athenian citizen? Does this "fact" establish that *nothoi* were citizens in Athens? Since the case is complex and the speaker clever, I have reserved detailed discussion for this appendix.

Isaeus *Or.* 3 is usually referred to as "On the Estate of Pyrrhos," although technically the case concerns a charge of false testimony in regard to that estate. The speaker is the son of Pyrrhos's sister. Before his death Pyrrhos had adopted another nephew, the speaker's brother, named Endios. Endios inherited the estate and possessed it for some twenty years without (it seems) opposition. However, he never married and produced no heir for the estate; and when he

109. See, e.g., W. W. Buckland, *A Text-book of Roman Law*[2] (Cambridge, 1932) 99, 105 n. 2; cf. the rule quoted by Quintilian in regard to an inheritance *controversia:* "Nothus ante legitimum natus, legitimus filius sit, post legitimum tantum civis" (3.3.96; cf. 7.7.10). On this *controversia,* see also n. 4 above.

died, the property (valued at three talents) was claimed by Pyrrhos's sister, represented by the speaker, and also by a certain Xenocles on behalf of his wife Phile, who was—he claimed—the legitimate daughter of Pyrrhos. Pyrrhos's sister, through her son, maintained that Phile was not legitimate and so had no place in the *anchisteia,* those family members with inheritance rights. She was not, therefore, the *epiklēros* of Pyrrhos's estate.

The concern of the speaker in Isaeus *Or.* 3 is to show that Phile's maternal uncle, Nikodemos, was guilty of false testimony when he stated that he "entrusted" (ἐγγυῆσαι, 4, 9, 16 *et passim*) his sister to Pyrrhos, so making her Pyrrhos's wife and the bearer of legitimate heirs to his estate.[110] The point is clearly crucial to the case. It is difficult, however, to prove the lack of proper marriage in Athens, especially when there were those willing to swear that it had occurred. The speaker tries to discredit the witnesses, but uses primarily arguments from probability intended to convince the jury how unlikely it was that Nikodemos ever so entrusted his sister or that Pyrrhos ever received her. Why did he not provide a dowry for his sister? he asks (28–38). Surely Nikodemos was not so unconcerned with property and money—since, the speaker adds, he hopes to receive money for his false testimony. Surely, he says, Nikodemos would have obtained more and better witnesses if he actually had made such an impressive marriage alliance (18–27). The speaker even attempts to undermine the testimony of Pyrrhos's uncles: "It appears to me, judging from probabilities, that Pyrrhos would have been much more likely to wish to keep the matter secret from all his friends, if he was meditating the making of a contract or the commission of an act discreditable to his family, rather than summon his own uncles as witnesses of so outrageous an act of folly" (27, Loeb tr.).

Why would such a marriage be so discreditable? The speaker has carefully laid the groundwork for this claim in the opening sections of the speech, where he claims that Phile's mother was a promiscuous woman, available to all who wanted her. The evidence is less than overwhelming: neighbors spoke of serenades and wild parties (13–14). The speaker's claim that Phile's mother "has not borne a child to any other man" (13) is apparently intended to imply that Phile's mother had always acted the part of a prostitute—not a wife, who by definition was the bearer of children (see above). The claim also casts doubt on Phile's own origins. Whose child was she?

The opening sections of the speech, therefore, are crucial to the success of the whole. The jurors will be more likely to accept the speaker's arguments from probability if Phile's mother is seen as a completely disreputable woman. Even if Pyrrhos became infatuated with such a woman, he would never have married her; in addition, the speaker insinuates that Phile may not even be his own daughter. It is notable that in this part of the argument the speaker does not term

110. On the *enguēsis* see [Dem.] 46.18; and text above.

Phile a *nothē;* rather she is simply a woman μὴ ὀρθῶς γεγενημένη (12), and her mother a loose woman, the common property of whatever man wanted her (11).

Despite, however, the all-out attack on the character of Phile's mother, it seems clear that Phile did have a place in Pyrrhos's household and that her given name was Cleitarete, the name of her paternal grandmother (34).[111] Did she also have a claim to his estate?

The speaker's strongest argument against Phile's claim is the question he puts to Nikodemos midway through the speech: Why did he not object to the adoption of Endios, the adjudication of the estate to Endios, and the marriage of Phile to Xenocles, a complete stranger (40–53)? Such a failure to act, asserts the speaker, made Phile a *nothē* (41)—the first use of that term in this speech—because it implicitly excluded her from the *anchisteia.* Accordingly, on the speaker's accounting, Phile was given (*enguasthai*) to Xenocles as the child of a *hetaira* (ὡς ἐξ ἑταίρας). He insists repeatedly on this description (e.g., 45, 48, 52, 55), and usually it is taken at face value. I doubt, however, that we should trust the speaker on this point. He has tried his best to disassociate Phile from her paternal family, but cannot escape the fact that, even setting aside the witnesses to her parents' marriage and her own naming, Phile *was* given in marriage by the appropriate male member of her family, her cousin and adopted brother Endios. Her husband and guardians had testified that Endios gave her as his γνησίαν ἀδελφήν (58). Given the strong assumption that Phile did belong to Pyrrhos's family, the best the speaker can do is insist that her failure to assert her claim earlier is an indication that she is *nothē,* lacking any right to inheritance. The repeated phrase ὡς ἐξ ἑταίρας might also have the effect of recalling to the jury's mind the earlier description of her mother's character.

If, however, Phile was *nothē,* and if the laws recorded in [Demosthenes] *Or.* 59 (16, 52), prohibiting marriage between the *astos/ē* and *xenē/os,* were in force at the time of Phile's marriage,[112] then it could be argued that *nothoi* were *astoi* and citizens—since the speaker never says that the marriage was illegal. On the other hand, if the marriage was in fact illegal (i.e., the laws were in force and Phile was not an *astē*), the speaker might not want to emphasize it, since his own brother had given Phile in marriage. Finally, the Demosthenic laws are concerned with marriages to outright *xenoi;* as Rhodes has noted, Phile's status was more ambiguous and not really addressed by those laws.[113] Thus, Phile's marriage, even if she was a *nothē,* is not as decisive as it has been taken to be.[114]

But is it clear in the end that Phile is *nothē?* There are in fact other explanations than being *nothé* for her failure to claim Pyrrhos's estate earlier. First, as

111. The uncles testified that this name was given her at the tenth-day ceremony. The speaker attempts to use the discrepancy in the names as evidence against the uncles' testimony, but surely Phile could have been a familiar or childhood name.

112. This usually is taken for granted; an exception is Lotze (above, n. 24) 173.

113. Rhodes (above, n. 2) 91.

114. E.g., by MacDowell (above, n. 2) 89–90.

Wyse pointed out long ago,[115] Phile was very young at the time of Pyrrhos's death and so could have been passed over in favor of Endios. Later, since Endios did not marry, she (and Xenocles) may have been content to wait their turn. Otherwise, Xenocles risked losing both his wife and her anticipated inheritance, since as *epikléros* she would be married to her male next of kin.[116] Second, it may be that the citizen status of Phile's maternal family was in dispute. The speaker makes good use of the fact that Nikodemos only escaped conviction for *xenia* by four votes. Until this was settled, Phile's family may have been reluctant to pursue her case.

In sum, many things can happen on the way to a division or devolution of family property, and Isaeus *Or.* 3 should not be read naively as a direct reflection of Athenian marriage or inheritance law. The peculiar situation of Phile, her family, and her marriage are "most likely" not just as the speaker describes them. The speech does not prove that *nothoi* were citizens, because (1) it is not clear that Phile really was *nothē,* and (2) if she was *nothē* or *ex hetairas,* it is not clear that her marriage to Xenocles was technically legal. He, at any rate, thought she was legitimate. But, in the midst of all this obfuscation of fact and status, the speaker uses the term *nothē* carefully and consistently (41, 58) to indicate a daughter without a place in the *anchisteia.* As a daughter of Pyrrhos so far without inheritance, Phile is *de facto* a *nothē.* Whether or not that is her rightful status is another question.

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115. Wyse (above, n. 1) 276.

116. On the circumstance in which an *epiklēros* was claimed by her paternal next of kin, see Wyse (above, n. 1) 275–76.

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The Power of Excess: Royal Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty

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Abstract: The Greco-Macedonian dynasty of the Ptolemies, which ruled Egypt from 322 until 30 BCE, established early on a practice of incestuous marriage in the royal house. This custom, which may have had a number of pragmatic functional purposes, was on a more profound level symbolic of royal power. But royal incest, as practised by the Ptolemies, was only one of a larger set of behaviours, all of which were symbolic of power, and all of which were characterized by lavishness, immoderation, excess and the breaching of limits in general.

Keywords: incest, marriage, Ptolemy, Cleopatra, power, excess

Résumé : Les Ptolémées, dynastie gréco-macédonienne qui régna sur l'Egypte de l'an 322 à l'an 30 av. J.-C., avaient très tôt établi la pratique du mariage incestueux dans la maison royale. Si cette pratique résultait probablement de plusieurs objectifs pragmatiques et fonctionnels, elle symbolisait surtout, à un niveau plus profond, l'étendue du pouvoir royal. L'inceste royale, telle que la pratiquaient les Ptolémées, ne représentait cependant qu'un comportement parmi tant d'autres qui symbolisaient collectivement leur pouvoir et se caractérisaient par le luxe, l'immodération, l'excès et la violation des règles de façon générale.

Mots-clés : inceste, mariage, Ptolémée, Cléopâtre, pouvoir, excès

The subject of incest continues to spark much discussion in the scholarly literature. The foci for such discussion are multifaceted: the genetic consequences of inbreeding, the problem of sexual abuse within the family, the psychological factors promoting (or suppressing) incestuous behaviours, the complexity of symbolism underlying the concept of incest itself. The breadth of this topic, and the many angles from which it may be addressed, particularly invite a multidisciplinary approach. The intent of this paper is to offer a different perspective on the subject of symbolic incest, a perspective which draws on the study of a culture not generally represented in the anthropological literature. The author, as a classicist, feels some diffidence at making this offering to an audience of anthropologists; nevertheless, it is to be hoped that this window on a classical culture may help in some small way to inform the ongoing and vibrant debate on this topic.

In the Hellenistic Age, conventionally defined as the era of ancient Greek history following the death of Alexander the Great (323 BCE), the kingdom of Egypt was ruled by a Greco-Macedonian dynasty descended from Alexander's general Ptolemy. The Ptolemaic kingdom, which came to an end with the suicide of Kleopatra VII in 30 BCE, was the most enduring of the Hellenistic monarchies, those realms established in the wake of Alexander's death in the territories conquered by the hyperkinetic Macedonian. Alexander's "empire" was an ephemeral one, fragmenting upon his death into several polities ruled by *arriviste* monarchs whose sole claim to legitimacy was their role as companions and followers of Alexander. Thus, one characteristic shared by each of the Hellenistic kingdoms was the ethnic divide between ruler and ruled: the indigenous inhabitants of Asia Minor, the Middle East, and Egypt now looked to ruling houses of Greco-Macedonian descent. In some of the kingdoms there was occasionally a mingling of royal blood with that of the natives of the region, but ethnic exclusivity was the general rule,

at least in Ptolemaic Egypt: Kleopatra VII, the last reigning monarch of the Ptolemaic dynasty, was also said to have been the first member of her house even to learn to speak the Egyptian language.

The Ptolemies practised another kind of exclusivity as well. Not only did they refrain from intermarriage with the native Egyptians; as time went on, the dynasty increasingly eschewed exogamous marriage altogether, at least for the reigning couple. Brother-sister marriage became the preferred model, though the family also presents examples of cousin and of uncle-niece marriage. Incest is therefore a striking feature of the Ptolemaic monarchy, a practice singular enough to draw comment from virtually all scholars who have written on the subject of Ptolemaic Egypt—yet so enigmatic a practice that a satisfactory explanation of it has still remained elusive.[1] It is the purpose of this article to suggest at least a partial explanation of this Ptolemaic custom by examining its symbolic meaning, and in so doing to provide further support for certain anthropological theories about the symbolic meaning of incest in general and royal incest in particular.

The connections between incest and power have been persuasively drawn by William Arens (1986), among others.[2] An examination of the incestuous marital strategy pursued by the dynasty of the Ptolemies supports the view that royal incest is symbolic of power. The Ptolemies should therefore be considered alongside other cultures which have adopted such practices when the question of royal incest and its links to power is debated. But the record of the Ptolemaic house also provides an opportunity for a more nuanced insight into the relationship between incest and power. The history of the dynasty demonstrates that incest was just one of a complex set of royal behaviours that were all representative of the extreme power of the family, and that all had the same thing in common: excess, prodigality, and "cultural flamboyance" (Gates 2005:153). Restraint and moderation were not characteristic of the members of this family; rather, the Ptolemies preferred to display their might through actions that could better be described as "over the top." The Ptolemies crossed numerous boundaries of cultural and moral norms. Thus, incest takes its place as only one component in an integrated set of liminal behaviours symbolizing power and grounded in a philosophy of excess.

Before tackling the main point of this paper, groundwork needs to be laid in two areas. First, we need to establish Greek conceptions of and attitudes towards incest, since the Ptolemies, as a Greco-Macedonian dynasty, drew primarily on a Hellenic heritage (the Egyptian element in their self-conception will be discussed below). Such an examination will in turn help to highlight how incest may be linked to the notion of excess in general. Secondly, a brief historical survey of the development of the practice of incest in the Ptolemaic house seems necessary. It is not fair to assume that an anthropological audience is intimately acquainted with the details of Ptolemaic history, and furthermore it is important to track some of the other dynastic behaviours which would not be at all apparent from a simple (or even complex) genealogical chart.

The ancient Greeks had no single word translatable as "incest." The modern Greek word, *haimomixia*, "mingling of blood," does not appear before the 9th century AD (see Rudhardt 1982:731-732). Nevertheless, the periphrases used by the ancient Greeks are as heavily value-laden as the Latin term *incestum* ("impurity, unchastity, defilement, pollution"). In particular, Greek expressions referring to incestuous behaviour make it clear that the Greeks saw the act as hateful to the gods.[3] But the Greeks also found incest abhorrent because it implied a lack of restraint, a loss of self-control. One of the cardinal Greek virtues was the ethic of *sōphrosynē*, a term which embraces meanings of discretion, self-control, temperance and moderation. Incest is just one of the behaviours which breaches sōphrosynē:

> Some of the unnecessary pleasures and desires are immoral, [says Plato],...[the] sort that emerge in our dreams, when the reasonable and humane part of us is asleep and its control relaxed, and our bestial nature, full of food and drink, wakes and has its fling and tries to secure its own kind of satisfaction...there's nothing too bad for it and it's completely lost to all sense and shame. It doesn't shrink at the thought of intercourse with a mother or anyone else, man, beast or god, or from murder or sacrilege. There is, in fact, no folly or shamelessness it will not commit. [Plato *Republic*, Lee translation 1955:571]

The 2nd century CE Greek writer Plutarch, echoing Plato's judgement, further specifies that the intemperance resulting from the loss of sōphrosynē leads one to indulge in forbidden foods as well as forbidden sex (Plutarch *Moralia*, Babbitt translation 1927:101a). Though Plutarch does not specifically state that such "unlawful meats" might represent repasts of a cannibalistic nature, it is certainly the case that much ethnographic literature, ancient as well as modern, links incest with cannibalism.[4] Incest and cannibalism each symbolize the ultimate transgression of limits, the most dreadful offence against kindred flesh. Eating one's own kind is gastronomic incest, and it is noteworthy that mythic acts of cannibalism often involve dining on one's relatives. Thyestes, one of the great

criminals of Greek myth, eats his own sons and rapes his own daughter. Restraint and moderation, the observation of boundaries, of limits—in a word, sōphrosynē before this ultimate self-indulgence.

The Greeks clearly believed that incest was repugnant not only to the gods, but to all right-thinking human beings. Such distaste for and/or disapproval of incestuous mating is something that the Greeks share with virtually every other known culture.[5] It need hardly be stated, however, that precise *definitions* of the approved degree of kinship for marriage and/or sexual relations can vary greatly from one culture to the next. The ancient Greeks were certainly repelled by the notion of parent-child or full sibling incest—there is plenty of evidence for such attitudes—but in general they were considerably more endogamous in their practices than is modern Western society. First cousin-marriage was fully acceptable and very common; and in the city-state of Athens, at least, it was permissible for an uncle to marry his niece, and even for a half-brother to marry a half-sister, provided that they were children of the same father, not the same mother.

The Ptolemies ruled Egypt for a span of nearly three centuries; the individual members constituting this house over that period were very numerous indeed, and their inter-relationships became increasingly convoluted. A simple glance at the genealogical chart (see Figure 1, next page) might prove confusing rather than illuminating. It is moreover unlikely to provide a sense of the historical context within which the custom of incestuous Ptolemaic marriages began, or the circumstances under which the practice continued and intensified. The next few paragraphs will therefore endeavour to provide a (brief) survey of the incestuous patterns pursued by the Ptolemaic dynasty, as well as examples of some of the more extreme intra-dynastic behaviours.[6]

The first sibling marriage in the family was that between Arsinoë II, daughter of Ptolemy I, and her paternal half-brother Ptolemy Keraunos. It was an inauspicious start to the custom, given that Keraunos celebrated the wedding by murdering his half-sister's two sons by her previous husband. As this marriage started off rather on the wrong foot, it was considerate of Keraunos to get himself killed in battle not long after. By that time, Arsinoë may already have fled to Egypt, where she then took part in the first full-sibling marriage of the dynasty by marrying her younger brother Ptolemy II, a marriage that ultimately gave them both the epithet *Philadelphos*, "Sibling-lover." This marriage was far more significant than the earlier one to Keraunos. Not only was Ptolemy II the ruler of Egypt, while Keraunos was merely a volatile adventurer, but the full-sibling marriage was a much greater departure from tradition than the half-sibling one.[7]

That the Greco-Macedonian subjects of the Ptolemies were, to say the least, troubled by this first full brother-sister marriage is suggested by the appallingly sycophantic poem commissioned from the Alexandrian court poet Theokritos. In his *Idyll* 17, Theokritos likens the marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoë to that of the Greek deities Zeus and Hera, brother and sister, king and queen of the gods, above and beyond reproach:

> From Zeus let us begin, and with Zeus in our poems, Muses, let us make end, for of immortals he is best; but of men let Ptolemy be named, first, last, and in the midst, for of men he is most excellent...he and his noble wife, than whom none better clasps in her arms a husband in his halls, loving with all her heart her brother and her spouse. After this fashion was accomplished the sacred bridal also of the immortals whom Queen Rhea bore to rule Olympus; and single is the couch that Iris, virgin still, her hands made pure with perfumes, strews for the sleep of Zeus and Hera. [Theokritos *Idylls*, Gow translation 1952:17.1-4, 128-134]

Such an official court posture suggests the need to quell a shocked response among a population who would find much to gossip about in such a marriage—or perhaps, not so much to quell (as we shall see below) as to direct. Undirected, the popular response was liable to result in such crude remarks as that of another of the contemporary poets, one Sotades, who quipped: "You're shoving your prick into an unholy hole" (Athenaios 1951:621a; author's translation). That Ptolemy and Arsinoë took their public image quite seriously is pretty clear from the sequel to this ill-advised jest: Sotades was hunted down by one of Ptolemy's officers, sealed into a lead jar, and dropped into the sea to suffocate or drown, whichever came first.

Arsinoë and Ptolemy Philadelphos had no children by each other; the ruler's heir came from his previous marriage, and did not follow the marital example set by his father. The sibling marriage was no doubt still in the category of a singularity, rather than an established dynastic custom. It suited the political plans of Ptolemy II that the younger generation's marriages be exogamous rather than endogamous: his son Ptolemy III was married to a princess (a half-cousin) who brought Cyrene back into the Egyptian fold, while he was able to employ his daughter Berenike as a useful tool in his struggle with the Seleukids of Asia by marrying her to Antiochos II.[8] It is therefore not until the next generation that we find another Ptolemaic precedent: the marriage of the full brother and sis-

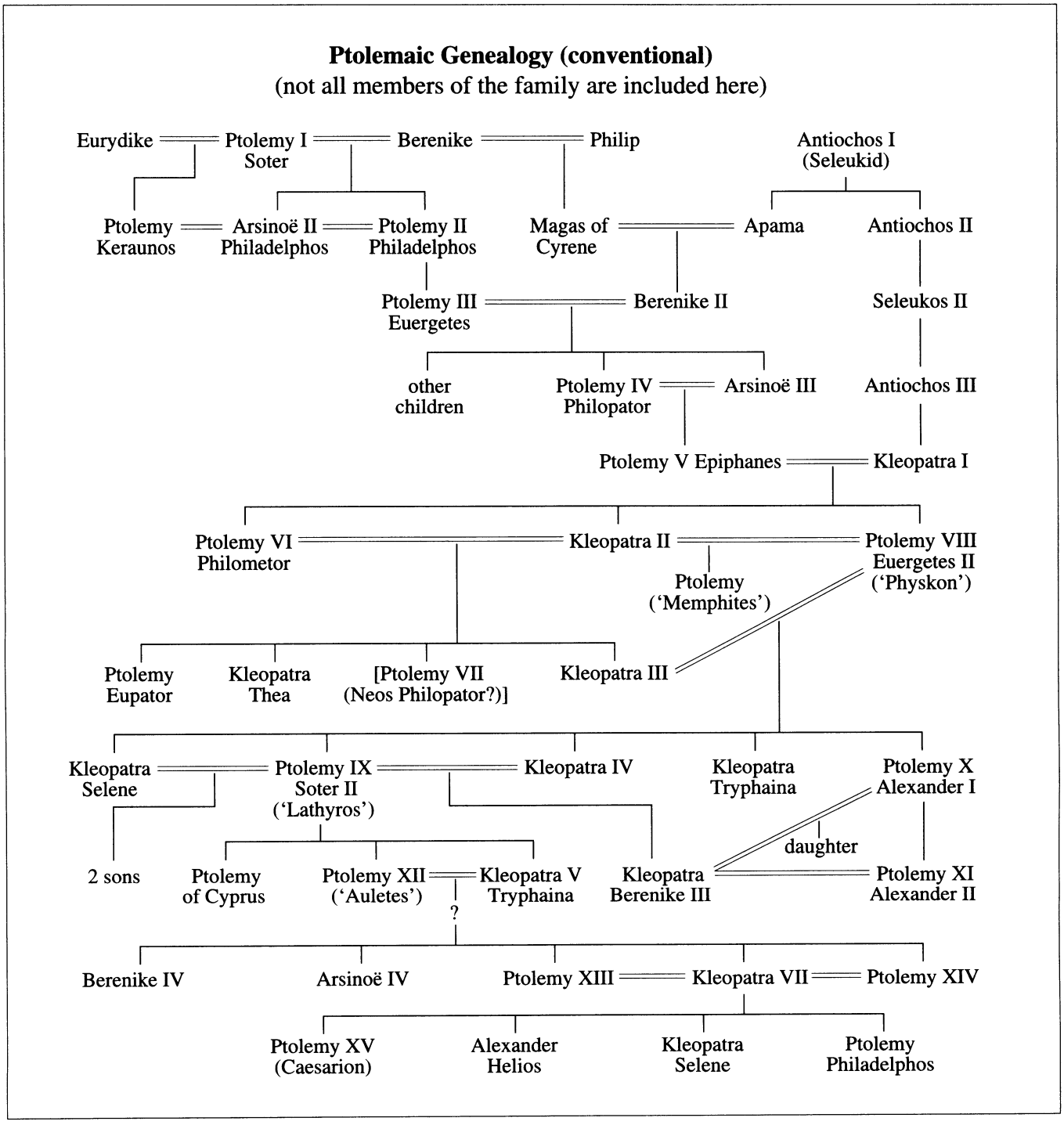


Figure 1: Ptolemaic Genealogy

ter, Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III, *and* their production of a son. Ptolemy V, then, is the first product of a Ptolemaic sibling marriage.

Ptolemy V, who was orphaned at an early age, was an only child, perhaps because his father Ptolemy IV was reportedly far more interested in his lavishly inebriate lifestyle and his various mistresses than he was in his sister-wife. Ptolemy V therefore had no opportunity to engage in the burgeoning dynastic custom of sibling marriage. Fortunately for his marital prospects, however, his Seleukid kinsman Antiochos III declared war on him. After permanently removing Syria from the Ptolemaic

kingdom, Antiochos sealed a peace treaty with the junior Ptolemy by marrying him to his daughter Kleopatra, the first of her name to enter the Ptolemaic house. Since Ptolemy and Kleopatra were third cousins, this marriage barely causes the needle on the incest-meter to quiver. Nevertheless, the offspring of this marriage more than made up for this failing, and the marital entanglements of Ptolemy VI, Kleopatra II, and Ptolemy VIII—and *their* children—in the end took Ptolemaic incest to new heights.

After the early death of Ptolemy V and, subsequently, Kleopatra I, the elder of the two boys, Ptolemy VI, was married to his sister. But Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II, while their own relationship was to all appearances amicable enough, suffered a perpetual affliction in the person of their younger brother. This is not the place to examine all the vicissitudes of the struggle between the siblings; suffice it to say that the Ptolemy who eventually became Ptolemy VIII spent a considerable amount of time and energy throughout his brother's lifetime in trying to oust that brother from the throne. Ptolemy VI, however, had the reputation of being a good and kindly ruler, and was not himself overly fratricidal. Ptolemy VIII therefore was able to spend many formative years as governor in Cyrene, where he waited, as Peter Green says, like some "vast, malevolent spider," to seize his chance (Green 1990:537). That chance came when Ptolemy VI died prematurely in 145 BCE. The elder son of Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II, Ptolemy Eupator, had already predeceased his father, and the younger son may have been too young to consider as his father's heir. The Alexandrians therefore brought Ptolemy VIII back from Cyrene and married him to his sister. What happened next is luridly described by Justin, the 3rd century CE Roman writer and great lover of grim sensationalism:

> In Egypt, King Ptolemy [VI] had died, and an embassy was sent to the Ptolemy [VIII] who was king of Cyrene to offer him the throne, along with the hand of Queen Kleopatra, his own sister....As for [Ptolemy VII, the son of Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra], on the day of the wedding at which the king was taking his mother in marriage, Ptolemy [VIII] killed him in his mother's arms amidst the arrangements for the banquet and the rites of the marriage, and entered his sister's bed still dripping with the gore of her son. [Justin, Yardley translation 1994:38:8.1 and 8.4]

Justin's melodrama rouses some suspicions, given that he had already employed the motif of the child slain in his mother's arms on the day of her wedding to the murderer in his tale of an earlier Ptolemaic sibling marriage (that of Arsinoë II and Ptolemy Keraunos). Still, a son of Ptolemy VI would always be a danger to Ptolemy VIII while he lived, and while he might not have been quite so irretrievably villainous about the whole thing as Justin reports, it is not hard to believe that Ptolemy VIII would have done away with the boy at the first opportunity. Kleopatra II's own subsequent history shows her to have been a woman of considerable ambition and not at all averse to marital and dynastic warfare. Ptolemy VIII would not have felt he could trust her, and the simple fact of the marriage would have made little difference to the degree of his trust. As long as his sister had a living son, she had the potential to rid herself of her brother, and choose a filial co-ruler instead, as did Kleopatra VII many generations later.

The next move in the dynastic game could not have done much to improve the trust and affection between Kleopatra II and Ptolemy VIII. Not long after Kleopatra bore their first child (Ptolemy "Memphites"), her brother either raped or seduced her daughter (his own niece on both sides), impregnated her, and subsequently married her.[9] The marriage to Kleopatra III might have been Ptolemy VIII's political ambition all along, but in 145 Kleopatra II was no doubt still too powerful for him to bypass or displace her in favour of her daughter. In any case, the marriage to Kleopatra III represents a clear and unprecedented departure from the monogamous pattern of Ptolemaic sibling marriage (Whitehorne 1994:110; Ogden 1999:143). From this point on, the protocols refer to King Ptolemy, Queen Kleopatra "the sister," and Queen Kleopatra "the wife": what John Whitehorne has labelled a "ghastly *ménage à trois*" (Whitehorne 1994:123).

This ménage does not appear to have been a particularly happy one, in spite of, or more probably because of, the close family ties. Kleopatra II had plenty of reason to loathe her brother-spouse even before his return to Alexandria, given his repeated efforts to oust her first husband, Ptolemy VI, from the throne. The murder of her young son would certainly have crystallized her hatred for her surviving brother. As for Kleopatra III, she seems to have transferred whatever loyalty she might once have had to her mother wholly to her uncle; the intrusion of Ptolemy VIII into the Alexandrian court therefore also brought about (or exacerbated?) an alienation between mother and daughter. The familial tensions were inevitably mirrored by political rivalries, and in the late 130s, Kleopatra II temporarily gained the upper hand and forced her brother and her daughter out of Alexandria. She may have hoped to place her 12-year-old son, Ptolemy Memphites, on the throne at her side, but she was cruelly forestalled in this by her brother: Ptolemy VIII murdered the boy (his own son), had the body dis-

membered, and sent it to his sister as a birthday present.[10] As in 145, Ptolemy dealt with the threat of a potential rival through the simple expedient of murdering the youth. Dynastically speaking, it made no difference to him that Memphites was his own son, since he already had two other sons by Kleopatra III. This action, which robbed Kleopatra II of her last male progeny, ensured that she would ultimately have to turn back to Ptolemy VIII himself for a familial co-ruler. Thus, more remarkable than Ptolemy's savagery—for which all the ancient sources revile him—is the fact that subsequently we find him back in Alexandria again, ruling at the side of his sister and his wife. Kleopatra II, who had her brother to thank for the murder of two sons, not to mention the alienation and rivalry with her own daughter, was evidently willing, for the sake of her own power, to put up with him until he died.[11]

Familial affection is not more outstandingly characteristic of the later generations of the Ptolemaic family. Ptolemy VIII died in June of 116, Kleopatra II a few months later, perhaps helped along the way by her loving daughter (Otto and Bengtson 1938:136, 144; see also Huß 2001:630-631). Upon his death, Ptolemy left the throne to his niece-wife Kleopatra III and "whichever of their sons she should prefer."[12] Whatever its motivation, this particular act may be ascribed to Ptolemy VIII's "evil genius" for creating strife.[13] Under the circumstances, both sons of course considered that they had a legitimate claim; the volatile situation was exacerbated by the fact that Kleopatra III is said not only to have favoured the younger, Ptolemy X Alexander, but to have harboured a positive hatred for the elder, Ptolemy IX "Lathyros," or "Chickpea" (Pausanias 1979:1.9.1). This hatred found expression in the seemingly arbitrary and high-handed demand that Ptolemy IX divorce his sister-wife Kleopatra IV—one of the rare Ptolemaic sibling marriages which is specifically attested to have been a love-match—and marry another sister, Kleopatra Selene (who may have been more sympathetic with her mother?).

The affection, or at least the favour by default, which Kleopatra III lavished on Ptolemy X was probably disproportionate, when we consider that he ultimately murdered her.[14] After ridding himself of his domineering mother, Ptolemy X married his niece, Kleopatra Berenike III, the daughter of his brother Ptolemy IX and (probably) their sister Kleopatra IV. As was the case with her great-grandmother, Kleopatra II, dynastic continuity upon the death of the king was subsequently provided by the female consort: when Kleopatra Berenike's uncle-husband Ptolemy X died, his brother Ptolemy IX returned to Alexandria and reigned there in association with his popular daughter, the widow of the deceased ruler. Although some have argued that Lathyros actually married his daughter, this seems most unlikely: the evidence for it is very shaky, and marriage in the direct line of descent would have been completely without precedent among the Ptolemies.[15]

In 80 BCE, when Ptolemy IX died, dynastic continuity once again pivoted around Kleopatra Berenike. For a short time she ruled alone, but sole female rule was clearly an abnormality, too unnatural to be tolerated for long. Accordingly, a candidate for co-ruler was found: her cousin and stepson, Ptolemy X's son, Ptolemy XI, was brought to Alexandria and married to her. The marriage of Kleopatra Berenike and Ptolemy XI, according to the conventional reconstruction of Ptolemaic genealogy, was less incestuous than many Ptolemaic unions. Bennett (1997), however, suggests a closer relationship for the pair, making them half-siblings in addition to being cousins. Nevertheless, in certain respects the degree of incest in this union has little significance, at least in terms of any genetic impact it might have had on potential offspring: Ptolemy XI, in a fit of inexplicable imbecility, murdered his bride less than three weeks into the honeymoon. The Alexandrians, who had far more reason to be loyal to the long-familiar and well-loved Kleopatra Berenike, and who moreover were accustomed to being kingmakers and kingbreakers, set upon their new and fatuous king and tore him to pieces.

Upon the death of Ptolemy XI, the throne went to a son of Ptolemy IX, Ptolemy XII "Auletes," the "Flute-player." Rumours of Auletes' illegitimacy mean that we cannot establish who his mother was with any certainty, though Bennett does argue that he was the child of a full-sibling marriage, the love-match between Ptolemy IX and Kleopatra IV (Bennett 1997:46-52).[16] Auletes also married a sibling, one Kleopatra V Tryphaina, thought to be a daughter of Ptolemy IX; as is the case with a number of members of the family, while paternity may be fairly certain, "maternity" is not, and since we do not know who either Auletes' or Kleopatra Tryphaina's mother(s) were, we do not know whether theirs was a full- or a half-sibling marriage.

The last member of the Ptolemaic line to rule Egypt was, of course, Kleopatra VII, who also poses a problem in terms of her maternity. She was the daughter of Auletes, but whether she was also the daughter of Kleopatra V Tryphaina, or the daughter of another unknown wife of Auletes, or the bastard daughter of one of his concubines is unknown, though the balance of probability may tip in favour of her being the daughter of Tryphaina, and hence the child of a sibling union.[17] Kleopatra VII herself

may (or may not) have married each of her younger brothers, Ptolemy XIII and Ptolemy XIV, in succession. The first died during the civil war he fought against her and Julius Caesar in 48-7 BCE; the second she is said to have poisoned in 44 BCE on her return to Egypt in the wake of Caesar's assassination, in order to make room for her son by the Roman. If the sibling marriages did occur, it is highly unlikely that either of them was ever consummated (Dio Cassius 1955-61:42.35; 42.44).[18] Certainly Kleopatra's children did not come from the incestuous dynastic marriages: her eldest child, Ptolemy XV "Caesarion," was fathered by Julius Caesar, while her three younger children were the offspring of her liaison with Marc Antony.

Ptolemaic Incest: A Viable Dynastic Strategy?

An anthropology audience has no need of a general discussion of the problems posed by incest as a dynastic practice. A great deal of the literature on the topic has been devoted to the potential consequences of inbreeding, as well as to the barriers presented by cultural incest "taboos" (whatever their origins or functionality) and by apparently naturally-occurring inhibitions against incest (the Westermarck effect). It is not the intention of this paper to engage in definitive discussion of any of these issues; this section will, however, touch on them briefly as they affect our view of how the Ptolemies managed to pursue, more or less successfully, a strategy of dynastic incest and inbreeding for a span of roughly two centuries. Should the family not simply have imploded in a welter of birth defects, mental deficiency and cultural-emotional malaise and wretchedness?

The "barrier" presented by the cultural taboo may perhaps be most easily dismissed. It was pointed out earlier that the ancient Greeks and Macedonians shared the wellnigh universal aversion to incest, though in general their cultures were accepting of unions close enough to cause unease to the modern Western mind. Yet the whole point behind the concept of "taboo" is that it represents something consecrated to special individuals, while barred to society in general.[19] Royalty are obvious candidates for those "special" people who are allowed to engage in behaviours not open to the common run. The Ptolemies, therefore, like other royal families which have practised incest, did not "break" a taboo by engaging in sibling marriage—rather, they fulfilled the taboo and gave it meaning, demonstrating their own extraordinariness by breaching a limit constraining the actions of ordinary people.[20] Taboo is a thing "set apart." By their incestuous actions, the Ptolemies *became* "taboo" (see Bischof 1972:28), set apart and untouchable by ordinary standards of human behaviour.

If the existence of a cultural taboo presents no real barrier against *royal* incest, indeed provides a positive incentive for it, what of the natural obstacle created by the Westermarck effect? If Ptolemaic siblings were subject to the same processes which seem to affect most humans—that children raised in close proximity to one another from an early age tend to eschew one another as sexual partners in later life—how could the monarchy have been successful not only in carrying out the formal rituals of endogamous marriage generation after generation, but also in having those marriages entail sufficient sexual activity to result in royal offspring? The conviction that the Westermarck effect should have been so efficacious in inhibiting the sexuality of royal sibling-pairs as to effectively render such marriages infertile prompted Ray Bixler to produce an article debunking the amount of incest that actually occurred in the royal families of Ptolemaic Egypt, Inca Peru and old Hawai'i (Bixler 1982a; also 1982b).

Bixler is right in criticizing the naive and generalizing statements made by some earlier writers on the subject of Ptolemaic incest (notably Ruffer 1921), though his own arguments are seriously flawed.[21] In any case, his energies seem misplaced, at least insofar as he is concerned to defend the viability of the Westermarck hypothesis. He argues forcefully that the Ptolemaic marriages involved little or no sexual attraction: few would be inclined to disagree with him on this point, but that is not the same as stating that these marriages involved no sexual activity. The whole issue of the Westermarck effect is really largely beside the point when it comes to the question of royal incest. For one thing, infants in a large royal household may well be brought up in circumstances which do not feature the kind of proximity and intimacy which is thought to foster the Westermarck inhibition (Arens 1986:109; Bixler 1982a:267; Fox 1980:48; Mitterauer 1994:246; Shepher 1983:61, 131; Wolf 1993:160-161). For another—and far more importantly—royal marriage is not, and never has been, inspired primarily by sexual attraction. Royal spouses who lack sexual feelings for one another, whether or not they happen to be related to one another, have still managed to produce heirs. One could hardly imagine Kleopatra II and Ptolemy VIII harbouring warm feelings of any sort for each other, whether sexual, fraternal, or even just barely civil in nature. Yet the exigencies of dynastic necessity led to the conception and birth of Ptolemy Memphites, evidently in the immediate wake of the murder of Kleopatra's son at her brother's hands.[22]

Neither cultural prohibition nor natural inhibition would seem, then, to have presented a barrier to the suc-

cess of the incestuous strategy of the Ptolemaic dynasty (or any royals, for that matter). More problematic is the matter of inbreeding, the genetic consequences of incest. One classicist has summed up the popular view succinctly, if not perhaps very scientifically:

> If the word "degeneration" has any meaning at all, then the later...Ptolemies were degenerate: selfish, greedy, murderous, weak, stupid, vicious, sensual, vengeful, and...suffering from the effects of prolonged and repeated inbreeding. [Green 1990:554]

It seems that incest and inbreeding are the markers of a much more generalized dynastic corruption, a corruption that culminates in the character deficiencies of the most infamous member of the line, Kleopatra VII:

> Certain elements in her character may have been due to this persistent inbreeding—notably her total absence of moral sense, and a tendency to murder her brothers and sisters which may have been partly an inherited family habit. [Grant 1972:27]

It is probably fairly safe to dismiss this vision of a Kleopatra genetically driven to familial murder, presumably as a result of the concentrated build-up of morally (rather than mortally) lethal recessive alleles in her system. Nevertheless, a few words should be addressed to the matter of the genuine physical consequences inbreeding might have had for the Ptolemies. Daniel Ogden has indicted the Ptolemaic practice of incest, and consequent inbreeding, as the cause of various problems suffered by the dynasty (Ogden 1999:67-116).[23] The offspring of incestuous Ptolemaic marriages, he argues, were regularly "genetically compromised," and the Ptolemies as a result suffered from depressed fertility, enhanced mortality, and a number of genetic disorders.

The "evidence" for such genetic compromise, however, springs from a priori reasoning. Inbreeding is now known to enhance the potential for genetic problems: therefore, the Ptolemies *must have* experienced these problems, to a greater or lesser degree. But the negative genetic consequences of inbreeding are "probabilistic, not deterministic" (Durham 1991:301). They do not inevitably appear in all offspring of incest. Furthermore, the assessment of biological or demographic "evidence" from antiquity is a notoriously tricky undertaking. As far as the Ptolemies are concerned, all we have is the literary evidence, supplemented by some artefactual evidence in the form of sculpture and coin portraits; and such evidence as we have cannot be taken to provide proof of Ogden's thesis.

Indeed, the inbreeding Ptolemies were no less fertile—productive of viable offspring—than any of the neighbouring non-incestuous dynasties, and often considerably more fertile. There are numerous examples one could point to; an outstanding one would be the inbred Kleopatra III, who bore five apparently healthy children in quick succession to her uncle Ptolemy VIII, all five of whom went on to breed children of their own (some of them with each other).[24] Almost all the incestuous Ptolemaic marriages resulted in offspring, and the only ones which seem to have been unproductive of children had ample reasons other than impeded fertility. Arsinoë II was probably already about 40 when she married Ptolemy II, and both brother and sister already had heirs (though Arsinoë admittedly had lost two of hers at the hands of her half-brother). As the first fully incestuous marriage in the dynasty it is likely that its purpose was chiefly symbolic and political, and not meant for the production of heirs.[25] Like the last incestuous marriages in this house (the putative marriages of Kleopatra VII to her brothers), this first incestuous marriage may well have entailed no sexual activity at all. The only other childless Ptolemaic marriage was that of Ptolemy XI and Kleopatra Berenike, and since the groom murdered the bride before the honeymoon was out, the infertility of this marriage can scarcely be taken as evidence of genetic compromise.

If incestuous Ptolemaic marriages produced just as many (and frequently more) children as the dynastic marriages of their Hellenistic contemporaries, what can be said of survival rates? Did Ptolemaic offspring suffer from an enhanced mortality rate, one greater than that of the local commoners or the neighbouring royalty? Again, not so far as the available evidence shows. Naturally, some Ptolemaic children died young: a lengthy inscription offers touching testimony to the sudden death of a young Ptolemaic princess, Berenike, the daughter of Ptolemy III and Berenike II (Bagnall and Derow 2004:no. 164), while Ogden (1999:86) makes much of the untimely death of Ptolemy Eupator, heir of Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II.[26] But legitimate heirs (sometimes, unfortunately, more than one) survived to occupy the throne in almost every case of succession, and even the rare exceptions—where allegedly illegitimate (non-inbred?) heirs succeeded—are wrapped in sufficient genealogical controversy to allow scholars to argue that these alleged bastards were indeed after all the legitimate offspring of incestuous dynastic unions.[27]

In arguing that the Ptolemies did indeed sustain genetic damage through their habit of inbreeding, Ogden attaches great significance to the monstrous obesity of both Ptolemy VIII (known as "Physkon," "Pot-belly"), and his son, Ptolemy X (Ogden 1999:97-98):[28]

> To the Romans...[Ptolemy VIII] was as ludicrous a figure as he was a cruel one to his fellow-citizens. He had an ugly face, and was short in stature; and he had a distended belly more like an animal's than a man's. The repulsiveness of his appearance was heightened by his dress, which was exceedingly fine-spun to the point of transparency, just as if he had some motive for putting on display what a decent man should have made every effort to conceal. [Justin, Yardley translation 1994:38.8.8-9]

> Through indulgence in luxury [Ptolemy VIII's] body had become utterly corrupted with fat and with a belly of such size that it would have been hard to measure it with one's arms; to cover it he wore a tunic which reached to his feet and which had sleeves reaching to his wrists; but he never went abroad on foot except on Scipio's account....Ptolemy's son [Ptolemy X] Alexander also grew fatter and fatter....The master of Egypt, a man who was hated by the masses, though flattered by his courtiers, lived in great luxury; but he could not even go out to urinate unless he had two men to lean upon as he walked. And yet when it came to the rounds of dancing at a drinking-party he would jump from a high couch barefoot as he was, and perform the figures in a livelier fashion than those who had practised them. [Athenaios, Gulick translation 1955:549e; 550a-b]

Ogden argues that Ptolemy VIII's fat issues, as well as his evident lack of stature, point to unusual genetic problems attendant on inbreeding. And yet Ptolemy VIII, the "grossest" of all the Ptolemies, in behaviour as well as appearance, was not himself the product of excessive inbreeding.[29] Furthermore, the second passage just cited provides ample evidence for the real reason behind the corpulence of both father and son: theirs was a lifestyle disease. Excessive nurture, in the form of gluttonous living, rather than nature in the form of a putative concentration of damaging recessive genes, is surely the answer.

The matter of the excessively luxurious lifestyle of the Ptolemies will be addressed further below; it is in fact central to the point of this paper.[30] For the moment let it simply be said that, while it cannot be denied that the Ptolemies *may have* at times suffered from the potentially adverse effects of inbreeding, the available evidence does not demonstrate clearly that at any given point they actually were so affected. Although Walter Scheidel's intensive demographic study of inbreeding in Roman-era Egypt does not touch on the Ptolemies, his conclusions could easily apply to the Ptolemaic evidence as well:

> All in all, the available evidence from Roman Egypt cannot be taken to refute the model of increasing inbreeding depression and its potentially disastrous consequences for the offspring of brother-sister matings. *At the same time, neither the census returns nor any other sources I am aware of offer any indications of unusually elevated levels of infant mortality and severe physical or mental handicaps among the inbreeding families of Roman Egypt.* [Scheidel 1996a:28][31]

Royal Incest: Consciously or Unconsciously Determined?

The previous section argued that the Ptolemies found incest on the whole to be a viable royal strategy: that they were able to propagate their dynasty through a more or less regular series of closely incestuous marriages, and that whatever genetic damage they *may* have sustained over time is invisible in the record (and would probably never have been apparent to the Ptolemies themselves as something resulting from their mating practices). But the mere viability of the custom of royal incest does not in itself account for its desirability. The simple fact that incestuous behaviour for the Ptolemies was not ruled out by culture or nature, and that they were apparently reasonably lucky on the inbreeding front, does not explain why they should have adopted the practice in the first place, or clung to it so tenaciously. This question, though it may have taken a long time to reach, is the main point of this paper.

Classical scholars who have studied the Ptolemaic dynasty have made various conjectures as to the possible reasons for Ptolemaic incest. Most of the rationales suggested have been of a more or less pragmatic nature, or at least have been grounded in the notion of a conscious decision deliberately taken by the Ptolemaic rulers. It is therefore perhaps no coincidence that there still exists a sense of scholarly dissatisfaction, a conviction that the real reason for Ptolemaic incest still eludes analysis. While several of the proposals are likely to have some merit in that these consciously pragmatic rationales may well have contributed to the functionality of Ptolemaic incest, it is my belief that the picture is incomplete without consideration of the symbolic (and arguably at times unconscious) underpinnings of the practice.

Among the more pragmatic reasons suggested for the institution of incest among the Ptolemies is the notion that these Greco-Macedonian newcomers to Egypt sought acceptance from the Egyptian population by adopting a native practice (Burstein 1982; Hombert and Préaux 1949; Macurdy 1932:118; Ogden 1999:77-78; Turner 1984:137-138). Although this view has been criticized on the grounds that the Egyptian Pharaohs did not engage in sibling marriage to the extent that modern popular belief would have

it (Bonhême and Forgeau 1988:319; Černý 1954; Middleton 1962; Robins 1993:26-27), it is clear that the ancient Greeks (and others) held the firm belief that Egyptian brothers and sisters, royal or common, were prone to marrying each other. "The Egyptians also made a law, they say, contrary to the general custom of mankind, permitting men to marry their sisters, this being due to the success attained by Isis in this respect" (Diodoros, Oldfather translation 1933:1.27). "Ptolemy [II] was in love with his sister Arsinoë, and married her, flat contrary to the traditions of Macedonia, but agreeably to those of his Egyptian subjects" (Pausanias 1979:1.7.1). Whether or not this view was true to the Egyptian reality is therefore not relevant; what matters is what the Greeks believed about the Egyptians. It cannot be mere coincidence that this foreign dynasty adopted a practice that was widely held to be one of the most striking of the local customs. Yet this cannot be the only answer. Royal sibling marriage also took place in the neighbouring Seleukid kingdom (far more rarely, it is true), and may even have been instituted there before the Ptolemies began to practise it (Ogden 1999:125-126).[32] And in any case, asserting that the Ptolemies copied the Pharaohs only begs the question, why would the *Pharaohs* have engaged in it?

Diodoros connects the putative Egyptian custom of brother-sister marriage to the Egyptian reverence for the goddess Isis. Isis was one of the great goddesses of Mediterranean antiquity, a culture-hero, civilizer, and founder, along with her brother-husband Osiris (Diodoros, Oldfather translation 1933:1.13-22). Isis and Osiris were said to have loved each other so deeply that they made love while they were still both in the womb (Plutarch *Moralia* 1927:356a). When Osiris was killed and his body dismembered and scattered throughout Egypt by his brother Set, the grieving Isis wandered up and down the length of the Nile collecting her dead brother's remains. From his partially revivified corpse she succeeded in conceiving Horus, the divine infant who would grow up to take vengeance on Set and restore order to the world (Diodoros, Oldfather translation 1933:1.21; Plutarch *Moralia* 1927:357f-358b). The divine trio of Isis, Osiris, and Horus had weighty political significance as well. The living Pharaoh was assimilated to Horus, while the one immediately deceased was identified with Osiris, ruler of the dead; the new Pharaoh's task, like Horus,' was always to re-establish cosmic order, order which had been thrown into disarray and confusion by the death of his predecessor. As for Isis, whose name refers to the royal throne, she was literally the seat of political power.

Isis and Osiris therefore represented civilization and order over chaos and disorder; furthermore, they were emblematic of a marital love that was also a sibling love. In this they had counterparts in other cultures, including the Greeks themselves. The ruling deities of ancient Greece—Zeus and his consort Hera—were also full brother and sister. It was only incest among humans that was loathsome to the Greek gods, who had every right to engage in the practice themselves. For royalty to follow suit was of course to suggest that incestuous royals were more than human, that they were raised to the plane of divinity. Theokritos' poem in praise of Ptolemy II (cited above) specifically makes the connection between the marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoë and that of Zeus and Hera. This was propaganda for Greek consumption, as it was Ptolemy's Greek subjects who were more likely to shudder at the marriage. For the native Egyptians, the marriage's analogy with Isis and Osiris would have been far more meaningful. It is significant that throughout the centuries the Ptolemaic dynasty strove to evoke these deities in numerous ways besides sibling marriage. Ptolemaic queens were repeatedly assimilated to or identified with Isis; Arsinoë II, the first participant in a sibling marriage, is a particularly good example.[33] One wonders whether Ptolemy VIII, who is said to have shipped the dismembered remains of her murdered son to his sister Kleopatra II during the civil war between the siblings, was mocking and challenging her claim to any association with Isis, the goddess whose greatest feat had been the restoration of her murdered and dismembered spouse.

Perhaps connected to the political-religious ideology of assimilating the royal dynasty to the gods is the argument that incest prevents the royal blood from being tainted by mingling with that of lesser beings (mere mortals and commoners). Several scholars have found a solution to the enigma of Ptolemaic incest in this conscious notion that endogamy promotes purity (Chamoux 2003:223; Grant 1972:26; Heinen 1978; Mitterauer 1994; Whitehorne 1994:91), but this does not seem to be a compelling solution, at least not by itself. Royalty, even godlike royalty, can always marry other royalty (though this could bring its own set of problems, as we shall see). The Hellenistic dynasties regularly married into each other, and the Ptolemies participated in this too: over the years numerous Ptolemaic princesses married Seleukid men (though it was rare indeed for a Ptolemaic ruler to take a non-Ptolemaic bride).

Putative ancient notions of the special qualities of royal, perhaps even divine, blood, find some resonance with the views of sociobiologists, who maintain that "royal incest is best explained in terms of the general sociobiological paradigm of inclusive fitness" (Van den Berghe and Mesher 1980:300). The concentration of genetic mate-

rial after generations of incestuous marriage practices would eventually result in a scenario where the king would be close to "cloning" himself. As someone who is very far from being a specialist in this field, I do not believe I can comment on the lively debate surrounding sociobiological theories of incest, or sociobiology in general.[34] I would simply state that it seems difficult to see how any of the sociobiological notions about dynasties seeking *genetic* fitness and survival could ever have been consciously determined, as they surely must have been if this motivation is to make any sense.

Sociobiologists have also seen royal incest as "the ultimate logical outcome of hypergyny," the female marital strategy of "marrying up" (Van den Berghe and Mesher 1980:303). This brings up the question of the role of Ptolemaic females in all these dynastic chess moves. Did the Arsinoës and Kleopatras deliberately seek marriages with their brothers because otherwise they had "almost no way to go but down" (Van den Berghe 1983:100; see also Arens 1986:110; Herrenschmidt 1994; Shepher 1983:130)? The answer seems to be, "probably not." Strong-willed many of the Ptolemaic women certainly were, but theirs were not the marital choices driving this dynasty. Arsinoë II could never have persuaded Ptolemy II to marry her unless the marriage suited and benefited him (Burstein 1982; Carney 1987; Hazzard 2000:81-100),[35] while one can scarcely imagine Kleopatra II marrying Ptolemy VIII if she had not been compelled to (at least, so long as she wished to retain her own position). Furthermore, it is questionable whether marriage to neighbouring royalty, such as the marriage of Ptolemy II's daughter Berenike to the Seleukid king Antiochos II in the mid-third century, really represents a step "down." Several Ptolemaic princesses married neither down nor up, but "sideways" (chiefly to Seleukids).[36]

Lateral marriages to Seleukids do highlight some more pragmatic reasons why the Ptolemies might have found endogamy more functional than exogamy. Marriage to foreign royalty always gave an excuse and a lever for interference from a rival monarch, as the Ptolemies knew only too well from their own behaviour. The third century marriage of Berenike to Antiochos was in fact an aggressive Ptolemaic move, a marriage settlement forced on the Seleukid ruler in the wake of a (poorly-documented) war that evidently went better for the Ptolemies than for the Seleukids. It was clearly Ptolemy II's intention that his daughter's child should inherit the Seleukid throne (Antiochos had been forced to agree to set aside his previous wife Laodike and her two sons). The Ptolemaic plan backfired when Antiochos died unexpectedly, and Berenike and her infant were murdered, allegedly at the behest of Laodike. Yet this situation ultimately offered Berenike's brother, Ptolemy III, a lever for interference: he invaded the Seleukid kingdom and made enormous inroads into it, claiming legitimacy for his actions through his kinship with the murdered queen and her child, the legitimate heir. In the next century, the Seleukids paid back Ptolemaic aggression with interest, again by means of an exogamous marriage. Antiochos III imposed his daughter Kleopatra on young Ptolemy V in the wake of a war won by the Seleukid, and he is said to have done so as part of a deliberate effort to subvert the Ptolemaic kingdom (Jerome *Commentary on Daniel* 1958:11.17). This marriage connection subsequently enabled Antiochos III's son, Antiochos IV, to do what Ptolemy III had done 75 years before: invade the neighbouring kingdom, this time Egypt, ostensibly on behalf of a threatened and still minor legitimate heir. Thus, although the Ptolemies were always willing to marry off excess females to Seleukids, they strove wherever possible to reserve a Ptolemaic bride for the royal heir. Such an extremely endogamous union brought with it no set of aggressively ill-mannered in-laws.

A number of pragmatic rationales, as suggested by various scholars, have been gathered here: pure political expediency in some cases, a consciously devised platform of religious propaganda in others. But I have been maintaining throughout that the picture is incomplete without looking at the symbolic content of royal incest, and symbolic motivations may or may not have been conscious ones: "the participants [are not] necessarily aware of this cultural intent or message" (Arens 1986:148). It is in a symbolic context that the link between incest and power stands out so clearly.

Notions of chaos and disorder characterize incest. The Chinese and Indonesian terms for it evoke concepts of disorder and disharmony (Arens 1986:5-6; Needham 1974:63-4), while the later Greek compound *haimomixia* implies an undifferentiated mixing and mingling. The mythic adversary of Oedipus—the Sphinx—manifests this chaotic disorder in her scrambled genetic makeup, embodying woman, lion and bird.[37] Malinowski's famous statement on the taboo also associates incest with disorder; according to him, human society avoids incest simply because otherwise there would be "complete social chaos...the upsetting of age distinctions, the mixing up of generations, the disorganization of sentiments, and a violent exchange of roles" (Malinowski 1927:251).[38] Oedipus' bitter cry of spiritual agony captures vividly that sense of inappropriate roles and affect: "born from those who should not have borne me, living with those I should not have lived with, killing those I should not have killed!"[39]

And yet the breaking of barriers, the flouting of civilized structures, the invitation to open a door into the world of chaos, may be beneficial, provided that it is done by the right individual: the extraordinary one, the divine one, the magical one, the royal one. Oedipus is the incarnation of all the "grisly horror" that humans have ever associated with incest, a horror compounded by the dreadful chain of fate or coincidence that ensnares this morally innocent victim. But Sophocles' great tragedy, in which Oedipus discovers his true identity and thus the terrible reality of his existence and his actions, is not entitled *Oedipus the Incestuous* or *Oedipus the Parricide* or even just plain *Oedipus:* it is called *Oedipus the King.*[40] The point is that Oedipus is not just any ordinary mortal. He is a king, and if he has committed incest, that incest was central to his ascent to the throne. *Oedipus the King* focusses chiefly on the horror of Oedipus' self-discovery and the agony of its aftermath. But a later play of Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus,* suggests that, even blind and in exile, convicted of parricide and incest, Oedipus is still extraordinary, and has the power to bestow blessings on others.[41]

Incest appears to unlock power, particularly creative power. Numerous creation myths emphasize the power of incestuous sexuality to bring order and structure out of chaos. In Greek myth the structuring of the world is carried out through the mating of Gaia (Earth) with her son Ouranos (Heaven); the Zoroastrian god Ohrmazd engages in incestuous sex with his daughter Spendarmat (Earth) in order to advance creation;[42] Lot's daughters seduce their father in order to give birth to a new race in the wake of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah;[43] and "the representation of brother and sister as a symbolically parental couple in descent ideology" forms part of the creation mythology of a number of cultures (Moore 1964:1309).[44]

It is those with extraordinary stature—gods, first humans, royalty—who engage in this powerfully creative incest, who can breach the boundaries between civilization (which they themselves participate in creating and securing) and the chaotic forces of disorder. Royalty in particular is a liminal state, at the outer (upper) boundaries of society, and in many cases at the borders between human and divine. By stepping beyond those bounds, through the commission of incest, royalty elicits that creative power. Mary Douglas argues that individuals undergoing a rite of passage, or otherwise in a transformative state, return from those borderline, chaotic places beyond the community to which they have gone with the power to recreate order (Douglas 1966:94-104; see also Turner 1967). Thus royalty, through participation in an act evocative of chaos and disorder, may deliberately summon forth calamity, only to overcome it and restore the order necessary for the community to continue. In effect, royal incest fights fire with fire, or rather, chaos with chaos.

Royal incest thus "draws attention to actors engaged in cultural performance rather than reproductive strategy" (Arens 1986:122). Arens argues that royal incest is in fact primarily a symbol of power, rather than a means to attain pure blood heirs.[45] "The theme of incest plays a major part in the deification procedure [of the king of the African Shilluk], for it reflects the ability of the would-be king to violate a basic rule and survive the encounter with a symbolic act of potency and creation" (Arens 1986:123).[46] The power elicited by royal incest is not simply a personal power, the exercise of which would indeed be tyranny: it must be a power wielded on behalf of society. "The king and society are one, while his vitality and goodwill are essential to Shilluk continuity. With him, there is order, and without him, chaos" (Arens 1986:129).

The Egyptian context of the Ptolemaic dynasty would have brought them up against the vital cosmic role of the Egyptian Pharaoh, a responsibility the Ptolemies would also have borne. Pharaoh defends not only his people and his nation, but even the very fabric of the world, subduing cosmic chaos and re-establishing cosmic order after the death of the previous Pharaoh. As Horus, he avenges the death (and disordering through dismemberment) of his father Osiris at the hands of Set (Bonhême and Forgeau 1988:63-70; Koenen 1983, 1993). The creation and ordering of the world is threatened by the death of every Pharaoh; every new Pharaoh must restore that order and that creation, responsible as he is for Maät, for cosmic order and justice (see Bonhême and Forgeau 1988:110-120, 132; Heinen 1978; Koenen 1983, 1993; Quaegebeur 1978:246; Winter 1978). It would be difficult of course to argue that royal incest was inevitably demanded by a cosmic role of the defender of order against chaos, either for the Pharaohs or for the Ptolemies. After all, these cosmic roles were originally defined for the native Egyptian Pharaohs, and while they did pursue incestuous marriages, they were not particularly rigorous about it (certainly not as rigorous as the Ptolemies). Yet it is certain that royal incest's symbolic creative potency could only enhance the ruler's ability to re-enact the cosmic drama of the gods.

Thus, stepping beyond boundaries, as exemplified in acts of incest, may be emblematic of creativity and power. But the sexual barriers mandated by society were not the only limits breached by the Ptolemies. Their dynastic behaviour in general was evocative of excess and intemperance in all directions. Their marriage practices would therefore seem to have been only one piece of a larger puzzle.

The Philosophy of Excess

As we saw earlier, the Greeks condemned incest not only on the grounds that the gods found it hateful. They also saw it as representative of completely immoderate self-indulgence, of a total loss of all restraint. Such self-indulgence might take many forms, unrestrained indulgence in sex and food being two of the most obvious breaches of moderation and self-restraint. The Ptolemaic record offers one glaring nexus of excess in every facet of life: Ptolemy VIII. Grotesquely obese gourmand, vile husband to his sister, (allegedly) rapist of his niece, murderer of children (including his own), Ptolemy VIII epitomized all that was contrary to the notion of sōphrosynē. He was, in short, "a monster steeped in murder and incest," at least to one Victorian classicist (Mahaffy 1895:377).[47] The clear decadence of these over-indulgent Ptolemies has been read as a sign of political decay ever since antiquity. The Greek historian Polybios, writing in the second century BCE, blamed the beginnings of the decline of the Ptolemaic empire on Ptolemy IV, who neglected affairs of state and indulged himself instead in "shameless amours and senseless and constant drunkenness" (Polybios, Paton translation 1922:5.34, 10).[48] In more recent years, as evidence for the negative genetic consequences of inbreeding has mounted, it is the procreative aspect of Ptolemaic marriage practices that has been indicted for their perceived political degeneration (Green 1990; Ogden 1999): a putative scientific basis for a 2000-year-old prejudiced perception.

Were the Ptolemies really nothing more than a pack of self-indulgent, gluttonous, sexually voracious sots, with no policy beyond the gratification of every whim, the more extreme the better? Surely not. A more careful examination of Ptolemaic royal ideology reveals that their philosophy of excess was grounded in a carefully mapped out strategy of propaganda and self-presentation. In 1948, J. Tondriau published an article in which he argued that the Ptolemaic royal philosophy deliberately rejected the traditional virtue of sōphrosynē, and extolled instead sōphrosynē's opposite: tryphē (Tondriau 1948c; see also Heinen 1983). The Greek word tryphē is most often translated as "luxury," and carries with it also a sense of delicacy, or softness, of wanton behaviour, and in general a lack of stern self-control. As a concept, it may seem to be rather odious, and so it certainly was interpreted by many of the Greek and Roman philosophers and writers who exalted the notion of moderation and the mastery of the self.

Nevertheless, as with incest itself, there could be a positive side to a propaganda that emphasized luxury and ostentatious display. Certainly the incredible wealth of the Ptolemies could scarcely have been imagined had they restricted themselves to public habits of sōphrosynē, and wealth of course (for a ruling dynasty) implies both power and benefaction (what the Greeks called *euergetism*). The literary record has left us with several descriptions of dazzling public displays of wealth and luxury put on by the Ptolemies, displays of staggering proportions. Such spectacles were clearly intended to impress subject, friend, and potential enemy alike with Ptolemaic power: the power to do good to those deserving of their friendship from their inexhaustible store of wealth, and the power to purchase the military might necessary to do harm to those undeserving of that friendship.

The most famous of these exhibitions to a modern reader is probably the arrival of Kleopatra VII at Tarsos in 41 BCE. Summoned to meet Marc Antony, she decided to get the upper hand from the start by staging a classic display of Ptolemaic wealth, and in so doing, upstaging Antony:

> She sailed up the river Cydnus on a golden-prowed barge, with sails of purple outspread and rowers pulling on silver oars to the sound of a reed-pipe blended with wind-pipes and lyres. She herself reclined beneath a gold-embroidered canopy, adorned like a painting of Aphrodite, flanked by slave-boys, each made to resemble Eros, who cooled her with their fans. Likewise her most beautiful female slaves, dressed as Nereids and Graces, were stationed at the rudders and the ropes. The wonderful smell of numerous burning spices filled the banks of the river. Some people formed an escort for her on either side all the way from the river, while others came down from the city to see the spectacle. The crowd filling the city square trickled away, until at last Antony himself was left alone, seated on a dais. [Plutarch *Life of Antony*, Waterfield translation 1999:26][49]

This passage from Plutarch, made so famous by Shakespeare's adaptation of it, captures not only the unbelievable wealth underlying Ptolemaic tryphē, but also its sensual quality, and the delicacy, softness, and perceived effeminacy associated with this type of luxury. Ptolemy VIII and his famously transparent garments mentioned earlier, "a sort of see-through nightdress" (Whitehorne 1994:107), would not have been out of place on Kleopatra's barge, though perhaps his allegedly repellent personal appearance might have struck a sour note. Yet even the prodigious obesity of Ptolemy VIII finds its own place in a dynastic philosophy which emphasized wealth, luxury, excess and plenty.[50] In fact, the surviving official portraits of Ptolemy VIII and his son, the equally famously fat Ptolemy X, highlight rather than downplay their corpulence.

The luxury and magnificence of tryphē, as remarked above, emphasized the dynasty's *euergetism*, its ability and willingness to bestow beneficence. Tryphē is also an emblem of power, and not simply because of the obvious equation between power and wealth. Tryphē—excessive luxury, immoderate display, wanton self-indulgence—implies a lack of control. Lack of self-control, of course, is one manifestation of tryphē, and those critical of the Ptolemies, like Polybios, or the arrogant Roman legates who visited Ptolemy VIII and sneered down their virtuous Roman noses at the poor fat king as he tried to keep up with them while they marched about Alexandria, would have argued that the Ptolemies simply were not masters of themselves.[51] But if they were not masters of themselves, their lack of restraint in all things surely implied for all to see that neither was anyone else master of them. Excessive indulgence, particularly indulgence in things forbidden, underscores the absolute omnipotence of royalty. There is no superior power capable of coercion, and not even the gods would intervene to check Ptolemaic behaviour.

Ptolemaic incest should therefore be considered in the context of the Ptolemaic philosophy of excess in general, a connection which has not hitherto been drawn. Ptolemaic freedom to indulge, and to do so ostentatiously and deliberately, is representative of power. Incest, as the most illicit of sexual acts, is almost demanded by a royal philosophy of power that recognizes no limits or restraints and that is prepared to overstep all boundaries. The peculiarly Ptolemaic dedication to tryphē may indeed be why this dynasty was more determinedly incestuous than the native Pharaohs had been. The Ptolemies may first have adopted sibling marriage because of the reports about native Egyptian behaviour; but it would have resonated so well with the rest of their philosophy that it inevitably became central to it. Ptolemy II was the first to engage in full-sibling marriage, as he was also the first on record to present the kind of stupefying public displays of wealth that subsequently became associated with the Ptolemaic dynasty generally.[52] As for Ptolemy VIII, we may speculate that the exceedingly hyperbolic (even for his family) behaviour that he exhibited in all dimensions may be linked to the fact that he had spent so many years of his life in rather uncertain circumstances. After decades of semi-exile in Cyrene, at odds with the rulers in Alexandria, he would have been concerned to establish his power and authority by any and all means, pragmatic and symbolic, once he finally ascended the throne.

Tryphē and incest are also linked through the gods of the Ptolemies. Of all the Greek gods, the Ptolemies claimed to have a special relationship with Dionysos, and repeatedly assimilated themselves to him (see Cerfaux and Tondriau 1957; Heinen 1978; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1978; Queyrel 1984, 1985; Sullivan 1990:230; Tondriau 1948a, 1950, 1952). A god of fertility and all the good things in life—particularly the vine and its products—Dionysos is representative of delivery from care and inhibition. His gift of wine induces and epitomizes the lack of restraint associated with tryphē, and may lead to acts of forbidden sexuality. Since at least the 5th century BCE, Greeks (and Egyptians) had accepted the equation of Dionysos with Osiris, to whom the rulers of Egypt also assimilated themselves (Diodoros 1.13; Herodotos 2.42; Plutarch *Moralia* 364e-365f.). Both are gods associated with incest, and both are gods of fertility and the life force, a power manifested in the myths of both of them, myths which feature death, dismemberment and rebirth.[53] Both Dionysos and Osiris are liminal gods, gods who pass beyond the borders of death into chaos, and who return, bringing power back with them.[54] Deities of both tryphē and incest are thus united in the unique Greco-Egyptian context of the Ptolemaic monarchy, and incest and tryphē are the mainstays of the Ptolemaic royal propaganda.

That it *was* propaganda, i.e., meant for public consumption, seems certain. Even if the Ptolemies themselves did not always consciously apprehend every nuance of their symbolic behaviour, it can hardly be credited that they would have engaged in this symbolism only behind closed doors, so to speak. Yet many classical scholars have professed themselves puzzled over some of the more overt behaviours which would have called attention to the incest, on the grounds that the dynasty should have preferred to sublimate or disguise it somehow. This is particularly a question that arises with the first marriage, that of Ptolemy and Arsinoë Philadelphos. One scholar, for example, thinks that the epithet "Sibling-lover" was chosen in order to "soften the incestuous nature of the relationship," since it should emphasize the fraternal—rather than erotic—nature of Ptolemy and Arsinoë's love for one another (Fraser 1972[1]:217).[55] Yet the choice of such a flagrantly "in your face" epithet surely deliberately accentuates the incest rather than deflecting attention away from it. Incest, like the Ptolemaic tryphē with which it was connected, would have lost all its symbolic value if it was not publicly celebrated.

Did this royal program of excess in all things work? It is difficult to judge this matter, given that we are forced to read Ptolemaic history through a screen of bigoted ancient authors who reviled the self-indulgent Ptolemies from their own upper-class standpoint of Greek sōphrosynē and Roman *simplicitas*. We also must contend with the historical reality that interposes between

us and the Ptolemies the centuries-long domination of the military might of Rome. Ptolemaic Egypt, under its last ruler Kleopatra VII, was the last of the great Hellenistic kingdoms to fall to Rome, and the writers of Augustan Rome echo the hysterical hatred that Kleopatra's Roman enemies whipped up against her and all things Ptolemaic. But from the point of view of the common people of ancient Egypt and the Hellenized East, a Ptolemaic ruler such as Kleopatra was a provider of bounty and the promise of better things to come, and not purely on material grounds. The symbolic aspect of Ptolemaic beneficence is well captured in Plutarch's account of Kleopatra and Antony's meeting at Tarsos: "the word went out to all that Aphrodite was making merry with Dionysos for the good of Asia" (Plutarch *Life of Antony* 1988:26; author's translation).

Although the ancient sources largely condemn Ptolemaic tryphē, they are in fact less prone to abominate or at least comment on Ptolemaic incest than writers of a more recent era. The 1st-century CE Jewish writer Josephus, who drew on the memoirs of Kleopatra's enemy, Herod the Great, to compose his history, and who consequently presents one of the most poisonous portraits of Kleopatra to survive, did not criticize Kleopatra for marrying her brothers, only for (allegedly) murdering them (Josephus *Against Apion* 1977:2.57-8; *Jewish Antiquities* 1998:15.89; *Jewish War* 1997:1.359-60). Polybios criticizes Ptolemy IV for the sordid extra-marital affairs which kept him *out* of his sister's bed, and even a 5th-century CE Christian writer can comment that Ptolemy VIII's great crime against his sister Kleopatra II was setting her aside in favour of her daughter, not marrying her in the first place (Orosius *Against the Pagans* 1964:5.10, 6; Polybios 1922:5.34, 10). It is noteworthy that no ancient author speaks ill of the full sibling marriage of Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II, perhaps because it was evidently an amicable and successful one. It is modern writers who tend to fixate on the incest specifically, blaming it (or rather, the consequent inbreeding) for the ostensible "degeneration" of the Ptolemaic dynasty and kingdom (a judgment which peculiarly, yet repeatedly, fails to take note of the fact that the Ptolemaic kingdom survived longer than any of its Hellenistic counterparts).

Peter Morriss has commented that modern Anglo-American society tends to be less tolerant of the blurring of boundaries (especially sexual boundaries) than many cultures which are perceived as less "advanced" (Morriss 1997:276-280). Although no one could designate the classical culture of the ancient Mediterranean as anything less than highly sophisticated, it is true that it was in general more tolerant of close-kin sexuality than subsequent Western cultures have been.[56] The differing perspectives of ancient and modern commentators on the subject of Ptolemaic incest would seem to support Morriss' observation. Morriss further argues that contemporary Western culture tends to believe that its own prejudices and taboos are based on hygiene and science, rather than superstition. Recent scholarly arguments to the effect that Ptolemaic "degeneration" was the result of genetic, if not moral, decay again may say more about the perspective of the commentators than about the reality of the historical dynasty. In order to understand the enigma of Ptolemaic incest more fully (and perhaps we shall never understand it completely), it seems vital that we at least make the attempt to free ourselves from the age-old conviction that the Ptolemies were a degraded and corrupt race.

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Notes

1 Among the more recent publications dealing with Ptolemaic incest, see Carney 1987; Bennett 1997; Ogden 1999:67-116; Hazzard 2000:85-93. Hopkins 1980, 1994, Shaw 1992, Parker 1996, and Scheidel 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2002, 2005 focus on the phenomenon of incest among commoners in the Roman period in Egypt, not on the Hellenistic royal incest that preceded it.

2 See Ross and Rapp 1983 for comments on the social and political construct of sexuality in general.

3 *Anosios* or *anagnos sunousia* ("unholy, impure intercourse"); *gamos asebēs*, "impious marriage."

4 See Strabo 1927:4.5, 4; Isocrates *Panathenaicus* 1928:121-122; Sextus Empiricus *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 1996:3.245-248; Hooper 1976:227; Labby 1976:171; Schneider 1976:162; Arens 1979:14, 27-28, 146 and 1986:vii-ix; Parker 1983:98, 360, 364; Durham 1991:291; Arfouilloux 1993; Nagy 2000; Archibald 2001:20-21; Moreau 2002:30.

5 The only apparent cases of non-royal culturally-approved full sibling incest are the Roman period in Egypt: Hopkins 1980, 1994, Shaw 1992, Bagnall and Frier 1994:127-134,

Scheidel 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2002, 2005, Parker 1996, Hendrix and Schneider 1999, Gonis 2000; and Zoroastrian Persia: Lee 1988, Herrenschmidt 1994, Mitterauer 1994, Scheidel 2002; see Storrie 2003 for sibling incest among the Hoti of Venezuelan Guiana. On cultures which have practiced *royal* incest, see Goggin and Sturtevant 1964:202-207.

6 There are unfortunately some gaps and uncertainties in our knowledge, and some points of dispute in the genealogical reconstructions. As the main point of this paper is the issue of the symbolic meaning of Ptolemaic incest, it is the overall pattern of marriage and mating within the family (rather than the finer points of specific detail) that is of interest.

7 Athenian custom would not have baulked at the paternal half-sibling marriage, though of course neither Arsinoë nor Ptolemy Keraunos was an Athenian.

8 The Seleukids were the rival Hellenistic dynasty which laid claim to Syria and much of the Middle East.

9 Diodoros 1933:33.13; Livy *Periocha* 1929:59; Justin 1994:38.8; Valerius Maximus 2000:9.1 (ext.) 5. The marriage to Kleopatra III took place between 8 May 141 and 14 January 140 (Huß 2001:606; Hölbl 2001:195, 217), but Kleopatra had already given birth to her uncle's child (the future Ptolemy IX) in 142.

10 Diodoros 1933:34/35.14; Livy *Periocha* 1929:59; Justin 1994:38.8; Valerius Maximus 2000:9.2, (ext.) 5.

11 The dating formulae of royal documents indicate that the trio was back together again in Alexandria as of 124.

12 Justin 1994:39.3; *cf.* Pausanias 1979:1.9.1-2.

13 The phrase is Grace Macurdy's (1932:152).

14 Justin 1994:39.4; Pausanias 1979:1.9.2.

15 For the assumption of a unique father-daughter marriage between Ptolemy IX and Kleopatra Berenike, see Fraser 1972 (1):124; Whitehorne 1994:175; Ogden 1999:95. Against the notion of such a marriage: Bevan 1968 [1927]:334; Bennett 1997; Chauveau 1998; Shipley 2000:212; Huß 2001:667-668; Hölbl 2001:212.

16 Bennett is expanding on a suggestion of Mahaffy; against Bennett see Huß 2001:672-673. Sullivan 1990:88, 91 comments on the possibility that Auletes (and Kleopatra V Tryphaina) were the legitimate children of Ptolemy IX and Kleopatra Selene.

17 Strabo asserts that only Auletes' eldest daughter, Berenike IV, was legitimate, but the possibility exists that he is confusing her with Kleopatra Berenike, declared by Pausanias to be the only legitimate child of Ptolemy IX (Strabo 1927:17.1.11; Pausanias 1979:1.9.3). The "argument from silence" may have some bearing on the question of Kleopatra VII's legitimacy: if she had been illegitimate, we would certainly expect her Roman enemies to have made political capital of it (as capital was made of Auletes' alleged bastardy), and there is no hint that they did so. Since Kleopatra VII was born in 69, and Kleopatra V Tryphaina is present in the record at that time as Auletes' wife, it seems very likely that she was Kleopatra VII's mother (Bennett 1997:60).

18 Criscuolo 1989, 1994 doubts that Kleopatra was ever actually married to her brothers, arguing that the title *Philadelphos* was an emblem of familial solidarity rather than necessarily of a sibling marriage. See also Hölbl 2001:231, 237.

19 *OED*^{2}: "set apart for or consecrated to a special use or purpose; restricted to the use of a god, a king, priests, or chiefs, while forbidden to general use." See also Arens 1986:6-7.

20 The symbolic significance of the royal "fulfillment" of taboo will be discussed further below.

21 Bixler focusses only on sibling marriage. He ignores (for example) the high inbreeding co-efficient of an uncle and inbred niece pair such as Ptolemy VIII and Kleopatra III (see further below); he fails to take note of the production of any children other than those who inherited the throne; and he traces the rulers only through the male line, ignoring the existence of such dynamic and vigorous female co-rulers as Kleopatra III, Kleopatra Berenike, Berenike IV and Kleopatra VII, all of whom were daughters of sibling incest.

22 Although the question of the Westermarck effect is largely irrelevant in the context of royal incest, it is interesting to note Roscoe's arguments about amity and aggression, positing an actual link between incestuous sexuality and familial aggression of the sort so observable in the Ptolemaic dynasty. Roscoe 1994 shows that the Westermarck inhibition is the result of familial amity and security, while incestuous sexual feelings tend to arise in family situations which feature strife, aggression, and conflict (see also Erickson 1989, 1993; Hardy 2001). The notorious lack of affect, and indeed the outright hostility of some of the Ptolemaic incestuous pairs (such as Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III, or, outstandingly, Ptolemy VIII and Kleopatra II), could serve to illustrate Roscoe's point. Roscoe also draws a connection to the widespread cultural-mythic links between cannibalism (particularly of kin) and incest.

23 Scheidel's expansive study (1996a) deals with the genetic question in great detail, but focuses on Roman-era marriages among commoners in Egypt, rather than with the royal Ptolemaic dynasty.

24 The inbreeding coefficient (F) of an uncle-niece pair if there is no family background of inbreeding is 0.125; Ptolemy VIII and Kleopatra III, however, were related in multiple ways, and for them, F would have been 0.25, the same as for a parent-child or full-sibling pair (calculated using Wright's method of path coefficients; see Vogel and Motulsky 1997:551-552).

25 Ptolemy took care to adopt his children to his sister, so that she became their putative mother in any case. There was little need to complicate matters by producing half-siblings via the new marriage, a situation which might only have led to "amphimetric strife" in the next generation (Ogden 1999).

26 Eupator was probably 12 or 13 when he died; since his father had recently named him as co-regent, it seems unlikely that he was suffering from any obvious physical or mental defect.

27 Controversy arises when the sources are silent as to the identity of the mother of some of the royal offspring (for example, Ptolemy XI), or state outright that so-and-so was illegitimate, as in the case of Ptolemy XII, who was (not-so-affectionately) dubbed "Nothos" ("Bastard") by the Alexandrian populace. But we saw above that it is at least possible to argue that even Ptolemy XII was the offspring of a full-sibling union (whether it was one to be considered "legitimate" or not might be another matter).

28 Cf. Grant 1972:27. For official portraits (and discussion) of Ptolemy VIII, see Kyrieleis 1975:63-4, pl. 52-53; Smith

1988:93-4, cat. 73, pl. 75.17; Ashton 2001:55; Walker and Higgs 2001:54-57, cat 21, 22; Stanwick 2002:cat 79-104.

29 His parents were only third cousins.

30 The prodigality and self-indulgence of the reigning Ptolemies can be traced back at least to Ptolemy II, who suffered greatly from gout, the classic disease of dissipated living (Tunny 2001).

31 My emphasis.

32 The Seleukids too may have looked to pre-existing examples such as the Zoroastrian dynasty of Achaemenid Persia, or even the Hekatomnid dynasty of Karia (Hornblower 1982:358-363).

33 She is the one Ptolemaic queen who offers the most extensive and varied associations with Isis until we come to Kleopatra VII, who employed the epithet *Nea Isis*, the "New Isis." On Ptolemaic queens' (especially Arsinoë II's) association with Isis (and Aphrodite, equated with Isis), see Tondriau 1948b; Fraser 1972 1:197-198, 237-244; Dunand 1973:80-92; Thompson 1973:121; Quaegebeur 1978, 1988; van Nuffelen 1998-99; Ashton 2001.

34 For criticism of the sociobiological approach to royal incest, see Kitcher 1985, especially 275-279; against Kitcher, see Sesardic 1998 and Leavitt 1990; (against Leavitt, see Moore 1992).

35 The traditional view (now debunked) had held that the incestuous marriage (and Ptolemy's divorce of his first wife) was the result of the powerful Arsinoë manipulating her weak-willed younger brother (Huß 2001:309; Longega 1968:72-73; Macurdy 1932:118; Turner 1984:136; Walbank 1984:67).

36 Kleopatra Thea (daughter of Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II) married three different Seleukid rulers; Ptolemy VIII and Kleopatra III's three daughters each married Seleukids (two of them only after they had taken a turn at marrying their brother Ptolemy IX). Berenike IV, daughter of Auletes, brought in co-regent husbands from outside; her two younger brothers (who ultimately may or may not have married their sister Kleopatra VII) were no doubt considered too young to be viable as co-regents. Kleopatra VII's relationships with leading Romans represent a unique circumstance.

37 See Twitchell 1987:44-51 for artistic images of the monstrous "sexual chaos" associated with incest.

38 Sociologists and clinicians also use the term "chaotic" to describe family circumstances which give rise to incestuous sexual abuse (Bourcet et al. 2000; Rudd and Herzberger 1999), as well as the emotional state of incestuous abuse victims (Brown 1993:32-33).

39 Sophocles *Oedipus the King* 1990:1184-1185; author's translation.

40 In fact, the Greek title of the play is *Oedipus Tyrannos*, which could of course be translated as *Oedipus the Tyrant*. Although the word *tyrannos* at an early stage of Greek history was a neutral one, there are sufficient references within the play's text to give rise to the view that Sophocles was deliberately presenting Oedipus as a somewhat ambiguous figure. On the whole, however, it seems evident that Sophocles intended Oedipus to be seen as a morally positive ruler. The play is better known by its non-tendentious Latin title *Oedipus Rex*.

41 In this play, the elderly Oedipus makes his way to the territory of Athens, where he prophesies to the Athenian king Theseus that his bones will sanctify and protect whatever land receives them; Theseus grants him sanctuary, and Oedipus finally disappears mysteriously in an earthquake, with the implication that the gods have called him home at last.

42 See Herrenschmidt 1994, who connects Zoroastrian *xwêtôdas* (incestuous marriage) with creation myth.

43 *Genesis* 19.30-38; see Arens 1986:120.

44 Rudhardt 1982:745-746, 762-763 emphasizes the transformative power of incest in Greek mythology, where many tales featuring incest result in a metamorphosis. Cf. the role of the male and female chiefs of the Ihanzu of Tanzania, whose symbolic incest plays a recreative role, and whose pairing echoes the pairing of male and female Ptolemaic rulers (Sanders 1998).

45 Arens' theory on incest and power is convincing, although his view that there is (almost) a complete disjunction between royal incest and royal reproduction is not applicable to the Ptolemies.

46 See also de Heusch 1958 on other African cultures; de Heusch argued in favour of royal incest in these cultures being the result of cultural diffusion from ancient Egypt.

47 It is perhaps no coincidence that the particularly excessive Ptolemy VIII was also unique in committing not only "ordinary" royal incest, but also what Françoise Héritier has defined as incest of the "second type," by marrying a mother and daughter and thereby creating an incestuous relationship between the two women as well (Héritier 1999). Héritier argues that this type of incest was capable of rousing extremes of horror, pointing out that in some societies it called for the most severe punishments (the Old Testament mandated burning alive for all three participants in such a relationship: *Leviticus* 18.17 and 20.14).

48 It is worth pointing out that Polybios is actually criticizing Ptolemy IV's non-incestuous affairs with mistresses; his incestuous marriage to his full sister Arsinoë III was considered legitimate.

49 *Cf.* Shakespeare *Antony and Cleopatra* 1990:2.2, 201-228, which is based very closely on the Plutarch passage. The majestic arrival of Kleopatra at Tarsos actually pales into insignificance when compared with the spectacular processional pageant put on by her ancestor Ptolemy II sometime in the 270s BCE (for which see Athenaios 1951:196a-203b).

50 The horn of plenty (cornucopia) was the symbol of Ptolemaic queens in coinage and sculpture (Heinen 1978; Thompson 1973).

51 For the Roman embassy to Alexandria, see Diodoros 1933:33.28b, 1-3; Plutarch *Moralia* 1927:200f-201a; Justin 1994:38.8; Athenaios 1951:549e. On Ptolemy VIII trying to make a *positive* display of tryphē to the Romans, see Heinen 1983.

52 Hill Gates (citing Clifford Geertz) refers to the "'theater state' tactics" of certain polities: "flashy monumentalism, spectacular public ritual ... and the lavishly detailed apotheosis of rulers. This repertory of cultural flamboyance accords well with the shock value of royal incest" (2005:153). Gates refers in general to polities smaller and less developed than ancient Egypt (and indeed seems not to appreciate the distinction between Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt), but her point about rule by "cultural flamboyance" at a time

when the rulers have not fully consolidated their position may have some relevance to the early Ptolemaic dynasty under Ptolemy II.

53 In the Orphic tradition, Dionysos is the offspring of Zeus and Zeus' daughter Persephone; torn apart and devoured by the evil Titan gods, his heart was rescued by Zeus, who sewed it into his thigh, where Dionysos was regenerated and ultimately reborn.

54 See Rudhardt 1982; Persephone and Adonis (whose cult was particularly fostered by Arsinoë II) are also identified as liminal deities who are born of incest and who have special power over death. Reed (2000) notes the especially strong link the Ptolemies made between Adonis (previously unassociated with Egypt) and Osiris.

55 See also Pomeroy 1984:36, Hauben 1989, and Hazzard 2000:67 for other expressions of puzzlement or for interpretations of Ptolemaic behaviour based on the a priori assumption that Ptolemy would have wanted to downplay the incest.

56 The incest prohibition in Europe and North America has oscillated over time. In the medieval period, the prohibited degrees of kinship were vast: "At their most draconian, ... these prohibitions banned sexual intercourse between all relatives connected by consanguinity or affinity to the seventh degree, and between persons linked by compaternity (spiritual affinity) to the fourth degree" (Archibald 2001:11). In the modern Western world, the (fluctuating) boundary tends to lie along the line of first-cousin marriage (see Bratt 1984).

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Will Roscoe

PRIESTS OF THE GODDESS: GENDER TRANSGRESSION IN ANCIENT RELIGION

In the competition between Christian and pagan in the ancient world, neither side hesitated to broadcast the most outrageous and shocking accusations against its opponents in the most inflammatory rhetoric it could muster. "In their very temples," wrote Firmicus Maternus in the mid-fourth century, "can be seen deplorable mockery before a moaning crowd, men taking the part of women, revealing with boastful ostentation this ignominy of impure and unchaste bodies [*impuri et impudici*]. They broadcast their crimes and confess with superlative delight the stain of their polluted bodies [*contaminati corporis*]" (*De errore profanarum religionum,* 4.2).[1] These infamous men, with their impure, unchaste, polluted bodies, were none other than the *galli,* priests of the gods Cybele and Attis,

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[1] Except where noted, translations of Greek and Latin sources are my own. The earliest Christian attacks on the cult of Cybele and Attis focus on the galli and their sexuality (Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos,* 8.2; Justin Martyr, *Apologia,* 1.15). See G. Sanders, "Les galles et le gallat devant l'opinion chrétienne," in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren,* ed. Margreet de Boer and T. A. Edridge, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 3:1062–91.

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whose mystery religion constituted one of early Christianity's major rivals.[2] Time and again, Christian apologists cited the galli as representative of all they abhorred in pagan culture and religion. And of all the outrages of the galli, none horrified them more than the radical manner in which they transgressed the boundaries of gender.

"They wear effeminately nursed hair," continued Firmicus Maternus, "and dress in soft clothes. They can barely hold their heads up on their limp necks. Then, having made themselves alien to masculinity, swept up by playing flutes, they call their Goddess to fill them with an unholy spirit so as to seemingly predict the future to idle men. What sort of monstrous [*monstrum*] and unnatural [*prodigium*] thing is this?" A century later, Saint Augustine found the galli no less shocking: "Even till yesterday, with dripping hair and painted faces, with flowing limbs and feminine walk, they passed through the streets and alleys of Carthage, exacting from merchants that by which they might shamefully live" (*De civitate Dei,* 7.26).

It would be easy to dismiss the numerous references to galli in ancient literature, both Christian and pagan, as exoticisms equivalent to today's fascination with gender transgression as evidenced by such films as *M. Butterfly* and *The Crying Game.* Unlike the modern figure of the transvestite, however, galli were part of an official Roman state religion with manifestations in every part of the Greco-Roman world and at every level of society. One finds the Roman elite worshiping Cybele with bloody ani-

[2] For earlier discussions of the galli, see Franz Cumont, "Gallos," in *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1910), 13:674–82, and *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York: Dover, 1956), pp. 46–72; Grant Showerman, "The Great Mother of the Gods," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series* 1, no. 3 (1901): 221–333; James G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion,* vols. 5 and 6 of *The Golden Bough,* 3d ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1935), 5:265–78, 6:253–64; Henri Graillot, *Le culte de Cybele, mere des dieus, à Rome et dans l'empire romain,* Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. 107 (Paris: Fontemoing, 1912), see esp. chap. 8; Hugo Hepding, *Attis: Seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Gieszen: Richer'sche, 1903); Arthur D. Nock, "Eunuchs in Ancient Religion," in *Arthur Darby Nock: Essays on Religion and the Ancient World,* ed. Z. Stewart, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1:1–15. For more recent studies, see Maarten J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art,* Études préliminaires aux réligions orientales dans l'empire romain, vol. 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), and *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977); P. Lambrechts, *Attis: Van Herdersknaap tot God* (Brussels, 1962); G. M. Sanders, "Gallos," in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. Theodor Klauser, vol. 8 (Stuttgart, 1972), cols. 984–1034; Giulia S. Gasparro, *Soteriology and Mystic Aspects in the Cult of Cybele and Attis,* Études préliminaires aux réligions orientales dans l'empire romain, vol. 103 (Leiden: Brill, 1985). A major new resource is Maarten J. Vermaseren's comprehensive *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque,* 7 vols. (Leiden, 1977–1989), henceforth cited as *CCCA,* with numbers referring to volume and catalog number.

mal sacrifices officiated by state-appointed *archigalli;*[3] common freedman and plebians forming fraternal associations, such as the *dendrophori* and *canophori,* to perform various roles in her annual festivals;[4] and the poor and slaves swept up by the frenzy of her rites, often to the consternation and alarm of their social superiors.[5]

It is the widespread dispersion and great historical depth of the Cybele and Attis cult, as well as its appeal to multiple levels of ancient Mediterranean societies, that make its study fascinating on its own, not to mention its relevance to current debates concerning the social construction of sexuality and gender. The galli become even more interesting, however, when placed next to evidence of similar patterns of religious gender transgression from the Near East and south Asia, which suggests that goddess-oriented cults and priests are part of an ancient cultural legacy of the broad world-historical region Marshall Hodgson referred to as the "Oikoumene."[6]

In the discussion that follows, I will focus on three of the better-documented cases of goddess-centered priesthoods: the Greco-Roman galli, the priests of the goddess called Inanna in Sumeria and Ishtar in Akkad, and the *hijra* of contemporary India and Pakistan. The parallels between these priesthoods and the social roles and identities of their personnel are detailed and striking. Without ruling out dispersion as a factor, I will argue that these priesthoods are largely independent inventions whose shared features reflect commonalities in the social dynamics of the societies in which they arose, specifically, the agrarian city-state. The presence of goddess-centered priesthoods in the regions where the urban lifestyle first developed raises unexpected and challenging questions concerning the role of gender diversity in the origins of civilization.

[3] See R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium: Its Evolution and Terminology,* Études préliminaires aux réligions orientales dans l'empire romain, vol. 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1969); Garth Thomas, "Magna Mater and Attis," in *Religion,* ed. W. Haase, vol. 17, no. 3 of *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* pt. 2, ed. H. Temporino and W. Haase (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 1522–25; Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis,* pp. 101–7.

→ Duncan Fishwick, "The *Cannophori* and the March Festival of Magna Mater," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 97 (1966): 193–202.

[5] A Syrian inspired by the closely related goddess Dea Syria led the Sicilian slave revolt of 133 B.C.E. (Keith R. Bradley, *Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World, 140 B.C.–70 B.C.* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989], pp. 46–65). In the mid-first century B.C.E., Cicero accused Clodius of turning Cybele's festival into a "*servorum Megalesia*" (Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis,* 11.24–12.25; 13.27–28; 21.44). See also Agnes K. Michels, "Lucretius, Clodius and Magna Mater," *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire afferts à Jérôme Carcopino* (Paris: Hachette, 1966), pp. 675–79; John O. Lenaghan, *A Commentary on Cicero's Oration "De Haruspicum Responso,"* Studies in Classical Literature 5 (The Hague: Mouton, 1969).

[6] See Marshall G. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History,* ed. E. Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

GALLI: *Tertium sexus*

The galli were originally temple personnel in the cities of central Anatolia. Here the worship of a goddess who is characteristically portrayed on a throne flanked by lions or leopards can be traced back to neolithic Çatal Hüyük.[7] The continuity of this iconography (and other elements acquired over time, such as the high "tower" headdress, mirror, rosettes, patera, and tympanum) has been convincingly traced through Hittite, neo-Hittite, and Phrygian periods, as has the etymology of the name Cybele from the neo-Hittite Kubaba (Lydian: Kuvava) and the Phrygian Matar Kubileya.[8]

Prehistoric evidence of priests or other devotees of this goddess is scantier, however. A few inscriptions and artifacts from the end of the Hittite era do suggest the presence of personnel associated with the Anatolian goddess.[9] However, the earliest evidence of Attis, the deified shepherd considered the patron of the galli, does not occur until the Phrygian period (eighth to sixth centuries B.C.E.). In the otherwise untranslated Phrygian inscriptions, "Ates" (the usual spelling) is one of the most frequently occurring personal names.[10] Lynn Roller has suggested that it was originally a name in the royal Phrygian family.[11] Its occurrence in dedications found at cultic sites suggests that "Attis" became the title of the head priest of the Phrygian goddess, a role fulfilled, perhaps, by the

[7] James Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967); *CCCA,* 1:773.

[8] E. LaRoche, "Koubaba, déesse anatolienne, et le problème des origines de Cybèle," in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne: Colloque de Strasbourgh, 22–24 mai 1958* (Paris: Universitaires de France, 1960); Maurits N. van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.,* Iconography of Religions, sec. XV, Mesopotamia and the Near East, fasc. 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), and *Anatolia in the Earlier First Millennium B.C.,* Iconography of Religions, sec. XV, Mesopotamia and the Near East, fasc. 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1991); Friederike Naumann, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der Phrygischen und der Griechischen Kunst,* Istanbluer Mitteilungen, vol. 28 (Tubingen, 1983); Claude Brixhe, "Le nom de Cybèle," *Die Sprache* 25 (1979): 40–45; Lynn E. Roller, "The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian Cult," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991): 128– ➡ "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments: Greek God or Phrygian?" *Hesperia* 63, no. 2 (1994): 245–62, and "Phrygian Myth and Cult," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 7, no. 3/4 (1988): 44–50; O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 6–18.

[9] A priest of Kubabat, i.e., Kubaba, is mentioned three times in the cuneiform records of the Assyrian trading posts at Caesarea (J. D. Hawkins, "Kubaba. A, Philologisch," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. D. O. Edzard [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981], 6:257). A relief from Boğasköy depicts a goddess in a tall headdress attended by small male figures playing a lyre and flute (Naumann, pp. 62–88, pl. 7:1; *CCCA,* 1:32). Similar figures have been found at Gordion (Roller, "Phrygian Myth and Cult," p. 44) and at Ephesus (van Loon, *Anatolia in the Earlier First Millennium B.C.,* pp. 34, 47, pl. XLIIb).

[10] See, e.g., *CCCA,* 1:58, 60, 62, 714, 802.

[11] Roller, "Attis," pp. 253–55. It also appears in the Lydian royal names Alyattes and Adyattes and in the names of the Attalid dynasty. In Herodotus, Atys is the son of a Lydian king (1.34.2). Its occurrence as casually scratched graffiti on Phrygian pottery suggests that "Attis" could be an ordinary private name as well (Roller, "Phrygian Myth and Cult," p. 48).

king himself, in which case the practice may have been inherited from Hittite times.[12] Although it may originally have had a priest-king status, the effect of the successive invasions of central Anatolia in the first millennium B.C.E. appears to have been to diminish the role's political dimensions. In the mid-third century, the Attis, or head priest of the goddess at Pessinus, was Galatian—an appointee, in other words, of invading tribes of Gauls.[13] The identity and iconography of Attis as a god, Roller concludes, did not develop until Hellenistic times.

Even so, the Ἄττις ἱερεὺς (and his counterpart, called Βαττάκησ) supervised a college of priests whose presence and functions seem likely to have been much older.[14] The *fanatici galli* and *galli matris magnae* encountered by the Romans in their campaigns in Asia Minor in 190 and 189 B.C.E., for example, appear to have been fulfilling traditional functions of their status as officials and priests of a theocratic city.[15] Throughout Anatolia, temples had functioned as cultural and economic centers, with significant lands, servants, and various civic functions attached to them, since Hittite times.[16] At what point these attendants acquired the specific characteristics of the galli as known in the Hellenistic period (in particular, ecstatic practices and gender transgression) remains an open question. Although most myths of Attis present him as the founder of the galli, historical reality could just as easily be the opposite, a scenario suggested in a variant of the Attis myth recorded by Servius. Here Attis, who has castrated himself to avoid the unwanted advances of a king (rather than Cybele, see below), is found by priests of the Great Mother (*antistites matris magnae*), who bury him in their temple and then institute annual rites to commemorate his death (*Commentarii in Vergilium Aeneid,* 9.115).

[12] Hepding (n. 2 above), pp. 103, 126. See Gurney, chap. 2.

[13] Roller, "Attis," p. 254. Letters addressed to this figure written from 163 to 156 B.C.E. have been published in C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1934), pp. 241–53, nos. 55–61. The Galatians entered Phrygia as mercenaries in 278 B.C.E.

[14] For Ἄττις ἱερεύς, see *CCCA,* 1:58, 60; for Βαττάκησ, see Polybius, 31.37.5, and n. 15. Gasparro ([n. 2 above], pp. 28–29) argues for an ancient, indigenous origin for castration in Phrygia. Hepding (pp. 128–29) and Sanders ("Gallos" [n. 2 above], cols. 994–96) present the traditional view of this practice as a late accretion to Phrygian religion. On Pessinus and its priests, see Cicero, *Pro Sestio,* 56, 58, 59; Diodorus Siculus, 3.59.8; Herodian, 1.11.1–4; Pausanias, 1.4.5–6; Polybius, 31.37.4; Strabo, 12.567 (12.5.3); Lenaghan, pp. 130–33, 134; Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* (n. 2 above), pp. 26–27, 98–99; Graillot (n. 2 above), pp. 19, 316, 348–55; Hawkins.

[15] Livy, 37.9.9; 38.18.9–10; Polybius 21.6.7, 37.4–7; G. Thomas (n. 3 above), p. 1509. In 103 B.C.E. a Battakes made an official visit to Rome—the Romans assumed he was a castrated galli (Diodorus Siculus, 36.13; Plutarch, *Marius,* 17; Graillot, pp. 95–96).

[16] Esther V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon,* 2d ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971), p. 179; van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.,* pp. 16–17; W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895–97), 1:10, 101–5; Gurney, p. 1.

The religion of the Anatolian mother goddess—called variously Kybele, Agdistis, Rhea, Meter Theon, Magna Mater, and Cybele (but always depicted with consistent iconography)—eventually spread throughout the Greek and Roman worlds. In both settings, however, worship of the goddess preceded that of the god Attis. Indeed, when a μητρᾰγυγύρτης[17] first appeared in Athens around 500 B.C.E., he was stoned to death. A plague followed, and, in repentance, the Metroon was erected to house a statue honoring the goddess, only to be destroyed by the Persians in 480/479 B.C.E.[18] In the third century, however, a new Metroon was built, and an imported cult of the Mother of the Gods, although still lacking ecstatic elements, flourished at Piraeus near Athens.[19] Ionian Greeks and Greek colonies in the west, on the other hand, were more receptive to the emotive aspects of Cybele worship. Inscriptions from Lokroi in southern Italy and artifacts from Marseilles attest to well-developed Cybele and Attis worship dating back to the sixth and seventh centuries B.C.E.[20] In the wake of Alexander's conquests, wandering devotees of the goddess became an increasingly common presence in Greek literature and social life; depictions of Attis have been found at numerous Greek sites.[21] Louis R. Farnell referred to the ubiquitous devotees of the Mother Goddess in the Hellenistic period as "Phrygian missionaries."[22]

The religion of Cybele entered the Roman world in grand style, in 204 B.C.E., when the Roman senate, responding to oracles, imported the god-

[17] From μήτηρ (mother) + ἀγύρτης (mendicant priest). This is the most common Greek word for priests of the Mother Goddess before the third century. See Philippe Bourgeaud, "L'écriture d'Attis: Le récit dans l'histoire," in *Métamorphoses du mythe en Grèce antique,* ed. C. Calame (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1988), pp. 87–103. Related Greek terms include Βακέλας (*Anthologia Palatina,* 7.709.2–3; Lucian, *Saturnalia,* 12; s.v. *Etymologicum magnum*) and κύβηβος, which Photius defines as "possessed by a god" (s.v. *Lexicon*).

[18] Photius, *Lexicon,* s.v. Μητρῷν (in *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia,* ed. R. E. Wycherly, The Athenian Agora, vol. 3 [Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957], p. 155); Julian, *Oration,* 5.8.1; Aristophanes Scholia, *Plutus,* 431.

[19] William S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones," *Harvard Theological Review* 37, no. 2 (1944): 107–9; Gasparro, pp. 49–56; Hepding, pp. 135–37.

[20] At Lokroi the name Κυβάλας appears in a late seventh-century-B.C.E. inscription (M. Guarducci, "Cibele in un' epigrafe arcaica di Locri Epizefirî," *Klio* 52 [1970]: 133–38; *CCCA,* 4:128). Another ancient site of Cybele worship was Colle Orbo near Acrae, Sicily (*CCCA,* 4:152–65; Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis,* p. 68). Artifacts from Marseilles include an early depiction of Attis (*CCCA,* 5:292; Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis,* p. 132). Roller identifies the Greek cities of western Anatolia as the source of the characteristic images of the goddess adopted in the sixth century ("Great Mother" [n. 8 above], p. 135).

[21] Literary references from the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. to Attis and/or his followers include Theopompus, 1.740 (*Fragmenta comicorum Graecorum,* 2.800); Hermesianax (in Pausanias, 17.9–10); *Anthologia Palatina,* 6.217–20, 237; Neanthes of Cyzicus (Harpocration, s.v. Αττης); Manetho, *Apotelesmaticorum,* 4.218–23; 5.177–80; 6[3].295–99; Theocritus, 20.40.

[22] Lewis R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States,* 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), 1:297, 300; Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 35.

dess (or, rather, the black meteorite lump said to represent her) from Phrygia and, with great fanfare, installed her in a temple on the Palatine hill. Her annual festival, the April *megalensia/megalesia,* became a regular feature of the Roman religious calendar.[23] As Prudentius observed, "Nobles in their togas bare their feet before the car at the rites of the Idaean Mother" (*Peristephanon,* 10.154–55).[24] When imperial Rome conquered the larger part of the Mediterranean world, the religion of Cybele followed in its wake.

As at Athens, the galli and their patron Attis initially were missing from the worship of Cybele in republican Rome. Except during the *megalensia,* the personnel of the Cybele temple, who appear to have been Phrygians, were rarely seen in public, and Roman citizens were forbidden from serving as attendants or priests.[25] By the first century B.C.E., however, a variety of evidence, including literary references and artifacts found at the site of the Cybele temple, suggests that the popularity of Attis, and the number of galli, was growing.[26] The Senate initially responded by regulating the activities of begging priests.[27] But under Claudius, in recognition of the cult's growing popularity, the state religion of Cybele was reorganized. The annual megalensia was moved to March, and for the first time rites honoring Attis, in which the galli were prominent, became part of official observances.[28]

References from the first century by Ovid, Seneca, Persius, Martial, Statius, and others, indicate that the galli were by then a common sight throughout the empire. In Apuleius's second-century fable, *Metamorphoses,* "The Golden Ass," they are portrayed as living in collectives loosely

[23] On the importation of Cybele to Rome, see G. Thomas, pp. 1502–8; Lenaghan, pp. 129–31; Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis,* pp. 38–41; Graillot, pp. 25–69; Jan Bremmer, "The Legend of Cybele's Arrival in Rome," in *Studies in Hellenistic Religions,* ed. M. J. Vermaseren (Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 9–22. On the development of the megalensia, see Michele Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 87–89.

[24] "Idaean Mother" was one of the epithets applied to Cybele referring to mountains sacred to her in Anatolia. Others include "Berecyntia" and "Dindymus."

[25] Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis,* p. 96; Sanders, "Gallos" (n. 2 above), col. 1001. See also Jérôme Carcopino, "La réforme romaine du culte de Cybèle et d'Attis," in his *Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne,* 6th ed. (Paris: L'artisan du livre, 1941), pp. 49–171; Graillot, pp. 74–78; Burkert, p. 36; Grant Showerman, "Was Attis at Rome under the Republic?" *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 31 (1900): 46–59; Hepding, pp. 142–44.

[26] Literary references include Catullus, 63; Lucretius, *De rerum natura,* 2.611–43; Varro, *Menippearum fragmenta,* 119–21, 131–32, 149–50, 364. On the artifacts, see Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis,* pp. 43, 56, 14; *CCCA,* 3:14–199.

[27] Cicero, *De legibus,* 2.6.40.

[28] Joannes Lydus, *Liber de mensibus,* 4.59; Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis,* pp. 113–24; G. Thomas, pp. 1518– → Fishwick (n. 4 above), p. 200; Sanders, "Gallos," col. 1002; Hepding, pp. 145–60; Salzman, pp. 164–69.

attached to local temples from which they ventured to prowl the streets and countryside begging for alms and performing spectacular religious rites. Although exaggerated for comic effect, Apuleius's account is confirmed in its basic details by many other sources.

> The following day they went out, wearing various colored undergarments with turbans and saffron robes and linen garments thrown over them, and every one hideously made up, their faces crazy with muddy paints and their eyes artfully lined. Some wore white tunics, fastened with belts, with purple stripes flowing in every direction like spears and yellow shoes on their feet. They put the goddess, draped in a silk cloak, on my back to carry, and with their arms bared to the shoulders, hoisting enormous swords and battle-axes, they leapt about shouting [*evantes*], raving in a religious dance to the singing of pipes. After wandering by not a few small cottages, we arrived at some villas of landowners, and entering the first one, they immediately flew around every which way, howling [*ululatibus*] cacophonously. For a long time they would hang their heads down on their necks and with quick, twisting motions whirl their hanging hair around in circles and sometimes assail their flesh with bites. At last, with a two-edged ax that they carried, everyone cut their arms. Then, from among them, one of those pouring forth in raving pretended to be stricken with madness [*vecordiam*] and affected repeated gasps from the depths of his breast, as if filled with the power of a divine spirit—as if, in other words, the presence of a god were not accustomed to make men better but weaker and ill! . . . You could see, by the cutting of the swords and the blows of the whips, the soil become wet with the filthy blood of the effeminates. (8.27–28)[29]

What was the purpose of all this? The elite Greek and Roman authors of the Hellenistic period rarely commented on the religious meaning of these rites, but from other sources and by comparison I think it is possible to propose an answer. Ancient writers considered the galli equivalent to the Corybantes and Curetes—groups who performed rites designed to benefit individual participants (as opposed to honoring a god). From Plato, in particular, we learn that the corybantic rites were intended to restore peace of mind to individuals suffering from psychological distress by inducing a temporary, healing form of madness or loss of consciousness (an instance of good μανία driving out the bad).[30] This was the function of the loud, shrill music, described as a cacophony of flutes, cymbals, and drums, that accompanied their performances. Sensory disorder, as the study of religious rites from around the world reveals, can

[29] Compare Lucian, *Asinus,* 35–41; Babrius, *Fabulae,* 141.6–9.

[30] Plato, *Euthydemus,* 277D; *Leges,* 7.790d–791A; *Phaedrus,* 244A–245A, 265B; *Ion,* 533D–536D; *Symposium,* 215C–215E. See also Plutarch, *Amatorius,* 758E–763B; Strabo, 10.3.7–22; Iamblichus, *De mysteriis,* 3.4–11; Ivan M. Linforth, "The Corybantic Rites in Plato," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13, no. 5 (1946): 121–62, and "Telestic Madness in Plato, Phaedrus 244DE," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13, no. 6 (1946): 163–72; Arthur D. Nock, "A Cabiric Rite," *American Journal of Archaeology* 45, no. 4 (1941): 577–81; Gasparro (n. 2 above), pp. 15–16.

create liminal states of consciousness in which normal distinctions, including, in some cases, those of gender, are suspended, and this state is the prelude to a subsequent reintegration, which can be social, psychological, or physiological. I believe a similar response, a collective catharsis on the part of onlookers, was the intended effect of the public rites of the galli.

Undoubtedly the most shocking practice attributed to galli was that of self-castration. Details of the actual procedure, however, are few. The spontaneous self-mutilation described by Lucian in *The Syrian Goddess,* for example, was probably not the usual method. As Pliny relates, the galli practiced emasculation "within the limits of injury" to avoid "dangerous results" (*Natural History,* 11.261; 35.165).[31] Nor is it clear that every gallus necessarily underwent the operation and, if so, at what point in his career. There does appear to have been an initiatory period of unknown length.[32] The outcome, in any case, was ambiguous. "Neither is he changed into a woman, nor does he remain a man," wrote Augustine (*De civitate Dei,* 7.24). Various authors referred to galli as a *medium genus* or a *tertium sexus*—representatives of a third gender.[33]

Very little surviving evidence gives us any idea of the actual lives of galli aside from their public appearances. Dedications in the *Anthologia Palatina* hint at the genuine piety and devotion to the goddess felt by her followers, who apparently retired from religious activities later in life (6.51, 94, 234, 237; 7.222). Similarly, inscriptions sometimes reveal the continuing relationships with families and others maintained by galli, even as they pursued their religious vocation. In 46 B.C.E., for example, one "Soterides Gallos" dedicated a relief to the Mother Goddess at Cyzicus after she had answered his invocation for aid on behalf of his partner (συμβίου, a term also applied to a husband or wife), Marcus Stlaccius, who had been taken prisoner in a war.[34]

Why is gender transgression so often attributed with religious meaning? Mircea Eliade and Carl Jung see in the figure of the androgyne the projection of a longing for a return to primordial unity, for escape from the unbearable tension of the opposites, for a mode of humanity no longer divided into halves.[35] But transcendence is only one of the motives involved in androgyny in the ancient world. As Diodorus of Sicily

[31] Nor is it clear exactly what was removed. Procedures called "castration" in ancient times encompassed everything from vasectomy to complete removal of penis and testicles.

[32] Such at least is suggested in the fragment published in Peter H. Parsons, "A Greek Satyricon?" *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 18 (1971): 53–68.

[33] Tertullian, *Ad nationes,* 1.20.4; *Scriptores historiae Augustae, Alexander Severus,* 23.7; Prudentius, *Peristephanon,* 10.1071. See Sanders, "Les galles et le gallat" (n. 1 above), pp. 1080–81.

[34] *CCCA,* 1:287; Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis,* p. 29.

[35] See, e.g., Mircea Eliade, *Mephistopheles and the Androgyne: Studies in Religious Myth and Symbol,* trans. J. M. Cohen (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1965), pp. 78–124.

wrote regarding the god Hermaphroditus, "There are some who declare that the coming into being of creatures of a kind such as these are marvels [*terata*], and being born rarely they announce the future, sometimes for evil and sometimes for good" (4.6.5). The violation of social boundaries, especially those as fundamental to daily life as male and female, tears the very fabric of reality for those who witness it. As Mary Douglas might point out, the difference between pagan and Christian reactions in such cases is the difference between awe and horror when faced with an apparition that defies one's sense of reality. The Christian response is to place such events within its framework of moral dualism, with gender transgression on the side of evil. Pagans, on the other hand, more often viewed such figures, in the words of Diodorus, as *terata*—a term that can be translated as "marvels monsters, prodigies, signs"—instances of the sacred breaking through to the level of the mundane. Thus, individuals such as the galli, neither male nor female, occupied simultaneously social and supernatural planes and both poles of the moral continuum. As Sextus Empiricus observed, "The Mother of the Gods also admits effeminates [θηλυδρίας], and the Goddess would not judge so, if by nature unmanliness [μὴ ἀνδρεῖον] were a trivial thing" (*Outlines of Pyrrhonism,* 3.217).

Both responses, however, awe and horror, place difference at arm's length so it can be contemplated and a proper place for it in the existing moral universe found. In the process, difference is reintegrated into reality. Thus, figures of gender transgression become polyvalent symbols.[36] Androgyny, whether conceived as a union of opposites or the transcendence of social (secular, mundane) differences, captured the imagination of Christians no less than the pagans before them. One need only recall the many versions of the logion attributed to Jesus himself, "When you make the male and the female one and the same, so that the male not be male nor the female female . . . then will you enter the Kingdom."[37]

Nonetheless, it was always a spiritual androgyny projected onto the afterlife, not a magical operation that could be performed in the here and now, let alone a social identity, that Christianity idealized. (Even Eliade considered the social enactment of androgyny symptomatic of a "confusion of levels").[38] The difference between Christian and pagan

[36] This is the conclusion of Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[37] *The Nag Hammadi Library in English,* ed. James M. Robinson (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 121. See also Robert Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Eliade, pp. 104–8; Marie Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity,* trans. Jennifer Nicholson (London: Studio, 1961), pp. 75–83. There is also the passage in Matthew 19 in which Jesus appears to acknowledge three kinds of men called "eunuchs" who are not predisposed to marry and therefore should not (Matt. 19:12).

[38] Eliade, pp. 116–17.

views of androgyny is nowhere clearer than in their respective attitudes toward the sexuality of the androgyne. Galli were widely assumed to be sexually active with men—Apuleius terms them a *chorus cinaedorum,* using the common Latin term *cinaedus* (Greek: κίναιδος) for male prostitutes (and any man who was a receptive partner in sex with other men), and he alludes to their performance of oral sex on a young rustic (*Metamorphoses,* 8.26).[39] In the pagan mind, however, homosexuality did not necessarily negate the religious status of androgynous figures—it was in the nature of prodigies to exceed social conventions. In any case, since homosexual practices were, for the receptive partner, considered androgynizing, the sexual activity of galli served to overdetermine their status as androgynes. For early Christians, however, sexual desire is precisely what kept individuals locked into the performance of gender roles and the perpetuation of the secular world through biological reproduction. Transcending gender had to begin with the renunciation of sexuality. Given this prerequisite, Christian men were often able to identify themselves with androgynous images of deity, while Christian women, through ascetic practices, could become, in effect, spiritual men and thereby escape certain limitations of the female role.[40]

For this reason, the relationship between Christianity and the Cybele religion in late antiquity is more complex than one of simple antagonism, although there was plenty of that. In some cities, worshipers clashed in the streets when the festivals of the two religions coincided, as they often did in the spring.[41] With the addition of the *hilaria* in the mid-third century, a rite celebrating Attis's rebirth, the Phrygian cult began to compete directly with Christianity in the dissemination of resurrection and

[39] Graillot (n. 2 above), p. 318. Especially revealing is the occurrence of κίνακδος in the context of the initiation of a gallus in Oxyrhynchus Papyi, 42,3010 (Parsons). See the discussions of *cinaedi* in John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York: Routledge, 19[illegible] Amy Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the Cinaedus and the Roman Law against Love between Men," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3, no. 4 (1993): 523–73; Maud W. Gleason, "The Semiotics of Gender: Physiognomy and Self-Fashioning in the Second Century C.E.," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World,* ed. D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler, and F. I. Zeitlin (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 389–415.

[40] See Delcourt, pp. 84–102; E. Castelli, "Virginity and Its Meaning for Women's Sexuality in Early Christianity," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 2, no. 1 (1982): 61–88; John Anson, "The Female Transvestite in Early Monasticism: The Origin and Development of a Motif," *Viator* 5 (1974): 1–32; Aline Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity,* trans. Felicia Pheasant (New York: Blackwell, 1988); Wayne A. Meeks, "The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *History of Religions* 13, no. 3 (1974): 165–208; Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Joyce E. Salisbury, *Church Fathers, Independent Virgins* (London: Verso, 1991).

[41] Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis,* pp. 137–38. See, e.g., Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica,* 5.1; *Passio sancti Symphoriani martyris.*

salvation themes.[42] In some areas, interesting syncretisms appeared. The Roman bishop Hippolytus, writing in the first half of the third century, described at length the cult of the Naasenes, in which the worship of Attis and Jesus were thoroughly merged.[43] Long after the pagan temples stood in ruins (the last observance of the rites of Cybele and Attis in Rome occurred in 394), Christian fathers found it necessary to pass canon laws against the practice of self-castration by fanatical ascetics in those very regions where the galli had once been so prominent, Asia Minor and the Near East.[44]

HIJRA: NEITHER MAN NOR WOMAN

The interplay between erotic and ascetic dimensions of gender transgression is even more prominent in the case of the hijra of India, members of a contemporary cult of goddess worshipers estimated to number some fifty thousand in northern India alone, with roots that may be as old or older than those of the galli.[45] Hijra (an Urdu term) are males (and sometimes physically intersexed individuals) devoted to the worship and service of Bahucharā Mātā, one of the many Indian mother goddess figures.[46] (Related roles, known by other terms, can be found throughout south

[42] Sanders, "Les galles et le gallat," p. 1064.

[43] For parallels to Attis worship in the Montanist movement, see Wilhelm Schepelern, *Der Montanismus und die Phrygischen Kulte: Eine Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Tübingen: Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1929), pp. 10–33, 53–59, 89–91, 130–59.

[44] For example, the Apostolic Canons 21–24 (*The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956], 7:387–505); Commands of Mar Rabbula 55 ("Commands and Admonitions of Mar Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa to the Priests and the *Benai Qeiama,*" in *Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism,* ed. Arthur Vööbus, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 11 [Stockholm, 1960], p. 4); Synod of Mar Isaac 2, Synod of Mar Ezechial 2, and Canons of Mar Aba 20 (*Synodicon orientale ou recueil des synodes nestoriens,* ed. J. B. Chabot, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques [Paris: Klinckseick, 1902], pp. 263, 375, 558). See also Th. Nöldeke, "Die Selbstentmannung bei den Syrern," *Archiv fur Religionswissenshaft* 10, no. 1 (1907): 150–52; Sanders, "Les galles et le gallat," pp. 1069–71.

[45] Nirmal Mitra, "The Making of a 'Hijra,' " *Onlooker National Newsmagazine* (February 28, 1983): 22.

[46] The following description of the hijra is based primarily on Serena Nanda, *Neither Man nor Woman: The Hijra of India* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1990); see also *The Ocean of Story, Being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's "Kathā Sarit Sāgara" (or Ocean Streams of Story),* ed. N. M. Penzer, 10 vols. (London: Sawyer, 1924), 3:319–29; A. M. Shah, "A Note on the Hijadās of Gujarat," *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961): 1325–33; A. P. Sinha, "Procreation among the Eunuchs," *Eastern Anthropologist* 20, no. 2 (1967): 168–76; Satish K. Sharma, "Eunuchs: Past and Present," *Eastern Anthropologist* 37, no. 4 (1984): 381–89. For historical references, see J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies,* trans. H. K. Beauchamp (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906), pp. 311–12; Fazálullah L. Faridi, "The Musalmáns," in *Gujarát Population: Musalmans and Parsis,* Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, ed. J. M. Campbell, vol. 9, p. 2 (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1899), pp. 21–22; Bhimbhái Kirpárám, *Gurarát Population: Hindus,* Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, ed. J. M. Campbell, vol. 9, pt. 1 (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1901), pp. 506–8; R. N. Saletore, *Sex Life under Indian Rulers* (Delhi: Hind Pocket, 1974), pp. 43–47, 93–95, 192–222.

Asia.)[47] Although its existence has long been known to Europeans, Serena Nanda's recent ethnography, *Neither Man nor Woman,* offers the first intimate view of the cult and its members.

The hijra, as Nanda relates, live in collectives with recognized leaders, or gurus, in cities throughout northern India. These local houses are, in turn, linked to a national network. Sometimes serving as temple functionaries, hijra appear today most often in bands, each with established territories in which they enjoy acknowledged begging rights. Their primary religious function is to appear at weddings and childbirths to call down the blessings of the goddess, those of fertility being foremost. Table 1 summarizes the parallels between galli and hijra. The only activity of the hijra lacking a direct parallel among galli is that of bestowing blessings on infants and newlyweds. The public performances of the hijra on these occasions, however, share several features with the rites of the galli, including loud, rhythmic music with flutes and drums, wild dancing, and bawdy behavior.[48] Beyond this, both galli and hijra are credited with the ability to foretell the future and to utter fearful curses, and both earn a livelihood through institutionalized begging. Hijra also turn to prostitution.[49]

The most striking parallel between the two cults is the practice of castration. In both cases, the procedure appears to have been traditionally performed in a temple, with the parts buried there or under a tree.[50] In the

[47] Terms used interchangeably with hijra in the late nineteenth century include *mukhanna* in northwest India (William Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* [Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1896], 2:495), *fatada* and *pavaya/pâweeâ/pavaiya* in Kathiawar, Baroda, and Gujarat (Kirpárám, p. 506; R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay* [Bombay: Government Central Press, 1922], 3:226; Alexander K. Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India,* rev. ed. [London: Richardson & Co., 1878], p. 428; R. E. Enthoven, *Folklore of the Konkan, Compiled from Materials Collected by the Late A. M. T. Jackson, Indian Civil Service* [1915; reprint, Delhi: Cosmo, 1976], app. xxv), *khasua* in the central provinces, and *khoja* in Madras and Jaipur (Penzer, ed., p. 321; H. Ebden, "A Few Notes, with Reference to 'The Eunuchs,' to Be Found in the Large Households of the State of Rajpootana," *Indian Annals of Medical Science* 3 [1856]: 522). Related roles include those of *jogappa* in southern India and Kalhapur (Nicholas Bradford, "Transgenderism and the Cult of Yellamma: Heat, Sex, and Sickness in South Indian Ritual," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 39, no. 3 [1983]: 307–22; Enthoven, *Folklore of the Konkan,* app. xv), the *ali* in Tamilnadu (Alf Hiltebeitel, "Śiva, the Goddess, and the Disguises of the Pandavas and Draupadi," *History of Religions* 20, nos. 1/2 [1980]: 163), and the priests of the goddesses Chatushsrngi (near Poona) and Huligamma (Karnataka) (J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India: Its Nature, Function, and Origins* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946], p. 142).

[48] There is also a parallel in the myth of the birth of Zeus, in which the Corybantes (like the galli) dance about clashing their swords and shields to hide the infant's cries and thereby protect him from his jealous father. To the extent that this amounted to the warding off of a "demon" figure, it is also comparable to the beliefs and practices discussed in n. 61 below and, indirectly, to the performances of the hijra.

[49] Prostitution is reported in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, as well as more recent, sources (Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay,* p. 226; Forbes, p. 428).

[50] Nanda, p. 28. For a reconstruction of the rite of castration for galli, see Sanders, "Gallos" (n. 2 above); Hepding, pp. 158–65, 182–201.

TABLE 1

PARALLELS AMONG MEDITERRANEAN, INDIAN, AND MESOPOTAMIAN GODDESS PRIESTHOODS

	Galli	Hijra	Gala, Kurgarrû, and Assinnu
Social traits. . . .	Are organized in collectives with leaders; membership is by initiation	Are organized in collectives with gurus; membership is by initiation	Are organized as classes of temple personnel with leaders; have ceremonies for new gala
	Practice spontaneous self-castration and/or castration in a temple, with parts buried there; Attis, their mythological patron, castrates himself under a pine tree	Undergo castration, ideally in a temple, with parts buried there or under a tree; self-castration occurs in myths	Are described as gender transformed by Inanna/Ištar, but there is no clear evidence of castration
	Wear partly female and partly galli-specific dress	Cross-dress; a combination of male and female dress is reported historically	Gala sing in female dialect; kurgarrû and assinnu wear goddess masks; sag-ur-sag dress half male, half female
	Are assumed to have sex with men	Have commercial and personal relationships with men	Omen texts and proverbs refer to homosexuality
	Are termed *tertium sexus* and *medium genus*	Are termed *tṛtīyām prakṛtim* (third gender) and *napuṃsaka* (not male)	Myth relates the creation by Nintu of a third category of nonreproductive people
Economic roles. . . .	Beg in city and countryside	Beg in city and countryside	

	Serve as temple personnel	Receive cash and land grants from rulers; serve as temple personnel	Receive prebends and rations as temple personnel
	Are accused of being prostitutes	Commonly engage in prostitution	Are involved in temple prostitution
Religious functions. . . .	Are priests of Cybele (and related goddesses)	Are priests of Bahucharā Mātā	Are priests of Inanna/Ištar (and other goddesses)
	Act as temple servants and religious performers; appear in festivals	Act as temple servants and performers; appear in religious festivals	Act as temple servants and performers who appear in festivals and crisis rites
	Are considered related to Corybantes and Curetes, who danced at the birth of Zeus	Perform fertility and blessing rites at marriages and births	
	Perform rites with music, singing, dancing with swords and knives, bloodletting, and satire	Perform rites with music, singing, and bawdy dancing	Gala sing laments; kurgarrû and assinnu dance, sing, "shout with joy," and employ satire; kurgarrû play a war game with swords, clubs, and bloodletting
	Produce a temporary, healing madness with their performances		Rites ease the minds of the gods; assinnu "grab" sickness and take it away
	Prophecy while in trances	Can foretell the future, utter curses, and conduct rites to ward off demons	Appearance of assinnu and kurgarrû in omens and dreams is believed to ward off evil

case of hijra, both penis and testicles are removed by an expert (called *dai ma,* or midwife), while the initiate chants the name of the mother goddess.[51] The blood is allowed to flow freely in the belief that it drains away the "heat" that is the source of both maleness and sexual desire. As a result, the initiate is *nirvan* (liberated, reborn); he becomes a sannyasi, or itinerant saint, who embodies the strength, or Shakti, of the goddess and is able to convey it to others in the form of blessings.[52] Despite the obvious dangers, most initiates survive the procedure and observe a convalescence similar to that of women after childbirth. According to Nanda, many hijra postpone the operation, and some forgo it altogether, despite pressure from other cult members and severe ridicule if they are discovered in public to have a penis.[53] (Outside of northwestern India and Pakistan, the area of greatest Muslim influence, castration is not practiced, although quite similar roles exist, nor does it occur among the various parallels found in southeast Asia.)

Castration does not transform hijra into women. As Nanda's informants explain, "We are neither men nor women."[54] Although they generally wear women's clothing in public, their exaggerated "femininity" and bawdy public behavior immediately gives them away as hijra.[55] The attitude of most Indians toward them, like that of ancient Greeks and Romans toward galli, hovers between fear and awe. Failure to respond to their requests for alms might cause them to utter a fearful curse or, worse, to lift their saris to reveal the scars of the operation that made them holy—an act certain to doom the viewer to calamity.[56] Freud might point to the underlying exhibitionism and hostility in such an act, but it is worth nothing that here it is absence of the phallus, not its possession, that is being flaunted. (Attis, too, is frequently portrayed in an exhibitionist manner, with his cloak open to conspicuously frame his missing phallus.)

When the British entered India, hijra were a well-established feature of the social landscape, enjoying begging rights, title to lands, and other privileges granted to them by both Muslim and Hindu rulers.[57] How far

[51] Nanda, pp. 26–29.

[52] Mitra, p. 25; Nanda, pp. 10, 28.

[53] Nanda, pp. xxiv, 11, 118.

[54] Ibid., p. 15.

[55] See P. N. Pimpley and S. K. Sharma, "Hijaras: A Study of an Atypical Role," *Avadh Journal of Social Sciences* 2 (1985): 381–89. According to these authors (who appear to be referring to practices in the Punjab region), despite the adoption of a feminine persona in public, a system of gender differentiation exists in some hijra collectives. Less feminine hijra are given masculine names and perform the heavier chores, while others have female names and specialize in traditional female activities. The overall organization of the collective, these authors argue, is that of a matrilineal, matrilocal household.

[56] Nanda, pp. 6–7; Kirpárám, p. 507; Shah (n. 46 above), p. 1328.

[57] Laurence W. Preston, "A Right to Exist: Eunuchs and the State in Nineteenth-Century India," *Modern Asian Studies* 21, no. 2 (1987): 371–87.

back we can project the hijra cult, however, remains an open question.[58] Modern hijra often cite the episode in the Mahābhārata (compiled between 200 B.C.E. and 200 C.E.) in which Arjuna disguises himself as a eunuch dancer and lives in a harem for a year, teaching the arts of dance.[59] An even older text, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (as early as the eighth century B.C.E.) specifies the use of a "long-haired man" (*puruṣia*) in one of its rites because he is "neither man [*puṃs*] nor woman [*strī*]" (5.1.2.14),[60] while the Atharvaveda (ca. 500 B.C.E.) includes a charm against dancing eunuch demons (*klīvai'va;* 8.6.7–11), who endanger newborns.[61] That these beliefs were still current as late as the nineteenth century is apparent from a rite reported in Gujurat in which a "eunuch" flings balls of wheat flour to the four directions as a charm to scare away evil spirits on the occasion of marriages.[62]

[58] In Gujurat, for example, the cult of the hijra is closely linked to the worship of Bahucharā Mātā. A temple was erected on the spot where she cut off her breasts and died, in present-day Bechraji. In 1783 C.E. a much larger temple was constructed next to it by Mânâjee Row Guikowâr (Manajirao Gaekwad), whose descendants remain the trustees of the site to this day. A collection of poems praising the goddess, the "Boucherâjee Poorân," was composed around 1744. Jeto/Jetho, whose story is often cited as an origin myth by hijra, is said to have been the son of a Gaekwad maharaja, which lends the story a veneer of historicity and suggests that the hijra cult as presently organized originated in the mid-eighteenth century (Mitra, p. 19). Forbes provides a description of the temple and its personnel in the early nineteenth century, referring to the "Pâweeâ [see n. 47], who are eunuchs, and who, if universal belief be true, prostitute themselves to unnatural practices. They wear the dress of females, with the male turban. They are about four hundred in number, of whom half reside at Teekur, near Hulwud, while others rove about the country extorting alms. . . . Some of the Pâweeâs, it is commonly asserted, have amassed considerable wealth" (Forbes, pp. 427–29; see also Mitra, pp. 18–19. Ebden also mentions well-to-do hijra [n. 47 above]).

[59] This occurs in the fourth book, *Virāṭaparvan.* See also Hiltebeitel, pp. 165–66. Hijra also cite the figure of Bhīśma (Shah [n. 47 above], p. 1328; G. R. Salunke, "The Cult of the Hijaras," *Illustrated Weekly of India* [August 8, 1976]: 20). In fact, it takes a combination of the traits of Arjuna and Bhīśma to get the complete configuration of the historical hijra cult. Arjuna lives as a palace eunuch and dancer, but there is no religious dimension to this status. Bhīśma, on the other hand, takes a vow of celibacy in order to remove himself from patrilineal succession so that his father can marry a maiden and ensure that her children inherit his kingdom. Hijra, like Arjuna, are eunuchs and dancers, but, like Bhīśma, they are also religious ascetics who have taken vows of (heterosexual) celibacy.

[60] Compare *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* (ca. 500–350 B.C.E.), 14.1.14; 15.5.22.

[61] Compare Mahābhārata, 4.10.7, 36.30; 13.145.52. See Hiltebeitel, pp. 164–65. See also the Punjabi epic *Pûran Bhagat,* in which eunuchs who dance at the door during a woman's pregnancy cause lameness and baldness (R. C. Temple, *The Legends of the Panjâb,* 2 vols. [Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1884–1900], 2:396). Hijra are widely believed to take away infants with ambiguous genitalia. Clearly, in ancient and modern India pregnancy and childbirth are viewed as a liminal and dangerous period. Both the child's survival and its sex are in doubt. The Artharvaveda addresses this crisis with a charm for warding off sex-changing demons. The blessing rite of the hijra represents yet another solution: bribe the ambivalent figures with alms so that they will use their powers to bless instead of curse. From this perspective, the continuity of belief and practice from the Atharvaveda to contemporary hijra becomes apparent.

[62] William Crooke, "Indian Charms and Amulets," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. James Hastings (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1911), 3:447.

Other relevant terms found in early Sanskrit texts include *tṛtīyā prakṛti,* "third nature,"[63] *strīrūpini/strīpumān,* "woman-man,"[64] and *napuṃsaka,* "not male."[65] Several lawbooks proscribe "eunuchs" from inheriting, while specifying that such persons should be maintained by the king.[66] Yet other Sanskrit references reveal that eunuchs of various categories were an integral feature of ancient Indian courts.[67] Their status and numbers appear to have increased under Muslim rulers.[68] In the *Ubhayābhisārikā,* on the other hand, a humorous monologue play from the first century C.E., a character of the tṛtīyā prakṛti is described as "the pest of the public throughfares" and a freelance courtesan (vv. 21–22). Sex manuals, such as the Kāmasūtra, include instructions (for men) concerning sexual practices to be performed with third-gender persons (2.9),[69] and drama manuals, such as the *Nāṭyasāstra,* place instructions for portraying such persons together with those for performing male and female roles in a single chapter on the prakṛti, in this context clearly "genders" (chap. 24).[70]

In short, Sanskrit literature provides clear evidence of a well-established third-gender status as far back as the early first millennium.[71] Although such persons were denied certain rights under Brahmanic law, they were not denied a means of subsistence, and some fulfilled important roles in palace administration. The oldest texts attribute supernatural powers and/or religious roles to "eunuchs." Additional research will be needed to de-

[63] Kāmasūtra (ca. 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.), 2.9; Mahābhārata, 4.59 (northern variant); *Ubhayābhisārikā,* v. 21.

[64] Kāmasūtra, 2.9; Mahābhārata, 5.189.5; *Śuka-saptati,* in *Erotic Indian Tales from the Sanskrit Classic Suksaptati,* trans. G. L. Mathur (Delhi: Hind, 1971), pp. 179–81; George T. Artola, "The Transvestite in Sanskrit Story and Drama," *Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras* (1975): 65.

[65] *Nāṭyaśāstra,* 24.68–69; Ayurveda, in Patanjali Sethi, "The Hijras," *Illustrated Weekly of India* (December 13, 1970): 42. Interestingly, one of the oldest Sanskrit terms for "eunuch," *vadhri* (Atharvaveda 6.138.3; from *vadh,* "strike"), appears to be related to the old Indo-Iranian root for "berdache" (*The American Heritage Dictionary,* 3d ed. [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992]).

[66] Gautama-dharmasūtra (ca. 300–100 B.C.E.), 28.43; Arthaśāstra (ca. 324–300 B.C.E.), 3.5; Vasiṣtha-dharmasūtra (ca. 300–100 B.C.E.), 17.52–53; 19.35; *Manusmṛti,* 9.201.

[67] Arthaśāstra, 1.12, 20; *Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King,* 1.5.388.

[68] Saletore (n. 46 above), pp. 196–209. See also Sharma (n. 46 above), pp. 383–84; Artola, pp. 58–59; Sethi, p. 45.

[69] Compare *Bhāva-prakāśana* 11–12, 19–20 (cited in Artola, p. 59).

[70] Bharata defines three types of eunuchs, while the Kāmasūtra distinguishes between individuals of the tṛtīyā prakṛti who appear as females and those who appear as males.

[71] → Michael J. Sweet and Leonard Zwilling, "The First Medicalization: The Taxonomy and Etiology of Queerness in Classical Indian Medicine," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3, no. 4 (1993): 590–607. Greek travelers to India provide evidence of religious begging (Strabo, 15.60) and of the cult of the Ardhanāriśvara, the androgynous half-male, half-female incarnation of Śiva and Parvati (Stobaeus, *Physica,* 1.56). The episode of the Mahābhārata where Arjuna is disguised as a member of the third gender recalls other Indo-European myths involving heroes who pass a period of time dressed as girls or women—Hercules, Theseus, and Achilles of the Greeks, for example, and Odin and Loki of the Norse. Gender-transgressive priests who practiced a form of shamanism existed among the ancient Scythians (on Ἐναρέες, see Herodotus, 4.67; pseudo-Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places,* 17–22).

termine when these various elements—gender transgression, asceticism, castration, a collective organization, and occasional prostitution—came together in the configuration represented by the modern cult of the hijra.[72]

GALA ET AL.: PENIS + ANUS

Whereas nearly all the surviving records that serve to document the galli were produced by outsiders to the cult, the texts relating to their counterparts in ancient Mesopotamia are nearly all internal documents—temple records and ritual scripts that provide only indirect evidence of the social and personal character of the individuals mentioned in them. On their own, they do not offer a coherent ethnographic or historical account of Mesopotamian priesthoods. Instead, we must deduce this information from the nature of the functions assigned to them. Nonetheless, when this data is placed alongside the preceding outline of the galli and the hijra (table 1), I believe that several striking parallels again become apparent.

The oldest of these roles is that of the Sumerian *gala* priest. Originally a specialist in singing lamentations, gala appear in temple records dating back to the middle of the third millennium, typically with female mourners and wailers.[73] In their hymns, they both praised and pleaded with the gods for their goodwill. The expressed purpose of these liturgies, as was the case with nearly all Mesopotamian temple ritual, was to calm the heart of the deity. According to an Old Babylonian text, Enki created the gala specifically to sing "heart-soothing laments" for the goddess Inanna.[74] Their social status seems to have been variable. While many are referred to as "inferior" gala, an office of chief gala (*gala-maḫ*) existed, whose

[72] Related to this is the question of the relative Muslim and Hindu contributions to the modern hijra cult. Evidence from modern times and testimony from hijra themselves suggest that the roles of hijra, harem eunuchs, and actors were sometimes interchangeable (see Sinha [n. 46 above], p. 175; Faridi [n. 46 above], p. 22; *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province,* comp. H. A. Rose [Lahore, Pakistan: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1911], 2:332; Ebden [n. 47 above]).

[73] For an overview of the function, nature, and status of gala, see Henrike Hartmann, *Die Musik der Sumerischen Kultur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960), pp. 129–46; I. J. Gelb, "Homo Ludens in Early Mesopotamia," *Studia Orientalia* 48 (1976): 43–76; Johannes Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit, 2. Teil," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 59 (n.s. 25) (1969): 187–95 (summary of cuneiform occurrences of the term, pp. 188–89); Joachim Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), pp. 27–42; Stephen Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies: Sumerian Texts from the Early Period and from the Library of Ashurbanipal* (Paris: Geuthner, 1913); J. N. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 126–27; H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques: Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la société sumérienne* (Paris: Geuthner, 1909), pp. lix–lx; Allotte de la Fuÿe, "Les UŠ KU dans les textes archaïques de Lagaš," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 18, no. 3 (1921): 101–22.

[74] Samuel Kramer, "BM 29616: The Fashioning of the *Gala*," *Acta Sumerologica* 3 (1981): 1–12, p. 2. See also Krecher, p. 37; Mark Cohen, *"Balag"-Compositions: Sumerian Lamentation Liturgies of the Second and First Millennium B.C.,* Sources from the Ancient Near East, vol. 1, fasc. 2 (Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1974).

salary equaled that of the highest officials of the city.[75] There may have been families and guilds of professional gala and even female gala.[76] Some engaged in trades and owned land and slaves; other records refer to the sale of a gala who was a poor man's son.[77] Although performing primarily in the temple, sometimes in choirs, gala also sang at private funerals.[78] They typically accompanied their hymns with harp music, although a secondary type of lament employed drums.[79] Both types were sung in a Sumerian dialect known as *eme-sal,* whose only other use was to render the speech of female gods.[80] Gala also seem to have had a role in supervising some of the female personnel (referred to by modern scholars with that pernicious term, "temple prostitutes").[81]

All this suggests that the gala role involved some form of gender transgression.[82] Whether this entailed an ongoing social role and identity or was merely a matter of ritual convention is not clear. Lamentation and wailing, for example, might have been originally female professions later taken over by men.[83] The result was an institutionalized form of gender difference, for the men who performed as gala maintained the female forms of the profession, adapting their gender identity and sexuality accordingly.[84] Homosexuality certainly seems implied in the Sumerian proverb that reads, "When the *gala* wiped off his ass [he said], 'I must not arouse that which belongs to my mistress [i.e., Inanna].' "[85] In fact, the word "gala" was written using the signs "penis + anus" (GÌS.DÚR).[86]

[75] On inferior gala, see Stephen Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (Paris, 1909), p. 61 (citing Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents présargoniques* [Paris: Leroux, 1909], no. 99). On the *gala-maḫ,* see Hartmann, pp. 129–30; Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies,* p. xi (citing Fuÿe, *Documents présargoniques,* no. 132; see also Genouillac, p. lix). On inheritance and guilds, see Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies,* p. xii; Hartmann, p. 141. See also Renger, pp. 194–95.

[76] On families of gala, see Renger, p. 193; Krecher, p. 36. On female gala, see Hartmann, p. 132; Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies,* p. xi.

[77] Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies,* p. x (citing François Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes* [Paris: Leroux, 1903], no. 17); Hartmann, pp. 133, 142.

[78] One tablet lists 62 gala distributed among seven temples in the reign of Shulgi, 2095–2047 B.C.E. (Gelb, p. 50).

[79] Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms,* p. ix.

[80] Fuÿe, "Les UŠ KU," p. 102. Whether this was a dialect actually spoken by Sumerian women is unknown (see Hartmann, p. 138; Krecher; Cohen, pp. 11, 32).

[81] J. A. Scurlock, "Was There a 'Love-Hungry' *Ēntu*-Priestess Named Eṭirtum?" *Archiv für Orientforschung* 36/37 (1989/90): 107; J. Bottéro and H. Petschow, "Homosexualität," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. D. O. Edzard (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), 4:464. For a critical overview of so-called temple prostitution, see Gerda Lerner, "The Origin of Prostitution in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Signs* 11, no. 2 (1986): 236–54.

[82] Gelb, p. 73. See also the Assyrian letter with the line, "He is a *kulu'u,* he is not a male" (Ernst F. Weidner, "Aus den Tagen eines Assyrischen Schattenkönigs," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 10 [1935]: 3, no. 1a; Bottéro and Petschow, p. 465).

[83] Hartmann, p. 132; Krecher, pp. 36, 38.

[84] Some took female names as well (Bottéro and Petschow, p. 465).

[85] Edmund Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs: Glimpses of Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1959), no. 2.100.

[86] Piotr Steinkeller, *Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), p. 37.

A related role appearing in Sumerian liturgical texts from 2000 B.C.E. on was that of the *kur-gar-ra* (Akkadian: *kurgarrû*).[87] Kur-gar-ra are included among the classes of priests listed in the *me*s stolen by Inanna from Enki (2.5.21).[88] In the "Descent of Inanna," a kurgarrû and *kalaturru* (Sumerian: *galatur;* probably "little gala") assuage Erishkigal's grief using a technique psychologists refer to as active listening—when she moans, they moan.[89] In Akkadian (Assyrian and Babylonian) texts, kurgarrû usually appear in conjunction with the closely related *assinnu.*[90] Gala also appear in Akkadian texts as *kalû* (variants, *kulu'u* and *kulû*) and have a role in Babylonian and Assyrian ritual, if anything, greater than that of their Sumerian predecessors.[91]

Kalû, kurgarrû, and assinnu were typically identified as servants of Inanna/Ishtar.[92] They appear to have portrayed the goddess in ritual, by wearing masks and cross-dressing.[93] Over time, however, their functions

[87] There are also occasional references to female kurgarrû (SAL.KUR.GAR.RA), although B. Groneberg argues that these were cross-dressing kurgarrû ("Die sumerisch-akkadische Inanna/Ištar: Hermaphroditos?" *Die Welt des Orients* 17 [1986]: 36, n. 74).

[88] Gertrud Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos "Inanna und Enki" unter desonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der "m e"* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973), p. 54.

[89] Diane Wolkstein and Samuel N. Kramer, *Inanna: Queen of Heaven and Earth: Her Stories and Hymns from Sumer* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), pp. 64–67.

[90] Assinnu appear in the first millennium Akkadian version of "The Descent of Ishtar" and in the Erra myth. See Carl Frank, *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig: Hinrichs', 1911), 1:20–21, 79–80. For these and other Assyrian religious personnel, see Brigitte Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel,* vol. 1 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981).

[91] Hartmann, p. 143. Possibly derived from "gala" is *gala-tur-ra,* "little, or junior, gala," a figure created by Enki along with kur-gar-ra to rescue Inanna from the underworld (not to be confused with the gal_5-*lá-tur-ra,* the "small demons" who torment the god Dumuzi).

[92] See the relevant entries in *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1956–). All these terms are treated as synonyms in the lexical lists, as are *sag-ur-sag* and *giri-ba-da-ra* (Samuel N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine Firsts in Man's Recorded History,* rev. ed. [Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1981], p. 96; D. D. Reisman, "Iddin-Dagan's Sacred Marriage Hymn," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 25 [1973]: 187; Rivkah Harris, "Inanna-Ishtar as Paradox and a Coincidence of Opposites," *History of Religions* 30, no. 3 [1991]: 277; Å. W. Sjöberg, "In-nin šà-gur_4-ra: A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 65, no. 2 [1976]: 228, and "A Hymn to Inanna and Her Self-Praise," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40, no. 2 [1988]: 177; Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once . . . : Sumerian Poetry in Translation* [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987], p. 115, n. 8), *pi-li-pi-li/pilpilû,* referred to in a hymn to Inanna as a woman changed into a man (Sjöberg, "In-nin šà-gur_4-ra," pp. 223, 226), *sinnišānu,* "woman-like," which appears in the Babylonian Theodicy, ca. 1000 B.C.E. (4.3, in W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1960], pp. 218, 219) and the Erra myth (4.56, in *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others,* trans. Stephanie Dalley [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991], p. 305), and *hubbūbu* (Harris, p. 276). Other related statuses are mentioned in Bottéro and Petschow.

[93] "The *kurgarrû* and the *assinnu* who have put on the mask of (the goddess) Narudu" (*Assyrian Dictionary,* A/2: 341; François Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* [Paris: Leroux, 1921], p. 117, no. 115, r. 7). Compare Adam Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* ([Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Vorderasiatische Abteilung, 1931], p. 17, no. 51.18), "the *kurgarru* masks his head"; *Assyrian Dictionary,* K: 558. See also A. L. Oppenheim, *"Akkadian pulu(u)h(t)u and melammu," Journal of the American Oriental Society* 63

evolved and expanded. Kalû are described as singing at the dedication of a temple and participating in regular sacrifices.[94] They also joined rites in which the kurgarrû wore a mask of the goddess.[95] All these priests continue to appear in Akkadian texts up to Seleucid and Persian times.

Whereas the stated purpose of the lamentations of the gala/kalû was to "ease the mind" of the deity,[96] the rites of kurgarrû appear to have had the function of both provoking divine fury, in the form of ritual chaos or liminality, and resolving it. In proceedings strikingly similar to those of the Corybantes and galli, the kurgarrû performed a war dance (*mēqlulu qablu,* "playing of battle") involving the brandishing of swords, knives, and clubs and, perhaps, bloodletting, possibly performed in a trance state.[97] These performances were accompanied by the music of flutes, drums, and cymbals. Other texts describe ritual games enacted on behalf of the goddess, including jump rope and bawdy speech (the galli, too, were known to lampoon the goddess).[98] The kurgarrû and assinnu were also prominent in "crisis rites" during the Near Year festival and in ceremonies performed on the occasion of lunar eclipses, when the kurgarrû "dissolved" the evil.[99] The procedure of drawing off evil to correct abnormal conditions of the mind or nature also appears in a text that describes the assinnu as grabbing sickness and taking it away.[100]

(1943): 31–34; Svend A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akitu Festival,* Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser 12, no. 1 (Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri, 1926), p. 153; Groneberg, p. 35. The neo-Sumerian sacred marriage hymn of Iddin-Dagan describes the sag-ur-sag as dressing one side of their bodies as male, the other as female (Reisman, p. 187; Sjöberg, "In-nin šà-gur$_4$-ra," p. 224; Jacobsen, *The Harps,* p. 116, lines 60–63).

[94] Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies* (n. 73 above), p. ix; Franz H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen,* Wissenschaftliche Veroffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, no. 4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs', 1903), p. 32, pl. 12; *Assyrian Dictionary,* K: 93.

[95] Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Vorderasiatische Abteilung, 1931), p. 17, no. 51.18.

[96] *Assyrian Dictionary,* K: 558 (citing James A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts,* vol. 1, Assyriologische Bibliothek 13 [Leipzig: Hinrichs', 1895], tablet no. 55, col. 1, lines 9–10); Frank, *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion,* p. 80, n. 233.

[97] On trance states, see Groneberg, p. 39. On bloodletting, see the passage in the Iddin-Dagan hymn to Inanna in W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische "Königshymnen" der Isin-Zeit,* Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 131, line 76; Reisman, p. 188, lines 76–78; Jacobsen, *The Harps,* p. 117.

[98] On cult games, see Anne D. Kilmer, "An Oration on Babylon," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 18, no. 1 (1991): 9–22; Harris, p. 273. For galli lampooning Rhea, see Hephaestion Scholia, 12.38.13.

[99] Frank, *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion,* pp. 20–21, 120, line 10; Peter C. A. Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Texte zur Assyrisch-Babylonischen Religion,* Assyrisch-Babylonische Mythen und Epen, vol. 6, pt. 2 (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1915), pp. 33–34; Heinrich Zimmern, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrsfest,* Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, vol. 58, no. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906), pp. 140–41; Pallis, pp. 145–46, 217–18; Hartmann, p. 145.

[100] Erich Ebeling, *Quellen zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion,* vol. 2, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, vol. 23, no. 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs', 1919), tablet no. 2, lines 29, 48, 67.

As in the case of the gala/kalû, the gender-variant nature of kurgarrû and assinnu is also indicated. In the Erra myth, for example, Ishtar is referred to as changing the "masculinity" of the kurgarrû and assinnu into femininity (4.55–56). Although this has been interpreted as evidence of a physical transformation, namely, castration, it could just as easily refer to a psychological transformation, the result of divine possession or visitation—as was the case with galli and hijra. Many texts attest the importance of dreams and omens in Mesopotamian cultures.[101] In fact, there is no clear evidence that any of these priests were eunuchs.[102] As was the case with gala, the kurgarrû and assinnu also appear to have practiced some form of homosexuality.[103] Akkadian omen texts instruct men to have intercourse with assinnu to obtain luck and refer to the desire of assinnu for intercourse with men.[104] More obscurely, an astrological omen refers to the men and the kurgarrû settling down in the house and the kurgarrû giving birth to (or procreating for) the men.[105]

SOCIAL ORIGINS AND SOCIAL MEANINGS OF GENDER TRANSGRESSION

At the time of the birth of Christ, cults of men devoted to a goddess flourished throughout the broad region extending from the Mediterranean to south Asia. While galli were missionizing the Roman Empire, kalû, kurgarrû, and assinnu continued to carry out ancient rites in the temples of Mesopotamia, and the third-gender predecessors of the hijra were clearly evident in India. To complete the picture we should also mention the Μεγάβυζοι, or eunuch priests of Artemis at Ephesus;[106] the western Semitic *qedeshîm,* the male "temple prostitutes" known from the Hebrew

[101] See A. L. Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 46 (1956): 179–374.

[102] Gelb (n. 73 above), p. 68; Renger (n. 73 above), pp. 192–93; cf. Bottéro and Petschow (n. 81 above), p. 465.

[103] See Bottéro and Petschow's response to the "denials" of *The Assyrian Dictionary* regarding the homosexuality of these figures (p. 463).

[104] *Assyrian Dictionary,* A/2:341; Bottéro and Petschow, p. 464. See also Bruno Meissner, "Homosexualität bei den Assyrern," *Assyriologische Studien IV,* Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, vol. 12, pt. 3 (Berlin: Peiser, 1907), pp. 9–13; Lambert (n. 92 above), p. 279, lines 11–12.

[105] Ch. Virolleaud, *L'astrologie chaldéenne: Le livre intutulé "enuma (Anu)^{ilu} Bêl,"* vol. 3 (Paris: Geuthner, 1909), tablet no. 12, lines 12–13. See Carl Frank, "Zu *kalû* und *kurgarrû* und ihren Kultgeräten," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 29 [1914/15]: 200; Bottéro and Petschow, p. 466.

[106] Strabo, 14.1.23; Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 5.3.6–7; Sanders, "Gallos" (n. 2 above), col. 996. This does not exhaust the references to eunuch priests in the Mediterranean world. At Lagina in Caria inscriptions refer to a eunuch who holds a sacred office in service of Zeus and Hekate (J. Hatzfeld, "Inscriptions de Lagina en Carie," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 44 [1920]: 78–81 [no. 11d]; p. 84 [no. 16]; M. Philippe Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, 1842–1844,* pt. 5, *Asie Mineure,* ed. Salomon Reinach [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1888], p. 142, no. 519–20, line 19. References to eunuch priests also exist for Egypt (Eusebius, *Vitae Constantinae,* 4.25) and the Deo-Demeter cult (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus,* 2.15.1).

Bible and Ugaritic texts of the late second millennium;[107] and the *keleb,* priests of Astarte at Kition and elsewhere.[108] Beyond India, modern ethnographic literature documents gender variant shaman-priests throughout southeast Asia, Borneo, and Sulawesi.[109] All these roles share the traits of devotion to a goddess, gender transgression and homosexuality, ecstatic ritual techniques (for healing, in the case of galli and Mesopotamian priests, and fertility, in the case of hijra), and actual (or symbolic) castration. Most, at some point in their history, were based in temples and, therefore, part of the religious-economic administration of their respective city-states.

The goddesses who stand at the head of these cults—Cybele, Bahucharā Mātā, and Inanna/Ishtar—also share important traits. All three are credited with the power to inspire divine madness, which can include the transformation of gender. Their mythologies clearly place them outside the patriarchal domestic sphere: Cybele roams the mountains with

[107] *Qedesh* (pl. *qedeshîm*) appear in Deut. 23:17; 1 Kings 14:24; 15:12; 22:46; 2 Kings 23:7; and Job 36:14 and in texts found at Ugarit (Ch. Virolleaud, "État nominatifs et pièces compatables provenant de Ras-Shamra," *Syria* 18 [1937]: 164–65; William F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel,* 4th ed. [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956], pp. 158–59; D. Winton Thomas, "*Kelebh* 'Dog': Its Origin and Some Usages of It in the Old Testament," *Vetus Testamentum* 10 [1960]: 410–27; David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988], pp. 94–96). They apparently lived in the temple precincts, kept busy with sacrifices, cared for sacred objects, and, if we are to believe the ancient Hebrew rhetoric, engaged in some form of religious sexual acts (see also Beatrice A. Brooks, "Fertility Cult Functionaries in the Old Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 60 [1941]: 227–53).

[108] D. W. Thomas, p. 425; Brooks; W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites: The Fundamental Institutions* (New York: Schocken, 1972), p. 292, n. 2; William F. Albright, "Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 37 [1918]: 116). In Deut. 23:18 it is used as a synonym for "qedesh." It also occurs in Akkadian, Phoenician, Ugaritic, Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and at Mari ca. 2000 B.C.E. Another related western Semitic term is *komer,* which appears as *kumru* in a second-millennium Egyptian text, as *kumrum* and *kumra* in Old Assyrian texts from Cappadocia, and as *kumrum* in Syriac (William F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946], pp. 177–78, 325, n. 46). Compare *kemarîm* in Zeph. 1:4 (William F. Albright, *Archaeology,* p. 159).

[109] Some of these roles include those of the crossing-dress male shamans in Burma (Melford Spiro, *Burmese Supernaturalism,* rev. ed. [Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978], pp. 205–6, 219–26; cf. Alexander Hamilton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels,* ed. John Pinkerton [London, 1811], 8:427), the *kathoey* of Thailand, a contemporary role with pre-Buddhist literary precedents (Rosalind Morris, "Three Sexes and Four Sexualities: Redressing the Discourses on Gender and Sexuality in Contemporary Thailand," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 2, no. 1 [1994]: 15–43), the *bayoc/bayot* of the northern Philippines, noted as early as 1680 (Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493–1898* [Cleveland: Clark, 1907], 42:300–303), the *manang bali* of northern Borneo (Vinson H. Sutlive, Jr., "The Iban Manang in the Sibu District of the Third Division of Sarawak: An Alternative Route to Normality," in *Oceanic Homosexualities,* ed. S. O. Murray [New York: Garland, 1992], pp. 273–84; Robert J. Barrett, "Performance, Effectiveness and the Iban *Manang,*" in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship and Possession in Borneo,* ed. R. L. Winzeler, Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, vol. 2 [Williamsburg, Va.: Borneo

her wild devotees, Inanna/Ishtar is the patron of the battlefield, and Bahucharā Mātā becomes deified while on a journey between cities (see synopses of myths in table 2). Indeed, all three transgress patriarchal roles and structures just as much as their male followers: Cybele begets a child out of wedlock, which infuriates her father; Ishtar, the goddess of sexuality, is notoriously promiscuous, never marries, and, indeed, is herself a transvestite;[110] and Bahucharā Mātā, at the other extreme, cuts off her breasts in an act of asceticism to avoid unwanted heterosexual contact. The influence of these goddesses over human affairs is often as destructive as it is beneficial. "To destroy, to build up, to tear out and to settle are yours, Inanna," reads one Sumerian text, and in the next line, "To turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man are yours, Inanna."[111] Despite the common reference to these goddesses as "mother" by their worshipers, there is much in their nature that exceeds and confounds our present-day connotations of the maternal.

How can we account for such a consistent pattern over such a broad area and time span? Without ruling out diffusion as a factor—the spread of Cybele and Attis was due in part to missionizing by galli themselves, and the influence of Mesopotamian religion certainly reached Syria and Anatolia—simple cultural exchange nonetheless seems the least likely explanation. A more promising approach would be to address three interrelated questions: What were the belief systems of the societies in which these priesthoods existed, in particular, beliefs concerning sex, gender, and sexuality? What was the nature of the social systems in which these roles originated? What was the source of their long-term popular appeal?

The eclectic approach implied by these questions—encompassing cultural, social, and psychological analysis—is nonetheless key to understanding cultural phenomena as social constructions. When we refuse to

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Research Council, 1993], pp. 235–79; Henry L. Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* [London: Truslove & Hanson, 1896], 1:270–71; Edwin H. Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo* [Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1911], 178–80; Charles Hose and William McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* [London: Cass, 1966], p. 116), the *basir* of southern Borneo (Hans Schärer, *Ngaju Religion: The Conception of God among a South Borneo People,* trans. R. Needham, Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- end Volkenkunde Translation Series 6 [The Hague: Nijhoff, 1963], pp. 43, 56–59, 132, 137; Justus M. Van der Kroef, "Transvestitism and the Religious Hermaphrodite in Indonesia," *Journal of East Asiatic Studies* 3, no. 3 [1954]; 257–65; Sian E. Jay, "Canoes for the Spirits: Two Types of Spirit Mediumship in Central Kalimantan," in Winzeler, ed., pp. 160–65), and the *bissu* and *bajasa* of Sulawesi (Claire Holt, *Dance Quest in Celebes* [Paris: Archives Internationales de la Danse, 1939], pp. 27–35; Van der Kroef, pp. 260–62; Matthew Kennedy, "Clothing, Gender and Ritual Transvestism: The *Bissu* of Sulawesi" [paper presented 91st annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, 1992]).

[110] See Groneberg (n. 87 above); Harris (n. 92 above).

[111] Sjöberg, "In-nin šà-gur$_4$-ra" (n. 92 above) p. 191, lines 119–20. As Roller concludes, Cybele "was an ambiguous figure in the Greek world, on the one hand a helpful deity, on the other hand the symbol of unrestrained and un-Hellenic emotional behavior" ("Attis" [n. 8 above], p. 259).

regard femininity, masculinity, heterosexuality, homosexuality, and social inequality in general as precultural givens, we necessarily make our task as historians and social theorists more complicated, for cultural facts are always multiply determined, and their explication requires analysis of the social wholes in which they occur.[112] The goal must be a unified analysis, one that integrates the synchronic viewpoint of culture afforded by anthropology with the diachronic perspective of historical study. In the case of the ancient priesthoods of the goddess described here, such an approach reveals their roles to be not accidental but, indeed, consistent features of the societies in which they flourished.

To begin with, in all three cultural regions, goddess-inspired priests were conceptualized as occupying a distinct gender category. As we have seen, hijra routinely refer to themselves as "neither men nor women," consistent with the ancient Sanskrit designation tṛtīyā prakṛti.[113] (The galli, as we saw, were also described as a *tertium genus.*) Similarly, the Sumerian myth called "The Creation of Man" (ca. 2000 B.C.E.) relates how Ninmaḫ, fashioned seven types of physically challenged persons, including "the woman who cannot give birth" and "the one who has no male organ, no female organ." Enki finds each one an occupation and position in society—the sexless one "stands before the king," while the barren woman is the prototype for the *nadītum* priestesses.[114] These proceedings are echoed in the Akkadian myth of Atrahasis (ca. 1700 B.C.E.), where Enki instructs the Lady of Birth (Nintu) to establish a "third (category) among the people," which includes barren women, a demon who seizes babies from their mothers, and priestesses who are barred from childbearing (3.7.1).[115]

Clearly, the underlying conceptualization of gender implied by these taxonomies is at variance with the idea that physical sex is fixed, marked by genitalia, and binary. Recent reviews of Greek and Roman medical texts, for example, reveal a notion of gender as grounded in physiology, but the physiology involved is inherently unstable.[116] Masculinity and femininity depend on relative levels of heat and cold in the body (and, secondarily, moisture and dryness). These factors determine the sex of

[112] Here I follow Jane Collier and Sylvia Yanagisako's methodological program encompassing the cultural analysis of meaning, construction of systemic models of social systems, and historical analysis ("Toward a Unified Analysis of Gender and Kinship," in *Gender and Kinship: Essays toward a Unified Analysis,* ed. Jane F. Collier and Sylvia J. Yanagisako [Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987], pp. 14–50).

[113] See Hiltebeitel (n. 47 above), p. 155.

[114] Jacobsen, *The Harps,* pp. 151–66; Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 113–14; Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (n. 92 above), p. 107.

[115] Dalley (n. 92 above), pp. 34–35. Compare Benjamin Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL, 1993), 1:183; Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness,* p. 120.

[116] Thomas Laquer, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990); Brown (n. 40 above), esp. chap. 1; Rousselle (n. 40 above).

developing fetuses, but even after birth an individual's gender status was subject to fluctuations in bodily heat. If men were not at risk of literally becoming females, they were in danger of being feminized by any number of causes.[117] A similar hydraulic construction of the body, as Wendy Doniger has termed it, is evident in Hindu belief as well.[118]

The frequent references to priests of the goddess as "eunuchs" or "impotent" males points to another important commonality in the ancient construction of male and female genders. A little-known episode in Roman legal history is especially revealing in this regard. In 77 B.C.E., a slave named Genucius, a priest of Cybele, attempted to take possession of goods left him in a will by a freedman, but this was disallowed by the authorities on the grounds that he had voluntarily mutilated himself (*amputatis sui ipsius*) and could not be counted among either women or men (*neque virorum neque mulierum numero*) (Valerius Maximus, 7.7.6).[119] Presumably, only women and men qualified to exercise inheritance rights, and this privilege of their gender identity was, in turn, a function of their ability to reproduce. This seemingly minor case nonetheless underscores the way in which gender identity and citizenship were linked in societies of the Oikoumene region—that is, in patriarchal, agrarian city-states. Gender, to borrow Judith Butler's terminology, was performative, or rather, to be even more specific, productive.[120] Gender identity hinged not on the degree of one's masculinity or femininity, the direction of one's sexual orientation, nor even one's role in the gendered division of labor but on one's ability to produce children, in particular, males. In a patrilineal kinship system, it is the labor of male children on which the paterfamilias has the greatest claim. As anthropological research has shown, peasants around the world typically seek to improve their lot in life by having more children and thereby increasing the supply of labor for family-based production. Having male children is the central imperative of gender as a social category, a role, and a personal identity in most patriarchal agrarian societies.[121]

[117] Brown, p. 11.

[118] Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); see also Nicholas Bradford (n. 47 above).

[119] Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* (n. 2 above), p. 97; Sanders, "Gallos" (n. 2 above), col. 1001; G. Thomas (n. 3 above), p. 1512.

[120] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

[121] On kinship and social structure in the ancient Near East, see Wolfram von Soden, *The Ancient Orient: An Introduction to the Study of the Ancient Near East,* trans. Donald G. Schley (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), pp. 72–74; H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness That Was Babylon: A Survey of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley* (New York: Mentor, 1962), and *The Might That Was Assyria* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1984). For an anthropological perspective on gender and reproduction in agrarian societies, see Charlotte G. O'Kelly and Larry S. Carney, *Women and Men in Society: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Gender Stratification,* 2d ed. (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1986), chap. 5.

From this perspective, males or females who are unable to reproduce, who are impotent, whether for physiological or psychological reasons, or who lack or forswear heterosexual desire, including those who desire the same sex, all fail to quality for adult male or female gender identity. Being neither, they tend instead to be categorized together as members of an alternative gender or of subdivisions of male and female genders. Like male and female, these roles are also attributed specific traits, skills, and occupations. In the same way that men's activities are "male" and women's are "female," what galli, hijra, or gala do comes to be seen as intrinsic to their alternative gender identities. At the same time, the distinctions we might make between impotency, asceticism, castration, homosexuality, and congenital sexual anomalies are generally overlooked or ignored in these taxonomies. The *Nārada Smṛti,* for example, an Indian law book from the fourth or fifth century C.E., defines fourteen categories of "impotent men," including those "naturally impotent," men who have been castrated, those cursed by a supernatural, those afflicted by jealousy, those who spill their seed, and those who are shy (12.11–19).[122]

It should be clear by now that the concept of impotency had very different connotations in the societies discussed here than it has today. Here evidence from modern hijra is especially helpful. Hijra are habitually described (and describe themselves) as impotent, yet they are frequently and admittedly sexually active with men. As one hijra explained to Nanda, "When we look at women, we don't have any desire for them. When we see men, we like them."[123] This, and reports of the impotence of hijra initiates being tested by having them sleep with prostitutes, suggests that the contextual meaning of "impotence" is "absence of heterosexual desire."[124] (Indeed, any nonmasculine male or passive homosexual in present-day Gujarat is likely to be referred to as a hijra, and his behavior credited to the spell of the goddess Bahucharā.)[125] But while hijra freely refer to their homosexual desires, the closest one gets to the representation of this in myths and tales is a kind of negative representation in which protagonists are portrayed as merely lacking heterosexual traits. It takes quite a different set of beliefs and construction of gender, as Foucault and others have argued, for identities based on sexual object choice without reference to gender—the modern taxonomy of heterosexual/homosexual—to emerge.

[122] *Nārada, Bṛhaspati,* trans. Julius Jolly, pt. 1 of *The Minor Law-Books,* Sacred Books of the East, vol. 33 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889), pp. 167–69. See also Sweet and Zwilling (n. 71 above). Clement of Alexandria cites the followers of Basilides regarding "eunuchs from birth" who have a "physical aversion in relation to women" and "do well not to marry" (*Stromateis,* 3.1).

[123] Nanda (n. 46 above), p. 16.

[124] Salunke (n. 59 above), p. 20; Kirpárám (n. 46 above), pp. 506–7.

[125] Mitra (n. 45 above), p. 25.

What are the circumstances in which gender categories are multiplied? Here the study of alternative genders in native North America provides a useful point of comparison. The role of the so-called berdache, a third-gender status occupied by both males and females, has been well documented in tribes throughout the continent. Berdaches (or "two-spirits," as many contemporary Indians prefer to call them) were not only associated with specific religious functions; they filled clear-cut economic specializations as well.[126] Among the Lakota of the Northern Plains, for example, men became berdaches, or *wintke,* as a result of dreams or visions of Double Woman, a powerful and ambivalent goddess with the ability to inspire both madness and creativity. As a result of their contact with Double Woman, wintke acquired not only religious powers, such as the ability to foretell the future; they also became accomplished artisans, famous for their excellence in crafts normally pursued by women. This association between religious and economic specialization occurs consistently across tribes. Among the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest, who eschewed individual contact with the supernatural in favor of collective religious forms, berdaches joined the ranks of priests, carefully trained experts in mythological and ritual knowledge. In fact, in certain populous tribes of Florida and the upper Missouri River, berdaches appear to have formed a kind of nascent priesthood.

The level of production and social complexity of even the earliest Sumerian communities for which we have definite evidence of gala exceeds that of the American Pueblos in the historic period. Rather, North American data suggest a model for how gender diversity might have originated in Mesopotamia and elsewhere at a point in time in prehistory prior to the appearance of full-scale city-states. Native North American communities, in most cases, lacked fixed social stratification, and their division of labor was based predominantly on gender. In social systems like these, the easiest way to accommodate a growth in specialization would be to simply multiply existing gender categories. Viewed from this perspective, North American berdaches were among the first specialists of their societies, those few individuals in a subsistence economy afforded the opportunity to focus on activities not directly related to food production.[127]

[126] See Harriet Whitehead, "The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America," in *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality,* ed. S. B. Ortner and H. Whitehead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 80–115; Will Roscoe, "How to Become a Berdache: Toward a Unified Analysis of Multiple Genders," in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History,* ed G. Herdt (New York: Zone, 1993), pp. 329–72, and *The Zuni Man-Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

[127] See Roscoe, "How to Become a Berdache." Greenberg links the introduction of castration to the emergence of state formations, but this does not explain the practice of voluntary self-castration ([n. 107 above], pp. 120–21).

In sum, both ancient and North American cultures shared beliefs concerning the malleability of physical sex and the possibility of gender transformation. The alternative gender roles we find in both areas differ most in their economic dimension. Instead of production (i.e., arts, crafts, domestic work), the original economic basis of ancient priesthoods of the goddess appears to have been administration.[128] Temples throughout the Oikumene region were economic and cultural centers for their cities, even when secular institutions and leaders overshadowed (or absorbed) their political functions. The rituals and other functions carried out by the priests of these temples served to synchronize the political, religious, and economic life of both city and surrounding countryside.[129] That an association between gender difference and productive specialization appears to be missing in the ancient world may reflect the lower status of women's work in patrilineal agrarian societies compared with the horticultural and hunting and gathering societies typical of North America. In the Oikoumene, class and caste superseded gender as organizing categories of labor and production. Consequently, at least in the period documented by written records, the religious dimension of the priests of the goddess is the dominant feature of their social role. This religious status was not lost even as the economic viability of the temples they once staffed declined (in late antiquity in the Mediterranean world; in the nineteenth century in south and southeast Asia). As long as the goddess survives, it would seem, so do her followers, who sacrifice male gender identity to become her devotees, even if begging and prostitution are the only economic niches left to them.

If the origins of religious gender transgression in the ancient world lie in a pre- or protourban, gender-based division of labor, these alternative genders survived long past the time when more complex forms of social stratification developed—as they did in those North American societies, in the southeast and on the northwest coast, where social ranking systems had developed. Berdaches were still present in these societies and were often identified with the higher social ranks. To account for the continued existence of religious gender transgression requires the use of a different kind of data and a different mode of analysis. Longevity is in

[128] Gala appear frequently in economic texts pertaining to the management of temple estates and land (Hartmann [n. 73 above], pp. 134–37). In the later Byzantine, Persian, Muslim, and Indian states, gender-altered males frequently filled administrative roles (see Cengïz Orhonlu, "Khāṣï," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* ed. E. van Donzel et al., rev. ed. [Leiden: Brill, 1978], 4:1087–93; Kathryn M. Ringrose, "Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium," in Herdt, ed., pp. 85–109).

[129] See discussions on Postgate (n. 73 above), pp. 109–36; Harriet Crawford, *Sumer and the Sumerians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 16, 21–28, 170–72; A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization,* rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 95–109; von Soden, pp. 233–34; and Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (n. 92 above), pp. 45–46.

large measure a function of the emotional and aesthetic appeal of a religion, and this is best revealed in its art, its rites, and especially its mythology. For this purpose we need only posit the broad outlines of a psychological theory of myths, by recognizing their popularity as (in part) a function of the emotionally charged issues, conscious and unconscious, in the lives of their audiences that they portray.[130]

Table 2 compares themes from etiological myths of galli and hijra, in the format developed by Lévi-Strauss for the purposes of structural analysis.[131] Here the matrix is employed simply to reveal the overall pattern of parallels between these myths across their differing versions. As the table indicates, the common element of these stories is a central figure who is the subject of a violent attack, either physical or psychological, resulting in some form of mutilation, sometimes self-inflicted. Although the scenarios leading up to these attacks vary, they all involve a protagonist who thwarts patrilineal succession. Cybele, for example, abandoned at birth and raised by female shepherds, returns with an unauthorized pregnancy that provokes an attack from her father. Similarly, the southern Indian goddess, Yellama, who marries an ascetic against her parents' wishes and then longs for sexual fulfillment, is attacked by her husband and sons. Both goddesses survive to become the founders of their respective religions (Type I in table 2).

Attis and his Indian counterparts also disrupt patrilineal succession. The son of a king, he is born "impotent" and/or insists on following the mother goddess (Type II)—hardly appropriate behavior for a male heir. In most versions of his story he rejects heterosexual overtures (Type III). As Arnobius relates, he is safe only if he remains free of marriage (*salvum quamdiu esset solutus a matrimonii foedere; Adversus nationes,* 5.7). When Attis does enter heterosexual relations, the results are disastrous. In all versions, he is subject to a violent attack or madness, precipitated sometimes by a paternal figure, sometimes by the jealous goddess.

The problem of possessive love is another key theme (Type III).[132] The desiring subject, however, is most often female, and no account attributes incestuous motives to Attis, although this fact has been overlooked by almost everyone since Freud.[133] Rather, Attis is the object of unwanted

[130] See Richard Caldwell, "The Psychoanalytic Interpretation of Greek Myth," in *Approaches to Greek Myth,* ed. L. Edmunds (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), pp. 344–89.

[131] For reviews of the mythology pertaining to Attis, see Hepding, (n. 2 above), chap. 2; Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis* (n. 2 above); and Bourgeaud (n. 17 above).

[132] In Type II, where the male protagonist's ineligibility for heterosexual relations is established at the beginning of the story, the possessive love theme does not occur.

[133] For Freud's oedipalizing reading of Attis, see "Totem and Taboo," in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud,* trans. and ed. A. A. Brill (New York: Random House, 1938), pp. 807–930; and Edith Weigert-Vowinkel, "The Cult and Mythology of the Magna Mater from the Standpoint of Psychoanalysis," *Psychiatry* 1, no. 3 (1938): 347–78. Sudhir Kakar, too, falls back on the orthodox view of the hijra role as a pathological attempt to escape

TABLE 2

PARALLELS IN GRECO-ROMAN AND INDIAN MYTHS

	Greco-Roman			
	Type I (Diodorus, 3.58.4)	Type II (Pausanius, 17.9–10)	Type III (Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.223–46)	Type III (Arnobius, 5.5–7)
Challenge to patriliny. . . .	Cybele, daughter of a king, is abandoned at birth, suckled by animals, and raised by women. She begets a child with Attis.	Attis, son of a Phrygian king, is born impotent.		Attis, son of the androgyne Acdestis and the daughter of King Sangarius, is abandoned at birth and suckled on the milk of a he-goat.
Possessive love. . . .			Cybele wants to keep Attis for herself, always as a youth.	The Mother Goddess and Acdestis both love Attis.
Chaste love. . . .		A follower of the Mother Goddess, he travels to Lydia to teach her rites.	Attis forms a chaste passion for Cybele.	
Return of the repressed. . . .	Cybele returns to her father, but when he discovers that she is pregnant, he is infuriated and kills her nurses and Attis. Cybele roams the countryside grieving.	Jealous, Zeus sends a wild boar that destroys the fields and kills Attis.	Attis loves the nymph Sagaritis and ceases to be what he had been before. Cybele kills Sagaritis. Mad with grief, Attis removes the parts that were his ruin.	Both appear at the wedding of Attis and the daughter of King Midas, driving everyone mad. Attis castrates himself, and his bride cuts off her breasts.
Foundational act. . . .	To bring back fertility, the Phrygians bury Attis and observe his rites.		His act founds the galli.	The goddess and Acdestis lament. Jupiter allows a finger of Attis to live. Acdestis founds the priesthood of Attis.

Indian			
Type I (Bradford, pp. 308–9)	Type II (Kirpárám, p. 506)	Type II (Nanda, pp. 25–26)	Type III (Mahābhārata, 3.46)
Yellamma, Mother of All, marries an ascetic against her parents' will but then longs for sexual pleasure.	Jetho, the only son of a king, is born impotent.	A prince is married against his wishes to Mātā.	
			The celestial nymph Urvaśī tries to seduce Arjuna.
	He becomes a worshipper of Bahucharā.	He abandons their marriage bed to behave like a hijra in the forest at night.	Arjuna wants only to be a son to Urvaśī.
Infuriated, her husband gives her leprosy. When she is cured, he orders their sons to cut off her head. Three refuse and he curses them with impotency. A fourth obeys.	In a dream, the goddess instructs Jetho to castrate himself and dress as a woman.	In revenge, the goddess castrates her husband.	Urvaśī condemns Arjuna to live as a eunuch dancer for a year.
As a reward, the husband restores all to life and sends away the goddess of wrath inside him.	Jetho obeyed the goddess, and the practice has since been kept up by those "who join the class."	Castration makes him nirvan; he is the first hijra.	Disguised as a eunuch, Arjuna oversees a wedding and birth.

heterosexual overtures, caught between the social demands of the paterfamilias and the emotional demands of a mother figure who is herself caught up in the dynamics of patrilineal sexuality and marriage. I believe this is the aspect of these stories that most captured the popular imagination by speaking to emotional and interpersonal conflicts endemic to patriarchal cultures. Of course, Christian cultures are also patriarchal and patrilineal, but in polytheism gender ambiguity is given a different valuation, and sexual tensions can be freely projected onto female deities. It is the combination of these two factors—patrilineal social order and polytheistic religion—that creates the ground for the long-term appeal of goddess figures and their priests.

What do galli and hijra represent in all this? In cultures characterized by what Eva Keuls aptly terms the "reign of the phallus," self-emasculation is a fantasy of escape from irreconcilable tensions by rendering oneself incapable of fulfilling either the social or sexual demands of patriarchal male roles. From the perspective of a protagonist who experiences these demands as unwanted, the results are truly nirvan, as the hijra would say, liberation. (No one, on the other hand, has claimed that Oedipus found his blindness illuminating.) The underlying hostility of this act underscores the transgressive nature of being nonmasculine and nonreproductive in a patriarchal culture. As we have seen, possession of a working phallus was identified with masculine agency and citizenship in agrarian city-states throughout the Oikoumene. Self-castration in these societies was a powerful statement of indifference toward the transcendental signifier of masculine status and agency, a statement repeated by every depiction of Attis with his robe flying open and by every hijra who lifts "her" skirts on the streets of Bombay to this day.

But there is a second, inner meaning here as well, hinted at in the story of Śiva at the beginning of the world. Brahmā and Viṣṇu has asked Śiva

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from the mother, without reference to its political and creative dimensions—what the individual who becomes a hijra might gain as well as what he loses (Sudhir Kakar, *The Inner World: A Psychoanalytic Study of Childhood and Society in India* [Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978], pp. 96–99; see the critique of Kakar by Stanley N. Kurtz, *All the Mothers Are One: Hindu India and the Cultural Reshaping of Psychoanalysis* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1992]). Rather than treating myths as if they were unmediated representations of psychological complexes of actual individuals, I view them as cultural maps or models, in the Geertzian sense, employed by individuals to express and represent any number of personal and societal patterns and motifs. Myths are a good point of reference for understanding how a given culture constructs behavior and attitudes, whether as desirable and undesirable, but they do not necessarily portray the actual child-rearing and life experiences of individuals in a given historical period. Consequently, I focus on what the myths of galli and hijra reveal about the cultures that told them and the meaning ascribed to self-castration. Psychoanalysis has become a mystery religion whose origin myth is the story of Oedipus. The myth of Attis, on the other hand, represents a completely other psychological complex, an alternative to Oedipus, not a failed version of it. Reading Attis against Oedipus, as I do here, offers a corrective to the ethnocentrism of orthodox psychoanalysis.

to create the world. Śiva agreed but plunged himself into the water for a thousand years to mediate. Impatient, Viṣṇu gave Brahmā the female power of creation, and Brahmā created the gods and other beings. When Śiva finally emerged, he found the universe already filled, so he broke off his phallus and threw it to the earth, saying, "There is no use for this *liṅga* except to create creatures."[134] This does not render him asexual, however. Rather, the circulation of his phallus through the cult of the liṅga extends his sexual power to the universe. In a similar way, the flow of blood during the castration of hijra is believed to empty them of both desire and gender.[135] Because of this, they can serve as vehicles for the transmission of the sexual energy of the goddess—they become her phallus, as it were, erotic ascetics.[136] Thus, the radically "de-oedipalized" body of the priest of the goddess, in ways mysterious to us, is bound up with techniques of ecstasy no less historically tenacious than the weight brought to bear against them by the Judeo-Christian tradition. The defiant presence of this figure in the midst of phallocentrism remains

[134] Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Śiva: The Erotic Ascetic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 130, and *Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts* (n. 118 above). This is paralleled in the myth in which the castrated genitals of Agdistis become a flowering tree whose fruit impregnates the mother of Attis (Arnobius, *Adversus nationes,* 5.6). The Neoplatonic interpretation of galli castration reflects similar conceptions. See Julian, *Oration,* 5; Macrobius, *Saturnalia,* 1.21.7; Porphyry in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica,* 3.11; Plotinus, *Ennead,* 3.6.19; Sallustius, *De Deis et mundo,* 4.4; and Burkert (n. 22 above), pp. 85–86.

[135] Nanda (n. 46 above), pp. 5, 28. See also Will Roscoe, "Review of *Neither Man nor Woman: The Hijras of India by Serena Nanda,*" *Journal of Homosexuality* 21, no. 3 (1991): 117–25. O'Flaherty points out that blood in the Vedic symbolic system was an androgynous substance, the source of both male and female "seed" (*Women, Androgynes, and Other Mythical Beasts,* p. 33). Later, it came to be thought of as female and negative. From this perspective, the loss of blood in the hijra initiation rite is a draining away of the agent of gender itself, the source of maleness *and* femaleness.

[136] According to Shah, "They are considered to be the medium of the *mātās* ([n. 46 above], p. 1327). Their blessing rite involves a transfer of power (Shakti) to the infant (Salunke [n. 59 above], p. 21). The detached phallus, however, is not a container. As hijra in the late nineteenth century told one observer, "We are broken vessels" (Rose, comp. [n. 72 above], p. 332). The underlying image is that of transmission. Compare the Old Babylonian omen text that advises, on the occasion of the breaking of a pot, "Look upon a *kurgarrû*"—presumably the kurgurrû, being like a broken pot, could draw away the bad luck (Franz Köcher and A. L. Oppenheim, "The Old-Babylonian Omen Text VAT 7525," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18 [1957–58]: 62–77; Bottéro and Petschow [n. 81 above], p. 465). The body that is a "broken vessel" might be compared to what Mikhail Bakhtin terms the "grotesque body" of Rabeleis: "The grotesque body . . . is a body in the act of becoming. It is never finished, never completed; it is continually built, created, and builds and creates another body. Moreover, the body swallows the world and is itself swallowed by the world. . . . This is why the essential role belongs to those parts of the grotesque body in which it outgrows its own self, transgressing its own body, in which it conceives a new, second body: the bowels and the phallus. These two areas play the leading role in the grotesque image, and it is precisely for this reason that they are predominantly subject to positive exaggeration, to hyperbolization; they can even detach themselves from the body and lead an independent life" (*Rabelais and His World* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984], pp. 317–18).

striking and unexpected. Many centuries later, as *M. Butterfly* and its genre reveal, the boundaries of gender are no less friable, and the human body, so deeply inscribed with the cultural construction of its meaning as to be for all practical purposes what its representation claims to be—natural and fixed—can, in fact, be reinscribed with other meanings and other constructions.

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Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens: The Zewadski Stamnos

MARGARET C. MILLER

Abstract

Since the early 19th century, students of Attic pottery have puzzled over a group of distinctive vases that feature bearded men wearing a costume comprising chiton, himation, mitra, and boots, often with a lyre and drinking vessels, and sometimes with earrings and parasols. Known as "Anakreontic" komasts or, more recently, "Booners," the figures on these vases have been variously interpreted as men engaged in cultic, ritual, or secular activity, and their clothing compared to feminine or East Greek/Lydian dress. A hitherto-unpublished stamnos in the Tampa Museum of Art provides the latest example of the type. Some details of its decoration encourage a new look at the group, which is interpreted in light of modern anthropological research and ancient evidence for transvestite activity.

From the beginning of the series, the distinctive komasts are found to exhibit feminine rather than Eastern traits. The practice of komastic transvestism (and, separately, its representation in art) is viewed from a variety of perspectives—psychological, ritual, and social—in order to gain the richest possible understanding of the phenomenon and of the society it reflects.*

In his essay "Femininity" Freud wrote: "When you meet a human being, the first distinction you make is 'male or female?' and you are accustomed to make the distinction with unhesitating certainty."[1] Freud's sentiment is frequently reiterated, wittingly or unwittingly, by writers on the phenomenon of cross-dressing. The sense that vestmental coding should clearly distinguish the sexes seems to be one of the rare universals of human culture; but almost equally universal is the periodic need to break the opposition embedded in the code by the introduction of a third element, something that is neither one sex nor the other but somehow mixes both.[2] The mix is most of-

* I am especially indebted to William Knight Zewadski for his encouragement to publish the stamnos and his continuing interest. At the Tampa Museum of Art, Jose R. Gelats and Kay Morris gave invaluable assistance. Research was conducted, with the assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, at Oxford University where the Beazley Archive (and its on-line database) proved indispensable, and Wolfson College offered collegial shelter. In Tampa, Mary Beth Fitts prepared the profile drawing; in Toronto, Alison Barclay and Josée Sabourin provided critical research assistance. I warmly thank Victoria Bergvall, Simonetta Bonomi, Marit Jentoft-Nilsen, Thomas Mannack, Timothy J. McNiven, J. Michael Padgett, Ian Ruffell, Marjorie Silver, William J. Slater, Matthias Steinhart, John Traill, and Stephanie West for help on specific points, and Herbert A. Cahn for information regarding his collection. The paper benefited from discussion after a presentation in Bristol and from the valuable criticisms of the anonymous *AJA* reviewers. My great debt to the work of Sir John Boardman and Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux and François Lissarrague will be clear throughout. Less readily visible but no less important is my debt to the critical skills and learning of Eric Csapo.

The following abbreviations are used:

Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague	F. Frontisi-Ducroux and F. Lissarrague, "From Ambiguity to Ambivalence: A Dionysiac Excursion through the 'Anakreontic' Vases," in D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler, and F.I. Zeitlin eds., *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton 1990) 211–56 (originally published as "De l'ambiguité à l'ambivalence. Un parcours dionysiaque," *AION* 5 [1983] 11–32).
Kenner	H. Kenner, *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Bonn 1970).
Kurtz and Boardman	D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, "Booners," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (Malibu 1986) 35–70.
Price	S.D. Price, "Anacreontic Vases Reconsidered," *GRBS* 31 (1990) 133–75.

Unless otherwise indicated, all dates are B.C. and all vases are Attic red-figure ware.

[1] S. Freud, "Femininity," in *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (New York 1933), reprinted in J. Strachey ed., *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* 22 (London 1964) 113.

[2] See J.M. Bing and V.L. Bergvall, "The Question of Questions: Beyond Binary Thinking," in Bergvall, Bing, and A.F. Freed eds., *Rethinking Language and Gender Research: Theory and Practice* (London 1996) 1–30, a plea to face facts and break away from binary constructs. According to A. Woodhouse, *Fantastic Women: Sex, Gender, and Transvestism* (London 1989) 22, out of 76 nonwestern countries studied in 1951 by C.S. Ford and F.A. Beach (*Patterns of Sexual Behaviour*, London 1965), 49 countries "yielded evidence of socially acceptable cross-dressing." Ford and Beach were researching the presence of condoned homosexuality rather than patterns of cross-dressing, but all of their examples involve cross-dressing. See, generally, P. Ackroyd, *Dressing Up: Transvestism and Drag. The History of an Obsession* (London 1979); B.A. Babcock, "Introduction," in Babcock ed., *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca 1978) 13–36; and M. Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (London 1992).





Figs. 1 and 2. Attic red-figure stamnos, "near the Barclay Painter" (von Bothmer), ca. 450. Side A: komasts wearing chiton and sakkos, lyre player. Side B: komos. Tampa Museum of Art Collection 93.29. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Knight Zewadski. (Photo T. Ketner)

ten achieved by transvestism.[3] A steady stream of literary and artistic evidence shows recourse to transvestism in classical antiquity, including a corpus of Attic vase paintings of komasts that seem to present deliberate ambiguity of gender. An interesting new addition to the corpus, a small Attic red-figured stamnos given by Sarah and William Knight Zewadski to the Tampa Museum of Art, encourages reexamination of the role of transvestism in Greek society (figs. 1–7).[4]

THE ZEWADSKI STAMNOS

Produced about the mid-fifth century, the Zewadski stamnos has been mended from several large fragments, which include intact foot and rim, but only one of the handles. The other handle, on the left of side A, was mended or restored and its entire handle zone is lost, including most of the palmette decoration, much of the left figure on side A, and some of the right figure on side B. The damage evidently resulted from a blow to the vessel at this point. The stamnos is partially misfired.[5] A mineral deposit covers the interior; traces of a similar deposit appear on the exterior surface, which is also disfigured by little pocks, evidently from erupting salts. The surface damage is often disguised by overpainting.

The stamnos has the slender overall profile characteristic of the Classical period but the details of its shape are not easily paralleled (figs. 1–3). The lip is a simple curve without groove, and the black gloss extends on the interior only to the join with the neck. The neck is short with a ring in black at the junction with the flat shoulder. The rising handles curve slightly. The band on the body between handle

[3] Male castration is another means to the end; hermaphroditism, the gift of nature, occurs much more frequently than is publically acknowledged (one in 300,000 births). Medical intervention at birth in western societies has for some time created a false sense of natural dichotomy of sex: Bing and Bergvall (supra n. 2) 8–10, with references.

[4] Tampa Museum of Art 93.29. Measurements: ht. 29.9 cm; diam. lip 16.7 cm; diam. foot 12.3 cm; widest diam. 23 cm (kindly supplied by J.R. Gelats). Restored from many fragments with some inpainting. Prior to its purchase in 1991 by Zewadski, the stamnos resided in the Silver Collection in Los Angeles after its importation in 1962. I am greatly indebted to Marjorie Silver and William Knight Zewadski for information regarding its modern history. At the request of the museum, the stamnos is referred to in this article as "the Zewadski stamnos."

[5] Some areas are misfired to a dark green, and others, notably the lower body, to a dark red.

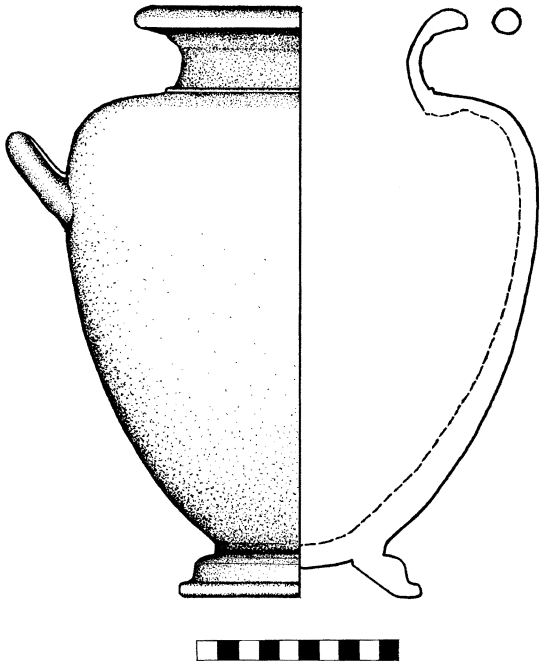


Fig. 3. Tampa 93.29. Profile drawing. (M.B. Fitts)



Fig. 4. Tampa 93.29. Handle zone. (Photo T. Ketner, courtesy Tampa Museum of Art)

roots is reserved (fig. 4), as is the inside of the handle. There is a possible graffito in the reserved area of the preserved handle zone (fig. 5).[6] The foot is a double curve whose upper step is twice the height of the lower; the upper surface is almost flat, and the two steps have near-vertical profiles. The lower profile is reserved, like the unmarked underside.

Philippaki ascribed the double-curved foot primarily to two groups of Classical stamnoi: those associated with the Niobid Painter workshop and the Polygnotan Class. But the latter class she found very difficult to organize as "hardly two of them are the same down to every detail. When the foot seems like, the neck or body differs, and vice versa"—not surprisingly, then, none corresponds exactly with the Zewadski stamnos; some have similar upper parts but different proportions, and so on.[7] The stamnoi of the Niobid Painter workshop also have different feet and necks and fuller profiles. The stamnoi of the Achilles and Phiale Painters similarly provide some general points of agreement, but no close parallel.[8]

The fine quality evident in the manufacture of the stamnos contrasts with its hackneyed subsidiary decoration (fig. 4). An ovulo covers the outer top surface of the rim. A tongue pattern marks the join of



Fig. 5. Tampa 93.29. Graffito (?) beneath handle. (Drawing author)

[6] It consists of a strong vertical stroke with a weaker diagonal to the left and possibly the right (where there is some surface damage), like a psi, with a slighter curved scratch like a reversed lunate sigma intersecting with the left arm. Although the curved line may be accidental, the clean line of the vertical incision suggests that it is a deliberate prefiring incision.

[7] B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos* (Oxford 1967) quote on 123; 120–23, Niobid Painter; 123–36, Polygnotan Class. J.H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (Kerameus 8, Mainz 1990) 51 similarly found that the double-curve footed stamnoi of the Phiale Painter fall outside of Philippaki's groups and that "each is a singleton."

[8] Particularly the two stamnoi attributed to the "S Potter" by J.H. Oakley, *The Achilles Painter* (Mainz 1997) 81: Bochum S 1172 (his pls. 58–59, no. 92, dated 450–445); and London market (his pl. 56, no. 90, dated 450–445). Less close are those discussed by Philippaki (supra n. 7): Vatican 17848, Florence 3988, Munich 2403, and London E 448; all but the last are attributed by Oakley to his "S Potter," some hesitantly. Of the Phiale Painter's four stamnoi, that in Warsaw provides the closest parallel to the Zewadski stamnos, but the latter is tauter: Oakley (supra n. 7): Warsaw 142465 (his pl. 62A, no. 82, dated 440–435).



Fig. 6. Tampa 93.29. Side A, detail of left figure: komast wearing sakkos. (Photo T. Ketner, courtesy Tampa Museum of Art)

shoulder to neck. Pomegranates that have decayed into two rows of alternating dots, linked by diagonal lines and framed by black and reserved lines, provide a lower border to the main frieze. Simple lyre palmettes with extended central leaves above and below the handles originally decorated both handle zones; the lower lyre palmettes are reversed.[9] The curving base of all four palmettes extends up to form the lyre arms as well as spiral tendril curls. Despite the general structural similarities, the decoration of the two handle zones differed significantly. On the intact side, the upper palmette exhibits deliberate variation in the treatment of the lyre tendrils, with extra curls protruding at lower right and upper left. Spiraled tendrils sprout from the lower palmette's lyre just below the handle; below, two small extra "leaves" float in the field above the lower two spirals. At the base of the lyre, just below the handles, is a small diamond-shaped reserved area (where more complex handle-zone decorations have three leaves or a small palmette). Of the other handle zone's palmettes, only the top two tendrils of the upper palmette are ancient, and of the lower, reversed, palmette, only the lower two spirals from the lyre's arms and their tendrils, and the outer end of the central leaf, are ancient. The palmettes lack the extra tendrils visible on the illustrated handle zone.

The figural decoration on both sides takes the form of the three-figure composition beloved of painters of the mid-fifth century (figs. 1–2). Some preliminary sketches are visible, especially in the right-hand figures on sides A and B. Relief line is used extensively for facial features, clothing folds (where it often extends into the contour-line zone), as well as on the lyre player's right arm, the strings of the lyre, and around the contours of the lyre on side A. Dilute is used sparingly for interior musculature, as on the lyre player, and the decoration of her headband; it is also used to suggest curling locks of hair of the two men on side A (beard and forehead hair), and on side B the hair of the central youth and the beard of the man at the right. Added red is used imprecisely on side A for the cord attaching the plectrum to the lyre (one of the two curving lines overshoots the other) and, on side B, to depict the wreaths on the two outer figures, and a simple band on the central youth.

The drawing on the stamnos, though perfunctory, is lively, and in the care given to side B, it compares well with other works of its period. The stamnos has been suggested to be "near the Barclay Painter," a

[9] Nothing like this appears in Philippaki (supra n. 7), whose illustrated lyre palmettes are all more complex: pls. 29.1–4, 30, 35.2 (all discussed on p. 57); pl. 40 (p. 82), and pl. 50 (p. 76). The stamnoi near the Barclay Painter (New York 21.88.3, pl. 42.4, and Louvre G415, fig. 7) are quite different.



Fig. 7. Tampa 93.29. Side A, detail of central and right figures: lyre player and komast wearing sakkos. (Photo T. Ketner, courtesy Tampa Museum of Art)

minor Classical painter of large vessels who had moments of distinction.[10] That it is not by the Barclay Painter himself is clear from the details of drawing, which are minimalist and inconsistent: the beady, small dot-pupil eyes made of two rather than three lines, the lack of indication of nostrils (except in the case of the middle figure on side B, where traces of a curved nostril line appear), and the minimal and variable ankle markings (visible only on the three right feet of side B). Yet the straggly beards are similar to that on a fragment compared by Beazley to the work of the Barclay Painter, and the eyes, nose, and mouths may be like those of two Thracians on a krater compared by Beazley to the Barclay Painter.[11] The figures are slender, like those of the Later Mannerists, but despite their mannered appearance and mixture of archaizing and Classical elements in drapery, nothing precisely like these figures occurs in Mannerist work.[12] The graceful profile of the Zewadski stamnos finds no close parallel with the stamnoi associated with the Barclay Painter; whereas they have a plain convex foot and fuller contours, it has a double-curved foot and tauter contours.[13]

Not the attribution of the stamnos but the subject of its obverse commands interest: a komos with unusually dressed participants (figs. 1, 6, 7). The three figures—two male and one female—move to the right. At the center the female plays a five-stringed *barbiton* with an unusually wide crossbar and red plectrum cord; the latter is barely visible in figure

[10] According to museum records, the attribution "near the Barclay Painter" was made by D. von Bothmer. Notable among the pots attributed to the Barclay Painter is the fine drawing of a regrettably fragmentary belly amphora: Athens, Agora P 21403: warrior's departure, ca. 450–440, *ARV*^{2} 1068.17; M.B. Moore, *Agora* XXX: *Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery* (Princeton 1997) 136, pl. 6, no. 11. On side A of the name vase, a misfired and badly damaged pelike, a thyrsos-bearing maenad holds a kantharos out to a satyr. A charming but unambitious piece, its slender figures, balanced compositions, and clichéd reverse (two youths) exemplify much of the corpus, which dates to the third quarter of the fifth century: Oxford 1925.138: *ARV*^{2} 1067.5; *CVA* Oxford 1, pl. 47.18–20. The Barclay Painter had a flair for interesting subject matter such as deer hunts (Basel Käppeli 404: bell krater, *ARV*^{2} 1067.2bis, 1681; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period* [London 1989] 97); Bellerophon and the Chimaera (Louvre G535: pelike, *ARV*^{2} 1067.9); and Hermes delivering the baby Dionysos (Villa Giulia 49002: pelike, *ARV*^{2} 1067.8).

[11] Leipzig T682: bell krater (A) fragment, *ARV*^{2} 1068.4. Paris, Musée Rodin TC 1052: bell krater, *ARV* 1068.1; *CVA* Musée Rodin 1, pls. 24.1–2, 25.1–2.

[12] The figures on side B look particularly like Mannerist work; I am much indebted to Thomas Mannack for checking this stamnos against his comprehensive catalogue of Later Mannerists.

[13] New York 21.88.3 recalls the Barclay Painter (*ARV*^{2} 1072, 1681), and Louvre G415, near the Barclay Painter, name vase of the Painter of the Louvre Symposium (*ARV*^{2} 1070.2); both discussed and illustrated by Philippaki (supra n. 7) 117, pl. 42.4; 118, fig. 7.

7.[14] She seems generally heavyset, with a sagging chin and heavy body, though whether this is deliberate or the result of poor draftsmanship is hard to say. The profile toes of her right foot are carefully done, but the left foot is highly schematic. She wears a peplos with a generous overfold and plain black band along the long vertical edges; part of the peplos just below the right elbow and at the back about calf level is missing. The area of her left wrist is adversely affected by overpainting. Around her head is a decorated headband with some unclear protrusions, separated from the headband by a dilute line, and perhaps meant to be leaves. She is flanked by two bearded komasts. The figure on the right wears a chiton, himation, and a *sakkos* with a decorative border;[15] the himation is raised to the crown of his head and is elaborated by the addition of a black border (figs. 1, 7). In his outstretched left hand he grasps a cup by its foot,[16] and in his right hand, a walking stick with grip set at right angles to the shaft. Much of the other male figure, at the left on side A, is lost, so his exact disposition is difficult to determine (figs. 1, 6). He, too, grasps a cup by its foot with his right hand and seems to wear chiton, himation, and sakkos.[17] An edge of his left hand swathed in his himation is also visible. The lower left portion of this figure is preserved; it is unclear whether it is a heel or part of a garment, but, given the angular line, a garment is the more likely as on this pot most heels are curved. The figure is inexplicably short; alone on this stamnos the head does not extend up onto the shoulder zone. His cup, at the same elevation as that held by the right-hand man at shoulder level, is held above eye level. The curvature of both the fragment with his head and that with his cup shows that their position is correctly located on the vertical axis.

On the reverse, three conventional himation-wearing male komasts also move to the right (figs. 2, 4 right). The himatia of all three feature radiating fold lines. Two youths stride in at the left. The one nearest the handle extends his right arm with fingers outstretched; a crooked stick is presumably held in his left hand.[18] In his short hair appears a garland in added red. The central youth extends with his right hand a wine skin with no interior markings; his left hand is obscured. The locks of his hair curl down to his himation and he wears a thin headband depicted in added red. The apparent desire to distinguish the two youths by hairstyle and hair covering—garland or headband—shows unusual care for a scene on the reverse. The bearded figure at the right turns back to the left in a stance closely parallel to that of the right figure on side A. He gestures with his right hand, and in his left holds upright a straight stick that is incompletely restored; it presumably extended somewhat below the hand and then was obscured by the himation folds (only the top part is preserved). The figure is mostly intact but is missing some elements along the right of the body, including the right part of the himation draped down from his left hand and the lower right angle of the hem, though most of the himation is ancient. Some lost surface at the face and neck has been overpainted; the eye is probably modern. A wreath in added red extends around his head. Its appearance on his hair, then over a reserved zone, and then again across hair, may have been intended to suggest balding. The upper body and himation are awkwardly drawn, with the fold lines of the himation appropriate for a rear rather than frontal view, and the right foot has six toes. Nonetheless, in general terms, more than the usual amount of care was expended on side B, which modifies the formula of three himation-wearing youths. Particularizing details—the wineskin, garlands, and headband—are added and one figure is bearded. Perhaps this extra care and detail reveal a desire on the part of the painter to correlate the reverse in some fashion with the theme of side A.

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[14] M. Maas and J.M. Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven 1989) 125 describe the crossbar as "ordinarily rather narrow" as can be seen from their helpful illustrations.

[15] Compare the bands of decoration on the sakkos of a lekythos on the Freiburg Market: G. Puhze, *Katalog* 8 (1989) no. 211 (see infra n. 27).

[16] Komasts frequently grasp their cup by the stem: Basel 421: Psiax, white-ground black-figure plate, ca. 510, *ABV* 294.21; Kurtz and Boardman no. 3. Chiusi C1836: Painter of Philadelphia 2449, cup (B), ca. 460, *ARV*^{2} 815.2; Kurtz and Boardman no. 23. Cleveland 1926.549: Pig Painter, column krater, 470–460, *ARV*^{2} 563.9; Kurtz and Boardman no. 33. Vienna 770: Agrigento Painter, column krater, ca. 460, *ARV*^{2} 576.33; Kurtz and Boardman no. 39. Bologna 239: Alkimachos Painter, column krater, ca. 460, *ARV*^{2} 532.50; Kurtz and Boardman no. 40.

[17] I interpret the three radiate lines on the preserved portion of his head as possibly a himation over a sakkos, like the man at the right; or his head covering may have been a simple mitra. The curved line at the break is probably meant to represent the ear, set slightly too high.

[18] W.K. Zewadski, "The Crooked Cane in South Italian Vase Painting," paper presented at the Fifteenth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam, 15 July 1998; he observed a significant pattern of appearance of crooked canes with the old man and pedagogus in South Italian comic scenes, expressive of their instability (physical or emotional), but did not find a similar consistency of meaning in Attic fifth-century material. Most Attic examples are held by youths but also by some pedagogues, old men, and old satyrs.

The subject of the Zewadski stamnos—komasts—interested Late Archaic sympotic painters, and the archaizing Mannerists followed suit. Its appearance on the Zewadski stamnos at a comparatively late date is odd, but not unparalleled. Even in the third quarter of the fifth century, such conservative themes recur occasionally, as on two stamnoi near the Barclay Painter, each depicting a symposium and komos.[19] In fact, there may have been a slight tendency to put conservative themes on stamnoi of the later fifth century before production ceased about 420.[20] There are other conservative elements on the Zewadski stamnos: the use of the old-fashioned decayed pomegranate border pattern rather than some form of meander border, as commonly seen on Classical stamnoi, and the mannered style of some of the drawing.

The function of the stamnos shape, whether or not ritual, is itself in dispute. Provenance and iconography both figure in the discussion. Philippaki denied a Dionysiac connection to the stamnos, observing that most extant stamnoi were exports to Etruria, and that "Lenaia" representations (featuring female figures handling wine vessels before an icon of Dionysos), though often on stamnoi, do not appear exclusively on stamnoi, and that though they often show stamnoi, they do not exclusively show stamnoi.[21] Yet the argument from findspots is not as strong as Philippaki believed; her focus on intact attributed examples already biased her findings in this regard, as almost by definition such examples come from Etruscan tombs (where in fact Dionysiac imagery and allusions may have even had the eschatological significance they had in Magna Graecia). Frontisi-Ducroux reports that stamnoi have been excavated in Greece, but they remain unpublished owing to their fragmentary condition.[22] The shortage of stamnos fragments from the Athenian Agora would seem at first to confirm Philippaki's view on the limited use of stamnoi in Athens; yet we may wonder how likely it would be for a vessel used in Dionysiac ritual to be deposited in the Agora.[23]

A quick survey of stamnos decoration reveals a strong but by no means dominant Dionysiac presence. Of attributed black-figure stamnoi, roughly a third are devoted to Dionysiac subjects and another third symposiastic. Of attributed red-figure stamnoi, about 3% have "Lenaia" imagery and some 23% are Dionysiac, but only about 3% are symposiastic and 7% komastic.[24] Exact correlation between shape and decoration is extremely hard to establish even for shapes with narrowly defined uses and fairly consistent iconographies. For example, although white-ground lekythoi are most frequently decorated with subjects related to their funerary function, apparent exceptions occur, such as an Amazon who laces her sandal and a Persian in audience.[25] Moreover, the argument from exclusivity is misleading; it is wrong to say that the stamnos is never Dionysiac if it is not always Dionysiac. The fact that the stamnos appears in a prominent place in some depictions of Attic Dionysiac rituals means that, sometimes at least, the stamnos was used in such rituals even if the precise identity of those rituals still eludes us and even if its use was not restricted to Dionysiac ritual.

To return to the enigmatic subject on side A of the Zewadski stamnos, for which an analysis of function might tip the balance of interpretation very slightly in the direction of Dionysos: the most striking figure is the bearded komast at the right of side A (figs. 1, 7). Cup in one hand, walking stick in the other (quintessentially male symbols of the komast, according to Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague), in an expansive masculine mode he arrests his forward motion to turn back to the left, revealing the ankle-length chiton and himation that he wears. Though the long chiton had been the common dress for men in the Archaic period, its use in the Classical period was largely confined to women. The placement of the himation on the head is unusual. This is not like the himatia with stacked folds at the back of the neck that swathe modest youths in courtship scenes of the Late Archaic period; this is deliberately draped over the head in a manner appropriate for Roman priests engaged in sacrifice. In the Greek world, it

[19] Attributed to the Painter of the Louvre Symposium. Munich 2410: stamnos, *ARV*^{2} 1069.1. Louvre G 415: stamnos, *ARV*^{2} 1070.2. See also Athens NM 15308: Eretria Painter, chous, symposium, ca. 425, *ARV*^{2} 1249.15; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler: Werke und Weggefährten* (Kerameus 6, Mainz 1988) no. 216.

[20] Note, for example, the Polygnotan tendency to place symposia and komoi, both old-fashioned subjects, on stamnoi: S.B. Matheson, *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens* (Madison 1995) 283; and the late appearance of the "Lenaia" theme on a stamnos attributed to the Dinos Painter: Naples 2419, *ARV*^{2} 1151.2. See also Philippaki (supra n. 7) xxi on the end of stamnos production.

[21] Philippaki (supra n. 7) xx–xxi.

[22] Philippaki (supra n. 7) v announces a concentration on whole vases. F. Frontisi-Ducroux, in her recent collection and analysis of "Lenaia" vases, does not herself come to a conclusion about Dionysiac association: *Le dieu-masque: Une figure du Dionysos d'Athènes* (Paris 1991) 69 n. 7.

[23] Moore (supra n. 10) 16–17.

[24] These statistics were gleaned from the lists in *ABV* and *ARV*^{2} by Alison Barclay.

[25] Louvre A 256: unattributed lekythos, Amazon; D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford 1957) 204, no. 171, pl. 84.2. Louvre CA 2980: Thanatos Painter, Persian in audience, *ARV*^{2} 1229.16.

is a characteristically feminine fashion, or is worn by men in mourning such as Achilles, but this man is hardly in mourning.[26] Moreover, the himation has a border like those we normally see on the garments of women. The sakkos on his head is also feminine. The same vestmental elements characterize the lacunar male figure at the left (fig. 6). Clearly, the painter of the stamnos presented these figures as men who are dressed as women but who choose not to disguise themselves as women: their stance, prominent beards, walking sticks, and very activity proclaim them to be men.

This combination of features—bearded men wearing dress that appears to be feminine in the context of music and wine—links the Zewadski stamnos to a group of some 50 vases at the heart of a lively debate (figs. 8–21).[27] Known as "Anakreontics," or, more recently, "Booners" or "dressed komasts," the men depicted on these vessels wear chiton and himation, with boots and headgear (mitra or sakkos), and often carry lyres and drinking vessels; some even have parasols and earrings.[28] The vessels date to roughly 530–460. The figures' dress has been



Fig. 8. Attic red-figure cup, Douris (late), ca. 470. Tondo: two komasts, with figure on left wearing sakkos and chiton. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2647 VAS. (Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München)

[26] Modest youth: see, e.g., Vatican: Douris, cup, *ARV*[2] 437.116; D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris: A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-figure Vases* (Kerameus 9, Mainz 1995) no. 156, pl. 92. Profile and frontal views are given on sides A and B; the profile view shows that the himation is not characteristically worn right over the head, as women wear it. Not worn by Greek priests: see A.G. Mantis, *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερειών και των ιερεών στην αρχαία Ελληνικά τέχνη* (Thessaloniki 1983) 99–103. For the iconography of *aidos*: G. Ferrari, "Figures of Speech: The Picture of *Aidos*," *Métis* 5 (1990) 185–200.

[27] The group as a whole is discussed further below, with references. The fullest catalogue is to be found in Kurtz and Boardman 47–50, to which add four vases as well as the stamnos under discussion: Palermo: black-figure amphora fragment from Selinus, unattributed, ca. 500, man in chiton (?), himation, and mitra unusually carries a straight stick, with a lyre behind, *ABV* 676; E. Gabrici, *Il santuario dello Malophoros a Selinunte* (*MonAnt* 32, Milan 1927) 339, pl. 92.9 (source: Beazley Archive). Basel, Cahn Collection HC 776: Pig Painter (Guy), column krater, ca. 470; Price 160–61, pl. 10a (added by Price). Freiburg Market 1989: Oionokles Painter, lekythos, ca. 470; Puhze (supra n. 15), where attributed to the Providence Painter (I am greatly indebted to J.M. Padgett for drawing this lekythos to my attention and for the attribution). German private collection: Oedipus Painter (K. Sommer), cup, ca. 470; W. Hornbostel, *Aus der Glanzzeit Athens. Meisterwerke griechischer Vasenkunst in Privatbesitz* (Hamburg 1986) 111–14, no. 53 (added by Price and here illustrated as figs. 11–12). In addition there is possibly Princeton 1951-43: Haimon Painter, black-figure lekythos, ca. 500–490, three komasts alternate with women, *ABV* 538.1; F.F. Jones, "Four Vases by the Haimon Painter," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 11.1 (1952) 5–8 (here illustrated as fig. 30) (infra n. 91). Heidelberg 280: near the Beaune Painter, black-figure stamnos fr., 530–500, *ABV* 694; *CVA* Heidelberg 1, pl. 42.10–11. Corinth C72.73: unattributed red-figure column krater fr., 490–470; I. McPhee, "Red Figured Pottery from Corinth: Sacred Spring and Elsewhere," *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 268 no. 8, pl. 64 (source of all three the Beazley Archive).

Other recent publications: Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague; Price (who contributes the term "dressed komasts"; I do not follow her in accepting the Sabouroff Painter cup, my figs. 26–27, as part of this group); M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, "L'énigme des danseurs barbus au parasol et les vases 'des Lénéennes'," *RA* 1995, 227–63. All have references to the earlier discussion.

[28] I follow Boardman (Kurtz and Boardman 50, 55–56) in accepting Brandenburg's definition of the mitra as the "turban-like" headgear visible on women, komasts, and Dionysos (H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra*, Münster 1966) over that of R. Tölle-Kastenbein, "Zur Mitra in klassischer Zeit," *RA* 1977, 23–36 and N.P. Bezantakos, *Η αρχαία ελληνική μίτρα. Ερμηνεία των σχετικών κειμένων από τον Όμηρο ως τον Νόννο* (Athens 1987), i.e., that the mitra is a band. This means that a number of the komasts wear a mitra; I use sakkos to refer to the baglike headgear worn by others.

Following recent scholarship on the subject, I exclude discussion of those male figures, symposiasts and komasts, who wear the mitra and possibly the himation but not a chiton. These would seem to be male figures emulating an



Fig. 9. Munich 2647 VAS. Side A: Dionysos, satyrs, and maenad. (Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München)



Fig. 10. Munich 2647 VAS. Side B: satyrs and maenads. (Courtesy Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München)



Fig. 11. Attic red-figure cup, Oedipus Painter (Sommer), ca. 470. Side A: Dionysos and three satyrs. German Private Collection. (Photo E. Lerch)

variously viewed as feminine or East Greek/Lydian, but the fact that the painter of the Zewadski stamnos clearly portrayed the figures as men wearing women's clothing does not compel a transvestite interpretation for the whole group. The Zewadski stamnos postdates the main series and marks the end of a three-generation-long iconographic tradition.

ODDLY DRESSED KOMASTS: STRATEGIES OF INTERPRETATION

The meaning of the oddly dressed komasts has been debated since the early 19th century. Three strands of interpretation have emerged: the cultic, the transvestite komastic, and the Eastern komastic. The three often overlap as the same elements of dress can be viewed as both feminine and Dionysiac or both Ionian and Dionysiac; and Classical Athenians could regard the dress of the earlier Ionian male elite as effeminate (as is evident from the in-law's comments in Ar. *Thesm.* 95–98, 136–45, and especially 159–67, where women's dress is conflated with the garb of Ionian poets).[29]

The earliest investigations determined that these figures included women wearing false beards and, in keeping with the then current tendency to favor religious interpretations, represented cross-dressing for cultic purposes.[30] In this century, Buschor argued that all were women wearing false beards for the Eleusinian Skira—or "parasol"—festival. Deubner soon responded that while these are indeed representations of cross-dressing, they depict men wearing women's clothes. Further, he observed that there is no evidence of a parasol procession at the Skira and that the ancient name for "parasol" was in any case not σκίρον but σκιάδειον; as Gjerstad had noted, the presence of ivy garlands pointed to a Dionysiac context as did the use of wine vessels and the komastic activity. The parasol-bearing figures on the "Lenaia" stamnoi made Deubner think of private celebrations of the Lenaia, but Rumpf subsequently established that in no instance could the bearded figures be convincingly identified as female; Buschor and his predecessors had had to work with misleading drawings. More importantly, Deubner's associa-

East Greek/Anatolian dress; none to my knowledge wear their hair pulled through the mitra. The fact that they cluster between 520 and 500 is suggestive, as is their frequent association with music. Some examples: Oxford 1974.344 (the "Bomford cup"): unattributed black-figure cup I, three symposiasts; J. Boardman, "A Curious Eye-Cup," *AA* 1976, 282–90. New York 41.162.13: Haimon Painter, black-figure lekythos, four komasts, *ABV* 538, Haspel's no. 1; *CVA* USA 1, Gallatin 1, pl. 7.8; and Price pl. 9B. Berlin F2100: Epiktetos, bilingual cup, man walks with skyphos, *ARV*^{2} 71.7. Louvre G4bis: Nikosthenes Painter, cup I, lyre-playing komast, *ARV*^{2} 125.16. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 00.334: Nikosthenes Painter, kantharos, *ARV*^{2} 126.27. St. Petersburg 3386: Nikosthenes Painter, kantharos, A, lyre-playing komast, *ARV*^{2} 127.29. Later, Douris shows a bearded pipes player with something more like a sakkos with scalloped edge: Berlin 2289 + Florence 7B28, cup, A, *ARV*^{2} 435.95; Buitron-Oliver (supra n. 26) cat. no. 143, pl. 84.

[29] Brandenburg (supra n. 28) 76–86, 128–29; J.M. Snyder, "Aristophanes' Agathon as Anacreon," *Hermes* 102 (1974) 244–46; Kurtz and Boardman 65; L. Kurke, "The Politics of ἁβροσύνη in Archaic Greece," *ClAnt* 11 (1992) 91–120, esp. 97–98 for change of perception.

[30] Braun, in "Adunanza de' 12 maggio 1843," *BdI* 1843, 90; C. Lenormant and J. de Witte, *Élite des monuments céramographiques* IV (Paris 1861) 238–42 for pls. 90–93, whose wording suggests a prior scholarly history. Despite the fact that Rumpf (infra n. 32) disproved the identification of "false beards," the idea recurs in Price 141–42.



Fig. 12. Side B: four dancing komasts wearing sakkoi and chitons. (Photo E. Lerch)

tion of these komasts with the Lenaia festival has found no supporters, as there is no good linking evidence; on the other hand, their association with a Dionysiac ambience is generally accepted. In fact, after the publication of Deubner's *Attische Feste*, Buschor changed his mind, seeing the group as participants in an anonymous Attic Dionysiac festival.[31] What is interesting about the earliest scholarship is the readiness to see deliberate confusion of gender in the depictions: the focus of debate was not whether the figures were cross-dressing but who was cross-dressing and for what purpose.

Another distinguished historian of Greek religion, Nilsson, noting the literary evidence for men dressing up in women's clothes at private *komoi* (discussed below), was first to suggest a secular interpretation: "It is clear that these men in women's attire . . . took part, not in a sacred procession, but in the usual revel after a banquet." In this severance of Dionysiac cult and komastic cross-dressing Nilsson was soon followed by Kerényi and Rumpf, who finally established that all were male figures but who argued that the variety of pot shapes on which the scene occurs meant that it does not depict a ritual; it was, rather, a spur-of-the-moment joke. Beazley, too, stated that he "believe(d) all these figures to be men disguised as women; but to be taking part in a komos and not in a sacred rite," and he linked the group to the Ionic poet Anakreon who came to Athens about 522 and died there about 487: cross-dressing was an Ionic komastic practice introduced to Athens by Anakreon. Beazley stressed that it was the wearing of such clothing in combination that seemed so feminine; he was particularly struck by the occasional appearance of earrings.[32]

More recent proponents of an interpretation based on private komastic cross-dressing stress the role of Dionysos as god of wine and latent cross-dresser himself.[33] The group was studied by Kenner

[31] E. Buschor, "Das Schirmfest," *JdI* 38–39 (1923–1924) 128–32; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 49–50, 132–33; E. Gjerstad, "Das attische Fest der Skira," *ArchRW* 27 (1929) 194–95; and Buschor, *Satyrtänze und frühes Drama* (*SBMünch* 5, Munich 1943) 69. Hornbostel (supra n. 27) no. 53, 111–14, observing the relationship between komastic and Dionysiac subjects on the cup in a German private collection (here figs. 11–12), returned to the idea that this is a Dionysiac festival. For ivy garlands, Basel Käppeli 421 (supra n. 16). Munich 2317: Eucharides Painter, neck amphora, *ARV*^{2} 226.3; Kurtz and Boardman no. 7. Malibu, Getty 86.AE.293: Briseis Painter, cup, *Paralipomena* 372.8bis; Kurtz and Boardman no. 20.

[32] M.P. Nilsson, "A Krater in the Cleveland Museum of Art with Men in Women's Attire," *ActaArch* 13 (1942) 226; reprinted in *Opuscula selecta* 3 (Lund 1960) 81–84. C. Kerényi, *Dionysos. Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life* (London 1976), translated by R. Mannheim, 340, with fig. 105 (Cleveland, after Nilsson). A. Rumpf, "Zu einer Vase der Sammlung Robinson," *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson* 2 (Saint Louis 1953) 85, 89: "Nicht gottesdienstliche Begehung, sondern improvisierten Scherz müssen wir also bei den als Frauen vermummten Männer erkennen." J.D. Beazley in CB 2 (Oxford 1954) 53 no. 99. Though Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague weaken the link with Anakreon, they concur with Beazley's general interpretation. Earrings: e.g., Cleveland 1926.549 (supra n. 16).

[33] Brandenburg (supra n. 28) 83 argues that the Dionysiac mitra is the same cap as that worn by women. Cf. J.P. Vernant, "Le Dionysos masqué des *Bacchantes* d'Euripide," in Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie* 2 (Paris 1986) 255; S. Said, "Travestis et travestissements dans les comédies d'Aristophane," in P. Ghiron-Bistagne ed., *Anthropologie et théâtre grecque* (Cahiers du GITA 3, Montpellier 1987) 219 on deliberate ambiguity of presentation of Dionysos's gender in *Bacchae* (I am indebted to R. Buxton for this reference). T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* (Oxford 1997) 107 stresses that this is limited to Euripides' *Bacchae*; it is a possible rather than essential feature of Dionysos.



Fig. 13. Attic red-figure column krater, Pan Painter (Isler), ca. 470. Side B: satyr bearing krater. Formerly Hirschmann Collection. (Photo after *Sotheby London Catalogue* [9 December 1993] lot 42)



Fig. 14. Side A: komast wearing sakkos, with lyre. (Photo after *Sotheby London Catalogue* [9 December 1993] lot 42)

in the context of the "upside-down universe" syndrome, which appears in the worship of Dionysos. Slater viewed the material in the same sphere with a reinterpretation of the celebrated Artemon fragment of Anakreon, in which Anakreon abuses Artemon, who is said, among other things, to wear golden earrings and to carry a little ivory parasol "like women" (γυναιξὶν αὔτως) (Anakreon fr. 82 Gentile), though the abuse appears to focus on Artemon's change of status from poor to wealthy rather than on the effeminacy of his dress. Slater suggested that it shows that Anakreon and his friends engaged in this kind of activity, whether or not Anakreon introduced it to Athens.[34] Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague stressed the Dionysiac context for Ionic (?) komastic disguises that "supplement rather than mask their gender. By appropriating certain signs of the feminine, they show themselves off to be ambisexed beings, striving to transcend gender categories."[35] Most importantly, the men are shown to seek for a time "to become other" because this was, for a man, the only means of getting closer to Dionysos.[36] Further support for the Dionysiac-komastic interpretation might be found in Delavaud-Roux's recent study of the dance executed by the komasts; she insists that it has greater affinity with Dionysiac, specifically maenadic, dance than with any other dance type known to her.[37]

A third stream of interpretation, that these ko-

[34] Kenner 113–[illegible] W.J. Slater, "Artemon and Anacreon: No Text without Context," *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 185–94, esp. 189–91; see also Delavaud-Roux (supra n. 27), who plays up Dionysiac transvestism. Malcolm Davies, in a "rebuttal" of Slater's article, defending Anakreon against the "charge" of transvestism, "Artemon Transvestitus? A Query," *Mnemosyne* 34 (1981) 288–99, inexplicably ignores the words γυναιξὶν αὔτως. Dionysiac transvestism: A. Henrichs, "Changing Dionysiac Identities," in B.F. Meyer and E.P. Sanders eds., *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* 3: *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World* (London 1982) 158–59, with ns. 199–206; a[illegible] E. Csapo, "Riding the Phallus for Dionysos: Iconology, Ritual and Gender-Role De/construction," *Phoenix* 51 (1997) 253–95, both with references.

[35] Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 228–29.

[36] Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 231–32.

[37] Delavaud-Roux (supra n. 27) 262, though she regards this as a parody of maenadic dance; See also M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, *Les dances dionysiaques en Grèce antique* (Aix-en-Provence 1995) 100–108. Contrast L.B. Lawler, "The Maenads: A Contribution to the Study of the Dance in Ancient Greece," *MAAR* 6 (1927) 69–112, esp. 79, who found that the maenads' dance differed from that of komasts; the latter, admittedly, worked from a smaller base and did not specifically include our group of komasts in her analysis. F.G. Naerebout, *Attractive Performances: Ancient Greek Dance. Three Preliminary Studies* (Amsterdam 1997), is much more cautious about the value of representational evidence in reconstructing ancient dance; see, e.g., 212, 253.



Fig. 15. Attic red-figure amphora fragments, Leningrad Painter, ca. 470–460. Side A: two komasts wearing sakkoi. Adria (Ro), Museo Archeologico Nazionale B.248. (Courtesy Museum)



Fig. 16. Adria B.248. Side B: three youthful komasts, one carrying amphora, and auletris. (Courtesy Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Adria)

masts are elegantly dressed *à la mode lydienne*, which could itself seem effeminate to most Athenians, is now dominant in the English-speaking world.[38] It was anticipated in an article by Semni Karouzou on the depiction of Anakreon at Athens in which she argued that iconography shows that the early fifth-century Athenians viewed Ionic poets as being ἑλκεχίτων and μιτροφορῶν, an opinion visible also in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusai*. (She then went on, less profitably, to propose that the series depicts a nocturnal festival for Dionysos.) The argument for a Lydian/East Greek fashion among Athenian komasts was made more cogently by DeVries and then Boardman. DeVries pointed to the vestmental parallels of the figures with depictions of Lydians on the Persepolis friezes: sakkos/mitra, chiton, himation, and boots. His argument against their identification as "frolicking transvestites" rests on the grounds that such a view is inconceivable "in the context of the intensely male Greek society of the time" and he suggested instead that these figures represent Athenians, perhaps following Anakreon, donning luxurious Lydian attire for their carousals. Boardman methodically showed that all features (headdress, clothing, earrings, lyre, parasols) can be paralleled in the East Greek and Lydian world and concluded that "the origins of this special komast behavior must be sought, with their dress and appurtenances, in an East Greek world heavily influenced by the behavior of their eastern neighbors." According to this interpretation, this new komastic behavior is associated with the arrival of Anakreon in Athens.[39] Though its origin lay in Anatolian elite male dress, it came to be viewed in Athens as effeminate.

The "Lydian" interpretation, though attractive,

[38] See its appearance in Kurke (supra n. 29) 97–98, who regards these as men in luxurious East Greek/Lydian fashion, following DeVries (infra n. 39) and Boardman (in Kurtz and Boardman), and describes the transvestite interpretation as modern persistence in retaining the "myth" that the komasts are effeminate, influenced by the later ancient prejudice about *habrosyne* as an expression of elitism. In an otherwise excellent discussion of the changing moral values of habrosyne in Archaic and Classical Greece, she conflates literary scholars' tendency to see all habrosyne as effeminate, with iconographical arguments based on genuine comparanda. → C. Brown, "From Rags to Riches: Anacreon's Artemon," *Phoenix* 37 (1983) 8.

[39] S. Papaspyridi Karouzou, "Anacréon à Athènes," *BCH* 66–69 (1942–1945) 248–54; K. DeVries, "East Meets West at Dinner," *Expedition* 15:4 (1973) 33–[illegible] → H. Shapiro, "Courtship Scenes in Attic Vase-Painting," *AJA* 85 (1981) 138–40, 143, follows DeVries. Kurtz and Boardman 65. Cf. also Snyder (supra n. 29) that the humor of Ar. *Thesm.* is derived from Agathon's pretensions. Brandenburg (supra n. 28) 77–82 argues it is an Athenian adoption of a symposium custom from Asia Minor (83–84 compares *kidaris*-wearing symposiasts). E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfiguren Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik* (Leipzig 1920) 41–42 argues that Anakreon wears a chiton to show that he is Ionian and to show his age. A variation of the "Ionian" theory is provided by Price, who argues that "the figure of the Ionian lyric poet became a standard type as the subject of popular burlesque" (167–68); criticized aptly by Delavaud-Roux (supra n. 27) 238, 255. N. Hoesch, "Männer im Luxusgewand," in K. Vierneisel and B. Kaeser eds., *Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens* (Munich 1990) 276–79, follows DeVries (supra) and Boardman (in Kurtz and Boardman) in arguing for a luxurious Lydo-Ionian dress.



Fig. 17. Attic red-figure column krater fragment, unattributed, ca. 470. Head of parasol-bearing komast. Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale B.497. (Courtesy Museum)

is not without problems. The fact that each individual element can be paralleled in some fashion in the East Greek/Lydian sphere does not require the elements in combination to be read as an East Greek/Lydian komastic dress. Most worrying are the differences in "grammar" and semiosis of parasol-bearing: in the East, the parasol-bearer is as important as the parasol in conveying the desired message of high status, whereas here the komasts mostly carry their own (e.g., figs. 17, 21).[40] In addition, as Delavaud-Roux has observed, though the mitra can be paralleled in East Greek and Lydian contexts, in Attic painting the vast majority are worn by women, especially *hetairai* (see below).[41]

Moreover, Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague raised questions about the tempting association of komastic transvestism with Anakreon. It is now largely based on the inscription on the lyre held by a komast on a calyx krater fragment in Copenhagen, but they note that while inscriptions on objects are extremely rare, it is unparalleled to have the name of a person inscribed on an object he bears. It is better to see the inscription as an indication of the instrument's function by reference to Anakreon's poetry; this is the quintessentially sympotic barbiton.[42]

In balance, the arguments for private komastic transvestism with Dionysiac overtones best suit the evidence; there may indeed be a link with the East Greek world where this form of komos perhaps existed prior to its appearance on the mainland.

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE TRANSVESTITE KOMASTS

The addition of the Zewadski stamnos to the corpus of cross-dressed komasts provides a useful opportunity to revisit the group and encourages some new lines of thought. One underexploited approach concerns the possible relationship between the sides of a vase.[43] The extent to which the themes of reverses and obverses of Attic vases are correlated is debated. Though manifest in some cases, it cannot be assumed to be the rule. On the reverse of the Zewadski stamnos, three komasts compositionally balance the figures of side A (fig. 2). The appearance on side B of "ordinary," if youthful, komasts, is suggestive, as is the addition of the wineskin, a level of detail unusual on a reverse in this period.

If we look at the reverses of those vases on which something other than simply more cross-dressed komasts appear, we find a curious limitation of subject matter. Table 1, from which the Tampa stamnos is excluded, makes it easy to see the concentration on

[40] Only a cup in the J. Paul Getty Museum provides an exception: here little girls serve as parasol-bearers for the komasts, a true deflation of the Near Eastern formula. Malibu 86.AE.293: Briseis Painter, 480–470, *Paralipomena* 372, 81 → M.C. Miller, "The Parasol: An Oriental Status-Symbol in Late Archaic and Classical Athens," *JHS* 112 (1992) 91–105, pl. 2d–e.

[41] Parasols: Miller (supra n. 40) and M.C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C. A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge 1997) 193–98; note that Price 142–43 cites the parasols as evidence that the vases show a parody of Persians. Delavaud-Roux (supra n. 27) 255–56.

[42] Copenhagen 13365: calyx krater fr., Kleophrades Painter, ca. 510, *ARV*² 185.32; Kurtz and Boardman no. 5; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 215, fig. 7.8–10; Kurtz and Boardman 69, fig. 13a–b. Price 138–39 also questions the association of Anakreon with the series, but notes (161–62) that Syracuse 26967, a lekythos attributed to the Gales Painter (*ARV*² 36.2), should be reexamined, as the inscription "Anakreon" clearly marks a lyre player who wears a himation and chiton and possibly a sakkos as well. Maas and Snyder (supra n. 14) 113, for the close association of Anakreon with the instrument in Athens.

[43] But see Hornbostel (supra n. 27) 111–14, no. 53; and Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 230–31 start to move in this direction.

Table 1. Subjects Associated with the Komasts

	Archaic Painters	Early Classical Painters
Dionysiac subject	4	2
Ordinary komos (mostly youths)	3	3
Generic boys/youths	3	4
Symposia	2	—
Generic men and women	—	2

Dionysiac and sympotic themes and the inverse correlation of subjects over time between Archaic and Early Classical vases.[44] Given the restriction of themes, we should ask whether the combination of these particular subjects with the komasts is in any way meaningful.

Of primary interest are scenes from the Dionysiac world, often with deliberate parallelism between the two spheres (figs. 8–14). Dionysos himself may appear on the reverse of a pelike in Florence. Dionysos, satyrs, and maenads cover the exterior of a cup in Munich, with a cross-dressed komast on the tondo (figs. 8–10). A transport amphora is carried on both tondo and exterior, and a further link between the two zones is provided by the *auloi*: auloi are played by a satyr on side A, and an aulos case is held by the komast of the tondo. Drinking vessels separate the spheres: whereas the komasts of the tondo wield cups, kantharoi and a drinking horn appear on the exterior. On a recent addition to the group, a cup attributed to the Oedipus Painter, three satyrs dance around Dionysos on side A in parallel disposition to the dancing komasts on side B (figs. 11–12); while the dance steps are similar between the sides, drinking vessels differ again. Lone satyrs balance lone komasts on the two sides of two column kraters, of which one formerly in the Hirschmann Collection strikingly mixes the two worlds: the lyre-playing komast revels while the satyr labors under the weight of a full krater, almost as if serving the komast in lieu of Dionysos (figs. 13–14); the other, in Tarquinia, is too fragmentary to read such an implied narrative. Finally, on a kalpis, a black-figure satyr decorates the krater beside a symposiast in the distinctive garb.[45] This density of associated Dionysiac elements would seem to support an interpretation of the transvestites as also somehow "Dionysiac."

An equally large group of reverses, including that of the Zewadski stamnos, presents "ordinary" komasts, who provide a sort of counterpoint to the cross-dressed komasts within the realm of the komos (figs. 15–17). As stressed by Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague, the cross-dressed figures are bearded (that is, mature) men. In contrast, the associated komasts are almost all beardless youths, as on the Zewadski stamnos. Thus, cross-dressed mature men oppose youths who may or may not wear himatia; enough survives of a fragmentary amphora in Adria to make it certain that three bearded sakkos-wearing komasts on side A are balanced by youth-

[44] Dionysiac: Kurtz and Boardman nos. 4, 6, 15, 27, 31, and the Oedipus Painter cup (see infra n. 45). Ordinary komos: Kurtz and Boardman nos. 18, 22, 33, 36, 37; related: no. 7 (woman lyre player). Generic boys/youth: Kurtz and Boardman nos. 1, 8, 11, 20 (with woman), 39, 41 (with woman), 44. Symposia: no. 5 and Heidelberg 280 (references supra n. 27). Generic man and woman: Kurtz and Boardman nos. 26, 40. The reverse of the column krater in the Cahn Collection (see supra n. 27) is excluded from this count as its subject is unclear owing to its fragmentary state. Herbert A. Cahn kindly reports that there are two males of uncertain age, possibly warriors.

Dresden 323, a pelike included by Boardman (Kurtz and Boardman no. 43; *ARV*² 665.4) and not included in this count, is problematic. Though no photograph of it has ever been published, an old and slightly unclear one can now be viewed on the Beazley Archive web site (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk). Here the komast appears on side B, opposing a Kirke. The figure holds a walking stick and is therefore to be viewed as male; he also wears chiton, himation, and mitra. He appears to be bearded. He is standing with his weight on his stick, however, which makes him a weak candidate for inclusion as a komast; a dressed komast would be an odd subject for a reverse, and it appears sufficiently late (about mid-fifth century) that the painter may well have worked from outside of the iconographic tradition.

[45] Florence 3987: unattributed pelike, ca. 500; Kurtz and Boardman no. 6; *CVA* Florence 2, pl. 33.1–2. Munich 2647: Douris (late), cup, *ARV*² 438.132; Kurtz and Boardman no. 15 (figs. 8–10 here). Private Collection: Oedipus Painter (K. Sommer) cup, ca. 470 (not in Kurtz and Boardman); Hornbostel (supra n. 27), no. 53 (figs. 11–12 here). London Market 1993 (once Hirschmann Coll.): column krater, Pan Painter (Isler); Kurtz and Boardman no. 27; Sotheby London, 9 December 1993, lot 42; H. Bloesch, *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann Collection* (Zurich 1982) no. 36 (figs. 13–14 here). Tarquinia 682: undetermined Early Mannerist, column krater frs., *ARV*² 583.1; Kurtz and Boardman no. 31 (unfortunately no illustration has ever been published and none is available at present). Kassel ALG57: Nikoxenos Painter, kalpis; Kurtz and Boardman no. 4, fig. 12 (for the link between symposium and komos, see also Copenhagen 13365, whose fragments seem to indicate that the symposiasts also wore a mitra [references supra n. 42] and Heidelberg 280 [references supra n. 27]). Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 230–32 make important observations about the relationship of these cross-dressed men with their god and his more common "masculine" votaries, the satyrs, and use Florence 3987 and the Pan Painter krater in support.

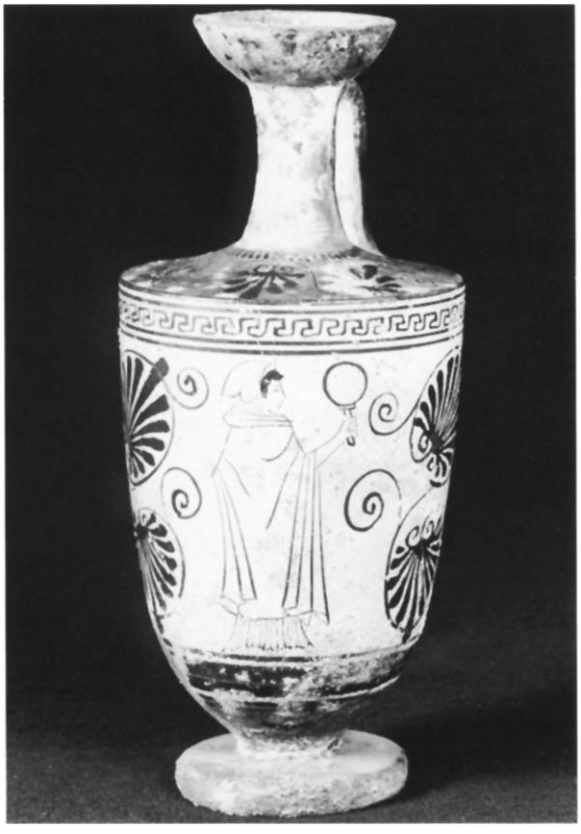


Fig. 18. Attic white-ground lekythos, Painter of Petit Palais 336, 500–480. Woman with mirror. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais 335. (Photo Bulloz)

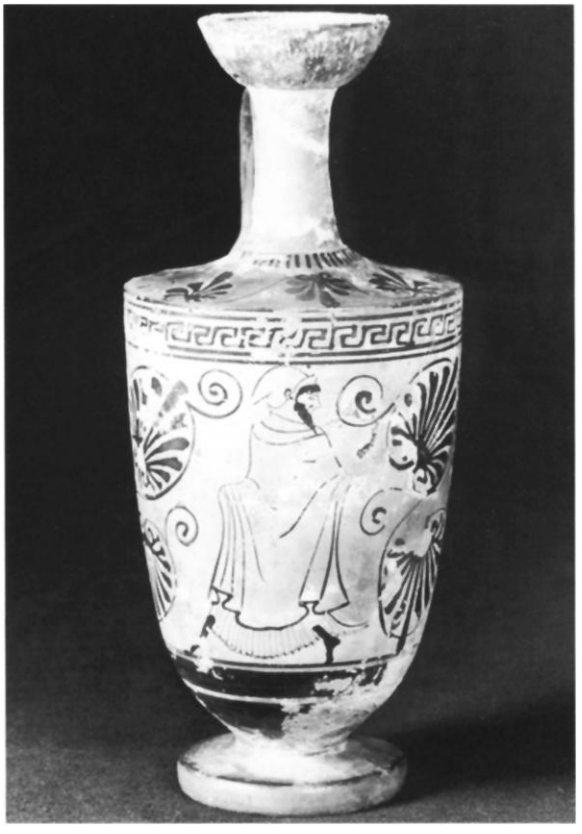


Fig. 19. Attic white-ground lekythos, Painter of Petit Palais 336, 500–480. Komast wearing sakkos and chiton. Paris, Musée du Petit Palais 336. (Photo Bulloz)

ful komasts on side B (figs. 15–16).[46] Once the contrast is given an added twist: a vomiting youth with his *auletris* on one side of a pelike in a private collection opposes a dancing bearded cross-dressed komast and his auletris on the other.[47] In three other cases, the contrast is set within the same picture zone: two youthful komasts dance beside a cross-dressed komast on an amphora in Rhodes; a youth in ordinary male dress reclines in company with a cross-dressed symposiast on a kalpis in Kassel; and a fragmentary column krater presents the head of a youth in uncertain state of dress engaged in unknown activity beside a mitra-wearing, parasol-bearing komast (fig. 17). With only one exception—a bearded "ordinary" komast together with a cross-dressed komast on the tondo of a cup (fig. 8)—the paired oppositions involve age as well as manner of dress: fully mature citizens and youths.[48]

[46] Cleveland 26.549: Pig Painter, column krater, *ARV*^{2} 563.9; Kurtz and Boardman no. 33, fig. 25; *CVA* Cleveland 1, pls. 25–26. Adria B.248: Leningrad Painter, amphora, *ARV*^{2} 571.71; Kurtz and Boardman no. 37 (figs. 15–16 here). S. Bonomi kindly informs me that she has discovered a nonjoining fragment of side A, which gives the head of the third figure at right. Too fragmentary to know: Louvre C 10813: Brygos Painter (very late), skyphos frs., *ARV*^{2} 381.175; Kurtz and Boardman no. 18; only the feet of the male on side B survive, but enough ankle remains to suggest that the figure does not wear a chiton. Athens Agora P7242: column krater frs., Manner of the Pig Painter, *ARV*^{2} 566.4; Kurtz and Boardman no. 36. A full description of side B is in Moore (supra n. 10) no. 196; unfortunately only the lower torso is preserved, so that it is impossible to tell whether this is actually a youth rather than a man. Given the parallelism of Kurtz and Boardman nos. 33 and 37, it seems most likely that this is a youth. See also infra n. 47.

[47] Swiss private, once Moretti: Kleophrades Painter, pelike, ca. 470, *ARV*^{2} 184.26; Kurtz and Boardman no. 22. Unfortunately, no photograph is available for illustration here, but one exists in the Beazley Archive and is now up on the Beazley web site (supra n. 44).

[48] Rhodes 12.200: Manner of Lydos, black-figure belly amphora, *ABV* 115.3; Kurtz and Boardman no. 1, figs. 10a–b. Kassel ALG57: Nikoxenos Painter, kalpis; Kurtz and Boardman no. 4, fig. 12. Adria B.497: unattributed column krater; Kurtz and Boardman no. 29; according to S. Bonomi, *CVA* Adria I, pl. 5.5, erroneously joins B.537, a fragment from an amphora, but the haircut shows that the right figure must be a youth. Bearded "straight" komast: Munich 2647 (supra n. 45). Perhaps the vessel is meant to signify the drinking of unmixed wine; no krater is in sight. In possibly two other cases, too fragmentary for certainty, adult male komasts may be depicted on the reverse of a vase with dressed komasts, though youths are more likely; see supra n. 46.



Fig. 20. Attic white-ground kyathos, near Psiax, ca. 520. Single lyre-playing komast with hair pulled through mitra. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.102 + 78.AE.5. Gift of Gianfranco Becchina. (Courtesy Museum)



Fig. 21. Attic red-figure stamnos, unattributed, 500–480. Side B: komasts with parasols, some with hair pulled through their mitrai. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11009. (Photo A. Trigo, Archivo Fotográfico)

In view of this pattern of pairing youthful ordinary komasts with bearded cross-dressed komasts on the two sides of a vase, the number of vases that simply have generic youths on the reverse may be significant. There are seven known examples, roughly a third of the sample.[49] At first glance they might well be taken as mindless fillers for side B, a common phenomenon once a sense of hierarchy between sides emerged; the Mannerists in particular liked to use such subjects for their reverses, so it is not surprising to find the subject most popular as a "pair" with the komasts in the second quarter of the fifth century. However, youths also balanced cross-dressed komasts on Late Archaic vases, such as the amphora attributed to the Harrow Painter in Munich, and the earliest instance, the amphora in Rhodes, even dates to the mid-sixth century. These examples encourage the view that the youths, like the youthful komasts and Dionysiac subjects, appear in significant combinations with the cross-dressed komasts.

The playing up of the opposition between mature and youthful komasts might be viewed in sexual terms. In the modern western world cross-dressing is widely deemed to be intimately connected with homosexuality, much to the dismay of male heterosexual cross-dressers.[50] This may invite us to consider whether the ambiguity of the cross-dressed komasts has bearing on the issue of homosexuality and heterosexuality in Late Archaic Athens. However, bisexuality would appear to have been the norm among the male elite (the group whose activities presumably served as models for the painters).[51] In such a social environment, the issue of sexual contrast is of less interest. Not only is it inappropriate to make

[49] Rhodes 12.200 (supra n. 48). Munich 2326: Harrow Painter, neck amphora, *ARV*² 273.18; Kurtz and Boardman no. 8 (a fine example of aidos: see Ferrari [supra n. 26]). Rome, Conservatori 176: Painter of Louvre G238, pelike, *ARV*² 283.4; Kurtz and Boardman no. 11. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.293: Briseis Painter, cup, I, ca. 480, *Paralipomena* 372.8bis; Kurtz and Boardman no. 20. Thereafter, generic youths occur as standardized side B format, and so are less iconographically significant (i.e., Kurtz and Boardman nos. 39, 41, 44).

This explanation of the reverses as a deliberate tactic of showing opposites to contrast with and highlight the activity of the cross-dressed komasts easily accounts for the (rare) choice of a woman and a man on the reverse: Mykonos, Delos cat. 57: Manner of the Aegisthus Painter, neck amphora, *ARV*² 508.4; Kurtz and Boardman no. 26. One other example, not yet illustrated, Kurtz and Boardman no. 40, is described as "old man, woman, and male."

[50] As is indicated by the frequency with which books on transvestism by heterosexual cross-dressers stress the commonness of heterosexual cross-dressing, e.g., J.J. Allen, *The Man in the Red Velvet Dress: Inside the World of Cross-Dressing* (New York 1996) 34, 72; J. Bland, *The Gender Paradox: What It Means to be a Transvestite* (Belper, Derby 1993) 19; V. Coleman, *Men in Dresses: A Study of Transvestism/Crossdressing* (Barnstaple 1996) 15; M.T. Haslam, *Transvestism: A Guide* (London 1994) 13.

[51] An interesting theme in M.F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London 1993) is the divergence of representation of homo- and heterosexual intercourse, but the social importance of both is equally evident.

projections from the modern to the ancient situation vis-à-vis homosexuality and transvestism; in fact, the parallelism is evidently false even in modern times.

A final constellation of images shows that the painters from the beginning of the series viewed the komasts as wearing women's clothes (figs. 18–19). At the end of the series, the painter of the Zewadski stamnos placed a himation over a sakkos on the head of a male figure in a distinctively feminine manner (figs. 1, 7). A comparably feminine gesture is found on another new cross-dressed komast, an Early Classical red-figure lekythos recently on the Freiburg market. Here a lyre player moves to the right, garbed in chiton, himation, and sakkos (itself elaborated by the addition of pattern bands); with his right hand he raises the edge of his himation high off his right shoulder in a quintessentially feminine gesture.[52] These yield two options with respect to identity: either the model figures for the komasts were always regarded as transvestites; or Early Classical painters (perhaps driven by class prejudice against the aristocratic activities depicted) introduced the interpretation of these "Lydianizers" as effeminates.[53]

A pair of small white lekythoi (figs. 18–19) painted by the same hand shows that one painter very early in the fifth century associated the komasts with femininity. The lekythoi were found in the same tomb, and their similar design and composition show clearly that they were intended as a pair. One depicts a woman with sakkos, chiton, himation, and mirror; the other shows a man in similar dress, though on it a curling tendril takes the place of the mirror. The evidently deliberate balancing of a female lyre player with a male mitra- and chiton-wearing lyre player on a contemporary amphora in Munich indicates a similar association.[54]

Another look at the whole series of headdresses should dispel any doubts about feminine associations even at the beginning of the series. A kyathos dated ca. 520, and so also early in the series, shows a komast wearing a mitra with his hair pulled through the crown (fig. 20). Mitrai admittedly had a long prior history in the Near East and East Greece, and in Attic painting they appear on male figures, including komasts, who are not otherwise effeminate.[55] To my knowledge, however, no extant image of an Anatolian or East Greek man shows him wearing a mitra with his hair pulled through the crown; in art as perhaps in life this is an expressly feminine arrangement. In the following decades, many other komasts of this group wore their hair pulled through something more like standard feminine *kekryphalloi* (figs. 17 and 21, where both types of headdress occur).[56] Already in the Archaic period the painters seem to have perceived the garb as feminine, not merely ef-

[52] Freiburg Market 1989: Oionokles Painter (Padgett), Providence Painter (cat.), red-figure lekythos, ca. 470; Puhze (supra n. 15) 21, no. 211. I am much indebted to J.M. Padgett for drawing this to my attention. In his extensive catalogue of gestures, T.J. McNiven has hundreds of examples of females making such a gesture, but only 24 males. Of the 24, the specific gesture of only one is almost comparable: Florence PD 371, Penthesileia Painter, cup, 460–450, *ARV*^{2} 885.94; *CVA* Florence 3, pl. 108.1, but even this is not very close. It is interesting to note that the majority of the others are youths, often the pursued in pursuit scenes; he reasonably proposes a link for these with aidos. I am very grateful to T.J. McNiven for his observations on gesture and gesture lists.

[53] The suggestion of Boardman (Kurtz and Boardman 55; cf. 65), who observes a more feminine headdress on some Early Classical komasts.

[54] Paris, Petit Palais (335 and) 336: Painter of Petit Palais 336, white lekythos, ca. 500–480, *ARV*^{2} 305.1–2; Kurtz and Boardman no. 13; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague fig. 7.18–7.19. Munich 2317: Eucharides Painter, neck amphora, *ARV*^{2} 226.3; Kurtz and Boardman no. 7; parallelism noted by Hoesch (supra n. 39) 277.

[55] The Near Eastern and East Greek priority was amply established by Boardman, who suggests (Kurtz and Boardman 55) that the komasts turned to the feminine sakkos only later in the series. The Nikosthenes Painter particularly liked to paint male figures wearing the mitra, e.g., Louvre G4bis: cup, ca. 510, lyre player with boots, himation, and mitra, *ARV*^{2} 125.16. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.334: kantharos, ca. 500, Dionysos in himation and mitra (?), *ARV*^{2} 126.27. St. Petersburg 3386: kantharos, ca. 520, lyre player with himation, *ARV*^{2} 127.29; A.A. Peredolskaya, *Krasnofigurnye attischeskie vazy* (Leningrad 1967) no. 10, pl. 9.2. See also Berlin F 2100: Epiktetos, black-figure bilingual cup, man with boots, himation, and mitra bears skyphos, *ARV*^{2} 71.7. New York 41.162.13 (supra n. 28) series of men and girls, men wearing mitra and himation and playing lyre. Berlin 2289 + Florence 7B28 + Villa Guilia: Douris, cup, ca. 480, *ARV*^{2} 435.95; see now Buitron-Oliver (supra n. 26) no. 143, pl. 84. Note that none of these mitra-wearing men wears his hair through the mitra.

[56] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.102 + 78.AE.5: white-ground kyathos; Kurtz and Boardman no. 2; Price pl. 1. Kassel ALG57 (supra n. 45). Munich 2317 (supra n. 31). Munich 2326 (supra n. 49). Madrid 11009: unattributed stamnos; Kurtz and Boardman no. 10; fig. 16 (side A); several figures. Later: Adria B.497 (supra n. 48). Rhodes 13.129: Pig Painter, pelike, *ARV*^{2} 564.28; Kurtz and Boardman no. 34. London E 308: Zannoni Painter, neck amphora, *ARV*^{2} 673.7; Kurtz and Boardman no. 44.

feminate;[57] from the beginning, these komasts were cross-dressers in a Dionysiac context.

FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF TRANSVESTISM

The question that remains to be asked is why these komasts cross-dress. To comprehend a phenomenon that lies well beyond contemporary daily experience, it is useful to consider the full range of human experience of cross-dressing, which varies from society to society. Such a survey is here undertaken, not out of a belief that ancient Greek society is demonstrably more akin to some other society in which cross-dressing is or was embraced, but simply to remove the barrier of modern western prejudice and preconception from the question.

Anthropological research shows that the sites and circumstances of cross-dressing vary tremendously, from the public release of a regular if infrequent and brief festival (e.g., the Charivari of early modern Europe)[58] to the sustained practice of a select few (e.g., Siberian shamans, Hindi *Hijra*, and North American First Nations *berdache*)[59] or the universal but once-in-a-lifetime activities associated with rites of passage.[60] Transvestism in modern western culture encompasses both the furtive activities of "closet" practitioners and the calculated exhibitionism of postmodern rock stars.[61] The cross-dressing scenes in *Thesmophoriazusai* (211–263) and *Bacchai* (821–838) provide intriguing parallels with what is reported about modern closet male cross-dressers: an anxiety to get it right, and to "pass" (both attempts fail, one humorously, one tragically). But in both cases the formal motivation is as disguise for specific "narrative" purposes.[62] Similarly, the cross-dressing of women in *Ekklesiazusai* has an important narrative function (to allow them to infiltrate the assembly) as well as a symbolic function (the perceived need to wear men's clothes when taking over men's activities).[63]

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[57] The emotional tone of some scholarship on the subject suggests that modern western horror of closet transvestism underlay some scholarly opinions; I think especially of Davies (supra n. 34). Not surprisingly, given German traditions of Fasching, 19th- and earlier 20th-century German scholarship cheerfully accepted ritual transvestism. The phenomenon of English pleasure in transvestism at Christmas pageant plays, most notably that of Peter Pan, is somehow overlooked in such discussions.

[58] N.Z. Davis, "Women on Top: Symbolic Social Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe," in Babcock (supra n. 2) 147–90 remains a classic study; see esp. 163–71. See also L. Kürti, "Eroticism, Sexuality and Gender Reversal in Hungarian Culture," in S.P. Ramet ed., *Gender Reversals and Gender Cultures: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (London 1996) 148–63; and M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968, English translation), esp. 5–12. For a global analysis of inversion, see Babcock (supra n. 2).

[59] Shamanism: M.M. Balzer, "Sacred Genders in Siberia: Shamans, Bear Festivals, and Androgyny," in Ramet (supra n. 58) 164–82. Classicists are most familiar with the report of transvestite Scythian shamans: Hdt. 1.105; 4.67; Hippoc. *Aer.* 22; see now D. Margreth, *Skythische Schamenen? Die Nachrichten über Enarees-Anarieis bei Herodot und Hippokrates* (Diss. University of Zurich 1993); I am indebted to Stephanie West for this reference. Hijra: S. Nanda, *Neither Man nor Woman: The Hijras of India* (Belmont 1990), with some discussion of other cultures' "third" sex 129–37; K. Hall and V. O'Donovan, "Shifting Gender Positions among Hindi-speaking Hijras," in Bergvall et al. (supra n. 2) 228–66. For transvestism in Hinduism, see also C.A. Humes, "Becoming Male: Salvation through Gender Modification in Hinduism and Buddhism," in Ramet (supra n. 58) 123–37. Berdache, especially "soul-fliers": D.B. Carlisle, *Human Sex Change and Sex Reversal* (Lampeter 1998) 265–87, esp. 270–87, helpfully gives both traditional accounts (available elsewhere but of questionable reliability owing to problems of perception by non-native informants) and a modern account, where the issue of genuine continuity of tradition (as opposed to modern (re-)introduction of elements both from other peoples and anthropological accounts as a re-creation of past traditions) is tacitly and convincingly addressed; note especially the comments of Dances with Snakes, 282.

[60] V. Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*," in *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca 1967) 98; see also Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago 1969) 183–85. W.E. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1860, repr. London 1904) I, 71–72; II, 246, for 19th-century Egyptian boys about to be circumcised dressed in girls' clothing.

[61] Of all forms, only the secret male heterosexual cross-dresser seems to derive specific sexual arousal from cross-dressing; others find breaking the boundaries a form of liberation (from the laws of nature and therefore culture?). This is significant when we consider that in the group under discussion (in contrast to the norm in depictions of komoi), there is no hint of sexual activity. A random bibliographic sampling: Allen (supra n. 50); Bland (supra n. 50); Coleman (supra n. 50); Haslam (supra n. 50); Woodhouse (supra n. 2). Developing medical theory: J. Matlock, "Masquerading Women, Pathological Men: Crossdressing, Fetishism and the Theory of Perversion, 1882–1935," in E. Apter and W. Pietz eds., *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse* (Ithaca 1993) 31–61 (my thanks to Ian Ruffell for this reference); and R. Ekins, *Male Femaling: A Grounded Approach to Crossdressing and Sex-Changing* (London 1996) 25–32. Almost every recent study of transvestism notes the modern transvestite phenomenon (Boy George, Madonna, Michael Jackson).

[62] See Said (supra n. 33), esp. 222–23, 229–33.

[63] Both aspects are important to medieval literary topoi of transvestite women explored by V.R. Hitchkiss in *Clothes Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York 1996).

Historians of Greek religion and culture know of a comparable range of activities that involve transvestism.[64] They include mandatory recurring collective festivals and individual *rites de passage*, as well as, in at least one instance, transvestism required of the officiant: at Kos a priest of Herakles wore women's clothing, though only, it seems, to conduct sacrifice (ὁ . . . ἱερεὺς . . . γυναικείαν ἐνδεδυμένος ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενος μίτρᾳ κατάρχεται τῆς θυσίας, Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 58, *Mor.* 304c).[65] These were all public events at which cross-dressing was somehow expected of the participants.

The list of known Greek transvestite festivals is short and focuses on Dionysos and Artemis; more are suspected. The ancient sources for cultic transvestism are frequently obscure, though the silence of classical literary texts on such a matter is meaningless as this is not a subject that major authors discuss. Comparative anthropology suggests that the practice may have been widespread. Delcourt rightly summarizes the situation: "Ces usages n'ont guère été signalés avant la fin de l'Antiquité: ce n'étaient plus alors que des survivances isolées, curieuses, de coutumes certainement plus générales à une époque ancienne."[66] Transvestism in the context of Dionysiac cult, particularly in the form of status-reversal ceremonies, has attracted the most interest among modern commentators. Kenner argues that transvestism in Athenian cults of Dionysos is particularly well attested, though in fact some of the evidence is rather indirect.[67] Certainly the cult of Dionysos did not have a monopoly on the practice.

Possible transvestite festivals took place in the following areas: 1) Sparta: Artemis Orthia festival, where men and probably women danced while cross-dressed (Hesychius s.v. βρυδαλίχα),[68] and the Lombai festival for Artemis, where women wore phalloi in procession (Hesychius s.v. Λόμβαι); 2) Athens: Oschophoria for Dionysos (linked also with Athena Skira, whose sanctuary marked the end of the procession), where two boys wearing girl's clothes led the procession (Procl. *Chrestomathia* ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 239; Plut. *Thes.* 23.2–5=Demon *FGrHist* 327 F6; Philoch. 44; Hesychius s.v. ὠσχοφόρια);[69] 3) in Greece generally (?), for festivals of Dionysos, cross-dressed *ithyphalloi* (sometimes known by other titles) engaged in a ritual phallophoria "wearing women's clothing" (*Suda* s.v. ἰθύφαλλοι· γυναικείαν στολὴν ἔχοντες), described by Semos as "chitons with a white stripe and ankle-length Tarentine veil" (Semos *FGrHist* 396 F24=Ath. 622b; cf. *Suda* s.v. φαλλοφόροι· Σῆμος; Hesychius s.v. ἰθύφαλλοι).[70] Men called ithyphalloi performed at the Dionysia in Athens and may have worn the dress described by Semos;[71] 4) Tlos: Dionysia or cult of Kybele (?), second century, where some male worshippers wore women's dress (ἐν γυναικείᾳ στολῇ);[72] and 5) Alexandria: Hellenistic Dionysia, where men wore women's dress. One Demetrius "the Platonic philosopher" at the court of "the Ptolemy who was called Dionysos" (either Ptolemy IV or XII) was criticized for drinking water and being the only man not to wear women's dress at the Dionysia. As a safety measure, when he was next invited by Ptolemy, he

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[64] Kenner 102–63 is basic, summarizing evidence for classical antiquity, as well as discussing the global issues. R.W. Halliday, "A Note on Herodotos VI.83 and the Hybristika," *BSA* 16 (1909–1910) 212–19 represents an early gathering of much of the evidence in the context of A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage. Étude systématique des rites* (Paris 1909). See also Slater (supra n. 34); Henrichs (supra n. 34) 158–59, with ns. 199–206.

[65] R.W. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford 1928) 216–18, with comparanda.

[66] M. Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite: Mythes et rites de la bisexualité dans l'antiquité classique* (Paris 1958) 5. Her suggestion that men cross-dressed for the ritual of Samian Hera, based on Ath. 12.525, is not compelling. This was standard elite dress of men in the Archaic period and it could simply represent vestmental conservatism.

[67] Kenner 111–12. Csapo (supra n. 34) with references, for Dionysiac cross-dressing. For the conviction that transvestism played an important symbolic role in Dionysiac initiation: R. Seaford, *Euripides' Bacchae* (Warminster 1996) 33, 222, with references.

[68] Male dancers called the βρυλλιχισταί: M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906); A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford 1927) 256–57. D.D. Leitao, "The Perils of Leukippos: Initiatory Transvestism and Male Gender in the Ekdusia at Phaistos," *ClAnt* 14 (1995) 133 suggests it is a citizen initiation ritual.

[69] Deubner (supra n. 31) 142–43, with references; Kenner 112. Interpretation ranges from Dionysiac status-reversal ceremony (C. Calame, *Thesée et l'imaginaire athenian* [Lausanne 1990] 128–29, 143–48, 324–27) to coming-of-age ritual. S. Deacy, "Athena and the Amazons: Mortal and Immortal Femininity in Greek Myth," in A.B. Lloyd ed., *What Is a God?* (London 1997) 160 stresses the fact that Athena and Dionysos, both divinities of ambiguous sexuality (Athena cross-dresses), are linked in cult only here.

[70] See Kenner 112; and Csapo (supra n. 34).

[71] On *ithyphalloi* for Dionysos at Athens: Demochares *FGrHist* 75 F2; and E. Csapo, *Mimesis, Ambiguity, Enigma: A Performance Commentary on the Dithyrambic Stasima of Euripides' Electra* (forthcoming). For possible iconographic evidence and transvestite Dionysiac ithyphalloi at Athens, see Csapo (supra n. 34) and figs. 26–27.

[72] Dionysia: F. Kolb, "Zu einem 'Heiligen Gesetz' von Tlos," *ZPE* 22 (1976) 228–30; Kybele: Henrichs (supra n. 34) 224 n. 97.

started to drink early and danced in women's clothes (Lucian, *Cal.* 16).[73]

Attempts to identify a common element among the transvestite cults are not entirely convincing. Kenner sees their divinities (Dionysos and Artemis) as sexually ambivalent figures. Delcourt sees fertility as the link.[74] It has been observed that the transformation of gender is often associated with the process of coming closer to divinity by breaking down the categories of ordinary experience.[75] Transvestite cultic aetiologies suggest that such a perception lay behind Greek practice;[76] and, indeed, this is, in Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague's view, one of the objectives of the cross-dressed komasts.[77]

It is harder to define the character of the Argive *Hybristika*; no cult is mentioned in the context of its celebration. Here both sexes cross-dressed at the liminal time of the new moon in the month Hermaios. It has been suggested that it was a premarriage transition rite, but the intimation of master/slave role reversals in Herodotos 6.83 supports a collective "upside-down universe" event, linked perhaps with the seasons rather than a specific cult.[78]

The best-attested type of *rite de passage* cross-dressing in the Greek world is weddings. There is evidence for women cross-dressing at marriage in Sparta (Plut. *Lyc.* 15.5), when they wore beards, and perhaps at Argos (Plut. *De mul. vir., Mor.* 245f).[79] Kos provides one case where men cross-dressed for marriage (γυναικείαν στολήν, Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 58, *Mor.* 304e).[80] Other possible instances of transvestism have been associated with coming-of-age/initiation rituals, such as the activities at the Athenian Oschophoria, where the two cross-dressed boys who led the procession have been identified as substitutes for the whole group.[81] Myth may reflect a transvestite ritual for boys at the *Ekdusia* of Phaistos and there is evidence for transvestism in the coming-of-age ritual of Dionysos Pseudanor in Macedonia. Hatzopoulos posited that a number of cross-dressing festivals were actually premarriage transition rites for young girls.[82]

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[73] Ptolemy XII (80–58 B.C.): cf. *RE* 4.2 (1901) 2844 no. 92, s.v. Demetrios (H. v. Arnim); Kenner 112. Ptolemy IV (221–205 B.C.): suggested as an alternative by P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2 (Oxford 1972) 345 n. 112, 715–16 n. 140, who acknowledges that both philosopher and king are difficult to identify. For Ptolemy IV as Dionysiac, see now M. Pfrommer, "Fassade und Heiligtum: Betrachtungen zur architektonischen Repräsentation des vierten Ptolemäers," in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands eds., *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige* (Mainz 1996) 97–108, esp. 97 and 100.

[74] Kenner 111–29; Delcourt (supra n. 66) 27.

[75] S.P. Ramet, "Introduction," in Ramet (supra n. 58) 5; Humes (supra n. 59).

[76] Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 58, *Mor.* 304c, the aetiology for the priest of Herakles on Kos; cf. the stories analyzed by F. Graf, "Women, War, and Warlike Divinities," *ZPE* 55 (1984) 245–54.

[77] Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 228–29.

[78] M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine* (*Meletemata* 19, Athens 1994) 76–78. Plut. *De mul. vir., Mor.* 245e–f, gives as the *aition* the women's action in defending Argos after the defeat of the men in battle by Sparta (Hdt. 6.83); Halliday (supra n. 65) and Graf (supra n. 76) 246–50. Kenner 87–88 lists other instances of social role reversal (master/slave) in Greek festivals; the most familiar is the Roman Saturnalia. Halliday (supra n. 64) 219 described the Hybristika as showing the "temporary quality and license of a periodic festival," which is compatible with my view; his contemporaries tended to view it as a mass symbolic wedding festival, followed in a sense by Kenner 103, probably because Plutarch's discussion ends citing a law regarding cross-dressing for brides. Leitao (supra n. 68) 137 suggests it is a new year's festival.

[79] Sparta: see P. Cartledge, "Spartan Wives: Liberation or License?" *CQ* 31 (1981) 101. Argos: a difficult passage: Ὅθεν ἔθεντο νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα πώγωνα δεῖν ἐχούσας συναναπαύεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς γεγαμημένας. F.C. Babbit, *Plutarch's Moralia* 3 (London 1931) 491 seems to misunderstand and take it as metaphorical (that is, "whence they passed a law that women who 'wear the pants in the family' must still sleep with their husbands," which is impossible Greek and disregards the wider context). Halliday (supra n. 64) 213 takes it as an instance of cross-dressing at marriage, or something like "women at marriage must wear beards when they sleep with their husbands."

[80] Halliday (supra n. 64) 218–19.

[81] See H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et courètes. Essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique* (Lille 1939) 442; K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology* (London 1989), esp. 65–66, with references; A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 31, 72 n. 60, 164 n. 156. Oschophoria: P. Vidal-Naquet, "Le Chasseur Noir et l'origine de l'ephébie athénienne," *AnnEconSocCiv* 23 (1968) 947–64, reprinted in *Le Chasseur Noir: Formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec* (Paris 1981) 151–75; trans. P. Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Society in the Greek World* (Baltimore 1986) 106–28; J.M. Bremmer, "Dionysos travesti," in A. Moreau ed., *L'initiation: Les rites d'adolescence et les mystères* 1 (Montpellier 1992) 195–96, that the "leading" youths stand in for the whole age group; also Leitao (supra n. 68) 133, 148–49.

[82] Ekdusia: Brelich (supra n. 81) 201–202; Leitao (supra n. 68) with references, though his argument for a "symbolic" rather than "structuralist" interpretation is problematic; 133–35 summarizes evidence for other examples. Dionysos Pseudanor: Hatzopoulos (supra n. 78) 74–85. Also: founding myths of adolescent rites, with transvestism, are adduced to elucidate the activities: C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Function* (Lanham 1997) 145–46, with references.

Aside from the known instances where transvestism is prescribed by cult or other public ritual, there is also evidence for cross-dressing at private symposia or the drunken komoi that might follow. The evidence takes the form of literary attestation of both symposiasts and komasts dressed as women from the Early Hellenistic period, using terminology that suggests that this was the norm for some groups of people rather than individual aberrations. In the late fourth century the Macedonian Poly(s)perchon would dance dressed in the feminine *krokotos* and Sikyonian slippers (Σικυώνια) whenever he was drunk (εἰ μεθυσθείη . . . ὀρχεῖσθαι); this, we are expressly told, is "despite the fact that he was rather old and . . . foremost among the Macedonians in generalship and reputation" (Douris of Samos, *FGrHist* 76 F12 = Ath. 4.155c). Polystratos of Athens, a student of Theophrastos, "used to dress up in the clothes of the auletrides"—in the course of komoi, it appears from the context, a discussion of philosophers' reactions to the auctioning of girl pipe players during the late stages of symposia (Ath. 13. 607F: τῶν αὐλητρίδων τὰ ἱμάτια περιέδυεν). The measures taken by Demetrios at the court of Ptolemy mentioned above attest to a practice of komastic cross-dressing: to recover from his treasonous prior sobriety, "when he was next invited by Ptolemy, he started drinking early and in full view of everyone, and then donned a Tarentine veil and danced playing the cymbals" (Lucian, *Cal.* 16: λαβὼν ταραντινίδιον ἐκυμβάλισε καὶ προσωρχήσατο). In the second century, "Deinokrates of Messene," according to Plutarch, "at a symposium in Rome, got drunk and put on women's dress," an act that was poorly regarded in conservative Rome (Plut. *Flam.* 17.6: παρὰ πότον μεθυσθεὶς ὠρχήσατο λαβὼν ἱμάτιον γυναικεῖον). Elsewhere Plutarch's aition for an imperial Roman tradition of cross-dressed *auletai* going about out of doors on the Ides of January manifestly arises from a tradition of sympotic and komastic cross-dressing (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 55, *Mor.* 277e–278b).[83] Later, Philostratos reported, in what may be taken as a post-Classical expansion of the earlier practice of men donning women's clothes at komoi, that the "komos permits women to act like men, and men to dress and walk like women" (συγχωρεῖ δὲ ὁ κῶμος καὶ γυναικὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀνδρὶ θῆλυν ἐνδῦναι στολὴν καὶ θῆλυ βαίνειν. *Imag.* 1.2.298, of a komos at a wedding).[84]

Attic vase painting appears to give supporting evidence for transvestism, though it is not always easy to interpret (figs. 22–29). Both men and women cross-dress in scenes on pots. Rumpf observed that in the Late Archaic period some hetairai wear men's himatia at symposia; in other words, these hetairai, like their reclining male companions, wear the himation wrapped around their lower torso without a chiton. As Peschel points out, of the six hetairai on Makron's cup in New York, the three who recline wear a different himation from those worn by their companions (fig. 22); the same is true of Makron's cup in Gotha.[85] Indeed, one might argue that in some cases, like the so-called *Hetärensymposien* of Late Archaic red-figure painting, the nudity of hetairai was connected as much with the male "costume" of nudity as with eroticism.[86] Later, especially in the period 440–420, armed women dance (figs. 23–25), sometimes with double-pipe players. The contexts are sympotic, as is possibly the case for a fragmentary krater in Paris (fig. 23), and, it would seem, festive: on a pyxis in Naples the dance takes place beside an altar and statue of Artemis (figs. 24–25). The *pyrrhiche* was customarily danced by men wearing only helmet, spear, and shield so that the nearly nude state of many of these women is part of the mascu-

[83] H.J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford 1924) 194 suggests that the ritual whose aition is given is "an example of some carnival-rite of disguising." It is the aition (an unlikely explanation of the ritual described) that indicates that the phenomenon of sympotic cross-dressing was not unfamiliar to Plutarch's audience and informant (whoever that may have been).

[84] The evidence for private komastic cross-dressing was first collected by Slater (supra n. 34), though see also Nilsson (supra n. 32); from the religious (Dionysiac) perspective: Kerényi (supra n. 32) 340, with fig. 105 (Cleveland, after Nilsson). Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 228 regard Philostratos's comments as reflecting an evolution in practice. See also Graf (supra n. 76).

[85] Rumpf (supra n. 32) 88, as a phenomenon of the Late Archaic period, citing the following: Rhodes 13472: Painter of Rhodes 13472, black-figure olpe, *ABV* 449.1. Cambridge G48: Manner of Lysippides Painter, black-figure neck amphora (Ariadne?), *ABV* 259.17. Munich 2421: Phintias, hydria, *ARV*² 23.7. New York 20.246: Makron, cup (B), *ARV*² 467.118 (fig. 22; see also the woman furthest to the left on side A, clearly visible in Kilmer [supra n. 51] as R622.2); I. Peschel, *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6.–4. Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt 1987) 97–98, and fig. 56a–b. Gotha Ahv. 49: Makron, cup, *ARV*² 467.119; Peschel 99–100, fig. 57a–b. For the earlier tradition of this iconographic type, see T.H. Carpenter, "A *Symposion* of Gods?" in O. Murray and M. Tecusan eds., *In vino veritas* (London 1995) 152–53. For nudity see also infra n. 86.

[86] For the role of nudity as a "costume," → L. Bonfante, "Nudity as a Costume in Greek Art," *AJA* 93 (1989) 543–70; 554 for nudity at the symposium. *Hetärensymposien*: see → E. Csapo and M.C. Miller, "The 'Kottabos-Toast' and an Inscribed Red-Figure Cup," *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 367–82, pls. 98–100.

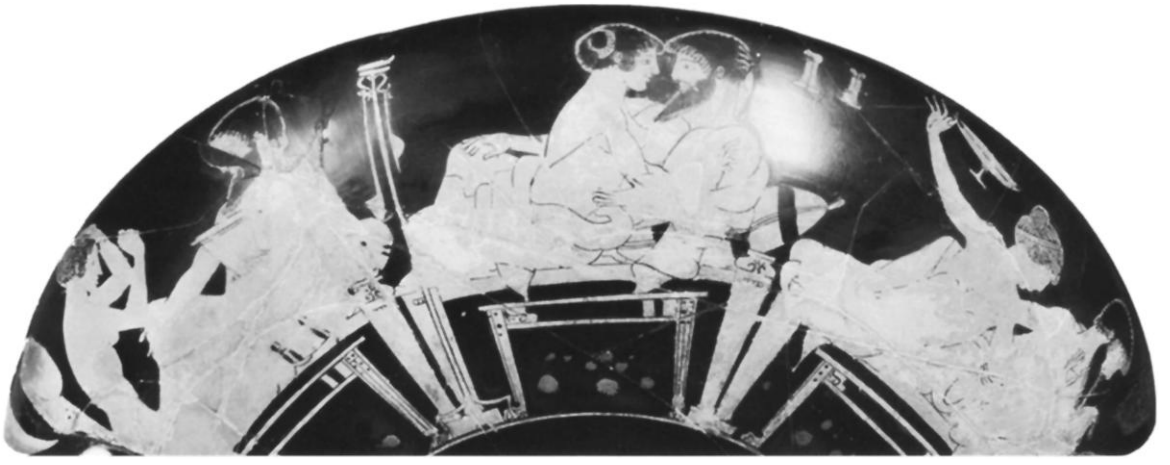


Fig. 22. Attic red-figure cup, Makron, 490–480. Side B: symposium with a hetaira (center) wearing only a himation. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 1920, inv. 20.246. (Courtesy Museum)

line "costume."[87] Indeed, Xenophon records the presence of a female pyrrhic dancer at a symposium (*Symp.* 6.1.12). Occasionally female figures wear the phallic *perizoma* while dancing in front of Dionysos.[88] Thus, the usual context of these figures is Dionysiac, the one clear exception being the pyrrhic dancer for Artemis on the pyxis (figs. 24–25).

In contrast to the possible variety of situations of female transvestism on pots, male transvestism in Attic art lies fully within the sphere of Dionysos. Six bearded men on a cup now in the Getty Museum (figs. 26–27) dress in chitons and *kothurnoi*, and dance a maenadic dance; the key to their identity is found in the phallus pole at the right of the scene on side B. Despite their humorous appearance, this cannot be a comic chorus because each man dances independently rather than in step; Csapo proposes to identify them, rather, as transvestite Dionysiac ritual ithyphalloi.[89] Other vases show a satyr dressed as a maenad (fig. 28, left figure), and a satyr wearing "falsies" (fig. 29).[90] An important but little-known black-figure lekythos (fig. 30) attributed to the Haimon Painter in Princeton raises interesting questions. Here, like its better-known parallel in New York, three bearded lyre-playing males alternating with smaller females process around the body.[91] But there is a significant difference: whereas the men of the New York lekythos wear only mitra and himation,

[87] Louvre Cp 10846: Niobid Painter, bell krater, ca. 460, *ARV*² 602.28 (fig. 23); two armed women dance, with an *auletes* between them. Naples 81908 (H 3010): unattributed pyxis, ca. 440 (figs. 24–25). J.-C. Poursat, "Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique," *BCH* 92 (1968) 586–614 of women, 608–609 festive events. A. Schäfer, *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion* (Mainz 1997) 76, 82–83; A. Kossatz-Deissmann, "Zur Herkunft des Perizoma im Satyrspiel," *JdI* 97 (1982) 75–79; M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, *Les dances armées en Grèce antique* (Aix-en-Provence 1993) 131–53, 158; G. Camporeale, "La danza armata in Etruria," *MEFRA* 99 (1987) 29: nudity has meaning. See also Graf (supra n. 76) for a clear articulation of the principle of absolute opposition between weapons and women in the Greek world. This was indeed a great reversal.

[88] Corinth CP 885: Q Painter, cup, *ARV*² 1519.13; see C. Bérard and C. Bron, "Satyric Revels," in C. Bérard et al. eds., *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* (Princeton 1989) 143–44. Miletos (Photo 59.289): Pronomos Painter, krater fr.; G. Kleiner and W. Müller-Wiener, "Die Grabung in Milet im Herbst 1959," *IstMitt* 22 (1972) 70, no. 11, pl. 23.1. Discussed: Kenner 130; Kossatz-Deissmann (supra n. 87) 84–85; C. Caruso, "Travestissements dionysiaques," in C. Bérard, C. Bron, and A. Pomari, *Images et société en grèce ancienne. L'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse* (Lausanne 1987) 103–10.

[89] For ithyphalloi, see supra. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.296: Sabouroff Painter, cup, ca. 460; Price pl. 10b; Csapo (supra n. 34) 264, 266, pl. 1c.

[90] Satyrs dressed as maenads: Athens NM 1220: unattributed, chous; Kenner fig. 37. Vienna IV 829, plastic vase, Caruso (supra n. 88) fig. 16. Satyr wearing "falsies" (fig. 29): Athens Agora Pnyx P169, bell krater fr.; L. Talcott et al., *Small Objects from the Pnyx* 2 (*Hesperia* Suppl. 10, Princeton 1956) 23, no. 249; Kenner 130; Kossatz-Deissmann (supra n. 87) 84–85; Caruso (supra n. 88).

[91] Princeton 1951–43 (supra n. 27). I am indebted to J.M. Padgett for drawing this vase to my attention; he also notes the parallel of Hamilton College 1929.24, black-figure olpe of 510–490, with bearded male *auletes* and lyre player both wearing chiton, mitra, and himation, accompanied by a small boy with a stick: *Ancient Vases from the Hamilton College Collection and the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Clinton 1987) no. 23. New York 41.162.13 (supra n. 28): four komasts alternate with women.



Fig. 23. Attic red-figure bell krater, Niobid Painter, ca. 460. Armed woman wearing only shorts, and *auletes*. Uncertain context. Paris, Musée du Louvre Cp 10846. (Photo M. and P. Chuzeville, courtesy Museum)

those of the Princeton lekythos add a chiton. The sense of procession and the presence of vines on the Princeton lekythos may simply result from mindless reduplication and field-filling of a vignette from a transvestite komos (there is normally only one musician per komos); or it may be more meaningful, signifying a depiction of a ritual Dionysiac procession in which male participants adopted female dress. In South Italy, the sites of cross-dressing go beyond the realm of Dionysos; Robertson identified boys dressed as female *kalathiskos*-dancers on the Karneia Painter's name vase.[92] Here, despite the feminine appearance of the one dressed dancer, those still dressing are clearly boys. Though the precise contexts and meanings of none of these examples of cross-dressing on vases is easy to understand, they collectively attest to different forms of transvestism.

All this evidence, although fragmentary, is crucial to an understanding of the global context of the komasts. Transvestite behavior was not only condoned but required in certain ritual contexts, both inside and outside of cult. There is enough evidence for us to see as the appropriate comparanda for cross-dressing in Archaic and Classical Greece the many societies known to anthropologists in which transvestism is recognized as an important contribution to the culture, even from a marginal position, rather than perverse behavior or bizarre entertainment. In such societies one can distinguish different categories of ritual cross-dressing: those that are ritually prescribed (e.g., the Koan priest of Herakles), ritually licensed (e.g., the public komoi of the Dionysia's *pompe* at Athens), and ritually tolerated (e.g., private symposia and komoi). Though transvestism in our society is regarded by many as an activity of doubtful morality precisely because it challenges a fundamental schism in our collective thought structure, in other cultures the ambiguity of transvestism and even "transgenderism" was and is welcomed.[93]

TRANSVESTITE KOMASTS: INTERPRETATIVE STRATA

Why do these komasts cross-dress? A strong Dionysiac element is present, certainly, but while some cross-dressed komasts occur on stamnoi, one of the few possible ritual Dionysiac vessels, many more occur on other shapes, notably drinking vessels. It is not sufficient to say that Dionysiac cult regularly incorporated ritual transvestism, that Dionysos's gender is ambiguous, or that any wine-drinking activity necessarily entails the Dionysiac as evidenced by the ritual practice of washing hands and donning garlands at the start of the symposium.[94] The vast majority of symposium and komast scenes do not involve this special dress. Kerényi once said: "The question . . . as to whether this was done publicly or at private banquets is irrelevant to a psychological judgment of the matter."[95] It is time now to investigate further

[92] M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 429, on Taranto 8263, a Lucanian red-figure volute krater attributed to the Karneia Painter, ca. 400, side B, A.D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily* (Oxford 1967) 54, no. 280.

[93] Turner 1969 (supra n. 60) 183–85 cites examples of ritual transvestism in different tribes of eastern Africa whose young women dress and act as men in times of crisis, often under threat of natural catastrophe, seemingly in order to purify the community. E.P. Skinner, *The Mossi of the Upper Volta: The Political Development of a Sudanese People* (Stanford 1964) 50–51 reports that among the Mossi at a king's death, his daughter held court wearing his clothes during the interregnum until the new king was chosen; during this period utter lawlessness prevailed so that it is not clear whether the function of a transvestite substitute king was to symbolize the disorder or to function apotropaically during the state's period of weakness. See M. Gluckman, *Custom and Conflict in Africa* (New York 1964) 109–14, for Zulu practices. The idea that transvestism allows closer contact with divinity since "anybody who has something of both sexes has spirit power" seems relatively common; the quote, referring specifically to North American berdache, comes from Carlisle (supra n. 59) 284. See also supra ns. 58–60.

[94] The ritual importance of these acts was stressed by P. von der Mühll, "Das griechische Symposion," in von der Mühll, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* (Basel 1976) 489. P. Schmitt-Pantel, "Rite cultuel et rituel social: À propos des manières de boire le vin dans les cités grecques," in Murray and Tecusan (supra n. 85) 101 argues that the private symposium, with its prayers to different divinities, should be regarded as a form of worship of Dionysos.

[95] Kerényi (supra n. 32) 305 n. 202.



Fig. 24. Attic red-figure pyxis, unattributed, ca. 440. Armed woman dances before altar of Artemis, wearing only shorts. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 81908 (H 3010). (Courtesy Museum)



Fig. 25. Naples 81908 (H 3010). Cult statue of Artemis, with armed dancing woman just visible to the left. (Courtesy Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples)

possible psychological and sociological explanations of this behavior.

Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague explained the dress of the komasts through what we might call the "alterity" model (based on a contrast between self and other), that these men seek through the komos "the chance to become other, to become—just a little bit—woman, Eastern, or barbarian. To have a party . . . seems, if we can trust the images, to have meant to play at becoming other."[96] But the situation is somewhat more complex. Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague drew attention to what they termed the "barbocentricity" of the cross-dressed komasts.[97] The word "barbocentricity" is untranslatable, but captures neatly the peculiar quality of these cross-dressers: their absolute failure, as transvestites, to hide their masculinity. Though they wear women's dress, and carry women's implements, they are engaged in the profoundly masculine social ritual, the symposium and its attendant komos. Their expansionist gestures, walking sticks, and to a lesser extent drinking vessels (which could be carried by hetairai) tell the same story. Theirs is not a submersion of the masculine within the feminine, theirs is a deliberate creation of something quite new and different. Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague further observed that in this series sexuality is muted; women are rare but the hetaira alone of all the regular sympotic and komastic attendants is excluded.[98] Here gender, not sex, is the issue; we witness the creation of what we might call a sexless third gender.

The odd points of pictorial emphasis in the series, the emphatic beards, and the contrast with youthful (and so more liminal) regularly dressed komasts, are now explained.[99] The persistent impression that the beards of the cross-dressed komasts are false results from the fact that the painters deliberately exaggerated them.[100] But the exaggeration was not to draw attention to the disguise of women; rather it was to emphasize the internal contradiction between the masculinity of the wearers and the femininity of the clothes worn, and the external separation of the komasts from the rest of humanity and the mundane.

Every sign supports an elite identity. Attendants provide music on a variety of instruments: auloi, lyres, *krotala*. The komasts' own acts of playing the barbiton and carrying staffs indicate the life of leisure. A rare allusion to the hunt appears in the form of a dog be-

[96] Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 229.

[97] Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 228, where they appropriately contrast Agathon's shaving in Aristophanes, which represents a more zealous desire to "pass" as a woman.

[98] Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 228, with n. 97. Boardman, in Kurtz and Boardman 65, also stressed the lack of success in disguise as women and noted the avoidance of garments such as the peplos and, in the Archaic period, the sakkos.

[99] On the liminality of ephebes, see Vidal-Naquet (supra n. 81). In iconography: F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier: Archers, peltastes, cavaliers, dans l'imagerie attique* (Paris 1990).

[100] False beards: Buschor 1923–1924 (supra n. 31) 128–32, revived by Price 141.



Fig. 26. Attic red-figure cup, Sabouroff Painter, ca. 460. Side A: men dressed in chitons (ritual ithyphalloi?). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.296. (Courtesy Museum)



Fig. 27. Malibu 86.AE.296. Side B: Men dressed in chitons (ritual ithyphalloi?); phallos pole. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum)



Fig. 28. Attic red-figure chous, unattributed, ca. 400. Satyr dressed as maenad, maenad. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1220. (Courtesy Museum)

side a cross-dressed komast.[101] Most importantly, participation in komoi itself expressed elite standing. The figure of the upper-class drunk whose sense of superiority erupts in violent attacks on passersby is well known in classical literature (e.g., Ar. *Eccl.* 663–64, Alexis, *PCG* fr. 112; cf. Herod. 2.31–36).[102] One of the most memorable komoi was recounted in a speech of Demosthenes, *Against Konon.* The narrative is a literary construction dependent upon the familiar topos of the arrogant violence of the drunken komast. The trial was technically over Ariston's charge



Fig. 29. Attic red-figure bell krater fragment, unattributed, ca. 400. Satyr wearing "falsies." Agora Excavations, Pnyx P 169. (Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens)

of *aikeia*, battery, against Konon, father of Ktesias (the son, it seems, was the real culprit in the incident, if not Ariston himself). We will never know what actually happened; all we have is one account in a prosecutor's speech that appears to distort the facts.[103] But for our purposes it is the rhetorical construct, not the elusive truth, that matters. Demosthenes represented Konon and his sons as of a prominent family in Athenian society, though they are not otherwise known to be of liturgical class.[104] From its opening word (ὑβρισθείς) the speech carefully constructs an image of aristocratic arrogance and antidemocratic violence even while expressly refusing to lay the more weighty (and seemingly appropriate) charge of hybris (Dem. 54.1). We are told of aristocratic *hetaireiai* whose members, young men (tellingly described as sons of *kaloi k'agathoi*) ostentatiously engaged in drunken violence, calling themselves ribald names like ithyphalloi, *autolekythoi*, or *triballoi* (Dem. 54.14, 54.39). The plaintiff, Ariston, claimed that

[101] Basel, Cahn 60: Dokimasia Painter, cup, *ARV*² 414.30; Kurtz and Boardman no. 19. The dog bears the same semiotic message when it appears in symposiastic imagery: J.-M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le proche-orient et le monde grec du VI*ème *au IV*ème *siècle avant J.-C.* (Rome 1987) 442.

[102] For a general discussion of intimations of wealthy leisure and aristocratic symbolism in symposiastic (and by extension komastic) iconography, see Dentzer (supra n. 101) 429–52. O. Murray, "The Affair of the Mysteries: Democracy and the Drinking Party," in O. Murray ed., *Sympotica. A Symposium on the* Symposion (Oxford 1990) 149–61, addresses the popular association of disorderly drunken komastic behavior with the elite.

[103] See C. Carey and R.A. Reid, *Demosthenes. Selected Private Speeches* (Cambridge 1985) 69–73. Cf. 77: though the trial is for the lesser crime *aikeia*, the word appears only once; the speech is constructed to create the impression that hybris was the charge by the constant reiteration of "hybris" in its various forms.

[104] This Konon does not appear in J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971); the careful wording of Demosthenes may be a deliberate distortion in an attempt to imply a link with the more illustrious family of Konon Timotheou Anaphlystios (Davies' entry 13700) and so enhance his case. It is also possible that the two families were related. A fourth-century grave stele from Kephisia, inscribed "Ktesias son of Konon of Paionidai. Konon son of Ktesias of Paionidai" (*IG* II², 7103), has been linked: J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin 1901–1903) no. 8848 identified the second person (in smaller lettering) with the Konon of the trial. According to John Traill's electronic database of Athenians, both names are relatively common (61 Konones and 35 Ktesiai before 299 B.C.), but the collocation of the two names is rare, which means that the identification of the defendant's family with the figures of the stele has a higher likelihood of probability than usual (he estimates between 50 and 70%). I am much indebted to John Traill for assistance with this prosopography.



Fig. 30. Attic black-figure lekythos, Haimon Painter, ca. 500–490. Cross-dressed lyre players (or ithyphalloi?) and small female. The Art Museum, Princeton University 1951-43. Museum Purchase. (Courtesy Museum)

Ktesias with his father Konon, drunk after a symposium, fell upon him walking in the Agora.[105] The climax of the narrative, after a lengthy outline of previous instances of outrageous behavior, has Konon standing over Ariston and crowing and flapping his elbows like a victorious fighting cock (Dem. 54.9).[106] This construct was a fitting expression of antidemocratic arrogance. To be a komast, it would seem, in the popular opinion, is to be antidemocratic.

Perhaps the distinction that is being sought in the act of komastic transvestism is distinction not just from their ordinary selves but from the lower orders of society. Perhaps for some it was not enough to be among the few who could afford a sympotic and agonistic lifestyle; more signs of distinction from the masses were necessary and Dionysiac cult set an example.[107] It is tempting to see allusions to this particular type of self-distinction in Plutarch's description of the outrageous activities and dress of Alcibiades (Plut. *Alc.* 16.1):

> Ἐν δὲ τοιούτοις πολιτεύμασι καὶ λόγοις καὶ φρονήματι καὶ δεινότητι πολλὴν αὖ πάλιν τὴν τρυφὴν τῆς διαίτης καὶ περὶ πότους καὶ ἔρωτας ὑβρίσματα, καὶ θηλύτητας ἐσθήτων ἁλουργῶν ἕλκομένων δι᾽ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ πολυτέλειαν ὑπερήφανον.
>
> Amid all this statecraft and oratory, this high-mindedness and cleverness, there was also luxurious living, hybristic behavior in drinking and love affairs, the effeminacy of purple robes trailing through the Agora, and conspicuous expenditures.

It is difficult to know whether, in this instance, it is the trailing of robes or their purple color that seems feminine. Archippos ridiculed the younger Alcibiades for imitating the mannerisms of his father (*PCG* fr. 48 = Plut. *Alc.* 1.8); the trailing robe and lisp recur, but without specific reference to femininity:[108]

> . . . . βαδίζει < >
> †διακεχλιδώς, θοιμάτιον ἕλκων, ὅπως
> ἐμφερὴς μάλιστα τῷ πατρὶ δόξειεν εἶναι,†
> κλασαυχενεύεταί τε καὶ τραυλίζεται.
>
> He minces about, dragging his himation, to make it completely clear that he is his father's son; he holds his head just so and affects a lisp.

The most recent study of Alcibiades, that by Gribble, focuses on his self-individuation and stresses the extent to which Alcibiades presented himself as a member of the old elite as a means of distinguishing himself from his democratic "peers."[109] It would seem that, in the late fifth century B.C., "effeminacy" was part of the package; the phrase θηλύτητας ἐσθήτων may even allude to cross-dressing. Plutarch's reference to the Agora would seem to take the activity of wearing dubious clothes out of a komastic context

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[105] It seems clear that the alleged brief prior contact that evening between Ariston and Ktesias played a provocative role; or that Konon's insistence that the first he knew of the fight was when he came upon his son and Ariston fighting (i.e., that there was no prior account) is truthful. Either way, in defiance of the narrative logic, the picture painted of Konon's wanton arrogance is the image that was designed to lodge in the jurors' minds and to sway them against him.

[106] E. Csapo, "Deep Ambivalence: Notes on a Greek Cockfight (Part 1)," *Phoenix* 47 (1993) 26–27, for the (social) symbolism of Konon's action. W.J. Slater (personal communication, 1998) kindly points out that the appearance of the verb ᾐξίουν at 54.9 indicates that Konon did not in fact flap his arms like the wings of a victorious fighting cock; he just crowed. The striking visual image is purely imaginary.

[107] Garber (supra n. 2) 66 describes the cross-dressing in the performances of Harvard University's Hasty Pudding Club as "appropriated as a sign of privilege."

[108] D.W. Gribble, *Alcibiades and Athens: A Study in Literary Presentation* (Diss. Oxford Univ. 1994) 5–6 discusses this passage and significance of details: "trailing of long garments is a mark of aristocratic dissoluteness" (Ephippus *PCG* fr. 19; Eupolis *PCG* fr. 104, with commentary).

[109] Gribble (supra n. 108) 31–50, 106.

but perhaps his point was that Alcibiades conflated night and day, public and private, making the whole city the site of an elite behavior that might be acceptable at home.

In her acclaimed book *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety*, Marjorie Garber proposed to explain transvestism in sociohistorical terms as a kind of displacement activity to compensate for anxieties about the transgression of other associated binaries, themselves often aligned.[110] She views cross-dressing as an act that shatters the basic binary (male-female),[111] and argues that in times when subsidiary binary oppositions such as religion (Christian-Jew), race (white-black), or class (upper-lower) are at risk or blurred as a result of social or political mobility, cross-dressing can displace anxieties about such developments especially by allowing individuals to step temporarily into the role of the most "other," the opposite sex. Thus, a function of the transvestite in culture is to "indicate the place of . . . 'category crisis' . . . cultural, social, or aesthetic dissonances." In fact, throughout Garber's long and interesting book, her discussion does not sustain this thesis but engages in a series of explorations of the range of transvestite activities in modern times.[112] Yet despite the inconsistency of its application in her own work, Garber's model has genuine explanatory power.

Examination of the mature cross-dressed Athenian male komasts from this perspective leads to interesting results. We can easily observe that profound social changes were taking place in the Greek world at the time when this series starts in Late Archaic Athens, changes that threatened the status quo of relationships between the elite and nonelite. At Athens there is epigraphic evidence of elite cooperation with the Peisistratid tyranny, which was itself based on mass popularity.[113] Nevertheless, the existence of the tyrannical regime limited the range of elite activity and cramped the political expression of the elite. The Peisistratid murder of Cimon the Elder after his illustrious chariot victories (Hdt. 6.103) shows how the aristocracy of Peisistratid Athens was not allowed to be too successful in the pursuit of their traditional kudos-enhancing activities.[114] Elsewhere, several states had established democratic governments, some long-lasting, before the Kleisthenic constitution was adopted at Athens; aristocrats throughout the Greek world must have been paying close and nervous attention.[115] Then, with the collapse of tyranny and the dawning era of democracy at Athens, social barriers began to blur, creating anxieties among the elite in the face of the different sort of leveling threatened by the developing democratic constitution. We might argue that as most cross-dressed komasts on vases are Late Archaic (510–470 B.C.) and were followed by archaizing Early Mannerist renditions, they reflect a transient Late Archaic social practice which, by displacement, served to dispel political and social anxieties of the elite.

Natalie Zemon Davis described the conditions necessary for cross-dressing to function in this fashion: it could work only as long as, first, "sexual symbolism had a close connection with questions of order and subordination; second, as long as the stimulus to inversion play was a double one—traditional hierarchical structures and disputed changes in the

[110] Garber (supra n. 2) 16 terms this "category crisis": "By 'category crisis' I mean a failure of definitional distinction, a borderline that becomes permeable, that permits of border crossings from one (apparently distinct) category to another. . . . The binarism male/female, one apparent ground of distinction . . . is itself put in question or under erasure in transvestism, and a transvestite figure, or a transvestite mode, will always function as a sign of overdetermination—a mechanism of displacement from one blurred boundary to another." See also J. Baudrillard, *La transparence du mal: Essai sur les phénomenes extrêmes* (Paris 1990), "Transsexuel" 28–32, esp. 32: "Tel est le résultat paradoxal de toute révolution: avec elle commencent l'indétermination, l'angoisse et la confusion."

[111] The issue of the relationship between homosexuality and cross-dressing is problematic. When I started this study, I thought, probably like the majority of North Americans, that contemporary cross-dressing is generally a homosexual activity; there is in fact a substantial body of literature about cross-dressing that argues to the contrary. I am not in a position to verify the claims that 10% of heterosexual males in England secretly cross-dress, e.g., Bland (supra n. 50) 10; 6% in the United States, Garber (supra n. 2) 4; or that most cross-dressers are heterosexual, e.g., Allen (supra n. 50) 34, 72; Bland (supra n. 50) 19; Coleman (supra n. 50) 15; Garber (supra n. 2) 96; and Haslam (supra n. 50) 13.

[112] Garber (supra n. 2) 389. An excellent opportunity was missed in Garber's chapter on "Black and White Transvestites: Cross-dressing the Color Line" (268–73) where the discussion of a controversial painting of a black mayor of Chicago in women's underwear should be a (transferred) representation of cross-dressing as a symbol of crossing the boundaries of power/authority, black to white, in American civic politics, rupturing power structures and corresponding white fears.

[113] Agora I 4120, a fragmentary archon list from the 520s including an Alkmaeonid, Kleisthenes, who on the evidence of Herodotos was believed to be an archenemy of the Peisistratids throughout his car[illegible] B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions (14–27)," *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 59–65, no. 21. Cf. J. Bremmer, "Adolescents, *Symposion*, and Pederasty," in Murray (supra n. 102) 144 for other shifts in elite expression during the Peisistratid era.

[114] An observation for which I am grateful to an anonymous *AJA* referee.

[115] J.L. O'Neil, *The Origins and Development of Ancient Greek Democracy* (London 1995) 21–26.

distribution of power in family and political life." She went on to say that in the industrial period "both symbolism and stimuli were removed." There is room for doubt about this but in any case both were present in Late Archaic Athens, as recent feminist studies have made clear;[116] while the symbolism continued, the stimulus might be argued to have eased off by the Persian War period (then again, there are recurrent traces of insecurity among the elite throughout the fifth century and especially at its close).

There are problems; the first concerns the applicability of Garber's model to the upper classes. Though she does not restrict it to the lower classes, most of her examples relate only to the anxieties of the lower classes. This is true also of the instances of transvestism used to break down social barriers in 19th-century transvestite clubs in London noted by Ackroyd, and Davis's examples of the use of Charivari-type festivals. Garber does stress the elite nature of transvestite acting at Harvard University's Hasty Pudding Club and two other American elite clubs, but without discussion of its relationship to her theory about displacement (there are intimations of sexual, religious, and racial anxieties).[117] Moreover, all three American institutions involve theatrical rather than social cross-dressing. Garber gives evidence for American elite cross-dressing in earlier periods, but again, without close attention to her displacement theory. This does not invalidate its applicability, but sets a challenge to find other good cultural parallels. Terry Castle documents the custom of aristocrats wearing work clothes of the lower-class professions in 18th-century England as well as the convention that masquerade costume must be the opposite of an individual's ordinary identity.[118] The practice died out by 1790; was this demise the English aristocratic response to the plight of their peers across the English channel? We might also note the existence of a law in Paris in 1800 requiring women to gain permission to wear men's clothes other than at carnival; the record of violations is retrievable in civic archives.[119] There is clearly room for more exploration of the applicability of Garber's model to social experience over the past few hundred years.

A second problem concerns the relationships between art and life: is the period of depiction of transvestite komasts basically coextensive with the period of the model activity? The period of depiction is actually quite brief. The red-figure painters of the cross-dressed komasts are divisible into three groups: half the vases are by the Late Archaic painters of both large vessels and cups; and of those dated to the Early Classical period, two-thirds are by Early Mannerists, who tend to continue Archaic traditions and only a third, seven or eight, by other painters.[120] Furthermore, those non-Mannerists who paint in the second quarter of the fifth century often paint in "mannered" fashion with the result that the real division would seem to be basically twofold: Late Archaic painters for whom this was a topical subject and Early Classical painters who deliberately archaize. Do the painters then depict an activity essentially limited to the Late Archaic period? Or is the temporal limitation of the subject in art the result of shifts in visual taste that meant that, while the model activity continued through all periods, komastic transvestism came in and went out of fashion as a subject for painters?

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[116] Davis (supra n. 58) 182. N.S. Rabinowitz, "Tragedy and the Politics of Containment," in A. Richlin ed., *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford 1992) 36–52, esp. 41, that whenever a woman transgresses the code or hierarchy of gender in tragedy, she is destroyed and may destroy others; tragedy was and is generally regarded as a vehicle for instruction and preservation of the moral code in Classical Athens. For the natural hierarchy of male over female as a paradigm for the state and necessary for its stability: J. Ober, *The Athenian Revolution* (Princeton 1996), esp. 173. For elite insecurity: J. Ober, *Political Dissent in Democratic Athens. Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule* (Princeton 1998).

[117] Ackroyd (supra n. 2), esp. 64. Davis (supra n. 58). Hasty Pudding Club: Garber (supra n. 2) 41–66.

[118] Eighteenth-century upper-class masquerades specialized in cross-dressing: T. Castle, *Masquerade and Civilisation: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford 1986) 75–76. Elizabeth of Russia started holding regular "metamorphosis" balls in which all guests were expected to cross-dress in 1774: T.T. Rice, *Elizabeth, Empress of Russia* (London 1970) 89–90. For dressing to invert social class we have also the well-documented example of Marie Antoinette's court milking cows while dressed as shepherdesses, often interpreted as simple escapism; and wearing lower-class dress as an unsuccessful disguise in Paris: J.E.N. Hearsey, *Marie Antoinette* (London 1969) 50–56. Pertinent also is the fashion among elite women to wear the "revolutionary bonnet" on their elaborate coiffures (Hearsey 41); and the extraordinary practice at revolutionary Parisian *bals des victimes* where "guests whose friends or relations had perished in the Terror wore hair arranged as though prepared for the blade of the guillotine and thin bands of red silk round their necks," C. Hibbert, *The French Revolution* (London 1980) 274.

[119] See Matlock (supra n. 61) 42–47.

[120] The krater (formerly?) in Palazzolo Acreide (Kurtz and Boardman no. 46) must be Mannerist work though no good photograph exists and it was not attributed by Beazley. For Corinth CP 998: column krater (?) fr., attributed to the Manner of the Leningrad Painter, a photograph of which has never been published, see now the image on the Beazley Archive web site (supra n. 44; Kurtz and Boardman no. 38).

The Late Archaic period is the great period of depiction of aristocratic male pursuits in Attic red-figure painting. Symposia and athletics were the foremost subjects outside of myth, but soon they largely dropped out of favor even though we know that in life the model activities continued. It is therefore difficult to argue that in the case of the cross-dressed komasts the period of representation must be coextensive with or slightly longer than the period of the model activity. In general, unless there is evidence to the contrary, it seems best to posit ideological shifts behind changes in choice of subject matter of vase painting rather than view such changes as reflective of a significant alteration in elite social behavior. In this case there is no such evidence—rather, as is noted above, there is literary evidence for continuation of such komastic behavior. A different set of circumstances lies behind the increase in *gynaikonitis* scenes in the later fifth century; Osborne reasonably proposed that the increase reflects the unintentional heightening of the social importance of Athenian women as a result of Pericles' citizenship law. The prime social subject of vase painting was still the doings of the elite, but with the new stress on having citizen wives, attention necessarily had to be paid to women, who largely replaced male elite subjects.[121] As for komastic cross-dressing, like its cognate activity the symposium, it probably carried on throughout pagan antiquity after this period, but was less often depicted along with other aristocratic subjects in the mid-fifth century. To return to Garber's theory of displacement: the fact that the artistic representation of the activity is limited to two or three generations, at a time of great social turmoil, while the model activity continued for generations, does not exclude Athenian komastic transvestism from such an interpretation. Once the status quo had been challenged and the revelation made that there was not a necessary correlation between birth and power, the social need of a subsection of the population to emphasize its distinctness from those it perceived as its inferiors became a constant. Even when democratic threats to the stability of the elite from below were displaced by monarchical structures above, the need continued.

There are hints that throughout western history cross-dressing occurred, for both social and cultic purposes; just as the early administration of Harvard University thought it was necessary to ban cross-dressing among the student body in 1734, so too did the seventh-century A.D. Greek church find it necessary to dictate that "no man is to put on feminine dress, nor any woman the dress proper to men."[122] The prohibition against cross-dressing in Deuteronomy 22:5 makes it clear that even among the early Israelites there was a desire to engage in the activity, though it is suspected that the restriction was a reaction against ritual cross-dressing in a contemporary cult of Astarte.[123] We should not be surprised to find mature citizens of the Athenian elite engaging in such activities; we should rather seek to understand the motivations and forms of expression.

Though the literary evidence for group cultic and ritual transvestism in Greece is slight and late, we should have no hesitation in accepting that it reflects some kind of historical reality for the Archaic and Classical periods. The few testimonia and puzzling examples of cross-dressing on vases are conclusive in light of anthropological parallels. The occasional ritual requirement to cross-dress at festivals, especially those of Dionysos, sanctioned occasional transvestism at unofficial social events. The Zewadski stamnos represents the last of a series of depictions of komoi revealing the emphatic crossing of the gender boundary that functioned as a strategy for coping with elite anxieties even while the komos's participants thought that what they were doing was showing how collectively distinctive they were.

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→ R. Osborne, "Law, the Democratic Citizen and the Representation of Women in Classical Athens," *Past and Present* 155 (1997) 3–33. See also, with regard to the *kanephoroi* on the Parthenon frieze, E.B. Harrison, "The Web of History: A Conservative Reading of the Parthenon Frieze," in J. Neils ed., *Worshipping Athena* (Madison 1996) 198–214.

[122] Harvard University: Garber (supra n. 2) 61. Greek church: Quinisext Synod of Constantinople ("Trullo"), A.D. 691. Pontificia commissione per la redazione del codice di diritto canonico orientale, *Fonti*, fasc. 9: *Discipline generale antique (IIe–IXe s.)* I.1. P.-P. Joannou ed., *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques: IIe–IXe s.* (Rome 1962) 198–200, canon 62. See also J.C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge 1910) 223, in the context of an interesting summary of the survival of the carnival-like traditions associated with the Kronia in Greece into the medieval period and modern times.

[123] G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. A Commentary*, trans. D. Barton (London 1966) 141, citing Lucian. A similar prohibition in 1 Corinthians is less surprising, given the evidence for Hellenistic sympotic practice.



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SLAVERY AND HOMOSEXUALITY AT ATHENS

MARK GOLDEN

...There is no problem or practice in any branch of Greek life which was not affected, in some fashion, by the fact that many people in that society, even if not in the specific situation under consideration, were (or had been) slaves.

So M. I. FINLEY IN 1959.[1] In the intervening years, numerous studies have been devoted to the makeup of the slave population, the legal status of the slave, the role of the slave in production or commerce or war. It seems, however, that historians have concentrated on the facts of economic and social life at the expense of less clearly defined, but equally important, areas.[2] In particular, there has been very little recent work on the effects of slavery on the nature and depiction of sexual and emotional relationships among free citizens at Athens. For good reason, perhaps. It is difficult to establish the norms of interpersonal relations in any group in any society, more difficult still to determine attitudes towards those norms, especially when the society in question cannot be observed directly nor its members

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In this article I refer to the following works by authors' names or in an otherwise abbreviated form: J. D. Beazley, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum* (London 1947, = *ProcBritAc* 33 [1947] 195–244) = Beazley *Cyprus*; F. Buffière, *Eros adolescens. La pédérastie dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1980); G. Devereux, "Greek Pseudo-Homosexuality and the 'Greek Miracle'," *SymbOslo* 42 (1967) 69–92; K. J. Dover, "Eros and Nomos (Plato, *Symposium* 182a–185c)," *BICS* 11 (1964) 31–42 = Dover *BICS*; K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978) = Dover *GH*; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (New York and London 1975); H. Patzer, *Die griechischen Knabenliebe* (Wiesbaden 1982, SB. Wiss. Gesell. Goethe. U., Frankfort, 19.1); A. Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases* (*BICS* Supp. 27, London 1971); J. R. Ungaretti, "Pederasty, Heroism and the Family in Classical Greece," *Journal of Homosexuality* 3 (1978) 291–300; L. P. Wilkinson, "Classical Approaches IV. Homosexuality," *Encounter* 51 (September 1978) 20–31. I have not been able to consult J. Bažant, "Homosexuals on Athenian Vases," *Concilium Eirene* 16 (edd. P. Oliva and A. Frolíková, Prague 1983) 2.31–34.

[1] *Historia* 8 (1959) 162, cf. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York 1980) 65.

[2] Among exceptions, I single out J. Vogt, "Human Relationships in Ancient Slavery," in *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man*, tr. T. Wiedemann (London 1972) 103–121; A. W. Gouldner, *The Hellenic World. A Sociological Analysis* (New York 1969) 86–87, and *Enter Plato* (New York 1971) 191–194. (Gouldner's books were first published in 1965 as Parts I and II of *Enter Plato: Classical Greece and the Origins of Social Theory*.)

interviewed. And explanation of norms and attitudes—most difficult of all—can in such circumstances hardly be more than speculation.[3]

What follows, then, is to be read as a hypothesis. I propose to apply Finley's dictum to a branch of Greek life which has been ignored by students of slavery, Athenian male homosexuality.[4] Specifically, I stress that Athenian slaves and boys were often classed and treated similarly, and associated in a wide range of activities; I suggest that in the period from which most of our evidence comes, from about 525 to about 375, Athenian male homosexuality (whatever its origins)[5] was in part an institution of transition from the subordinate and quasi-servile status of boyhood to the status of adult free citizen; and I argue in more detail that certain conventions of Athenian male homosexuality marked the young Athenian male off from the slaves with whom he was otherwise so closely associated.[6]

On the Athenian tendency to group children and slaves I will be brief.[7] *Pais*, a common Greek word for both child and young person (male and female), was also used to denote a slave of any age, as were certain of its derivatives. Children and slaves were felt to share common characteristics, such as intellectual incapacity and exceptional susceptibility to desire, pleasure, pain. More important, both children and slaves were liable in custom and law to physical violence, often in a disciplinary context.[8] Such treatment was a mark of identification, the immediate physical consequence of social inferiority and powerlessness, for slaves and children. It serves to define *pais* in a comment by the chorus in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (1297–1298):

> τί δ'ἐστίν, ὦ παῖ; παῖδα γάρ, κἂν ᾖ γέρων,
> καλεῖν δίκαιον ὅστις ἂν πληγὰς λάβῃ.

In addition, children spent much of their time, especially in their early years, under the tutelage and supervision of slaves. No Athenian child could

[3]For a very bleak view of the problems involved in discussing the personal relations of slaves and masters and their effects, see Finley, *Ancient Slavery* (above, n. 1) 93–122.

[4]For Rome, see F. Gonfroy, "Homosexualité et idéologie esclavagiste chez Cicéron," *DHA* 4 (1978) 219–262; B. Verstraete, "Slavery and the Social Dynamics of Male Homosexual Relations in Ancient Rome," *Journal of Homosexuality* 5 (1980) 227–236.

[5]For speculation on the origins of Greek male homosexuality, see most recently J. Bremmer, "An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty," *Arethusa* 13 (1980) 279–298.

[6]That homosexual conventions distinguished free citizens from slaves has been briefly asserted by R. J. Hoffman in his excellent review of Dover *GH* in *Journal of Homosexuality* 5 (1980) 418–421.

[7]For a fuller discussion, see my "Pais, 'Child' and 'Slave'," *AC* (forthcoming).

[8]For slaves, see A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* 1 (Oxford 1968) 168–172. For children, see, e.g., Ar. *Nub.* 1399–1451, *Pax* 123, Pl. *Prt.* 325d, *Lys.* 208e, (discipline by parents), Ar. *Eq.* 1235–1236, *Nub.* 972 (teachers), Xen. *An.* 5.8.18 (parents and teachers).

have escaped some more or less casual contact with slaves. But it is among the wealthy that this contact was closest and most critical for my argument. In the main, we are concerned here with children's associations with the kinds of servant—almost all of them slaves and all doing a slave's work[9]—whose responsibility they were: *titthe*, *trophos* (or *tropheus*), and *paidagogos*.

A *titthe* was a wet nurse, a *trophos* any person involved more generally in rearing a child.[10] Orestes' nurse, a *trophos* (Aesch. *Cho.* 760), gives us some idea of her duties: answering cries at night (751), providing food and water (756), changing and cleaning swaddling clothes (756, 759–760, cf. Soph. fr. 314.275R.). We hear of other activities elsewhere: carrying the child around to prevent pressure on its tender limbs (Pl. *Leg.* 7.789e, 790d), steadying its first steps (Soph. *Phil.* 701–714, cf. *Aj.* 541–542), singing lullabies (Delos in Ath. 14.618e), telling stories (Pl. *Resp.* 2.377c, *Leg.* 10.887d), wiping noses (cf. Pl. *Resp.* 1.343a), toilet training (Aristoph. fr. 850E. = Phot. s. σεῖν, *Anecd. Bach.* 1.362.31), prechewing food (Ar. *Eq.* 716–718, Theophr. *Char.* 20.5–6, Arist. *Rhet.* 3.1407a8), accompanying the child to religious rites (Theophr. *Char.* 16.12). Of course, this list is not exhaustive; the nurse had in general wide-ranging, unspecialized responsibility for a child's welfare.[11]

The etymology of *paidagogos* (which always describes a male) implies that his original or main job was to accompany his charges on trips outside the house. Thus the Platonic *Axiochus* (366d–e) has the child under the control of *paidagogoi* and *grammatistai* and *paidotribai* from the age of seven. But the *paidagogos* too exercised a more general tutelage.[12] Xenophon says that the Greeks give their children παιδαγώγους θεράποντας as soon as they can understand what is said to them (*Lac.* 2.1). A passage in Euripides' *Heraclidae* suggests that the *paidagogos* might be thought of as actually helping the child to walk (727–729). He might continue to exercise authority well

[9]Poor female relations perhaps helped mothers raise their children. And Euxitheus' mother worked as a wet-nurse (Dem. 57.35). But his opponents could accuse him of being the son of a slave largely on that ground, and (despite the speaker) we may be sure that most nurses were slaves (cf. Pl. *Leg.* 7.790a) or foreigners (like Alcibiades' Spartan nurse Amycla: Plut. *Alc.* 1.2; cf. *Lyc.* 16.3 and the mid-fourth century gravestone for a nurse from Cythera, *IG* 2^2.9112). The point is that Euxitheus' mother—no matter what her legal position—was playing a slave's role, and would share a slave's social status.

[10]For nurses, see especially H. Herter, "Amme oder Saugflasche," *Mullus. Festschrift Theodor Klauser (JbfAntuChr Ergänzungsband* 1, Münster 1964) 168–172 = *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1975) 620–625, with the references in 624 n. 24.

[11]These duties may have included instruction. There is an early fourth-century gravestone for a nurse named Paideusis (*IG* 2^2.12387).

[12]For *paidagogoi*, see E. Schuppe, "Paidagogos," in *RE* 18.2 (1942) 2375–2385; F. A. G. Beck, *Greek Education 450–350 B.C.* (London 1964). For depictions in art, see Beck, *Album of Greek Education* (Sydney 1975) index s. "literary and humane education;" *AntK* 23 (1980) 40–43.

into adolescence—until boys grow into *meirakia*, says Xenophon (*Lac.* 3.1) or even later (cf. Pl. *Lys.* 223a).

At majority, the relationship of child and slave suddenly shifted. The male Athenian *pais* became a man. Once the associate and near equal of slaves, he became a member of a society of slaveowners. This change was important to the individual Athenian male and essential to his society. But it might also involve a certain social tension.

For one thing, there was no public system of training or instruction of boys at Athens. There may therefore have been some concern about young Athenians' readiness to fill the citizen's role. For another, the change in status for one dependent group implicitly called into question the position of others: if a boy could regularly pass from *pais* to citizen, why not a slave?[13]

Athenian society reduced this potential for tension by making the transition from boy to man a gradual one. On majority, at least some young citizens took on a special status, that of ephebe, marked by a special uniform, partial citizen rights, limited military duties, and continued formal supervision.[14] In short, ephebes were in transition from child to adult.[15] The ephebate contained elements of preparation for full citizen status, in particular hoplite training (*Ath. Pol.* 42.3). But it also served simply to mark off the Athenian *pais* from the subordinate groups with which he was associated. The purpose of this article is to consider Athenian male homosexuality as a similar institution of transition from subordinate to citizen status.

Recent publications, including major books by Dover and Buffière, and a monograph on Greek homosexuality as an institution of initiation by Patzer, have emphasized the role of homosexual relationships in the acculturation of young male citizens, and I shall say little about this important element of transition here. Instead, I will argue that the specific forms of certain customary aspects of Athenian homosexual attitudes and behaviour serve to distinguish young Athenians from the slaves they so nearly resem-

[13]See J. K. Davies, "Athenian Citizenship: The Descent Group and the Alternatives," *CJ* 73 (1977/8) 105–121 for Athenian concern about who was and was not a citizen.

[14]The date of the introduction of the ephebate and the social status of the ephebes are subjects of debate; see most recently H. Y. McCulloch and H. D. Cameron, *IllClasStud* 5 (1980) 12–14 and the exchanges between P. J. Rhodes and E. Ruschenbusch in *ZPE* 38 (1980) 191–201, 41 (1981) 103–105, 44 (1981) 110–112, 49 (1982) 267–268. Certainty is impossible. I think it is most likely that sons of at least the wealthier Athenian families became ephebes throughout the classical period, and that the ephebate, as an institution of transition, therefore provides a useful analogy to the role I argue below for homosexual relationships among the Athenian elite.

[15]See P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origins of the Athenian Ephebeia," *PCPS* 14 (1968) 49–64; P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, "Remarks on the Black Cloaks of the Ephebes," *PCPS* 16 (1970) 113–116.

bled. As this article, then, does not examine the institution as a whole, I give fairly full references to recent discussions to show that a *communis opinio* exists regarding Athenian homosexuality's main features, and cite ancient sources only selectively.

The ancient evidence falls into three major groups. (1) Artistic depictions of homosexual approaches or activities, on vases of the archaic and earlier classical periods. (2) Casual mentions in Old Comedy. (3) References in the prose works of Plato and Xenophon—writings by and often about members of the Socratic circle.[16] I have tried to cite evidence from each group wherever possible.[17]

Two features are particularly relevant. (1) Homosexual relationships did not involve equals. As Dover puts it (*GH* 84), ". . . homosexual relationships in Greek society are regarded as the product not of the reciprocated sentiments of equals but of the pursuit of those of lower status by those of higher status." This inequality is basically a function of a disparity in age. Both parties might well be young men and unmarried.[18] But one is normally younger than the other.[19] This junior partner is generally called *pais* (in poetry) or *paidika*, even if he has reached the age of majority. But for convenience I will use Dover's terms *eromenos* and *erastes* for the younger and older parties respectively.

According to common Greek views on the relationship between men of different ages, the younger man would normally be thought of as subordinate to the older.[20] To quote Dover again, "The virtues admired in an erom-

[16]We have also a few references in tragedy and satyr-play (e.g., Aesch. fr. 64, 65L.-J., Soph. fr. 153R., 345R., 488R., Eur. fr. 840N^2, *Cycl.* 581–584, perhaps *Med.* 249) and a fourth-century speech by Aeschines [1] *In Tim.*) devoted in part to Timarchus' homosexual activities, which is discussed in detail in Dover *GH*.

[17]Dover's *Greek Homosexuality* includes a valuable list of the vases he cites. But not all of his vases are directly related to homosexuality at Athens; many of those so related are not illustrated. And Dover's desire to demonstrate the variety of homosexual activity and iconography has led him to illustrate a number of unrepresentative vases (see, for example Beazley, *Cyprus* 23 on Dover's B16, and 26 on his B538). I have accordingly drawn also from other sources. Vases are cited by their number in the list printed at the end of this article.

[18]A number of passages describe older partners and νεανίαι (e.g., Pl. *Amat.* 132c), νεανισκοι (e.g., Pl. *Euthd.* 273a, *Chrm.* 154a; here the partners may be coevals), μειράκια (e.g., Pl. *Amat.* 132a, *Com. Adesp.* 103gE. = Page *GLP* 316, Theopompus 29E. = Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.78a). The *erastes* in red-figure "is more often a youth, not a man" (Beazley *Cyprus* 27). This is already so in late black-figure; according to Beazley *Cyprus* 11, the earliest example is a black-figure lekythos, Villa Giulia 50653, by the Taleides P., 550–525. For red-figure examples, see vases 20, 21, 30, 47.

[19]See the endnote.

[20]For the authority of age, see, e.g., *Il.* 1.259, 9.160–161, 15.180–182, Soph. *OC* 1422–23, Xen. *Cyr.* 4.5.32, Pl. *Leg.* 1.634e, Isoc. 11.23, Arist. *Pol.* 7.1332b36. First-born males at Athens had certain (limited) privileges, *presbeia*; see Dem. 36.34, 39.27, 29; and cf. Harrison (above, n. 8) 131–132. For an Attic grave stele which may have been reserved exclusively for a family's first-born males, see R. Garland, *ABSA* 77 (1982) 130, 142.

enos are the virtues which the ruling element in a society (in the case of Greek society, adult male citizens) approves in the ruled (women and children)" (*GH* 84). And the roles of the partners in sexual activity emphasize the subordination of the younger man: he plays the passive role.[21]

(2) Nevertheless, certain of the conventions of Athenian homosexuality deny the subordinate status of the younger party. *Aidos* and *sophrosyne*, both virtues appropriate to subordinate status,[22] were valued in the young.[23] But the *eromenos* had virtues suited to a dominant as well as a subordinate role. Xenophon's Socrates praises the strength and steadfastness and manliness (*ῥώμην τε καὶ καρτερίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν*, *Symp.* 8.8) of Callias' *eromenos* Autolycus as well as his *sophrosyne*. The author of the *Erotikos* ascribed to Demosthenes also joins *sophrosyne* and *andreia* (ps.-Dem. 61.8, 13) and comments on the union of contradictory qualities displayed by the young subject of his panegyric (14). Such a mix is of course unsurprising in a transitional stage. That the transition is towards full enjoyment of citizen status is perhaps implied by Xenophon's comment that those inspired by love look very much like free men (*τὰ σχήματα εἰς τὸ ἐλευθεριώτερον ἄγουσιν*, *Symp.* 1.10).[24]

It is especially instructive to compare vase paintings showing homosexual acts with those depicting other groupings. Women on the vases often appear to enjoy sex.[25] But passive homosexual partners show no sign of pleasure; they have no erection and usually stare straight ahead during intercourse.[26] The Greeks often spoke of sex as an overpowering force.[27]

[21]See Dover *GH* 16, 52, Ungaretti 2 → J. Henderson, *CW* 72 (1979) 434. The clearest evidence is from art: Beazley *Cyprus* 24–27, 29–31 gives a catalogue. See, e.g., vases 3, 4, 8, 9, 39, 46.

Passive homosexuality among older males was a cause for comment and concern (Arist. *EN* 7.1148b15 ff., *Pr.* 4.26, 27 [879a35 ff.]). See below for Aristophanes' hostility.

[22]Cf. H. North, *Sophrosyne* (Ithaca 1966) 131 n. 24: "Whatever else it may become, sophrosyne throughout Greek literature is always the virtue proper to the young and of course to women—i.e., to all those members of society of whom obedience is required."

[23]*Sophrosyne* and youth: Ar. *Nub.* 962, 1006, Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.26, *Cyr.* 1.2.8–9, Isoc. 7.48, 9.22. *Aidos* and youth: Ar. *Nub.* 995, Xen. *Symp.* 1.8, *Lac.* 2.2, 10, Isoc. 7.48. *Aidos* and the *eromenos*: Lycophronides 843P., Arist. fr. 96 Rose (both in Ath. 13.564b).

[24]*Erastai* might help *eromenoi* learn to act like free citizens. See Xen. *Symp.* 4.15: handsome *erastai* influence those interested in love to be freer with their money (*ἐλευθεριωτέρους μέν'. . . εἰς χρήματα* as well as *αἰδεμονεστέρους* and more self-controlled. The tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton provided examples of love of liberty and of good citizenship motivated by homosexual eros; see especially Pl. *Symp.* 181bc, Aeschines 1.132. There were other similar stories; see Plut. *Mor.* 760bc, and cf. Arist. *Pol.* 5.1314b25, Ath. 13.602d; Buffière 107–121. And a fifth-century inscription found on the Acropolis reads, "Lysitheos says he loves Mikion especially of those in the city because he is brave" (*ἀνδρεῖος*: *Syll.*[3] 1266; cf. *IG* 1^2.920).

[25]For vases showing women's enjoyment of intercourse, see, e.g., vases 2, 42, 43, 47, 49.

[26]On the *eromenos*' lack of enjoyment of sex, see Xen. *Symp.* 8.21, Pl. *Phdr.* 240d. For vase depictions of the passive partner, see especially vases 52 (youth stares straight ahead), 39

A few sources refer to love as a master and to lovers as slaves of desire.[28] The implication of these vase paintings is that the passive partner, despite his subordinate sexual role, is *not* overcome or enslaved by pleasure or any other emotion.[29]

Another comparison: women in vase paintings are depicted in a wide variety of sexual postures[30] and are often shown being penetrated from behind.[31] Women are sometimes shown leaning on or supported by their male lovers,[32] physically dependent on them. They are presumably hetaerae or slaves, so their capacity to resist participation is limited; sometimes they are even shown under constraint.[33] Passive males, however, regularly face their partners.[34] They are upright; it is the active partner who bends his knees and

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(note flaccid penis). But on other vases the *eromenos* is more animated. So, e.g., on vase 46; but here the boy's pleasure—like his gaze—seems directed at the hare his lover has brought him. Compare a number of scenes in which matters have not developed so far: vases 15 (a man fondles a boy who hangs from his neck and looks up into his face); 30 (a youth embraces a boy, who looks up into his face; but note that the youth's hand seems to be under the boy's chin); 20, 21 (much the same); 35 (a man fondles a boy and prepares for intercrural copulation; the boy touches his head and looks into his face). Dover (*GH* addenda) mentions two passages in Aristophanes which suggest that the *eromenos* might enjoy intercourse from behind (*Ach.* 591–592, *Eq.* 963–964). But I think they are more likley to express threats of domination: forcible entry from the rear will be coupled with manhandling the penis. Compare n. 34 below.

[27]See e.g., Soph. *Ant.* 781–799, *Trach.* 441–442, Eur. *Med.* 627–634, *Hipp.* 525–534, Pl. *Resp.* 1.329c, *Symp.* 196d, Isaeus 2.19, cf. Lys. 3.4, 31, Dem. 40.51, Hyp. 3.3 Colin, and J. De Romilly, "L'excuse de l'invincible amour dans la tragédie grecque," in *Miscellanea Tragica in honorem J. C. Kamerbeek* (Amsterdam 1976) 309–322.

[28]For classical Greek examples, see Pl. *Phdr.* 238e, 265c, Men. fr. 658, *Misoumenos* fr. 2 Sandbach, and the discussion → F. O. Copley, *TAPA* 78 (1947) 285–288 and R. O. A. M. Lyne, *CQ* 29 (1979) 118–120. Note too the red-figure aryballos by Douris (vase 41) showing Eros chasing a youth with a whip, and his cup (38) showing Eros threatening a youth with a sandal.

[29]Resistance to sexual desire, like other forms of self-control, was considered a virtue. See, e.g., Xen. *Ages.* 5.1–4, *Mem.* 4.5.9, *Oec.* 12.11–14, and compare K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1975) 205–209.

[30]See, e.g., vases 2, 18, 45, 47, 48, 50, 52.

[31]See, e.g., vases 3, 23, 28, 36, 37, 40, 52.

[32]See, e.g., vase 43.

[33]See, e.g., vases 23, 34, 36, 45. Compare the cup by Douris (vase 40) which shows a man and a woman with the inscription ἔχε ἥσυχος (?).

[34]Men might enjoy anal stimulation. See, e.g., vase 13 (a bearded man puts a finger to his anus and masturbates). Compare Dover's BB24 (Berlin 3364, Boeotian) and CW12 (Wurzburg, Etruscan black-figure).

But Dover mentions only three Attic vases showing homosexual copulation from behind. One (R1127) involves a group of satyrs: a satyr lies on his back with his feet in the air, so that, although penetration is technically from behind, he is still facing his active partner. Another (vase 12) also involves a group scene. The third is vase 51, the unusual piece mentioned in the endnote. We may add a b.f. Tyrrhenian amphora, 570–560, attributed

(often) his head.[35] And there are no elements of constraint.[36] The passive male is thus portrayed as subordinate neither to sexual pleasure nor to a specific sexual partner.

There are other conventions which underline the paradoxical dominance of the younger partner. The older was not only the sexually active partner; he was also the aggressor. As such he was forced to court, to approach boys, his social inferiors, as a suppliant. So we find vase paintings which show older men—they are bearded—reaching out to touch a younger male's chin in the classic gesture of supplication.[37]

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to the Timiades P., on which a bearded man dances, a second bends over, and a third approaches the second from behind with penis erect (E. Simon, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum* [Mainz 1982] no. 22). This, like other Tyrrhenian amphoras, was made in an Attic workshop presumably for export to Etruria, and may reflect Etruscan taste and convention (or at least ignore Athenian ones), in sexual as in other matters; see T. H. Carpenter, "The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3 (1984) 45–56. Finally, O. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* (Berlin 1983) 62 n. 202, reports that a sixth-century *kalpis* which appeared suddenly on the Swiss art market shows an exceptional scene of anal intercourse with a boy; she provides no further details.

These representations have little similarity to the conventional depictions of *erastes* and *eromenos*, in which illustrations of anal copulation, or even of acts which might imply anal copulation, are unknown. The reason for the conventional depiction is probably that anal penetration carried with it connotations of dominance. So an adulterer might be punished by *rhaphanismos*; the cuckold could force a large radish up his anus (Ar. *Nub.* 1083–1084, cf. Lucian *Peregr.* 9). So a Persian depicted on an oinochoe dated about 460 (R1155) says "I am Eurymedon. I stand bent over" (Εὐρυμέδων εἰμὶ κυβάδε ἕστηκα) while a Greek approaches with his penis in his hand; the vase celebrates the Athenian victory at the Eurymedon River in the early 460s. (See K. Schauenburg, "Eurymedon eimi," *AthMitt* 90 [1975] 97–121 and plate 25, and for the erect penis as a symbol of protection for the city, W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* [Berkeley and Los Angeles 1979] 40–41.) A number of vases show similar though less explicit scenes: 1, 25, 29, 44, cf. 14, 17. The comic poets, who are generally hostile towards passive partners, are more willing to refer to anal intercourse; see, e.g., Ar. *Eq.* 639, *Vesp.* 1068–1070, *Nub.* 1085–1104, *Thesm.* 1118–1124, *Plut.* 153–154, Eubulus 120E. (= Ath. 1.25c), cf. Eupolis 77E. (= Erotian 103.13 Nachmanson, cf. Ath. 4.183 f.); I say more on their attitude in general below.

[35]See Dover *GH* 101 and of vases showing intercourse, e.g., vases 8, 9, 10, 52, 53. The *erastes'* knees are normally bent when he approaches or fondles as well. See Beazley *Cyprus* 6 and, e.g., vases 5, 6, 7, 38, 39.

[36]J. Boardman has assembled a short catalogue of vases bearing depictions of one person threatening another with a sandal in an erotic context (*AA* 1976, 286–287). One shows Eros brandishing a sandal at a boy (a reference to the power of love), another a youth threatening a piper, presumably a slave. In five scenes, men threaten women; in one a woman threatens a man. There are no scenes showing citizen homosexuals (unless Boardman's no. 5, vase 16 is erotic).

[37]For this gesture, see T. J. McNiven, *Gestures in Attic Vase Painting: Use and Meaning, 550-450 B. C.* (diss., Michigan 1982) 90, Beazley *Cyprus* 6 and, e.g., vases 5, 6, 7, 9, 24. There seem to be no red-figure examples. Beazley also cites five vases which bear scenes showing the *pais* touching the man's beard.

Greek idiom points the same way. Χαρίζεσθαι, "to oblige," is often found in sexual contexts with the meaning "to grant sexual favours." It is often used of the *eromenos*; so Pausanias in his speech in Plato's *Symposium* refers to some who call it a disgrace to grant favours to suitors (ὡς αἰσχρὸν χαρίζεσθαι ἐρασταῖς, 182a).[38] It seems that it is the *eromenos* who is in control. *Eromenoi* might even flaunt their power: spoilt beauties, says Socrates, act like despots (τυραννεύοντες) when they are in bloom (Pl. *Meno* 76b).

And a number of texts assert that the *erastes*, aggressive and older though he may be, is no better than a slave of the *eromenos*. In Plato's *Symposium* Pausanias characterizes the attitude of *erastai* to their young boy friends, τὰ παιδικά, as that of men "wishing to undergo slavery as no slave would" (καὶ ἐθέλοντες δουλείας δουλεύειν οἵας οὐδ' ἂν δοῦλος οὐδείς, 183a).[39] Socrates in the *Phaedrus* speaks of the lover's soul as neglectful of all other concerns, "ready to be a slave (δουλεύειν) and to sleep wherever it is allowed, as near as possible to the beloved" (252a). Xenophon's Socrates says that a man like Critobulus, who has dared to kiss Alcibiades' beautiful son, is likely to become a slave straight away instead of a free man (αὐτίκα μάλα δοῦλος μὲν εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου, *Mem.* 1.3.11). His Critobulus would sooner be slave than free if Cleinias would be his master (ᾗδιον δ'ἂν δουλεύοιμι ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἴην εἴ μου Κλεινίας ἄρχειν ἐθέλοι, *Symp.* 4.14).

Again according to Xenophon's Socrates, physical consummation, as opposed to spiritual communion, is servile (ἀνελεύθερος, Xen. *Symp.* 8.23–24, cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 258e). The *erastes* who cares for the body and not the soul asks to be treated like a beggar; he follows his favourite about beseeching a kiss or some other favour. In turn, the *eromenos* who uses his physical attraction may rule (ἄρξει) the *erastes* (8.26). Finally, Aristotle—not an Athenian, but long resident at Athens—contrasts the pleasure of the lover in looking at his partner and the beloved in being served (θεραπευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ, *EN* 8.1157a7).

I have been arguing that certain conventions of Athenian homosexuality were meant to de-emphasize or deny the subordination of the passive partner, normally a young Athenian near the age of majority, and so help distinguish him from slaves. But some of the evidence might fit as well with a different view. It is from women that young *eromenoi* on the vases are

[38]The word occurs frequently in Pausanias' speech (*Symp.* 182b, 182b, c, 183d, 184a, b, 184d, e, 185a, b), perhaps as a touch of characterization. See also, e.g., Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.13, Pl. *Phdr.* 233d, e, 234b. For a similar use of ὑπουργεῖν, "do a service for," see, e.g., Xen. *Hier.* 1.37, Pl. *Symp.* 184d (where it is used of both *erastes* and *eromenos*).

[39]Cf. Pl. *Symp.* 184c, 210d, 219e (where in ironic reversal the young *erastes* Alcibiades is said to be enslaved by his older quarry Socrates).

According to Plutarch, Apollo was Admetus' *erastes* when he did his year's service at Pherae (*Mor.* 761e, cf. Tib. 2.3.11–14 and, for *erastai* in general as *douloi*, *Mor.* 762e).

distinguished. Χαρίζεσθαι (and other such words) often have a heterosexual reference (e.g., the metaphorical use at Ar. *Eq.* 517). The conventions I have outlined here may be seen also as a means of distinguishing *eromenoi* from women.[40] All subordinate groups at Athens—women, slaves, foreigners, minors, the elderly—tended to be assimilated to each other in contrast with the dominant social group, adult male citizens before retirement. The *eromenos* was therefore not marked off only from women, or only from slaves. Majority involved a break with a whole interrelated complex of persons of lower status. Three factors, however, persuade me that the distinction between *eromenos* and slave is indeed especially important.

First, the double meaning of the word *pais* suggests that the identification of child and slave was more complete than that of child and woman. Second, this identification was potentially more subversive to Athenian society. The change from boy to man, and so citizen, called into question the essential division between dominant and subordinate status simply because there was no readily identifiable reason why a *pais*, "child," should become a citizen when a *pais*, "slave," could not. By contrast, the separate statuses of men and women could easily be justified by an appeal to obvious biological differences. Third—and most telling—there is other evidence, from Athenian law, which attests to the connection between sexual activity and citizen status at Athens.[41]

No Athenian citizen could take money or any other form of payment for sexual favours. This was prostitution—an occupation fit for a slave or an alien—and the penalty was loss of citizen rights (Aeschines 1.29–32).[42] This law testifies to a general link between sexual activity and status. Two others, more directly related to the argument, distinguish the sexual activities of free men and slaves. Aeschines cites a law forbidding slaves to enter palaestrae (1.138).[43] Places of exercise were favourite meeting-places for young citizens and their admirers;[44] the implication is that slaves were discouraged from participating in their courting rituals. A second law quoted by Aeschines (1.139) is more explicit: it prohibits slaves from using free

[40]Sigmund Freud long ago suggested the Greeks thought the *eromenos* resembled a woman; see *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) in *The Pelican Freud Library 7: On Sexuality*, ed. A. Richards (Harmondsworth 1977) 55–56. On the conventions, see especially Dover *GH* 84, 101–105; T. W. Africa, "Homosexuals in Greek History," *Journal of Psychohistory* 9 (1982) 401–420, at 409.

[41]Cf. Hoffman (above, n. 6) 420.

[42]This law was in effect as early as 425/4 (Ar. *Eq.* 876–880).

[43]Δοῦλον μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι μηδὲ ξηραλοιφεῖν ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις. There was a similar law on Crete (Arist. *Pol.* 2.1264a21–22).

[44]See Ar. *Vesp.* 1023–1028, *Pax* 762–764, *Av.* 139–142, Aeschines 1.135, Pl. *Chrm.* 153a, 154a, c, *Euthd.* 272e–273a, *Lys.* 206e, *Symp.* 217c, *Leg.* 1.636a, c, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 751 f. A number of vases show *erastes* and *eromenos* meeting in the palaestra; see Beazley *Cyprus* 27 and, e.g., vases 20, 21, 30, 47.

boys as sexual partners at all.[45] Plutarch ascribes both laws to Solon (*Solon* 1.3, cf. *Mor.* 152d, Herm. *in Phdr.* 231e) and makes the significant addition that he did not bar slaves from sex with free women (*Mor.* 751b).[46]

What could be the purposes and effects of these laws? Principally, I think, to guarantee the special status of the homosexual relationship between free Athenians and to help mark this relationship off as a transitional institution. Let us look at the relationship from the perspectives of the two men involved.

The younger man, the *eromenos*, has moved, or is about to move, from the company of slaves to the companionship of the free. He takes on a subordinate role, one more suited to the slaves with whom he has been associated. But the law ensures that he cannot play the role of a slave's subordinate and so have less than a slave's status—only a free man can play the dominant sexual role towards him. And, as we have seen, conventions keep aspects of subordination in that relationship to a minimum.

As for the *erastes*, he is further removed in age and social status from the status of slave. The law therefore puts a more positive mark on his status; a man who plays the dominant sexual role in regard to an Athenian must himself be free.

We can summarize the transition from child to adult citizen in the following scheme. *Stage 1:* the child is a member of a subordinate group—a *pais* among *paides*, children and slaves. *Stage 2:* the young Athenian, though not necessarily a minor,[47] is still termed *pais* in the context of a homosexual

[45]Δοῦλον ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς μήτ' ἐρᾶν μήτ' ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἢ τύπτεσθαι τῇ δημοσίᾳ μάστιγι πεντήκοντα πληγάς.

[46]The Greeks liked to lend Solon's authority to later laws (see E. Ruschenbusch, *Solonos Nomoi* [Wiesbaden 1966] 53–58); we cannot be sure these laws were his. But Solon's poetry reveals a lively interest in homosexual love (fr. 25W. = Plut. *Mor.* 751b, cf. 751e). And the abolition of hectemorage and the recall of Athenians sold abroad suggest that, for Solon, Athenian citizenship meant freedom from servile or quasi-servile constraints. This is consistent both with Solon's authorship of the law and with the account of it given in the text.

[47]No law forbade liaisons with very young boys, though Plato's Pausanias wished for one (*Symp.* 181d–e). But in general we may think of passive partners as ranging in age from mid-teens to early twenties; see Buffière 605–617. *Eromenoi* are variously called μειράκιον (Xen. *An.* 2.6.28, Pl. *Chrm.* 154b), μειρακίσκος (Pl. *Phdr.* 237b: παῖς μᾶλλον δὲ μειρακίσκος), νεανίσκος (Dem. 61.2) as well as *pais*. These are words which describe no very precise age: see T. Hopfner, *Das Sexualleben der Griechen und Römer* 1 (Prague 1938) 225–237; Gomme-Sandbach on Men. *Dysk.* 27; J. F. Kindstrand, *Bion of Borysthenes* (Uppsala 1976) on Bion fr. 60. Episthenes of Amphipolis is moved by the beauty of a *pais* just reaching maturity (Xen. *An.* 7.4.7: παῖδα καλὸν ἡβάσκοντα ἄρτι). This might be as young as 14: Greek writers from Solon to Galen regard 14 as a turning point, the beginning of a new stage of life (see A. Schmidt, *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* [Jena 1888] 315–316; Hopfner, *ibid.*, 225–232). As for the upper age limit, Bion of Borysthenes says that the *eromenos'* beard frees the *erastes* from his domination (fr. 56K. = Plut. *Mor.* 770b–c, cf. Laurea, *Anth. Pal.* 12.26); a number of other sources say a boy is most beautiful before his beard is fully grown (*Il.* 24.347–348, *Od.* 10.278–279 [quoted in Pl. *Prt.*

relationship. His lover is a free man, probably a citizen, certainly not a slave. In this role too the *pais* has a subordinate status; but elements of subordination are counteracted by the conventions which characterize Athenian homosexuality. *Stage 3:* the young Athenian is older. He is a *pais* neither in age nor in status, but now the active partner in homosexual activity between citizens. His role is analogous to that of a master. But his "slave" also dominates him. *Stage 4:* the young adult marries.[48] His status changes. He has not necessarily given up homosexual activities—he may continue to play the role of *erastes* throughout his life. Nor does his marriage necessarily bring his first heterosexual experience—young men enjoyed sex with slave girls and prostitutes, and adultery was not unknown. The crucial difference is that sexual relations with other full Athenian citizens are no longer carried on as a *pais* or with a *pais*. The young husband begins to produce *paides*, as well as to control *paides* as a master, and his separation from that subordinate group is complete.

Of course, these stages are merely constructs. They have no juridical or even institutional standing. No ceremony marked the move from *eromenos* to *erastes*.[49] Nevertheless, I feel that this analysis, schematic and tentative as it is, may be considered an economical hypothesis. It accounts for the forms of a specific institution by reference to features which certainly mark this society as a whole, divisions according to status and age.

And it helps to clarify a contradiction in our sources. The comic dramatists exhibit a very different attitude from Plato,[50] in whose dialogues

309b], cf. Pl. *Symp.* 180a, 181d, Xen. *Symp.* 4.23, and the references cited by D. L. Page, *The Epigrams of Rufinus* [Cambridge 1978] on Rufinus 10.) And Attic vases never show the *eromenos* bearded. The Greeks generally thought of the beard as growing by 21 (see F. Boll, *NJbb* 31 [1913] 116 n. 3). *Eromenoi* might be older, however. Agathon is Pausanias' *eromenos* in Plato's *Protagoras* (315e) and *Symposium* (193b, cf. Xen. *Symp.* 8.32). The dramatic date of the *Protagoras* is about 430, of the *Symposium*—where Agathon is an established tragic poet—416 (and cf. Plut. *Mor.* 770c, Ael. *VH* 2.21).

For the incompatibility of marriage with the role of *eromenos*, see Pl. *Phdr.* 240a.

[48]Thirty is probably close to the normal age of marriage for Athenian men of prosperous families; for the evidence, see *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 322 n. 21.

[49]However, there is evidence for similar stages from other cultures. At least some Cretans practiced a socially accepted form of homosexual courtship and marriage in the mid-fourth century (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 149.21 = Strabo 10.483–484). The Keraki of New Guinea passed through stages of passive and active homosexual activity before they achieved full social status. Australian Aranda youth went through a stage of homosexual marriage with an older man, who later broke away to find a wife (D. J. West, *Homosexuality* [Harmondsworth 1968] 19–20).

[50]Plato's attitude in the *Laws* (1.636b, e, 8.835d–842a) is very different from that in the earlier Socratic dialogues; see most recently Buffière 409–434. In his earlier work, Plato is concerned to describe a facet of social life in a contemporary or near contemporary milieu and to use it for his own philosophical purposes. But the *Laws* is a prescriptive, not a persuasive, piece of work. Plato need no longer make use of what he does not like: he simply rejects it.

homosexuality is idealized for its contribution to the process of education.[51] Aristophanes' characters may enjoy sex with a pretty *pais*, but this is a casual physical pleasure. And sex between men and women—virtually absent from the world of Plato's dialogues—is a much more important theme.

Dover ascribes this difference in attitude to a real difference in sexual *mores*: "The difference between Aristophanes and Plato, between homosexual acts as a peripheral luxury and homosexual ἔρως as central and emotionally absorbing, is a difference between the way of life of middle-aged peasants and the way of life of rich young men" (*BICS* 38). It was the Athenian elite who institutionalized homosexuality and formed and followed its conventions. Social antagonism goes a long way towards explaining the hostility of comedy.[52] But it is not simply homosexuality which is the target; it is the passive partner—the man who plays the subordinate role—who is ridiculed.[53]

I think the reason is the prevalence of slavery in Athenian society. The Athenian who did not belong to the elite is less likely to have been raised with or by slaves, less likely to own slaves. And he may have to work alongside the slave or slaves he does own. He makes a less dramatic leap from subordinate to dominant status; for him, a mediating institution has little relevance. And in fact such an institution, involving as it does some elements of quasi-servile subordination, may threaten his position. The ordinary Athenian may have felt himself too close to slaves, especially in material and economic matters, to risk blurring the lines between them.

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[51]See especially Henderson, 58, 76, 94–95, 208–215; Dover *BICS* 34–40, *GH* 135–153; R. Eisner, "A Case of Poetic Justice: Aristophanes' Speech in the *Symposium*," *CW* 72 (1979) 417–419; Buffière 179–193. For the hostility of other comic writers, see, e.g., Eupolis 56E. (421/0) and the next note. Nothing is known of Aristophanes' *Paiderastes* or Diphilus' *Paiderastai*.

[52]See, e.g., Ar. *Eq.* 876–880, *Vesp.* 1068–1070, *Nub.* 1085–1104, esp. 1093–1095 (and cf. Pl. *Symp.* 191e–192a), Pl. Com. 186E., Apollodorus 13E. (= Stob. *Flor.* 46.15), *Com. Adesp.* 12E. (1.956) (=Synesius *Ep.* 104.244a), perhaps *Crates* 1E. (=Ath. 9.396d), and Dover *BICS* 38–40, *GH* 149–151, Henderson 216–219.

[53]See Dover *GH* 137–148.

ENDNOTE: AGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN *ERASTAI* AND *EROMENOI*

Dover concludes that "it was shocking if an erastes was younger than his eromenos . . . . One could be erastes and eromenos at the same stage of one's life, but not both in relation to the same person."[1] Some particularly clear passages are Plato *Phdr.* 240c–d and Xenophon *Symp.* 4.23–24; in Xenophon *An.* 2.6.21–28 Menon the Thessalian did have a bearded *paidika* when he was still beardless and was someone else's *paidika*, and it is clear (as Diogenes Laertius suggests, 2.50) that this bit of gossip is meant to highlight Xenophon's portrait of him as a morally dubious character. Similarly, Aeschines' tirade against Timarchus includes the charge that he went off with Misgolas, who was his own age (1.40 ff., 70, 76).

Henderson accepts that the "central relationship" was between "older (aggressive) *erastai* and younger (passive) *eromenoi*" but suggests that reciprocal and equal relationships between parties belonging to the same age-category were not unknown.[2] He adduces the relationship of Agathon and Pausanias as shown in Plato *Prt.* 315d–e. But that passage tells us nothing about their respective ages, and in Plato's *Symposium* Pausanias is made to assume that one partner in a homosexual relationship is older than the other (181c–d).

The basic catalogue of the vases depicting *erastes* and *eromenos*, Beazley *Cyprus* 6–31, lists 103 black-figure and 11 red-figure vases. In all except one (vase 32; see below), the pair are of different ages. The additional material in more recent discussions has not changed the situation appreciably;[3] only vases 19, 27, 31, 32 (as mentioned), 33, and 51 may show homosexual activity between youths of the same age.

On vase 51, for example, a boy with an erect penis sits on a chair while another prepares to sit on his lap. This is perhaps intentionally a shocker. As von Blanckenhagen remarks, ". . . the validity of the specific distinction between Erastes and Eromenos, traditional in pederastic scenes of earlier times, is being questioned. What is shown is no longer the courting of a boy by a man but a sexual encounter of boys of the same age capable of exchanging roles, performed not in the privacy of a room . . . but in public."[4] These vases merely confirm what was never really in question, that youths

[1] *GH* 87; see too Ungaretti 292, Wilkinson 24.

[2] J. Henderson, review of Dover *GH* in *CW* 72 (1979) 434. The possibility is allowed by Dover (*GH* 86).

[3] E.g., J. Frel, "Griechischer Eros," *ListyFil* 11 (1963) 60–64; K. Schauenburg, "Erastes und Eromenos auf einer Schale des Sokles," *AA* 1965.849–867; J. M. Hemelrijk, "Youth and Bashful Boy," in *Miscellanea Tragica in honorem J. C. Kamerbeek*, eds. J. M. Bremer, S. L. Radt, C. J. Ruijgh (Amsterdam 1976) 147–156; H. A. Shapiro, "Courtship Scenes in Attic Vase-painting," *AJA* 85 (1981) 133–143.

[4] P. H. von Blanckenhagen, "Puerilia," in *In memoriam Otto J. Brendel*, eds. L. Bonfante and H. von Heintze (Mainz 1976) 37–41, at 40 n. 20.

might perform homosexual acts with each other. The point is that these acts are so rarely depicted: the vases listed here are exceptions which emphasize the startlingly conventional nature of the great majority of homosexual scenes on Attic vases.

Our literary sources assure us that the depictions on Attic vases reflect conventions of sexual behaviour as well as of iconography. We cannot be so sure in the case of art from other areas.[5] But it is interesting to note that the iconography at least is similar elsewhere. The distinction between bearded and beardless is generally not significant on Corinthian komos vases. Whether men are shown bearded or not "depends on the habit of each artist, habits to which most remain faithful" (Seeberg 72). But scenes of homosexual courtship and contact regularly pair bearded men with beardless (74).[6]

Index of Vases Cited

In this article I refer to the following Attic vases by number; for convenience, I have identified them in this index according to their numbers in the list of vases in Dover *GH* (e.g., B16, R27) as well as giving the standard references to J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters* (Oxford 1956) = *ABV; Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*[2] (Oxford 1963) = *ARV*; and *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1972) = *Para*. References to other publications are given only for vases not illustrated by Dover. These publications are referred to by authors' names or in an otherwise abbreviated form as follows: J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases: A Handbook* (London 1974) = *ABVH*; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period—A Handbook* (London 1975) = *ARVH*; J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Greece* (London 1978) = *EG*; C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi* (Paris 1936); G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-Figured Attic Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven and London 1936) = R.-H.; E. Vermeule, "Some Erotica in Boston," *AntK* 12 (1969) 9–15.

1. neck amphora, Nettos Painter, 625–600, *Para* 2 no. 6 = *ABVH* no. 5
2. neck amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, 565–550, *ABV* 102 no. 98 = *EG* 76, B49
3. neck amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, 565–550, *ABV* 102 no. 99 = B51
4. neck amphora, Tyrrhenian Group, 565–550, *ABV* 102 no. 101 = B53

[5]I have made no search for depictions of homosexual activities in other mediums. J. Boardman notes that the motif is rare on archaic gems and suggests that his one illustrated example is probably indebted to a vase (*Archaic Greek Gems* [London 1968] 106 no. 311, pl. XXI). Beazley (*Cyprus* 16–17) mentions a scene showing five pairs of courting youths on a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Berlin (inv. 30.030).

[6]See Seeberg's no. 209 = H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931, hereafter *NC*) no. 805, pl. 31.7, 8, middle Corinthian; 240 = *NC* 1359, pl. 38.1, 5, late Corinthian; 210 = *NC* 1159, pl. 34.2, middle Corinthian; 224 = *AJA* 65 (1961) pl. 12b, 13c, early/middle Corinthian; 212 = *NC* 1004, *AK* 6 (1963) pl. 22.6, middle Corinthian. But note that some of these scenes are not very clear.

5. amphora, Lydos, 560–540, *ABV* 109 no. 28 = B65
6. amphora, Group E, 550–525, *ABV* 134 no. 30 = B76
7. amphora, Painter of Cambridge 47, 550–525, *ABV* 315 no. 3 = B271
8. lekythos, Taleides Painter, 540–530, *Para* 73 no. 12 *bis* = B114
9. amphora, Painter of Berlin 1686, 540–530, *ABV* 297 no. 16(A) = B250
10. amphora, Painter of Berlin 1686, 540–530, *ABV* 297 no. 16(B) = *EG* 79, B250
11. lekythos, Vienna 753, 530 = Haspels pl. 16.1b
12. kantharos, Nikosthenes (potter), 530, *ARV* 132 = R223
13. cup, Amasis Painter, 530–520, *ABV* 157 no. 86 = *EG* 82, B90
14. cup, NW Painter, 530–520, *ABV* 223 no. 65 = *ABVH* no. 151
15. kantharos, Boston 08.292, 520 = B598
16. pelike, Euphronios, 520–505, *ARV* 15 no. 11 = *ARVH* no. 30
17. cup, Thalia Painter, 520–500, *ARV* 113 no. 4 = R189
18. cup, Thalia Painter, 520–500, *ARV* 113 no. 7, 1626 = *ARVH* no. 112, R192
19. cup, cf. manner of Epileios Painter, 515–500, *ARV* 150 no. 35, 1628 = R243
20. amphora, Dikaios Painter, 510, *ARV* 31 no. 4 = R59
21. cup, Peithinos, 510, *ARV* 115 no. 2, 1626 =R196
22. cup, Kiss Painter, 510, *ARV* 177 no. 1 = R303
23. pelike, akin to Nikoxenos Painter, 510, *ARV* 224 no. 7 = *EG* 107, R361
24. cup, cf. Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, 510, *ABV* 454 no. 1 = B342
25. skyphos, Theseus Painter, 510–500, *Para* 257 = *ABVH* no. 245
26. lekythos, Theseus Painter, 510–500, *ABV* 518 = Haspels pl. 43.1a
27. cup, Epidromos Painter, 510–500, *ARV* 118 no. 11 = R200
28. skyphos, near Eleusis Painter, about 500, *ARV* 315 no. 2 = *ARVH* no. 219, R434
29. pelike, Acheloos Painter, about 500, *ABV* 384 no. 19 = *ABVH* no. 210
30. Gotha cup, 500, *ARV* 20 = R27
31. cup-skyphos, Boston 61, 110, late 6th century = Vermeule no. 9, pl. 8.2
32. lekythos, Athens 1121, late 6th century = *AA* 1965 855 ff., fig. 6, B696
33. cup, Group of Courting Cups, late 6th century, *Para* 83 no. 17 = *ABVH* no. 183.1, 2
34. cup, Brygos Painter, 500–475, *ARV* 372 no. 31 = *EG* 97–98, R518
35. cup, Brygos Painter, 500–475, *ARV* 378 no. 137 = R520
36. Cup, Briseis painter, 500–475, *ARV* 408 no. 36 = R543
37. cup, Briseis Painter, 500–475, *ARV* 408 no. 37 = R545
38. cup, Douris, 500–470, *ARV* 428 no. 13 = *Die Antike* 6 (1930) pl. 15a
39. cup, Douris, 500–470, *ARV* 443 no. 224 = R573
40. cup, Douris, 500–470, *ARV* 444 no. 241 = R577
41. aryballos, Douris, 500–470, *ARV* 447 no. 274 = *Deltion* 11 (1927/28) 94, 95 pls. 4, 5
42. cup, Makron, 490–475, *ARV* 467 no. 118 = R.-H. no. 53, pl. 54
43. cup, Makron, 490–475, *ARV* 468 no. 146, 1654 = R.-H. 52, pl. 52, R628
44. lekythos, Beldam Painter, 490–465 = Haspels pl. 50, lc, d
45. cup, Antiphon Painter, 480, *ARV* 339 no. 55 = *ARVH* no. 241, R490

46. pelike, Triptolemos Painter, 480–470, *ARV* 362 no. 21 = R502
47. cup, Triptolemos Painter, 480–470, *ARV* 367 no. 93 = *EG* 114, R506
48. cup, Triptolemos Painter, 480–470, *ARV* 367 no. 94 = *ARVH* no. 302, R507
49. stamnos, Polygnotos, 445–430, *ARV* 1029 no. 16 = *EG* 126–127, R898
50. oinochoe, Shuvalov Painter, 440–420, *ARV* 1208 no. 41, 1704 = R970
51. bell-krater, Dinos Painter, 425–400, *ARV* 1154 no. 35 = R954
52. band-cup, Berlin 1798 = B634
53. Sèvres, Musée Céramique 6405 = B486



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LAW, SOCIETY AND HOMOSEXUALITY IN CLASSICAL ATHENS*

Recent scholarship has succeeded in greatly advancing our understanding of "Greek homosexuality". Kenneth Dover and Michel Foucault have argued that the modern dichotomization of sexuality as heterosexuality/homosexuality does not apply to the ancient world, and they have shown how distinctions between active and passive roles in male sexuality defined the contours of the permissible and impermissible in pederastic courtship and other forms of homoerotic behaviour. Among the Greeks, we are told, active homosexuality was regarded as perfectly natural (sexual desire was not distinguished according to its object). There was, however, a prohibition against males of any age adopting a submissive role that was unworthy of a free citizen.[1]

Some Athenians in the classical period may well have thought that some men by nature liked boys, others women, still others both. But it does not follow that the categories of sexual roles associated with the dichotomy of homosexual/heterosexual were entirely absent. Further, though the delineation of active and passive roles was certainly important, it was by no means the only determinant of social norms related to sexual roles and homoerotic behaviour. Indeed an exploration of Greek homosexuality ought to begin by insisting very strongly on the profundity of the conflicts which permeated Athenian values and practices in this area.

I shall argue that current interpretations do not do justice to the

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[1] K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (New York, 1985), pp. 60-8, 81-109; and see M. Foucault, *L'usage des plaisirs* (Paris, 1984), pp. 47-62. Most recently a considerable literature purports to trace the origins of pederasty in the ritualized process by which adolescents make the passage to full manhood and membership in the community: see A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi* (Rome, 1969); W. Le Barre, *Muelos* (New York, 1984); H. Patzer, *Die griechische Knabenliebe* (Wiesbaden, 1982); B. Sergent, *La homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque* (Paris, 1984); and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir* (Paris, 1981). For the best and most recent anthropological studies of initiation and sexuality, see G. Herdt (ed.), *Rituals of Manhood* (Berkeley, 1982); and G. Herdt (ed.), *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia* (Berkeley, 1984). These two volumes replace the earlier studies which are usually relied upon by classicists for comparative purposes.

complexity of these social patterns, and that Athenian homoeroticism must be understood in the context of a theory of social practice which emphasizes the centrality of cultural contradiction and ambivalence.

From the classical studies of Malinowski among the Trobrianders to the more recent work of scholars like Bailey and Barrett, there is a strain of anthropological theory which identifies contradiction as a central feature of cultural systems. Malinowski spoke of the conflict between cultural ideals and social practices, Bailey of the contradiction between, in his terms, normative and pragmatic values.[2] Whichever terminology one adopts, the point is that the historian should not always attempt to explain away every contradiction or ambiguity as if socio-historical explanation were a puzzle which admits of a univocal solution. As Malinowski discovered in his work on the incest taboo, the conflict between social practices and cultural ideals and norms is perhaps nowhere so dramatic as in the realm of sexuality. For Malinowski the moment of illumination came when he was forced to confront such a contradiction on the occasion of a public incest scandal involving a brother-sister relationship (the worst imaginable case by Trobriand standards). His informants had repeatedly assured him that such behaviour was regarded as the supreme abomination and thus never had nor could occur. Having taken this testimony at face value, Malinowski was forced by these events to reconsider his premises. He realized that his informants had not been lying, but had sincerely described their society as it "ought to be" rather than as it really was.[3] He concluded that such contradictions between the normative realm and social reality should not be dismissed or explained away. Instead the recognition of the importance of such tensions and contradictions is central to the appreciation of cultural complexity. The same principle holds good for the historian. Contradiction must likewise be the starting-point for Athenian homoeroticism.

The Athenians themselves were not unaware of these ambiguities and contradictions. To begin with: according to Xenophon, Greeks were well aware that laws and customs regarding pederasty varied widely between different states. Some prohibited it outright, others

[2] B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages* (New York, 1929), pp. 565-72; F. G. Bailey, *Stratagems and Spoils* (New York, 1969), pp. 125 ff.; and see generally S. Barrett, *The Rebirth of Anthropological Theory* (Toronto, 1984), *passim*, who discusses Bailey and Malinowski in some detail and offers his own theory of contradiction. For an attempt to give contradiction a central role in a general theory of social practice, see A. Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 131-64.

[3] Malinowski, *Sexual Life of Savages*, pp. 565 ff.

explicitly permitted it.[4] In the *Symposium*, Plato put into the mouth of Pausanias an encomium of love which explicitly addresses the conflicts within Athenian norms and customs pertaining to pederasty.[5] Whereas for the rest of Greece these laws and customs are clear and well defined, explains Pausanias, those of Sparta are "poikilos" — intricate, complicated, subtle. He comments that Athenian legislation in this area is admirable, but difficult to understand; the difficulty consists in the simultaneous approbation and censure which social norms and legal rules attach to the pursuit of a pederastic courtship.

Whatever its philosophical or other merits, Pausanias' famous explanation — that society only condemns the unchaste love of Aphrodite Pandemus while justly praising the noble (that is, unconsummated) love of Uranian Aphrodite — does not dispel the contradiction which it has correctly identified. Part of the difficulty is that Pausanias' speech conflates at least two distinct categories of norms and institutions. For although he repeatedly uses words like "nomos" (law, custom), it is often not clear whether he is referring to law, or to custom in the sense of social practice. It may be appropriate, then, to start by examining Athenian legislation on this subject, and then move to a comparison of the legal norms with social codes and practices.

The legal provisions regulating various forms of homoerotic behaviour may be grouped in three categories: laws relating to prostitution; laws relating to education and courtship; and, finally, general provisions concerning sexual assault. These are only categories of convenience, however, and there can be considerable overlap between them. The laws concerning male prostitution may be considered first. One statute partially disenfranchised any Athenian citizen who prostituted himself, whether as a boy or as an adult; he lost his right to address the Assembly and to participate in other important areas of civic life.[6] Secondly, if a boy was hired out for sexual services by his father, brother, uncle or guardian, they were subject to a public action, as was the man who hired him.[7] Thirdly, a general statute prohibited procuring and applied to any free-born child or woman.[8] Finally, Aeschines several times suggests that the man who hired an Athenian male for sexual services was likewise liable to severe penal-

[4] Xenophon, *Lac. Constitution*, 2.12-13; Xenophon, *Symposium*, 8.34-5.

[5] Plato, *Symposium*, 182a ff.

[6] Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 18.2; Demosthenes, 19, 200, 257; Aeschines, 1, 3, 13-14, 18-19, 29; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 880 ff.

[7] Aeschines, 1, 13-14.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1, 14; and cf. Aristotle, *Ethics*, 1131a 7.

ties, but it is not clear whether he is referring to the second statute described above, which pertains to boys, or to a separate one. Moreover many of the passages suggest that he may be extending his description of the law for particular rhetorical purposes.[9]

The second category of laws pertained to education and set out a series of detailed prohibitions designed, among other things, to protect schoolboys from the erotic attentions of older males. These laws regulated all the contacts which boys had with adult males during the period at school, and provided for the appointment of public officials to ensure that proper order was maintained. According to Aeschines, the law forbade the schools to open before sunrise or stay open after dark, and strictly regulated who might enter and under what circumstances.[10] Finally, another law prohibited slaves from courting free boys.[11]

The third kind of statutory prohibition is rather more problematical than the first two and has received scant attention in regard to regulation of homoerotic conduct. Here I refer to the law of hubris (outrage or abuse). Current scholarship on pederasty commonly asserts that there was no law prohibiting an Athenian male from consummating a sexual relationship with a free boy without using force or payment.[12] This point is usually adduced as the cornerstone of the standard interpretation. This interpretation ignores, however, a series of questions concerning the legal context of pederastic sexuality which, to my knowledge, has never been asked. Did Athenian law acknowledge an age of consent in its conceptualization of sexual assault and seduction? If the consent of the boy was not a bar to prosecution, did *any* consummated sexual relationship with a boy fulfil the required elements of the offence? Did Athenian law have some notion equivalent to statutory rape in modern legal systems, where consent is *the* crucial issue in the definition of rape offences?[13]

[9] Aeschines, 1, 11, 45, 72, 90, 163.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1, 9-14.

[11] Perhaps the "laws" referred to by Pausanias also regulated courtship. There is, however, a great deal of ambiguity in the text. Plato repeatedly uses the vocabulary of statutes and legislation, but at many points he is clearly referring to societal attitudes and customs.

[12] See Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, pp. 64 ff., 88 ff.; Foucault, *Usage des plaisirs*, p. 238.

[13] See, for example, *People* v. *Hernandez* (1964), 61 C. 2d 529, 339 P. 2d 673. In the traditional statutory formulations, consent negates a required element of the offence (see *Regina* v. *Morgan*, House of Lords (1976), A.C. 182) or operates as an affirmative defence. An allegation that the victim consented to intercourse is, however, irrelevant in a prosecution for statutory rape where the age of the victim obviates any enquiry

(cont. on p. 7)

An affirmative answer to any of these questions would require one to reassess the standard view that the active role in pederastic relations was absolutely free from any taint of disapprobation.

First of all, it must be emphasized that the noun "hubris" and the verb "hubrizein" have a strong sexual connotation. Many authors, for example, refer to captive women and children being taken off to suffer hubris.[14] Scholars usually do not refer to hubris in connection with pederasty because they believe hubris to require violent insult or outrage, as in rape.[15] According to Aristotle, however, hubris is actually any behaviour which dishonours and shames the victim for the pleasure or gratification of the offender.[16] It is in this connection that the orator Aeschines introduced the law of hubris into the catalogue of statutes which he enumerated as regulating pederasty in Athens in the fourth century B.C. In fact when he first refers to the law of hubris he characterizes it as the statute which includes all such conduct in one summary prohibition: "If anyone commits hubris against a child or man or woman or anyone free or slave . . .".[17]

Sexual relations with children, particularly for pay, dishonours them, and under this statute such shame and dishonour for the gratification of the offender constituted hubris. Given the strong sexual connotations of the words "hubris" and "hubrizein" in ordinary language, Aeschines' argument seems perfectly reasonable, particularly in the case of minors, whose consent may have been felt to be irrelevant. In fact numerous passages from Greek orators indicate that using a male in a passive sexual role dishonours him and thus qualifies as hubris. In the case of adults, voluntary consent may undercut the attribution of blame to the offender, and indeed such men who consent are often described as committing hubris against themselves by their submission.[18] But in the case of a boy, such

(n. 13 cont.)
into his/her state of mind. For German law on this point, see *St. GB*, 180. For hints of Athenian attitudes, see Aeschines, 1, 139-40.

[14] See, for example, Thucydides, 8.74; Plato, *Laws*, 874c; Herodotus, 3.80, 4.114; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1373a 35; Demosthenes, 19, 309.

[15] See, for example, D. MacDowell's superficial treatment in *The Law of Classical Athens* (London, 1978), pp. 129-32; and Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, pp. 34-9.

[16] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1378b.

[17] Aeschines, 1, 15.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1, 29, 40, 116. On the humiliation of submission to homosexual intercourse, see Bailey, *Stratagems and Spoils*, p. 123, who sets out the pattern as follows: "The males of one troop sort themselves out into patterns of dominance and subordination. If annoyed by a challenge — perhaps inadvertent — from an inferior, the dominant male will stare fixedly at him; the inferior should then look away. If he does not the dominant male will move as if to charge; the weaker baboon should then cringe down to the ground . . . failing that there will be a charge and a chase . . . The weaker

(cont. on p. 8)

consent might have been regarded as irrelevant, and thus the attribution of wrongdoing adheres to the man who dishonours the boy, whether through rape or seduction. As in the modern law of statutory rape, the consent of a boy younger than a certain age would not negate the charge of hubris.

Aristotle, in his description of shameful actions which cause dishonour to those who suffer them, gives as his example providing sexual services with one's body, and adds that such shameful actions involve submitting to hubris.[19] In Demosthenes and Lysias, seduction and adultery involving free women are characterized as hubris (once again, consent is irrelevant), and Aristotle applies the same standard to boys when he says that some males enjoy homosexual intercourse because they were subjected to hubris as boys.[20] Demosthenes, in *Against Androtion*, applies precisely the same judgement as Aeschines, arguing that the man who prostitutes himself must submit to hubris.[21] Finally, Xenophon says that using men as women constitutes hubris.[22] In short, Aeschines' characterization of the law of hubris as potentially providing penalties for certain homoerotic relations is not inconsistent with a good deal of other evidence. There is no way of knowing, however, if, or how often, the law was actually applied in this way.

After this brief survey of the wide range of legislation pertaining to homoerotic behaviour, it is easy to understand why Plato made Pausanias characterize Athenian law as many-hued, intricate and difficult to understand in contrast with the laws of other Greek cities, which either prohibited or permitted pederasty in a straightforward way. Now if legal norms are one reflection or embodiment of the values, attitudes and ideology of a society (or parts of a society), what do these Athenian laws reveal about the values and beliefs of the social order which they defined and regulated? Scholars have not

(n. 18 cont.)
baboon may still save itself being bitten by turning its back, presenting its hindquarters and allowing itself to be mounted, just as a female is mounted in copulation". A. Dundes and A. Falassi in *La terra in piazza* (Berkeley, 1975) describe the way that such a pattern plays itself out in the rivalry of gangs of young men during the Pallio in Siena: "Typically, the rival group is demeaned through its having to submit to symbolic anal intercourse. One must keep in mind that in terms of metaphor there is no disgrace in being the active aggressor in the alleged homosexual attack. It is only the recipient of the phallic thrust who is shamed" (pp. 188-9). For similar associations in the biblical context, see D. G. Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London, 1975), pp. 32-4.

[19] Aristotle, *Ethics*, 1148b 29.

[20] Demosthenes, 23, 56; Lysias, 1, 4, 16, 25; Aristotle, *Ethics*, 1148b 29.

[21] Demosthenes, 22, 58.

[22] Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 2.1.30.

addressed this question, despite its crucial importance in unravelling the way in which homoeroticism was regarded at Athens.

The set of legal norms embodied in these statutes reflects a social order which encompassed a profound ambivalence and anxiety in regard to male-male sexuality; a social order which recognized the existence and persistence of such behaviour, but was deeply concerned about the dangers which it represented. The chief of these dangers was the corruption of the future of the polis, represented by the male children of citizen families. Boys who, under certain circumstances, participated in sexual intercourse with men were believed to have acted for gain and to have adopted a submissive role which disqualified them as potential citizens.[23] Likewise, adult citizens who prostituted themselves were subject to the same civic disabilities and opprobium. These laws represented one of the severest sanctions which such a society could impose, and they reflect the level of concern for the preservation of the citizen body. Passages in Aristophanes refer to the possibilities for extortion and political advantage which such laws created, and of which Aeschines' prosecution of Timarchus was an actual example. In order to ensure that those who, in the words of Aeschines, were "hunters of young men" did not deplete the supply of new citizens, a group of laws aimed at deterring others from leading boys or young men into disenfranchisement: hence the various statutes regarding procuring, prostitution, regulation of schools, etc. Clearly, such laws imply severe censure both of the boy or young man who allowed himself to be led astray and of those who did the leading, whether by means of financial incentives or otherwise.[24]

In short, the range, variety and overlapping of the Athenian statutes seem to reflect a society which was attempting over a period of time to cope with persistent patterns of behaviour which were felt to

[23] See, for example, Xenophon, *Symposium*, 8.34 ff. This point marks the great difference which separates Athens from other cultures where homosexual intercourse is a mandatory part of initiation of young males. Although some scholars (for example, J. Bremmer, "An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty", *Arethusa*, xiii (1980), pp. 279-98; Sergent, *Homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque*, *passim*) wish to trace Athenian pederasty back to such a process of initiation, the whole point is that at Athens the public submission to such intercourse as required of Melanesian initiates would result in disenfranchisement. On the variety of Melanesian rituals and attitudes, see Herdt (ed.), *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*, *passim*.

[24] G. Koch-Harnack's discussion of courtship gifts reveals the way in which the giving of animals and money seems to be portrayed as interchangeable in Attic vase-painting. She emphasizes the reciprocal nature of the transaction which is implied in the portrayal of such "gifts": G. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* (Berlin, 1983), pp. 77-9, 93-4. See also Aristophanes, *Birds*, 704 ff.

jeopardize the well-being of the city. The mechanisms of the public law were deployed to deter and punish such conduct and to protect free boys.

Protection from their fathers or relatives who might hire them out, protection from their schoolmasters, protection from seducers, protection from themselves: such legislation reflects strong underlying tensions about homoerotic behaviour. The law may reflect such underlying conflicts, but (and this is particularly the case in the sexual sphere) is always an inadequate mechanism by which to resolve them. Hence it is not surprising that one knows of so few cases in which this impressive panoply of statutes was actually applied. Some of the reasons for this seeming disjunction between the normative potential which the law represented and the actual will to apply it may emerge from an examination of the cultural ideals, norms and practices which, together with the law, ordered the social fabric.

Turning to the social norms which formed the basis for societal evaluation of homoerotic practices, it is not surprising that the normative poles are honour and shame. As Pausanias puts it in the *Symposium*, the erastes (the wooing, pursuing lover) gains honour by his success and is humiliated by defeat in his pursuit.[25] Likewise, the victory of the erastes means the defeat of the eromenos (the pursued beloved), for "it is shameful to gratify an erastes".[26] As Gouldner put it, honour is a zero-sum game;[27] the increase of one man's honour is at the expense of another's. That honour and shame defined the normative boundaries of homoeroticism (and sexuality in general) is implicit, and often explicit, in all our sources from Plato, Aristotle and Xenophon to the orators and drama.[28] Though it is well known that they were dominant values in Greek society, some of the consequences which arose through their operation according to a zero-sum rule in the area of homoeroticism deserve elaboration. Having set out some of the general principles of the sexual code of honour and shame, one will be better able to examine some of the divergent attitudes and practices in Athenian homosexuality.

Pitt-Rivers has described the system of honour and shame in

[25] Plato, *Symposium*, 182e.

[26] *Ibid.*, 182a, 183c-d.

[27] A. Gouldner, *Enter Plato* (New York, 1965), p. 49.

[28] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1370b, 1378b, 1383b-4b; Aristotle, *Politics*, 1311b; Plato, *Symposium*, 182, 217; Plato, *Phaedrus*, 251; Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 5.7; Xenophon, *Symposium*, 4.52 ff., 7.9 ff., 8.23-35; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 1.2.29, 1.3.11; Lysias, 3, *passim*; Demosthenes, *Erotic Essay*, 1, 3, 5, 6, 17, 19-20; Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1085; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 880 ff.

Mediterranean society in a classic series of essays and monographs.[29] His description of modern Mediterranean values in this area often seems as instructive in regard to classical Athens as to rural Andalusia. As he has shown, honour is largely defined by reference to sexuality, both for men and for women. The honour of a man is measured through the sexual purity of his wife, mother, sisters and daughters, and likewise through the virility to which his public behaviour gives testimony. Thus a man of honour is a man who has *cojones* (testicles); a man without honour is *manso* — tame, castrated, woman-like. For men and women, "The natural qualities of sexual potency or purity and the moral qualities associated with them provide the conceptual framework on which the system [of honour and shame] is constructed".[30]

Now one obvious way in which a man may demonstrate his virility in an agonistic society like this is in competition for the favours of women. There is one hitch here, however: success in this competition is purchased at the price of dishonour for the man who has failed to protect the woman whose favours have been received. Honour is a zero-sum game. Thus, since sexual conquest serves as a demonstration of masculinity, the adulterer or seducer gains in stature, but at the expense of others; the husband becomes the *cabron*, the cuckold. The greater the value attached to female purity, the keener the competition for the precious commodity, the greater the honour which is gained by conquest. This is why, as Pitt-Rivers points out, in this culture Don Juan is the punctilious man of honour, a judgement which has far-reaching implications for the whole range of sexual relationships:

> Don Juan, the destroyer of reputations — this is the basic sense of his title burlador — whose aspirations to self-aggrandizement were founded upon the notion that the honour you strip from others becomes yours. In an agonistic society such as this, not only marriage but all romantic relations between the sexes have implications in the political realm even though they are seldom recognized. Thus the tenderest sentiments come together in the complex of honour with considerations of ethics, religion, prestige, economics and social pre-eminence to form a system of behaviour that determines the distribution and redistribution of respect among the families of which the community is composed.[31]

Now, as the foregoing analysis of Athenian legislation should have

[29] J. Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem* (Cambridge, 1977) collects the essays which have been published in various places. Fundamental also are his *The People of the Sierra*, 2nd edn. (Chicago, 1971); J. G. Peristiany (ed.), *Honour and Shame* (London, 1966); J. G. Peristiany (ed.), *Mediterranean Family Structures* (Cambridge, 1976); and J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage* (Oxford, 1964).

[30] Pitt-Rivers, *Fate of Shechem*, p. 23.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

made clear, the Athenians were well aware of the "implications in the political realm" which sexual relations could have. Just as in Andalusia a man working in the employ of a widow (widows are regarded as sexually voracious) suffers in regard to his honour because he is seen to be subject sexually — "the one who is mounted" rather than "the one who mounts"[32] — so the Athenian male who adopts the passive, submissive role, the role of the woman, is likewise dishonoured.[33] In Athens agonistic sexuality could scarcely manifest itself in competition for women, for a variety of reasons. First, courtship of unmarried women was non-existent, and clandestine courtship was hardly practicable since girls were married very young to prevent just such "accidents" and were zealously guarded during the brief period between pubescence and marriage.[34] One does hear of adulterous conquest, but, as Lysias' oration *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* shows, this could be dangerous since the adulterer caught in the act could be killed with impunity. There also seems to have been rivalry for hetaerae and boy prostitutes, but great honour could hardly be gained here since slaves and prostitutes were automatically in a submissive and inferior position anyway, at the economic disposal of all who could pay.[35]

Sexual competition for honour, then, had largely to be directed towards boys (particularly since chasing after prostitutes was in itself judged as shameful according to conventional norms). This fact established the basic dynamic of pederastic courtship, a dynamic which necessarily threatened to put the boy eromenos in the role of a woman; pursued rather than pursuing, defensive rather than aggressive, submissive rather than dominant, mounted rather than mounting. The way in which this dynamic turned pederastic courtship into an *agon* for honour, in which the erastes sought to gain honour by making the boy a woman and the eromenos to do the same by showing himself to be a man, must now be addressed. First, however, some preliminary remarks on gender and sexual roles may be appropriate.

What does it mean "to make a boy a woman"? It is necessary to distinguish two related aspects of this claim. The first concerns the sexual act itself and the way in which the roles of the two participants

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[33] See n. 18 above; and Plato, *Gorgias*, 494e; Demosthenes, 22.58; Aristotle, *Ethics*, 1148b-9b.

[34] This is the typical traditional Mediterranean pattern. See, for example, V. Maher, *Women and Property in Morocco* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 150.

[35] See Lysias, 3, *passim*; Xenophon, *Hiero*, 1.27 ff.

are seen, while the second involves the larger social context of courtship and the role patterns associated with it. Although it has become quite fashionable to deny that the Greeks thought homosexuality to be unnatural and that modern categories of homosexuality/heterosexuality can be applied to classical Greece, one should not make such assertions too facilely. Sexual roles in both of the senses distinguished above were defined in terms of a male/female dichotomy and judged by norms that were felt by some to be at once social and natural.

To begin with the first sense of "making a boy a woman", there is ample evidence to show that the Levitical formulation "to lie with mankind as with womankind" represents a way of categorizing homosexual intercourse that was not unknown in Athens.[36] Indeed Xenophon refers to the hubristic practice of "using men as women", and Plato argues that the man who adopts the passive role in homosexual intercourse can be rebuked as the impersonator of the female, a situation which is "against nature".[37] Such usage was not confined to philosophical circles, for Aeschines, for example, uses the same formulation.[38] In a lengthy passage in the *Laws*, Plato several times makes an analogy to nature and the mating patterns of animals.[39] He argues that as it is natural for a male and female to mate, and natural that male animals do not seek other males, so it is unnatural when men do not follow their example.[40] It should be emphasized that Plato does not merely characterize *passive* behaviour as unnatural for men, but rather sexual relations between men *per se*, although the passive role is seen as more shameful.[41] Such judgements are clearly based upon an implicit sexual norm of male-female intercourse, and they put the passive man or boy into the submissive role which is, according to nature, that of the female.

This characterization also represents the view of Aristotle, a view which is the basis for the analysis of procreation in his treatise on the *Generation of Animals*. What underlies that entire work is the same analogy that Plato uses in the *Laws*: in their procreative capacities

[36] Lev. 20:13. See Herdt (ed.), *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*, pp. 118, 220, for descriptions of the way in which the younger partner is seen as taking the woman's role.

[37] Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 2.1.31; Plato, *Laws*, 836e, 841d.

[38] Aeschines, 1, 185.

[39] Plato, *Laws*, 836-41.

[40] *Ibid.*, 836c.

[41] See also Plato, *Symposium*, 152a, where the opinion of some is said to be that all male-male sexual relations are shameful; and Aristotle, *Ethics*, 1148b 24 ff.

human beings are like animals and it is natural for male to mate with female. These latter categories are defined not only in terms of physiological differentiation, but also with reference to the principle which underlies them. Thus Aristotle says that after castration a male organism changes to become very much like the female; a judgement not far removed from Pitt-Rivers' statement that in the Mediterranean to have *cojones* is the essence of masculinity and the presupposition of honour. In the Greek context, eunuchs were commonly judged in this light; and boys, regarded as being incapable of emitting semen or performing intercourse, were not truly male.[42] At the more general level, Aristotle goes on to characterize the underlying principles of masculinity and femininity as based upon the dichotomy of active and passive sexual roles, and this characterization enables one to distinguish two levels of his analysis of what is natural in sexual relations.

In the first instance, it is natural that the physiological male should mate with the physiological female. This is natural both in the sense that it represents the basic reproductive pattern of living organisms and also because nature has developed our sexual organs towards the fulfilment of this procreative purpose. The second level concerns the roles which are adopted within the procreative act, based upon the principles of activity and passivity. At the level of physiology, the infertile male is likened to a woman[43] because he lacks the capacity to produce semen, the active ingredient required for procreation.[44] At the level of sexual role behaviour, the man who adopts a submissive, passive role is unmanly, woman-like and he therefore dishonours and shames himself. Since a boy also cannot produce semen, physiologically speaking he is not yet a man.[45] Further, when he lends himself to sexual intercourse with a man it *necessarily* places him in the role of the female, the object to which desire is directed. Yet because he is not female, in the normal case he will experience no pleasure in

[42] Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 728a; Aristotle, *Problems*, 879a. This view of the boy is widespread: see Herdt (ed.), *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia, passim* and, in particular, p. 220: "Male cults have been known in Melanesia for a long time, and I think they share a common, basic, and underlying theme. To put it as simply and colloquially as possible, it is this: 'Girls *will* be women' but 'boys *will not* necessarily be men'. One may indeed say that 'male' and 'female' are opposed to each other as 'nurture' to 'nature' and thus the cultural necessity for promoting masculinity, of finishing through ritual an 'unfinished, possibly ambiguous biological entity.' ".

[43] Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 728a.

[44] *Ibid.*, 728-9.

[45] *Ibid.*, 728a.

the act,[46] and hence must be providing services with his body for gain, which dishonours and shames him, placing him in a submissive role which is against nature.[47] On the other hand, if he does experience pleasure this is seen, at least in one text, as due to a physiological disorder, and hence unnatural in another sense.[48]

What this brief survey of views reveals is that, despite the variations as to details, for those who took procreation as their starting-point the "natural" pattern which provided the norm for sexual activity was the mating of male with female. Males who pursued other males were a category defined in relation to a heterosexual norm.[49] Whereas males who submitted to other males were regarded as disgraced, the way in which the former category was judged was more controversial. But the force which the procreative heterosexual norm had for them too is perhaps most vividly seen in a text which seeks to honour such behaviour: Aristophanes' famous encomium of love in Plato's *Symposium*.

Aristophanes here presents heterosexuality and homosexuality as categories which are indeed both defined by nature, but in order to justify the positive evaluation which he attaches to the latter, he must create a fantastic new natural order, ignoring the real one with its implicit valuation of heterosexuality. Hence the famous creation myth, which is elaborated so as to reach the conclusion that the homoerotic man is not shameless, as opinion holds, but rather more virile.[50] The need to present a new creation myth, a new model of nature, testifies eloquently to the power of the norm felt to be implicit within the traditional view.

Aristophanes' speech is interesting in yet a further respect. When he descends from the level of myth he comments that the homoerotic man is by nature not inclined to marry, but is compelled to do so by law and custom.[51] This follows on the statement that "Some regard them all as shameless". This passage demonstrates the social force that such normative judgements could have and bears further witness to the ambivalence in Athens concerning the kinds of sexual behaviour considered natural, shameful or honourable.[52] It also raises the

[46] Xenophon, *Symposium*, 8.22.
[47] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1384a; Aeschines, 1, 185.
[48] [Aristotle], *Problems*, 879b ff.
[49] See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.7, where such a disposition is described as a *tropos*.
[50] Plato, *Symposium*, 191d-2a.
[51] *Ibid.*, 192b.
[52] *Ibid.*, 192a-b, reads, in a way, like a plea for greater understanding; not Plato's own plea, but his representation of one contemporary position on homoeroticism.

question of the second of the two senses in which a boy can be made into a woman, the socio-sexual sense as opposed to the physiological. For Aristophanes reveals that, for this society, law, custom and opinion dictated that the natural role of every man was to be a husband and father. Heterosexuality is institutionalized as the foundation of the most basic social unit, the family.[53] This fact is perhaps most forcefully expressed in Aristotle's *Oeconomica*, where the opening passages repeatedly emphasize that it is according to nature that a man and a woman join together to form a family.[54] From the differentiated economic tasks and spheres which are sexually appropriate to husband and wife devolve the social roles which make up the patterns of community and family life.[55] It is in this broader context that the homoerotic valuation of boys became problematic, for while they were in the process of being educated to be citizens and warriors, they were also subjected to patterns of courtship and norms of behaviour which assimilated them to women.

In his discussion of the festival of the Oschophoria, Vidal-Naquet has commented upon the role of the two ephebes who dress as women. He explains that the young man before his initiation as a warrior is not yet virile, not yet truly male:

> It is a well-known fact that the transvestism, of which we find an example in the Oschophoria, was, for archaic Greek societies . . . a means to dramatize the coming of the young man to the age of virility and marriage. The classic example . . . is that of Achilles at Skyros, disguised as a girl but unable to resist the sight of arms.[56]

What is implicit in this passage is the equation, at least on the symbolic level, of the uninitiated male with the female. The equating of the boy with the female went beyond the symbolic level, however, as Aristotle indicates when he says that in regard to form a boy is like a woman.[57]

[53] It is relevant here that when sexuality is viewed from the starting-point of the ideology of the family, the perspective, though not necessarily monogamous, seems inevitably heterosexual. Hence the famous tripartite division of the Demosthenic *Against Neaera*, 122: "Mistresses we keep for pleasure, concubines for the daily care of our persons, but wives to bear us legitimate children and guard our households". One might object that boys are only not mentioned out of a sense of shame, but doesn't that just reinforce the point?

[54] Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, 1343a-4a.

[55] See also Xenophon's *Oeconomica*.

[56] Vidal-Naquet, *Chasseur noir*, pp. 167-8; and see M. Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite* (Paris, 1958), pp. 1-27.

[57] Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 728a. In addition, boys are also linked to that other category of submissive beings, slaves, by the linguistic usage which refers to both with the same word, *pais* (which can also refer to a female child). Aristotle also places children in the same category as animals when he says that men have contempt for both, paying no regard to their respect or esteem: *Rhetoric*, 1384b, 1371a.

Given this ambivalent view of the sexual identity of boys, it is not surprising that in Attic vase-painting courtship of boys and courtship of women were depicted in an almost identical manner. Apart from one major difference (the depiction of the sexual consummation of courtship), the stages, gestures, rituals and gifts of courtship were much the same whether the object was a boy or a woman.[58] It seems that a sort of displaced courtship leading to a sort of displaced marriage is the appropriate context in which to understand the assimilation of the boy to a woman, both in terms of his sexual identity, his role in courtship and, in a mixed way, his social role in general. An example may help to clarify this notion of displaced courtship and marriage.

In an unjustly neglected article entitled "Sexual Inversion among the Azande", Evans-Pritchard describes the case of a warrior society in which the age of marriage for men is quite late, as at Athens, from the late twenties to the thirties.[59] Since girls were betrothed very young, the only way in which young men could obtain heterosexual satisfaction was through adultery. But that was what Evans-Pritchard terms "a very dangerous solution to a young man's problem", since husbands often tortured and mutilated adulterers taken in the act.[60] The solution to this dilemma was, according to Azande informants, for young men to marry boys when they went into the king's service as warriors. Not marry in the legal sense, but rather to court a boy who would then move into the warriors' house with his lover. The pair often referred to each other as "husband" and "wife", with the man helping to educate the boy and the boy providing sexual and other services. When the period of military duty was over the warrior would end the relationship, return to his village and marry. The boy would, in his turn, become a warrior and repeat the process in the "male" role. After the termination of this relationship and marriage, sexual activity was purely heterosexual. Significantly, all the Azande informants insisted that intercourse with the boys was only intercrural; they all expressed disgust at the suggestion of anal penetration.[61]

This account suggests a number of interesting parallels with the situation at Athens. There, too, late marriage for men, the early

[58] Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, pp. 81 ff.; Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke*, pp. 59-82; Foucault, *Usage des plaisirs*, pp. 244-7.

[59] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Sexual Inversion among the Azande", *Amer. Anthropologist*, lxxii (1970), pp. 1428-35.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 1429.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 1430.

marriage of closely guarded adolescent girls and the dangers of adultery combined to make boys an attractive alternative — but with a difference. Athenian men who pursued boys were not merely seeking immediate sexual gratification (nor in all likelihood were their Azande counterparts) since, as Xenophon put it, in this slave society cheap sexual fulfilment was available at every corner.[62] Devereux has remarked that courtship behaviour is almost universal because it seems to fulfil a deep human need,[63] and in Athens courtship and the erotic relationship which it aims at was only possible with boys. When the boy was seen as having become a man physiologically — after the growth of his first beard — he was no longer an appropriate object for pursuit; his ambiguously defined androgynous sexuality had become definitively male.[64] Once again the heterosexual norm was the standard by which roles and behaviour were judged.

Thus the Athenian boy seems to have found himself in a situation which, like the Athenian code of conduct itself, is aptly described by Pausanias' term "poikilos" — intricate, many-hued, ambiguous. While he was being educated to be a warrior and a citizen the Athenian boy was also, in many ways, cast into a feminine social role, as the vase-paintings depicting courtship imply.[65] Thus the ideal boy was supposed to be modest and chaste, avoid contact with adult males who were not relatives or close friends of the family, keep his eyes lowered and blush when made the object of attention, etc.[66] Their families protected them from male attention as if they were daughters, but since they could not be confined to the house like a daughter, a paidagogus watched over them:

> Yet we find in practice that if a father discovers that someone has fallen in love with his son, he puts the boy in the charge of an attendant, with strict injunctions not to let him have anything to do with his lover. And if the boy's little friends see anything of that kind going on you may be sure they'll call him names, while their elders will neither stop their being rude nor tell them they are talking nonsense.[67]

[62] Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 2.2.4.

[63] G. Devereux, "Greek Pseudo-Homosexuality and the 'Greek Miracle' ", *Symbolae Osloenses*, xlii (1968), p. 82.

[64] Note that it was also thought to be shameful for men past a certain age to be interested in boys: Lysias, 3, 1; Aeschines, 1, 11.

[65] Again it must be underscored that Athens is different from societies where, as in parts of Melanesia, sexual relations between boys and men are a necessary part of initiation. The services that the boy is expected to provide in parts of Melanesia are clearly viewed as shameful according to Athenian norms.

[66] See, for example, Plato, *Lysis* and *Charmides*.

[67] Plato, *Symposium*, 183c-d; see also Plato, *Phaedrus*, 240; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 1.5.2; Xenophon, *Symposium*, 4.52 ff., 8.19; Aeschines, 1,187; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 137 ff.; Aristotle, *Ethics*, 1119b 14.

Thus the sexual purity of the boy was protected by the family under the same code of honour and shame as that which applied to women, but for boys sexual purity was defined as not assuming the woman's role in sexual intercourse. Moreover the politics of sexual reputation applied to boys just as to women. As Aristotle puts it, some men prefer to shroud in silence their dishonour from the hubris done to their wives or daughters *or sons* rather than accept the publicity and humiliation of a lawsuit. The reputation of a boy was determined by the inferences drawn from his public behaviour with men. Just as in a modern Mediterranean village (or in classical Athens) a girl who lingers at the fountain or takes longer than necessary to return from the fields compromises her honour and becomes the object of gossip and slander,[68] so a boy who was seen at the house of a man or seen alone with a man in a deserted place (particularly after dark) was compromised and might become the object of blackmail.[69]

Hence courtship was an elaborate and public game of honour, a zero-sum game in which the erastes won honour by conquering, the boy by attracting much attention but not submitting.[70] The erastes was shamed by his failure to conquer, the boy by his submission, all of this behaviour being judged by the community through its manifestations in the public arena of reputation, honour and shame. Thus pederastic courtship at Athens was not unlike, in some ways, the gallant courtship of married women in other times and places in Europe. There too honour was the stake of the game, and the public aspect of the politics of reputation was likewise present: society tolerated deviance from the norms so long as the forbidden acts remained secret and the rules were obeyed. Madame X might have been "known" to be the mistress of Chevalier Y with no unpleasant consequences until she was publicly compromised by an accident, indiscretion or her lover's gossip; thereupon her reputation was destroyed and she was cast out from society irremediably.[71]

[68] See, for example, A. Fuller, *Buarij* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 47; F. G. Bailey, *Gifts and Poison: The Politics of Reputation* (New York, 1971), *passim*; Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, pp. 86, 190-201.

[69] See Aeschines, 1, 42, 51, 60, 75-6, 90; Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 995 ff.; Aristophanes, *Knights*, 880; Lysias, 14, 25; Plato, *Symposium*, 217c; Plato, *Phaedrus*, 232a-b, 234a-b; Plato, *Charmides*, 155a; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1384b f.

[70] For the honour which a boy receives by being admired and sought after for his beauty, see the well-known discussions in Plato, *Charmides*, *Lysis* and *Symposium*.

[71] See, for example, Brantome, *Les dames galantes*. This is the hypocrisy which Tolstoy inveighs against in *Anna Karenina*. The most penetrating portrayal of this pattern is, of course, Laclos, *Les liaisons dangereuses*.

In Athens an ideal solution was offered to the dilemma of the zero-sum game of honour, an ideal indicated by the descriptions of chaste courtship in the *Phaedrus*, *Symposium* and other texts. According to this ideal, an equilibrium was reached whereby the erastes and eromenos could both maintain their honour. The erastes was granted "favours" by his eromenos, but the eromenos stopped short of granting (or appearing to grant) favours which would dishonour him (that is, as Dover and Foucault argue, the eromenos only allowed intercrural intercourse and never anal penetration).[72] These texts reveal that some Athenians, at least, felt able to resolve to their own satisfaction the contradictions implicit in their sexual code by means of this sort of ideal equilibrium. But others viewed this solution as hollow, raising again Malinowski's problem of distinguishing cultural ideals from actual social practices. For there may be disagreement within a culture as to what is practice, what is ideal, and how each is to be valued. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf referred to Pausanias' speech as the "Ehrenkodex der athenischen Knabenliebe", but Victor Ehrenberg has aptly commented that "There is little in common between the blushing boys of Plato's dialogues, and the world of unnatural lust which the comedians depict".[73]

Aristophanes in *Clouds* depicts the way in which such cultural ideals of chaste and virile youth are projected into the past to create a false history which is nothing more than ideology.[74] Indeed he appears to have been acutely aware of the problem of the contrast between ideal and practice, for in a number of passages he attempts to expose the hypocrisy of the pederastic ideal by contrasting it with stark reality (a view of reality strongly supported by Attic vase-painting). In *Birds* and *Wealth* he refers to the general courtship practice of giving gifts of animals to the eromenos and he seems to suggest that it is pure hypocrisy to regard it as distinguishable from the prostitution forbidden by the law:

> And they say that boys do the same, not for their lovers but for gold. Not those of good family, but the prostitutes. The well-bred ones don't ask for money. What

[72] See, for example, Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke*, pp. 62-3. The politics of reputation as outlined above exist in a state of tension *vis-à-vis* this ideal. Reputation is based upon inferences from *public* behaviour and hence not upon such fine distinctions as intercrural versus anal intercourse, distinctions beyond the realm of possible public knowledge. Dover and others do not take this fact sufficiently into account. See the sources cited in n. 53 and also J. du Boulay, "Lies, Mockery and Family Integrity", in Peristiany (ed.), *Mediterranean Family Structures*, pp. 389-406.

[73] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Platon*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1920), i, p. 365; V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes* (New York, 1962), p. 100.

[74] Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 961 ff.

then? A good horse or hunting dogs. Being ashamed to ask for money they disguise their vice with a name.[75]

What, then, is one to conclude about a culture whose laws expressed a deep-rooted anxiety about pederasty while not altogether forbidding it?[76] A culture in which attitudes and values ranged from the differing modes of approbation represented in Plato's *Symposium* to the stark realism of Aristophanes and the judgement of Aristotle that homosexuality is a diseased or morbid state acquired by habit and comparable to biting fingernails or habitually eating earth or ashes?[77] A culture is not a homogeneous unity; there was no one "Athenian attitude" towards homoeroticism. The widely differing attitudes and conflicting norms and practices which have been discussed above represent the disagreements, contradictions and anxieties which make up the patterned chaos of a complex culture. They should not be rationalized away. To make them over into a neatly coherent and internally consistent system would only serve to diminish our understanding of the "many-hued" nature of Athenian homosexuality.

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[75] Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 153-9, and cf. *Birds*, 704 f., and *Frogs*, 147.
[76] Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 182 ff., and Xenophon, *Symposium*, 8.35.
[77] Aristotle, *Ethics*, 1148b.



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WHY WERE THE VESTALS VIRGINS? OR THE CHASTITY OF WOMEN AND THE SAFETY OF THE ROMAN STATE

HOLT N. PARKER



Abstract. Why were the Vestals virgins? An explanation drawing on anthropological studies of witchcraft and the work of Giovannini, Girard, and Douglas allows a partial solution to this and three other puzzles: 1) their unique legal status; 2) their murder at moments of political crisis; 3) the odd details of those murders. The untouched body of the Vestal Virgin is a metonymy for the untouched city of Rome. Her unique legal status frees her from all family ties so that she can incarnate the collective. Thus, in times of crisis, she serves as a pharmakos/pharmakon. Equally, Roman society reveals a deep fear of witchcraft directed at its own matrons. Danger to the *urbs* is warded off by the punishment of women, both Vestals and wives, and the foundation of public cults of chastity with admonitory and apotropaic functions. A series of incidents over a thousand-year span reveals a world view deeply rooted in sympathetic magic, where the women embody the state and their inviolability is objectified as the inviolability of the community.

> [The Pontifex Maximus] was also the overseer of the holy virgins who are called Vestals. For they ascribe to Numa also the dedication of the Vestal Virgins and generally the care and worship of the inextinguishable fire which they guard, either because he considered the nature of fire to be pure and uncorrupted and so entrusted it to uncontaminated and undefiled bodies or else because he compared its fruitlessness and sterility to virginity. In fact, in all of Greece wherever there is an inextinguishable fire, as at Delphi and Athens, virgins do not have the care of it but women who are beyond the age of marriage.
>
> (Plutarch, *Numa* 9.5)[1]

PLUTARCH SEEMS PUZZLED. Why did the Vestals have to be virgins? The explanations offered up until recently have tended to be, like Plutarch's own, unsatisfactory. The work of Mary Beard and Ariadne Staples' recent *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins* (1998) represent

[1] Cf. Dion. Hal. 2.66.1

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major advances in our understanding of the cult of the Vestals. I believe we can go even further. By looking to analyses of similar symbolic structures in a variety of cultures, especially in the area of witchcraft, and by drawing on the work of Maureen J. Giovannini, and René Girard, as well as Mary Douglas, we can offer not only an explanation of the specific function of virginity in the cult, but also at least a partial solution to three other puzzles about the priestesses of Vesta. First, what accounts for their unique legal status? Second, how can these women, vital to the religious and magical functioning of the Roman state, be murdered so routinely at moments of political crisis? Third, what accounts for the odd details of those murders?

I also want to go beyond virginity to look at a wider symbolic role played by women's chastity. Feminine virtue was used in antiquity as a sign of the moral health of the commonwealth as commonly as it is today.[2] However, for Rome the connection was not merely a rhetorical commonplace but a mythical and historical reality. There is a running theme[3] wherein two specific charges of sexual impurity in women—violation of virginity in the Vestals, and adultery in wives—were made responsible for danger to the state. This series of strange incidents, spanning a thousand years of Roman history, reveals a world-view deeply rooted in sympathetic magic, where women in their strictly limited societal roles embodied the state, and the inviolability and control of women was objectified as the inviolability and control of the community.[4]

PREVIOUS WORK

Most previous work on the Vestal Virgins has focused not on the function of the cult but on its form. Apart from George Dumézil and a few others, there has been little effort directed at an explanation of the cult's social functions and ideological purposes.[5] Instead, scholars have been

[2] For example, Aristotle points to the luxury of Spartan women as revealing an essential weakness in the constitution: *Pol.* 2.6.5–11 (1269b–70a). Cf. Ath. 12.517. For Roman examples: Juv. 6; Livy 1.57.6 (Roman vs. Etruscan); Tac. *Germ.* 19. See Pomeroy 1975, 211–12.

[3] In the anthropological sense as defined by Turner 1985, 57: "a postulate or position . . . usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted."

[4] An Appendix lists the chronology and sources.

[5] For criticism of previous work, see Dumézil 1970, 1.311–26; Beard 1980 (esp. 15–16), 1995 (a self-criticism); Staples 1998, 135–38 (and 182, n. 13, for some of Beard's previous positions).

absorbed in etymological speculation about its putative origin in the domestic structures of the early kings of Rome. Thus the question most often posed about the Vestals is whether they reflected the daughters or the wives of a supposed original royal household (Beard 1995, 167).

Three brief points should be made about what we may call the "paleontological" approach to the study of religion. First, the preoccupation with origins conceals a methodological bias. This search, though interesting in itself, is firmly rooted in the notion that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. In the sphere of ritual, that is, a rite is taken as primarily an amalgam of earlier rites, while features that seem archaic are explained as "survivals" of an original structure. The nineteenth-century concern with evolution is evident. Second, the search for origins or etymologies does not in itself constitute an explanation of the god, myth, or ritual. The very fact of the "survival" and the reasons for it must be explained. Projecting synchronic facts back onto a diachronic axis simply pushes the explanation a step back. Further, there is considerable range for error in the act of creating a historical event or supposed circumstance out of each individual aspect of a ritual or myth. In particular, this form of historicizing ignores the fact that a myth or rite may not in fact reflect the "survival" of anything but rather may be the narrative or ritual recreation of what the culture assumes or wishes had occurred.[6] Third, the assumption that the origins of the cult must lie in either the daughters of the kings or else their wives shows a desire for a monolithic explanation for the features of the Vestals and obscures the fact that the rituals and persons of the cult of Vesta, as in others, are overdetermined and multivalent.

The emphasis on the putative origins of the cult has led to an obscuring of the role of the cult. This is all the more surprising in the face of the fact that the symbolic role of the Vestal Virgins was the aspect to which the ancient texts gave the greatest prominence and explicitly labeled the most important. Oddly enough then, little emphasis had been placed on the fact that the Vestals had to be intact virgins. The usual explanations were that their pure state represented that of the original royal daughters who tended the household fire before their marriage or, among those who held that the Vestal Virgins came from the king's wife

[6] This idea of a "creative era," familiar from the Australian Aborigines' "dream time," has found its principal proponent in Eliade 1954 and 1961. For a brief outline and criticism, see Kirk 1974, 63–66. For its application to the status of women in various societies and myths, see Bamberger 1974.

or wives, some kind of more generalized sexual purity.[7] The first is clearly inadequate. The emphasis of the sources and the symbolism of the cult are not those of youth or girlish innocence but of absolute physical virginity. Virginity as merely a characteristic of youth is clearly inapplicable to Vestals, whose term of service, though beginning at ages six to ten (Gel. 1.12.1), was thirty years and frequently life long (Dion. Hal. 1.76.3, 2.67.2). Beard rightly criticized the second explanation (1980, 15–16):

> It is unacceptable special pleading to suggest that the virginity of the Vestal was merely representative of a very generalized form of chastity, comparable to the *pudicitia* of the Roman matron. Throughout all the ancient sources which deal with the priesthood great stress is laid on the physical virginity of the women and their total abstinence from sexual intercourse during their thirty years or more in the college.

It is true one needed to be sexually pure to perform many rites in both Greek and Roman religion,[8] but sexual purity and virginity are not identical, and Plutarch (*Numa* 9.5, quoted above) pointed out that virginity is not everywhere required or indeed even the norm. So we may ask with Plutarch, why virgins? If the Vestals represented the wives of the early kings, why was not the pure flame in charge of virtuous matrons, *univirae*, or widows? If the Vestals represented the original young (and hence virginal) daughters of the early kings of Rome tending the royal fire, why was not the cult of Vesta confined to young girls?[9] For an answer we must look to the symbolic functions of the Vestal Virgins and of virginity itself.

THE VIRGINITY OF THE VESTALS

Our understanding of the symbolic role of the Vestals was greatly advanced by Mary Beard's 1980 paper "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," in which she carefully elucidated the fusion of aspects of the two categories of "virgin" and "matron" in the Vestals.[10] More recently, Ariadne

[7] For the first idea, see Hommel 1972, 403–5, 415–17; for the second, see Guizzi 1968, 113.

[8] See Rose 1926, 442–43, who relates the virginity of the Vestals to this notion.

[9] Cf. the *kanephoroi* for Athena or the *arktoi* for Artemis Brauronia (Thuc. 6.56–58; Arist. *Const. Athens* 18; Ar. *Lys.* 641–45).

[10] One of the purposes of this paper is to follow Beard's recently expressed desire (1995) to see how vestal virginity functioned within the play of gender at Rome. Her wish

Staples' *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins* (1998) presented an insight fundamental to a correct interpretation of their role and cult. In brief: the primary role of the Vestal Virgin was to be an embodiment of the city and citizenry of Rome.[11] I have reached similar conclusions by a different route, that of cultural anthropology. Staples' work rightly returns our focus from putative origin to actual function. This symbolic role of the absolute virginity of the Vestal Virgins was the aspect to which the ancient texts gave the greatest prominence and which they explicitly labeled the most important. The Vestals' embodiment of the city of Rome is clear throughout the sources.

Whether or not the cult of Vesta originated in the household of the Roman kings, one fact must be emphasized: from the beginning of the historical record it was not a private but a public cult.[12] The role of Vesta herself in symbolizing Rome is abundantly clear. She was the hearth and heart of Rome.[13] She stood literally at the center of the city and served to bind the city together. The common hearth and the common wall together signified the unity of Rome.[14] The goddess' official title was *Vesta publica populi Romani Quiritium*.[15] The historians appealed to Vesta to demonstrate the impossibility of abandoning Rome.[16] For the poets, Vesta was the metonym for Rome.[17]

Equally clear is the role of Vesta's priestesses. The Vestals were "taken" in a complex ceremony whose formula stressed their service to

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to subject these categories themselves to analysis is a major concern of most feminist anthropology. For cross-cultural examples, see below. See Staples 1998 (esp. 182, n. 13) for a criticism of some of Beard's previous positions.

[11] Staples 1998, 129–30, 135, 137, 143.

[12] As Brelich (1949, 9) points out, "We know nothing of a cult of Vesta that is older than the public Roman cult, whether it is at Rome or elsewhere"; cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1931, I, 158; so too Koch 1958, 1762. The cult of Vesta was *sacra publica*, rites performed for the Roman people as a whole, rather than *sacra privata*, private or household rites. Further features of public cult are that the temples or buildings stood on public land which had been made sacred (*locus sacer*) by the Roman people (or later the emperor) and that the cult was funded from the state treasury. For this distinction, see Beard, North, and Price 1998, 251; Rüpke 2001, 26–31.

[13] Dumézil 1970, 1.315: "The continuous fire of the *aedes Vestae*, the *ignis Vestae*, is indeed the hearth of Rome, and hence one of the guarantees of the city's being rooted in earth, of its permanence in history." Cf. Koch 1958, 1737.

[14] Dion. Hal. 2.66.1; Wissowa 1925, 247–53.

[15] See Wissowa 1912, 158; 1925, 247–48; Koch 1958, 1766, for examples.

[16] E.g., Livy 5.52.6–7.

[17] Hor. *Odes* 3.5.11–12; Verg. *A*. 1.292.

the Roman people.[18] The Vestals prayed for the people of Rome.[19] Cicero ordained that the Vestal Virgins guard the public hearth of the city.[20] Their temple was explicitly open to all by day, though shut to men at night.[21] Their *penus* was the storehouse of the state, holding not merely state documents, but also the Palladium, the "guarantee of Roman power."[22] The Vestals tended the eternal fire, whose extinction was not just unlucky, but a grave prodigy, specifically said to presage the destruction of the city.[23] Rome, said Horace, would stand "as long as the pontifex climbs the Capitoline beside the silent Virgin."[24]

It is here that we can seek the symbolic function of the Vestal's virginity. Just as she embodied the city of Rome, so her unpenetrated body was a metaphor for the unpenetrated walls of Rome. This is manifest from the ancient sources. The powers of a Vestal were coterminous with the city walls.[25] Pliny the Elder (*NH* 28.13) stated: "We still believe that our Vestals root to the spot fugitive slaves, if they have not yet left the city" (cf. Dio 48.19.4). Their lives and deaths were bound by the limits of the city. Vestal Virgins were given the honor of burial within the *pomerium* (Serv. *Aen.* 11.206), most strikingly even when they were buried alive after being convicted of unchastity (see below). However, the Vestal's virginity was more than merely the symbol of the inviolability of Rome. It was also the guarantee. The whole state depended on the state of being whole. The Vestals did not just hold the repositories of the state; they were the repositories of the state.

[18] Aul. Gell. *NA* 1.12.14: "sacerdotem Vestalem, quae sacra faciat, quae ius siet sacerdotem Vestalem facere pro populo Romano Quiritibus" ("As a priestess of Vesta, to perform the rites that it is right for a priestess of Vesta to perform for the Roman people, the citizens").

[19] Cic. *Font.* 48; Hor. *Odes* 1.2.26–28; Gell. *NA* 1.12.14; Symm. *Ep.* 10.3.14; Cic. *Haur.* 37: *pro populo Romano*. Cf. "Expositio Totius Mundi" in *Geographi Latini Minores*, ed. A. Riese (1878; rpt. 1964), 120.12–13: "quae sacra deorum pro salute civitatis secundum antiquorum morem perficiunt" (dating to c. 350–53 C.E., ibid. xxx).

[20] *Leg.* 2.8.19–9.22.

[21] Dion. Hal. 2.66.5; Lact. *Inst.* 3.20.4; cf. Ov. *Fasti* 6.254.

[22] *pignus imperii Romani*: Fest. 296L; see Wissowa 1912, 159. Livy 28.11; Serv. *Aen.* 7.188. Porcius Latro (Sen. *Cont.* 1.3.1) also called Vesta the *Romani imperii pignus*.

[23] Dion. Hal. 2.67.5.

[24] *Odes* 3.30.8–9: *dum Capitolium / scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex*.

[25] So rightly Swartz 1941, 42, and n. 148; Koch 1958, 1735–36. Cf. Dion. Hal. 2.66.1.

ROME AND MEDITERRANEAN ANTHROPOLOGY

The roles of women as symbolic counters in men's codes of honor and the special function of virginity within those codes have been a major concern in what has come to be called "Mediterranean Anthropology."[26] Maureen J. Giovannini's observations (1981) on the function of Woman as Sign in symbolizing and mediating various aspects of the family can help us in understanding this complex of contradictory ideas. Giovannini identified six archetypal categories into which women were placed by the citizens of the Sicilian town that she calls "Garre." At the center is the pair *la Vergine* (the Virgin) and *la Mamma* (the Mother), representing woman in her two societally sanctioned roles, unpenetrated and penetrated. Each has an anti-type: *la Puttana* (the Whore) and *la Madrigna* (the Step- or Anti-mother). On the supernatural level, just as *la Madonna* unites the beneficent aspects of woman, so *la Strega* (the Witch) unites the figures of *la Puttana* and *la Madrigna*. The honor of the family is synonymous with the chastity of its women, who, because of their inherent vice of feminine sexual weakness, are in constant danger of becoming whores and adulteresses.[27] For *la Vergine*, Giovannini notes (1981, 412):

> Her physical intactness is also viewed as a sign that her family possesses the unity and strength necessary to protect its patrimony. . . . As family member, *la Vergine* can synecdochically (part for whole) convey the message that her family is a viable entity with its boundaries intact. . . . *la Vergine*'s (and, as we shall later discover, *la Puttana*'s) corporal being constitutes a kind of cognitive map for the family unit by concretely representing the boundaries of this social group along with its internal unity.[28]

[26] See Peristiany 1965; Schneider 1971; Schneider and Schneider 1976; Davis 1977; Pitt-Rivers 1977 (esp. 126–71); Brandes 1980; Gilmore 1987. For critical surveys, see Brandes 1987; Giovannini 1987.

[27] The fear of women's unquenchable lust is of course an ancient one; see, e.g., Hes. *WD* 695–705; *Theog.* 590–612; for two catalogues, see Prop. 3.19; Ovid *AA* 1.275–342. For a Mediterranean anthropological perspective, see also Mernissi 1975, 4, 10, 16; Fallers and Fallers 1976, 258–59.

[28] See also the pioneering analysis of Hastrup 1978. This symbolism is not, of course, confined to Mediterranean societies. A well-known example is the Samoan *taupou* (*taupo*) described by Mead and others. The *taupou* was a girl of high rank whose virginity was religiously preserved in order to exchange her in marriage with another village (the system was already passing in Mead's day). Mead says, "The prestige of the village is inextricably bound up with the high repute of the *taupo* and few young men in the village would dare

For ancient Rome, the cult of Vesta was the symbol for the unity of all families. Hence Giovannini's analysis applies not merely to the individual units but to the Roman state as a collective. Mary Douglas' remarks on the use of the human body as a microcosm of the social order in various societies, especially those with strong witchcraft beliefs, relate directly to the symbolic value of the Vestal Virgin (1970, viii–ix):

> The group is likened to the human body; the orifices are to be carefully guarded to prevent unlawful intrusions. . . . The most fundamental assumptions about the cosmos and man's place in nature are coloured by the socially appropriate image of the human body. . . . The idea of a cherished bodily form vulnerable to attack from without tends to be transferred from one context to another. It can serve as a theory of misfortune by pinning blame on hidden enemies of society; it can serve as a guide to action, requiring the enemies to be unmasked and disabled. . . . Injustice can be rectified merely by purging the system of internal traitors allied with outside enemies. . . . Bodily symbolism in the witch fearing cosmology is endlessly rich and varied, but always the emphasis is on valuing the boundaries, guarding the orifices, avoiding improper mixtures.

MAGICAL VIRGINITY

The Vestal was not merely a mode of representation. She was also a symbol that could be manipulated. Archaic Roman religion was based on and steeped in magical practice.[29] By "magical practice" I mean that technology of analogy as defined by Tambiah: "Magical acts . . . constitute 'performative' acts by which a property is imperatively transferred to a recipient object or person on an analogical basis."[30] Magic, since Frazer, has traditionally been divided between the imitative and the contagious. In imitative magic, the law of similarity applies: "like produces like"; in contagious magic, the law of contiguity applies: "objects which have been in contact, but since ceased to be so, continue to act on each other at a distance" (Frazer 1991, 1: 52). The Vestal, who preserved the inviolability of Rome by preserving the inviolability of her body, exemplifies both

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to be her lovers. Marriage to them is out of the question, and their companions would revile them as traitors rather than envy them such doubtful distinction" (Mead 1928, 100). For later treatments (and the controversy engendered), see Holmes 1987, 79–80, 97, 100–101; Shankman 1996.

[29] See inter alia, Fowler 1922, 47–67; recent articles in Meyer and Mirecki 1995.

[30] Tambiah 1985, 60, drawing on Austin's *How to Do Things with Words*.

forms of magic and indeed shows their overlap and a certain arbitrariness in the distinction. Imitative magic is perhaps better characterized as metaphoric (*similia similibus*): as she remained *integra*, so did the city. The Vestal's body served as the microcosm of the city.

Again, this is abundantly clear from the ancient sources. The Vestal must be not merely a virgin but physically perfect in every respect. The potential candidate was examined by the Pontifex Maximus to guarantee this. Both parents must be living, and neither she nor her father emancipated, since this would make her technically an orphan and hence imperfect.[31] Her parents' marriage must have been perfect. Neither of them could be divorced or ex-slaves or found to have engaged in *negotia sordida*. Should she fall sick, she must be removed from the *aedes Vestae* and cared for outside the holy area by a married woman (Pliny 7.19.1). Most importantly, as we have noted, her life and powers were circumscribed by the walls of the city.

Contagious magic, on the other hand, is metonymic or synecdochic: "The part is to the whole as the image is to the represented object."[32] The Vestal represents not only the idealized role of Woman—a fusion of the archetypal roles of *la Vergine* and *la Mamma* into the figure of *la Madonna*[33]—but also the citizen body as a whole.[34] Many cities are symbolized by women. Athens, symbolized and guarded by the virgin goddess Athena, is an obvious parallel but does not supply an explanation for the choice of a female virgin to represent a citizen body composed of men and their dependents. Pomeroy points towards an answer: "Since a virgin belongs to no man, she can incarnate the collective, the city: she can belong to everyone" (1975, 210). This insight, however, is incorrect in one important respect: an ordinary virgin in Roman law does belong to a man—she belongs to her father. Accordingly, for a virgin to incarnate the collective, she must be extraordinary. She must be freed not only from her father but also from all possible and catalogued forms of familial tie.

[31] Gell. *NA* 1.12; Gaius 1.133; Fronto 149 (Naber); cf. Sen. *Cont.* 1.2. See Gardner 1986, 22; Staples 1998, 138–40. This does not appear to be the case for all priests: see Morgan 1974; but cf. Sen. *Cont.* 4.2; Dio. Hal. 2.21.3; Plut. *QR* 73; Wissowa 1912, 491, n. 3.

[32] Mauss 1972, 12. Cf. Giovannini's remarks on *la Vergine* as synecdoche for the family, quoted above, p. 569.

[33] Cf. the analyses of Beard 1980 and Cornell 1981, 27; cf. Giovannini 1981, 416.

[34] Staples 1998, 130, 143.

LEGAL STATUS

In the past the legal status of the Vestal Virgin has not been correctly conceptualized, since it has been approached almost entirely from a purely descriptive point of view.[35] Her unique legal status should be viewed less as a mark of respect than as a magical function making it possible for her to incarnate the collective. Once the ritual and symbolic purpose of the laws is considered, the legal status and consequences of that status are very clear. Gardner summarizes (1986, 25):

> The oddities of her position seem rather to arise from her position as one in charge of a worship central to the state and not belonging to any one family in the state. She was taken out of her family, with certain legal consequences, but she did not cease to be a woman.[36]

It is necessary to go further. She was taken out of her family and not added to any other. Moreover, she was not just in charge of a worship central to the state; she was also the embodiment of that state. She did not cease to be a woman, but she ceased to be like any other woman.

Roman society was governed by a strict series of exogamic rules, and the principle of Woman as Sign is more visible there than in many other cultures.[37] The exchange of women to seal interfamilial bonds and political ties was a marked feature of Roman society.[38] Thus, if the Vestal Virgin was to represent the society as a whole, she must be exterior to all families. Since a basic principle of Roman law was that a woman always belonged to someone, the procedure to free the Vestals from ownership was both complex and comprehensive. The first step in the process was to exempt the Vestal initiate from the power of her father (*patria potestas*). Since this was normally accomplished by *coemptio*, a form of sale that merely placed her in someone else's power, she was specifically said not

[35] For a full description, see Guizzi 1968, 159–200. My analysis differs from that offered by Staples 1998, 138–43.

[36] Cf. Hallett 1984, 126–27, though I do not accept the suggestion that the lack of *patria potestas* and *tutela* are a regal survival.

[37] See Cowie 1978 and the succinct statement by Arthur 1973, 24.

[38] The anthropological idea of the exchange of women (first articulated by Lévi-Strauss in 1949) has had a profound effect on feminist anthropology (Rubin 1975; Lerner 1986, 46–49; Strathern 1988 (esp. 311–16); Klindienst 1991, 40–42) and literary theory (Irigaray 1985). It has had little impact on Roman studies, where exchange is viewed narrowly in terms of "politics." Dixon (1992, 42–43) rightly draws attention to the suspicion that arises from the exchange of women but explains their marginality primarily in economic terms.

to have undergone emancipation, which normally simply passed a woman into the *tutela* of her nearest male relative. She was then freed from any form of *tutela* but uniquely without loss of status (*capitis minutio*), i.e., without falling into the *manus* of any other man.[39] Though she was under the formal discipline of the Pontifex Maximus, who could scourge her for minor offenses, he exercised neither *patria potestas* nor *tutela* over her.[40] Thus the complex legal procedure prevented her from being an orphan while still guaranteeing that legally and religiously she had no family. She was completely removed from her agnatic family and yet did not pass to the ownership of any other family.

A Roman woman existed legally only in relation to a man.[41] A woman's legal status was based entirely on this fact. The act of freeing a Vestal from any man so that she was free to incarnate all men removed her from all conventional classifications. Thus she was unmarried and so not a wife; a virgin and so not a mother; she was outside *patria potestas* and so not a daughter; she underwent no *emancipatio*, no *coemptio* and so not a ward.[42]

This unique status entailed a number of consequences. Since she had no family, she no longer inherited property nor did she leave property to her family if she died intestate. Rather than her property reverting to the *gens*, as would be the case for an intestate woman freed by ordinary emancipation, it reverted to the state, of which she was the embodiment.[43] As a free agent, she necessarily acquired the right to dispose of her property by will and acquired the right to be a witness.[44] It

[39] XII Tables apud Gaius 1.144–45, 3.114; Paul. 70; Gell. *NA* 1.12.9; Plut. *Numa* 10; cf. Ambr. *De virg.* 1.4.15; *Ep.* 1.18.11.

[40] Plut. *Numa* 9–10; Dio. Hal. 2.67.3; Livy 28.11.6; Obseq. 8; Fest. 94L; Lyd. *de mens.* frg. 6 (180.4W). For discussions, see Koch 1958, 1741–42; Guizzi 1968, 113, 143–44; Mommsen 1887, 2: 54–57; 1899, 18–20, 21, n. 2; Cornell 1981, 30; Staples 1998, 152, 183, n. 39; contra Wissowa 1912, 158, n. 7.

[41] Gardner 1986, 5–80, for an overview of the law of status.

[42] This is not to say that despite her legal and religious status, a Vestal would not have felt emotionally part of her birth family, still tied by affective bonds to father, mother, and siblings, or that she could not be acted upon as a member of that family, both by friends (cf. Cic. *Font.* 26–28) and political enemies (so the cases of Licinia and Fabia). Likewise, since her term of service, though long, was limited, considerations of the benefits accruing to her agnatic family might have played a part. See Hallett 1984, 83–90; Gruen 1968, 127–32; Herrmann 1964, 42–43; Staples 1998, 144.

[43] Labeo quoted by Gell. *NA* 1.12.18.

[44] Will: Gell. *NA* 1.12.9; Cic. *Rep.* 3.10; Gaius 1.145; Plut. *Numa* 10; cf. Sozom. 1.9. Witness: Gell. *NA* 7.7.3; Tac. *Ann.* 2.34 (cf. 11.32); Plut. *Numa* 8; cf. Cic. *Font.* 21.46; Suet. *Caes.* 1.

is to this unique status that I would assign the "male aspect" that Beard and Dumézil have identified.[45] Her "masculine" rights and privileges were side effects of the act of freeing her from all masculine ownership and not necessarily constructs designed to increase the ambiguity of her classification and thus further mark her out as sacred.[46]

The Vestal was thus the *totem* of Rome, and her sacred character derives from her status as the embodiment of the clan.[47] Her virginity is a type of binding spell familiar from ritual observances in many cultures. A single totemic item is invested with the safety of an individual or state. As long as it remains unharmed so does that which it signifies.[48] For Rome there was, significantly, the Palladium, which the Vestal Virgins guarded and with which they were associated and identified as the "guarantee of Roman power."[49]

Thus, as long as the Vestal remained intact, so did Rome. This symbolic function is explicitly stated. For example, a Vestal's epitaph reads: "The republic saw with good fortune day after day her exceptional discipline in morals and most exact observance of the rituals."[50] Thus the Vestal Aemilia, when the sacred fire went out, prayed to Vesta (Dion. Hal. 2.68.4): "If anything unholy has been done by me, let the pollution of the city be expiated by my punishment." Most tellingly the Vestal Cornelia, on her way to be buried alive by the order of Domitian, ties the safety of Rome explicitly to her virginity and reveals the underlying magical logic: "Does Caesar think that I have been unchaste, when he has conquered and triumphed while I have been performing the rites!"[51]

[45] Beard 1980, 15, 17–18. Cf. Dumézil 1970, 2.587.

[46] So rightly Koch 1958, 1734: "Als freie Persönlichkeit besitzt die Vestalin sodann das *ius testimonii dicendi*"; Staples 1998, 143. The same is true of the right to make a will. The lictors who accompany the Vestals (Plut. *Numa* 10.3: an ancient right; Dio 48.19.4: first in 42 B.C.E.) are not a specifically masculine privilege but an extra-legal honor accorded several functionaries. See Staples 1998, 145.

[47] Cf. Durkheim's definition of the totem (1915, 123): "The species of things which serves to designate the clan collectively" and his analysis of the symbolic value of the totem (235–72).

[48] In Greek mythology, famous examples are Achilles' heel, Nisus' purple lock of hair, Meleager's log. See Faraone 1992 for a survey.

[49] See n. 22.

[50] Dessau 4932: "cuius egregiam morum disciplinam et in sacris peritissimam operationem merito res publica in dies feliciter sensit."

[51] Pliny 4.11.7: "me Caesar incestam putat, qua sacra faciente vicit triumphavit!"

THE SACRIFICE OF THE VESTAL VIRGIN: A THEORETICAL OUTLINE

The question now arises: how can a people sacrifice its symbol? How can the incarnation of the state be ritually murdered? Burkert's explanation for the sacrifice of a virgin in his reconstruction of prehistoric ritual (and perhaps in Greek myth) will not do. He proposes that: "Man declines love in order to kill: this is most graphically demonstrated in the slaughter of 'the virgin'.... In the period of preparation, maiden-sacrifice is the strongest expression of the attempt to renounce sexuality" (1983, 64). However, there is no necessity for "virginity" in a renunciation of sexuality. Further, there is nothing in the Roman ritual of the sacrifice of the Vestal Virgin to show the connection that Burkert proposed between maiden sacrifice and hunting or preparation for warfare (as distinct from the threat of external warfare).

Rather, to summarize what the Roman sources (cited below) make clear, the sacrifice of a Vestal Virgin was the sacrifice of a scapegoat in both the popular and the ritual sense. For it is important to note that the sacrifice of a Vestal Virgin is a ritual, a precisely delineated social construction.

René Girard's careful exploration of the roles and patterns of sacrifice (1977) can aid in isolating elements and functions of the ritual sacrifice of the Vestal Virgin.[52] In turn, by using the society of ancient Rome as a source of anthropological data, we can cast light on and make some corrections to Girard's theory. Certain features of his analysis illuminate the sacrifice of the Vestal Virgins. A summary of his complex ideas may be presented under the two headings of the nature of the sacrifice and the nature of the victim.

For all societies, says Girard, the greatest danger is that of unchecked reciprocal violence.[53] As the cycle of violence increases, the society reaches a "sacrificial crisis" (Girard 1977, 39, 52), which can be, almost miraculously, resolved by further violence but of a specifically controlled type, namely sacrifice. In sacrifice, "society is seeking to deflect upon a relatively indifferent victim, a 'sacrificeable' victim, the violence that would otherwise be vented on its own members" (4). Through

[52] See the special volume of *Helios* (Golsan 1990) devoted to Girard; see also Golsan 1993; Hamerton-Kelly 1987; Dumouchel 1988; McKenna 1992; Reineke 1997, 128–60.

[53] Homer, Hesiod, and especially Greek tragedy show a heightened awareness of this. Girard curiously does not discuss the *Oresteia* and only mentions Aeschylus in passing (1977, 46). For the Roman sources (e.g., Livy 1.2; Dion. Hal. 9.40–41), see text.

sacrifice and the sacrificial victim, improper violence is channeled into proper violence. All are united in this single act, which Girard defines as "the sacred" (30–31).

For sacrifice to work in this way, it is essential that the violence be unanimous (13). Anyone left outside is a potential avenger, a source of new violence. As Girard says, "Such an attitude requires absolute faith in the guilt of the surrogate victim" (83). To restate Girard's thesis, no victim is ever sacrificed and then found not to have been guilty.[54]

For Rome, we may note in the historical record the total lack of any protest against the sacrifice of a Vestal Virgin, even from the Vestal's family.[55] Pliny's eyewitness account of the murder of Cornelia is revealing. Though Pliny hated Domitian, was deeply suspicious of his motives for attacking the Vestal, and denounced the illegality of her trial and execution, he could not bring himself to believe that the charge was utterly without foundation. He was able only to go as far as writing: "I don't know whether she was innocent, but she certainly acted as if she were innocent."[56]

Further, to eliminate the possibility of a new cycle of revenge, the sacrificial act must be sharply marked off from any non-sacred act of violence; the nature of the sacrifice must be in some form, as Girard says, "disguised": "A properly conducted ritual killing is never openly linked to another bloodletting of irregular character" (Girard 1977, 41). The murder of the Vestal was a precise form of sanctioned human sacrifice: violence broke out in a predictable pattern, and the sequence of events that led to the accusation of a Vestal was as formalized as the details of her trial and execution.[57]

It is clear that the victims in Girard's analysis must possess a very stringent set of qualities if their deaths are to unite the society in a unanimous act of sacrifice. First, since "sacrifice is primarily an act of violence without risk of vengeance," all sacrificial victims "are invariably distinguished from the nonsacrificeable beings by one essential characteristic:

[54] Seneca's *Cont.* 1.3, though a fictional case only loosely based on the laws surrounding the Vestal Virgins, is a clear demonstration of this point.

[55] The only recorded protest comes from Cornelia as she is led to death. However, it is clear that the accused Vestal could speak in her own defense at her trial before the Pontiff; see Macr. *Sat.* 1.10.5.

[56] 4.11.8: "nescio an innocens, certe tamquam innocens ducta est." This unquestioning assumption of guilt is something that Pliny shares with many modern historians.

[57] Dion. Hal. 2.67.4; Plut. *Numa* 10; *QR* 96; *Ti. Gr.* 15.6; Dio. apud Zonar. 7.8.7; Cato frg. 68M; Cic. *Har. Resp.* 13; Pliny 4.11.6–11.

between these victims and the community a crucial social link is missing, so they can be exposed to violence without fear of reprisal. Their death does not automatically entail an act of vengeance" (Girard 1977, 13). However, the exact opposite must also be simultaneously true. Since the victim "is a substitute for all the members of the community, offered up by the members themselves," the victim must also be similar to and part of the community it represents. Therefore, says Girard, "The proper functioning of the sacrificial process requires not only the complete separation of the sacrificial victim from those beings for whom the victim is a substitute but also a similarity. This dual requirement can be fulfilled only through a delicately balanced mechanism of associations" (39). Anthropological data reveal that the human victims share a common status (12):

> [They] are either outside or on the fringes of society: prisoners, slaves, pharmakos. . . . What we are dealing with, therefore, are exterior or marginal individuals, incapable of establishing or sharing the social bonds that link the rest of the inhabitants. Their status . . . prevents these future victims from fully integrating themselves into the community.

Following this pattern, the Vestal Virgin is both interior and exterior. She is the child of citizens, originally confined to the upper classes, perfect to represent the whole citizenry.[58] Yet at the same time she is carefully segregated, legally removed from all familial ties, as outlined above.

Likewise the victim must be innocent—for vengeance on a guilty party may lead to another act of vengeance—and at the same time guilty, since only a collective belief in guilt can guarantee the necessary unanimity (Girard 1977, 77). Ritual measures are taken in order to increase the future victim's guilt. The victim is frequently charged with the most hideous crimes, violating the society's most basic taboos, notably incest (104–6).[59] I use the words "charged with" in two senses. One way of charging the victims with magical power (the familiar Polynesian *mana*) is to force the members of the group of potential victims to violate taboos (as done by the kings in various African cultures). The other is its opposite: a strict and compulsive guard on the victims but with the purpose of holding the

[58] Including plebeians. Difficulties in recruiting led Augustus to make daughters of freedmen eligible: Dio 55.22.5.

[59] See also Girard's remarks at 1986, 15. Cf. the increase in sacred value (*kapu*) when a Hawaiian king married his sister: Radcliffe-Brown 1979, 50.

victims all the more guilty for violating these taboos. Thus the Vestals were bound by a complex series of duties and prohibitions. The lesser violations were punishable by a scourging from the Pontifex Maximus, but the most awesome violation, accusation of the loss of virginity, was by burial alive.

THE VESTAL VIRGIN AS VICTIM

The Vestal Virgin thus provides a perfect example of the *pharmakos*, as known from Greece, as described by Frazer, and as analyzed by Girard.[60] Even as she was a physically perfect priestess, so she could become a sacrificially perfect victim. However, Girard notes a striking exception in his description of the marginality of the victim (1977, 12):

> It is clearly legitimate to define the difference between sacrificeable and nonsacrificeable individuals in terms of their degree of integration, but such a definition is not yet sufficient. In many cultures women are not considered full-fledged members of their society; yet women are never, or rarely, selected as sacrificial victims.[61]

This statement is not only contradicted by the analogous worlds of myth and Greek tragedy to which Girard applies his theory but also by a wide range of cross-cultural data.[62] He has neglected, in particular, evidence from anthropological discussions of witchcraft (see below).[63] Girard, however, offers an argument for his exclusion of women (1977, 12–13):

> There may be a simple explanation for this fact. The married woman retains her ties with her parents' clan even after she has become in some respects the property of her husband and his family.[64] To kill her would be to run the risk of one of the two groups' interpreting her sacrifice as an act of murder committing it to a reciprocal act of revenge.

[60] See also Bremmer 1983.

[61] The blindness to the role of women continues in many of his explicators. There is a near total absence of women in, e.g., Hamerton-Kelly 1987; Dumouchel 1988; and McKenna 1992.

[62] See, however, his remarks on Dionysus and Euripides' *Bacchae* (1977, 141–42): "Like the animal and the infant, but to a lesser degree, the woman qualifies for sacrificial status by reason of her weakness and relatively marginal social status. That is why she can be viewed as a quasi-sacred figure, both desired and disdained, alternatively elevated and abused." See also the recent interview in Golsan 1993, esp. 141–43.

[63] Brief remarks at Hamerton-Kelly 1987, 86–88, 94.

[64] Not so, of course, in a variety of cultures, but this is exactly the case for virilocal and patrilineal Rome. See Parker 1998, 154–55.

Girard need not have confined himself to married women. The deaths of women in their role as daughters are equally subject to revenge.[65] To restate, though Girard does not use these terms, the role of Woman as Sign makes the use of Woman as Sacrifice dangerous. Women, however, are the most obviously sacrificeable class of victims; indeed they are the perfect victims. Better than any other group, they have been endowed with the marginality crucial to sacrifice. Yet it appears they cannot easily be sacrificed. Girard's own remarks point the way to the solution that culture after culture has found. If Woman as Sign prevents her use as victim, she must be made to be a sign for something else; she must be exempted from vengeance and removed completely from all social bonds.

Thus, the special status of the Vestal Virgin made it possible for her to be this perfect victim. The sacrifice of the Vestal Virgin reveals a deeply rooted cultural technology of the *pharmakos*. The magical ways of thinking are evident from the sources. A single example may suffice. Livy (2.42.9–11) described the sacrifice of the Vestal Oppia in 483 B.C.E.:

> Bellum inde Veiens initum, et Volsci rebellarunt. sed ad bella externa prope supererant vires, abutebanturque iis inter semet ipsos certando. accessere ad aegras iam omnium mentes prodigia caelestia, prope cotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas; motique ita numinis causam nullam aliam vates canebant publice privatimque nunc extis nunc per aves consulti, quam haud rite sacra fieri. qui terrores tandem eo evasere ut Oppia virgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit.
>
> War with Veii then broke out and the Volsci resumed hostilities. Roman resources were almost more than sufficient for war against an external enemy, but they were squandered by the Romans fighting among themselves. Adding to everyone's mental anxiety were heavenly prodigies, occurring in Rome and the countryside, which showed the anger of the gods almost daily. The prophets, after consulting first the entrails and then the birds about both the public and the private omens, announced that there was no other reason for the gods being so moved, except that the sacred rites were not being performed correctly. These terrors finally resulted in the Vestal Virgin Oppia being condemned for *incestum* and executed.

Note the flat narrative tone, the logical sequence of events. Girard writes (1977, 33): "Whenever violence threatens, ritual impurity is present." As Livy and the other sources make clear, this magical law is both resultative and causal. The logic runs: We are in trouble; therefore, the rites designed

[65] So for Verginia, one of the founding legends of Rome (Livy 3.4–54).

to protect us are not being performed properly; therefore, those entrusted with those rites have betrayed us; therefore, the way to restore safety is to sacrifice those who have betrayed us.[66]

VESTAL VIRGIN AS WITCH

Throughout his work, in my opinion, Girard overemphasizes the role of internal violence at the expense of external threats. Here the Roman data can qualify his broad formulations. As various historians ancient and modern have noted, the sacrifice of the Vestal Virgin occurs primarily in times of "extreme religious hysteria and political crisis."[67] The crisis, however, is not exclusively one of internal dissension but also external military threat (see Appendix). As an example, note the emphasis that Livy places on both elements in his account of the sacrifice of Oppia.

Girard, however, rightly links internal and external threats by identifying an element of "betrayal." Girard writes on African magicians (1977, 261):

> As soon as the community becomes aware of a backlash of violence, it will shift the responsibility to those who led it into temptation, the manipulators of sacred violence. They will be accused of having betrayed a community to which they only half belonged, of having used against this community a power that had always been mistrusted.

Those who work with and are in contact with the sacred are especially likely to become its victims. The primary notion is that of contagion. The fear of the contaminated insider abetting an external enemy is crucial to the thinking of many societies, and anthropological analysis of witchcraft can help illuminate how this fear manifested itself in Rome as well. Thus, Philip Mayer in a famous article describes the witch as "The Traitor within the Gates" (1970, 60):

> The figure of the witch, clearly enough, embodies those characteristics that society specially disapproves. The values of the witch directly negate the values of society. . . . However, I think that another or a more particular kind of opposition is also vitally involved. I mean the opposition between "us" and "them." . . . The witch is the figure who has turned traitor to his

[66] For the tone and logic, cf. the narratives in Dion. Hal. 2.68.3, 8.89.3–5, 9.40.

[67] Cornell 1981, 28; cf. Herrmann 1964, 52–53; Hallett 1984, 88, n. 32; Fraschetti 1984, 101; Mustakallio 1992, 56; Staples 1998, 129, 136, 143.

> own group. He has secretly taken the wrong side in the basic societal opposition between "us" and "them." This is what makes him a criminal and not only a sinner.[68]

These remarks cast an important light on the Vestal Virgin.[69] For the Vestal accused of *incestum* was held to be not only a sinner but a criminal as well, and the worst criminal of all: a traitor-*ess*. The specifically feminine form is significant. In undoing herself, she has undone Rome.

I say "undoing herself" in the same sense as "got herself pregnant." For a feature, usually unnoticed or unremarked by both ancients and moderns, is the entirely optional presence of a man. The sequence of events is clear: misfortune results in suspicion of unchastity; unchastity implies a seducer; one is occasionally sought and found. While we know the names of several men executed or exiled for having had intercourse with Vestal Virgins[70] and while such a charge clearly might be used for political purposes,[71] Vestals were most often tried for unchastity quite by themselves with no male codefendants, or (just as revealing) the existence of male corespondents was not considered worthy of record.[72] There

[68] For cross-cultural data, cf. the Amba of western Uganda, who view witches as a secret association within the village, operating as a fifth-column attacking only fellow villagers but sharing reciprocal cannibal feasts with the witches of enemy villages (Winter 1963). So too the Kuma of New Guinea suspect witches of aiding enemy groups (Reay 1959, 136); while the Abelam of New Guinea believe that sorcery is performed by a traitor in one's own village working with an enemy sorcerer (Forge 1970, 257–75, esp. 262–63, and cf. xxvii).

[69] Cf. Douglas on "internal traitors" (1970, ix) and Levine 1982, 271.

[70] So, L. Cantilius with Floronia (Livy 22.57.3), yet no one is accused with Opimia. Veturius (Vetutius) with Aemilia (Oros. 5.15.20–22; Plut. *QR* 83), Valerius Licinianus and Celer with Cornelia (Pliny 4.11), Maximus with Primigenia (Symm. *Ep.* 9.147–48). Fest. 277 L: a general statement that the man who makes a Vestal unchaste (*incestavisset*) is beaten to death. Even when the existence of a man is mentioned his name is seldom given: two men with Oppia (Dion. Hal. 8.89.4) and Orbinia (Dion. Hal. 9.40.3), one with Capparonia (Oros. 4.5.6–9), unknown numbers of *corruptores* and *stupratores* with Oculata and Varronilla (Suet. *Dom.* 8.3–5).

[71] So, for example, the cases of Antonius, Crassus, and Catiline; cf. Elagabalus. These, however, are not my concern in this paper. See Rawson 1991, 149–68; Gruen 1968, 127–32.

[72] So, Postumia (Livy 4.44.11–12) was accused but acquitted merely for dressing too well and being too clever ("propter cultum amoeniorem ingeniumque liberius quam virginem decet"), while Minucia is buried alive on exactly the same grounds (Livy 8.15.7). Aemilia (178 B.C.E.) is accused only on the evidence of the sacred fire being allowed to go out (Dion. Hal. 2.68.3–5; Val. Max. 1.1.7; cf. Livy. *Per.* 41; Obseq. 8); cf. the case of 206 (Livy 28.11.6). Tuccia (Dion. Hal. 2.69.1–3) is accused without even this. No man is mentioned at all for Minucia (337 B.C.E.), Opimia (215 B.C.E.), Sextilia (275 B.C.E.) (Livy *Per.* 14; Oros. 4.2.8) or

is no case recorded of a Vestal Virgin suspected or convicted because she was pregnant nor any case where a Vestal was charged with unchastity because she had been raped.[73] Vestals always sinned willingly. It was necessary for them to do so.

In Giovannini's analysis, just as *la Vergine* serves to mark the family's boundaries, so her anti-type, *la Puttana*, "can act as a synecdoche (part for whole) for her family's weakness in the face of external threats. . . . Also, because she was willingly penetrated, this female figure connotes individual disloyalty to the family. In fact, people commonly referred to such a woman as *una traditura* (a traitor)." Likewise, the supernatural Witch (*la Strega*), who unites Whore and Stepmother, "while actualizing the penetration of *Woman*," is called upon "to represent the uncontrollable forces that undermine family unity."[74]

Thus, the penetrated Vestal Virgin becomes a witch; that is, when a witch was needed, a Vestal was deemed to have been penetrated. Here we see one of the most frequent uses of witchcraft: to protect other value systems. The failure of sacred ritual can be attributed to witchcraft, specifically to betrayal by those very technicians of the sacred whose duty it was to perform the rituals that protect society.[75]

This linking of betrayal and unchastity in the figure of the traitoress (*traditura*) ran deep in the Roman mind. It is an intimate part of the cultural encyclopedia. It features prominently in myth and mythical history (Horatia and Tarpeia) as well as rhetoric and rhetorical history (Sempronia).[76] It is also enshrined in law, which allows the torture of

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for Aurelia Severa, Pomponia Rufina, and Cannutia Crescentia, executed by Caracalla (213 C.E.). See Appendix.

[73] Only the mythical Rhea Silvia is pregnant (Livy 1.4). Nero is accused of raping a Vestal but no further mention of her is made. The event is used to demonstrate his sexual insatiability and impiety rather than as evidence of an impending crisis (Suet. *Nero* 28.1). Thus the lack of virginity in a Vestal is of importance only when a victim is needed. The account in Dio 77.16 fuses two accusations: that Caracalla raped a Vestal and that he put four Vestals to death for unchastity.

[74] Giovannini 1981, 419, 422.

[75] Cf. Mayer's remarks (1970, 52) on the Gusii, a western Kenyan Bantu tribe, and Levine (1982) on the Nyinba, a Tibetan-speaking group in Nepal.

[76] For Horatia, see Livy 1.26; Dion. Hal. 3.21. Cf. the brother's words to his murdered sister: *sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem* (Livy 1.26), with his father's approval and ultimately that of all Roman men. For Tarpeia, see Prop. 4.4, who makes the reason for her betrayal erotic rather than due to feminine greed; so Antigonus of Carystus and the poet Simylus (Plut. *Rom.* 18). See Ogilvie 1965, 74–75, and Burkert 1979, 76. For Sempronia, see Sall. *Cat.* 24–25. An analysis of the adulteress/traitoress/poisoner requires a separate paper. See Currie 1998.

slaves to provide evidence against their masters only for cases of *incestum* and for treason.[77]

THE TRIAL: LEGAL STATUS

The ambiguous legal status of the trial for *incestum* of the Vestal Virgin has excited the curiosity of many commentators. Two divergent views are held: one, that the trial of the Vestal was a purely secular procedure; the other, that it was a purely religious matter. Koch and others have claimed that Roman law had no procedures for dealing with offenses against the gods.[78] This is not precisely correct,[79] but leads them, nevertheless, to view the trial of the Vestal Virgin as a strictly criminal matter, with the Pontifex Maximus exercising a purely judicial and paternal authority in a trial for *incestum* (so Mommsen 1899, 18). Koch believed that the Vestal was held guilty of incest (in the English sense, German *Blutschande*) since all Romans were somehow the brothers of the Vestal.[80] He then likened it to a trial by a father for a daughter's adultery. Koch, however, misunderstood the very nature of the term *incestum*. *Incestum* was not just "incest," nor was it the same as *stuprum* (sexual defilement, which covers adultery and rape).[81] Both familial incest and the Vestal's *incestum* were species of a specific genus of un-chastity, united by the fact that each involved, unlike *stuprum*, not just legal but religious consequences, and so, danger to the state as a whole.[82] Likewise, the trial of a wife

[77] Livy 8.15.7; Cic. *Mil.* 59; Schol. Bob. Cic. 90S; Val. Max. 6.8.1. Cf. Pliny *Panegyr.* 42.3–4; Livy *Per.* 77; Dio 55.5. See Cornell 1981, 34–35 and Buckland 1908, 90–91. Cases involving evidence from slaves (see Appendix): Orbinia in 472 B.C.E. (Dion. Hal. 9.40.3); Minucia in 337 B.C.E. (Livy 8.15.7); Aemilia, Licinia, Marcia in 114 B.C.E. (Plut. *QR* 83; Dio frg. 87.5 B). Note the execution of the *conscii servi* (that is, the slaves who failed to report the crime) with Caparronia (Oros. 44.5.6–9); see discussion by Guizzi 1968, 145–49. Significantly, the Lex Julia expands this to adultery by means of a fictitious sale to the state; Wiedemann 1987, 27. For *incestum*, see below. Cf. Mayer's remarks (1970, 61–62).

[78] Cic. *Leg.* 2.19, 22; Tac. *Ann.* 1.73 (Tiberius: *deorum iniurias dis curae*); *Cod. Just.* 4.1.2. See Koch 1958, 1747; Mommsen 1887, 2: 50–54, 1899, 36–37 (on *Sacraldelict*); Wissowa 1912, 380–409, esp. 388–89; Nock 1972, 2: 531.

[79] As Cornell (1981, 29) points out, "Offenses against the gods, which involved the community as well, such as sacrilege ... were subject to the normal process of criminal law." Further, even purely religious matters could come under non-religious law. See Cornell 1981, 36–37, e.g., the censors could degrade a man for impiety (Cato frg. 72M).

[80] Koch 1958, 1749; 1960, 1–4; cf. Guarino 1943, 177.

[81] See Fantham 1991.

[82] See Guizzi 1968, 143–44, n. 6–7; Ogilvie 1965, 349. For the etymology and meaning, see Fest. 95L, 277L (s.v. *probrum*); Gaius 1.59, 64.

accused of adultery before the family tribunal and the trial of a Vestal accused of *incestum* before the entire pontifical college differed in numerous aspects, most importantly in the unique specification of death by being buried alive.[83]

Wissowa and others, noting the obvious ritual significance of the trial and punishment of a Vestal, argued that these were not criminal procedures at all but the purely religious matter of the discovery and purification of a *prodigium* (*procuratio prodigiorum*).[84] Cornell objects that the unchastity of a Vestal was not in itself a *prodigium* but a crime that a series of *prodigia* served to disclose (1981, 31). This is not quite correct. Rather, it is the case that prodigies give rise to prodigies.[85] The accused Vestal shared with other *prodigia* the essential feature of pollution.[86] She was a contradiction in terms, a penetrated virgin, the impure pure, and so a *miasma*. Like a hermaphrodite, she crossed boundaries that must not be crossed, and so she must be removed and destroyed. The details of her execution were those of the expiation of a prodigy.

Again, each single explanation is inadequate. The crime of the Vestal was neither against the gods alone nor against the Pontifex Maxi-

[83] The laws relating to adultery are notoriously confused, but only the law attributed to Romulus (Dion. Hal. 2.25.6 = *FIRA* 3) makes any mention of a trial (held by the accused's husband and her father's relations). For the trials after the Bacchanalia of 186 B.C.E., see Appendix. The Lex Julia refers not to trial but to summary execution by the father of a daughter caught in the act of adultery. See Rotondi 1912, 443–47; Richlin 1981; Beard 1980, 15, n. 20 (citing Volterra 1948); Cantarella 1976; Cohen 1991. No other crime specifies burial alive and the only analog is the execution of Antigone in Sophocles.

[84] Wissowa 1923–24, 201–14 (esp. 207–8); Nock 1972, 1: 254; Ogilvie 1965, 74, 349; Staples 1998, 133–34.

[85] Cornell (1981, 31) cites Livy 28.11.6–8 for a hard and fast distinction between the prodigies and the act that produces them: "id [a Vestal allowing the fire to go out] quamquam nihil portendentibus dis ceterum neglegentia humana acciderat, tamen et hostiis maioribus procurari et supplicationem ad Vestae haberi placuit." Livy does not, however, mean that all such events are human mistakes rather than portents, but it was so in this particular case. In fact, the proof (within the belief system) that this was *error* and not *incestum* is the very fact that the Vestal was merely scourged and not killed; cf. the case of Tuccia (c. 230 B.C.E.; see Appendix). Likewise, Livy 22.57.2: "territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis [N.B.] tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae," shows that their crime was indeed accounted a *prodigium*, while 22.57.4: "hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset," does not show that "such offenses were *not* normally considered prodigies" (Cornell 1981, 32), but rather that Livy considered himself less credulous than others.

[86] For sacredness and pollution as the characteristics of things that cross classificatory boundaries, see Douglas 1966, esp. 41–57. For the application of this to the sacred character of the Vestal Virgin, see Beard 1980, 20–22.

mus alone. The trial and execution of the Vestal Virgin was unique because it was simultaneously both a religious rite to drive out the pollution of *incestum* and a judicial rite for the punishment of treason.[87] The penetrated virgin was a monster and so must be expiated as a *prodigium*. Yet she sinned willingly and so was a traitor.[88] The trial therefore had two corresponding functions. First, the trial guaranteed the unanimity of the sacrifice, the "absolute faith in the guilt of the surrogate victim."[89] It separated the Vestal Virgin from the community and increased the sacrificially necessary guilt. She was made responsible for all the evils that occurred in the time of crisis, especially sterility of women and diseases of cattle (note the common witchcraft charges).[90] Second, the trial served as the disguise necessary to the proper functioning of the sacred. The Greek and Latin sources themselves carefully distinguished between the execution of the Vestals in 215 and 113 and the sacrifice of the two Greeks and two Gauls along with them (see Appendix). The disguise has worked extraordinarily well. Pliny is not the only one to be unable to convince himself of the possibility of wrongful conviction. Modern authors commenting on the historical texts hold to an oddly naive and credulous style of reporting. The trials and executions of the Vestals are never referred to as—what they so palpably are—human sacrifice.[91]

[87] See Staples 1998, 151–52, for a different explanation.

[88] Koch objects that the Vestal cannot be considered a *prodigium* for this reason (1958, 1748). So too Cornell 1981, 35.

[89] Girard 1977, 83, quoted above.

[90] Mustakallio 1992.

[91] Cf. the comments of Fraschetti 1981, 58. E.g. Dumézil 1970, 2.450: "crime" for the Vestals vs. "quadruple murder" for the Greek and Gaulish couples; Cornell 1981, 28: "punishment" vs. "human sacrifice" and writes, "A confirmed instance of *incestum* was an extremely rare occurrence," without asking by whom and how confirmed. Marshall (1985: 196) thinks Licinia and Marcia's brief escape from death was due to "an obvious coverup." Mustakallio (1992, 63) is able to tell us season of the "crimes": "We may suggest that Orbinia, Sextilia, and even Caparronia had committed their incest crimes in spring time, thus contaminating the fertility and purification rites of this period." Even Staples (1998, 134) merely states that the "execution of Vestals . . . coincides with two of the three known instances of human sacrifice ever recorded in Rome." Porte (1984, 233) is almost alone in calling both "sacrifices humains." Radke is also explicit (1975, 1129): "Sie entsprechen weder der Königin noch Königs- oder Haustöchtern, sondern wurden . . . Mädchenopfer bereitgehalten, wofür Bruch sexuallen Tabus als Motiv galt."

EXECUTION AND BURIAL: THE VESTAL AS *PRODIGIUM*, *PHARMAKOS*, AND *DEVOTIO*

As *Prodigium*: The execution of the Vestal followed the same magical and religious logic as the expiation of a *prodigium*. In each case, as Wissowa notes (1923–24, 209), the first principle was to remove all traces of the *prodigium*. Thus, two oxen that had climbed up the stairs to the roof of a block of flats were burned alive and their ashes scattered in the Tiber (Livy 36.37.2). A boy born with four hands, eyes, ears, and double genitalia was likewise burned and his ashes cast into the sea (Obseq. 25). A person who had changed sex is said by Pliny the Elder to have been left on a desert island (*HN* 7.36). A hermaphrodite was sealed alive in a chest and set adrift at sea.[92] Cornell rightly compares the case of M. Atilius, convicted of revealing parts of the Sibylline books on the testimony of a slave, sealed in a sack and thrown alive into the sea: "The ritual purpose of the *culleus* is clearly to remove all trace of an unholy and polluting object."[93] The goal, however, of such rituals is not only to remove the polluting presence of a *prodigium* but to do so without incurring that pollution. Thus, the *prodigium* is burned or abandoned alive. Death is left up to a natural force, and no one is personally responsible for the death and so tainted. No one, therefore, is the object of a further act of vengeance for that death. Girard explains the mechanism in these terms (1977, 29):

> It is best, therefore, to arrange matters so that nobody, except perhaps the culprit himself, is responsible for his death, so that nobody is obliged to raise a finger against him. He may be abandoned without provisions in mid-ocean, or stranded on top of a mountain, or forced to hurl himself from a cliff... the object is to achieve a radically new type of violence, truly decisive and self-contained.

Thus the details of the Vestal's execution. She was uniquely buried alive yet provided with a small amount of food, which Plutarch explicitly said was done to prevent the death of a sacred person from being attributable to anyone but herself (*QR* 96, *Numa* 10). The execution of a Vestal was in itself her trial by ordeal. If she was pure, Vesta would no doubt rescue her. Since the goddess never did, the Vestal's guilt was proved.[94]

[92] Livy 27.37.6. For other examples, MacBain 1982, 127–33.

[93] Cornell 1981, 36; Briquel 1984, 226; Dion. Hal. 4.62; Zonar. 7.11; Val. Max. 1.1.13; cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 71–72.

[94] Pomeroy 1975, 211; Rose 1970; Staples 1998, 133.

As *Pharmakos*: The Vestal Virgin was the symbol of the city, specially set apart in order to incarnate the impregnable boundaries of Rome. When Rome was subject to violence, it was because she had been violated. Yet it was this very status that made it possible for her to be used as a witch figure whose sacrifice averted the anger of the gods. She could become a *pharmakos*.[95]

Like the *pharmakos*, she was a ritually pure victim. Seneca (*Cont.* 4.2) explicitly compared the physical perfection of the sacrificing priest to the physical perfection of the sacrificial victim. Yet we hear of no examination to determine a loss of virginity, apart from the trial by ordeal of burial alive. To have definite medical evidence one way or the other would destroy that precarious balance that Girard points out, since the victim must be simultaneously pure and yet guilty. Like the *pharmakos*, she was paraded through the town in order "to absorb all the noxious influences that may be abroad."[96] She partook, therefore, of the dual nature of the *pharmakos*, even as *pharmakon* has a dual sense. The ritual victim is both disease and cure. Dion. Hal. 9.40.1 (on the murder of Urbina in 472) makes the mechanism clear: once the Vestal was buried alive, the plague that had afflicted the women with sterility and miscarriages ceased (again, note the standard association of witchcraft with plague).

As *Devotio*: Her status as *pharmakos* means that after her execution, she was paradoxically a protection to the city. She was a prodigy: sacred before as Virgin and Mother, she was still sacred (that is, crossing category boundaries) when defiled, as both penetrated and unpenetrated. Like Oedipus, the presence of her body helped guard the very city that she was held to have betrayed. This explains the fact that not only were the bodies of Vestals ordinarily given the honor of burial inside the city walls, but even Vestals found guilty of *incestum* were buried alive within the *pomerium*. Most importantly, this explains the fact that yearly sacrifices were made on the now holy site of the burial, the *campus sceleratus*.[97] Plutarch expressed astonishment that the site of the burial of a traitoress should receive yearly sacrifices. Only the Vestal's status as *pharmakos* can explain this.

The Vestal Virgin was thus the most magically effective form of

[95] The comparison is made by Wissowa 1923–24, 211.

[96] Girard 1977: 287; Plut. *Numa* 10; Dion. Hal. 2.67.4, 8.89.5, 9.40.3; Pliny *Ep.* 4.11.

[97] *Pomerium*: Serv. *Aen.* 11.206; Dion. Hal. 8.89.5; sacrifices: Plut. *Numa* 10; *QR* 96; Dion. Hal. 2.40.3 on Tarpeia, citing Piso.

devotio.[98] Just as the Roman general could devote any soldier from the army as a substitute for himself and as a representative of the army and the Roman people as whole, so the Vestal Virgin was devoted as sacrifice for the Roman people to expiate the anger of the gods.[99] Indeed, only comparison with the *devotio* explains the fact that the Vestal was buried alive. The standard punishment for both treason and incest was to be thrown off the Tarpeian rock.[100] However, if someone survived after being made an involuntary *devotio*, an image had to be buried seven or more feet deep, and the spot was declared sacred (Livy 8.10.2). The Vestal was thus an image of the Roman people and a *devotio* for them.

DEATH AND THE MATRONS

The Vestal Virgin functioned as Sign, Stranger, and Sacrifice. She was the Sign for the Roman people, incarnating the collective. Yet in order to serve as the totem of Rome, she was made a Stranger, removed from all familial ties. This combination made her the ideal Sacrifice: both interior and exterior, she could serve as *prodigium*, *pharmakos*, and *devotio* to expiate and protect the city.

These uses of women were not confined to the Vestal Virgins. Rather, Roman society reveals a deep misogyny, erupting at times of crisis into murderous fear directed against its own matrons, against women in their roles as wives and as mothers.

Again, the logic of sympathetic magic is evident. The emphasis is on the element of control. Even for the Vestal Virgins, the sources are emphatic that, although the Vestals no longer belonged to any man, they were still under the discipline of the Pontifex Maximus, whose punishments extended to beatings for minor infractions and to execution for *incestum*. To control women and their sexuality was to control the state. As the state escaped control, among the omens was the escape of women from proper male control. The danger to the *Urbs* could only be warded off by the punishment of women and the subsequent founding of public

[98] For an overview, see Versnel 1976 (esp. 405–10) with previous literature. Versnel makes a distinction (which the Romans did not) between the *consecratio* of the general and his *devotio* of the enemy troops. He does not deal with the aftermath of the rite.

[99] For the details of the ceremony, the oath and the expiatory purpose, see Livy 8.9.4–10.12.

[100] Quint. 7.8.3f.; Tac. *Ann.* 6.19; Livy *Per.* 77; Val. Max. 6.5.7; Plut. *Sulla* 10; Sen. *Dial.* 3.16.5. Radke (1965, 311; 1972, 432) is misled by Hor. *Odes* 3.30.8 and the fictitious case of Sen. *Cont.* 1.3 into thinking that this was a punishment for the Vestal Virgins.

cults of chastity with admonitory and apotropaic functions.[101] Again, this was a common ploy of rhetoric and is reflected in a number of historical or quasi-historical events (see Appendix for the sources).

As in the case of the murder of the Vestals, outbreaks of witch-hunts leveled against the matrons of Rome cluster around times of external threat and internal danger. Thus in 491, the cult of Fortuna Muliebris was founded, open only to *univirae*, celebrating the salvation of Rome by the mother and wife of Coriolanus. In 331, a year of plague, twenty patrician wives were charged with a city-wide poisoning conspiracy.[102] The women were forced to drink the drugs that they claimed were beneficial and of course died—an obvious trial by ordeal.[103] A further one hundred seventy matrons were executed as a result of the subsequent investigation.[104] In 296, the cult of Plebeian Chastity was founded.[105] In the following year, an unknown number of matrons was found guilty of adultery, fined, and the money used to build the temple of Venus Obsequens as a warning to adulteresses.[106] In 215, following the disaster at Cannae, the Oppian law was passed, the temple of Venus Verticordia dedicated, and the Vestal Virgins Floronia and Opimia executed, together with more explicit human sacrifice.[107] In 213, there was a suppression of foreign cults and an unspecified number of wives exiled

[101] For cultic practice and the reinforcement of women's social roles, see Cantarella 1987, 150–55.

[102] For the ritual significance of poisoning as a charge, see Girard 1986, 16–17; Levine 1982, 265 (on the Nyinba).

[103] Instead, Herrmann 1964, 47–48, sees an early attempt at "women's liberation" culminating in murder. Bauman (1992, 13–14, 17–18, 20–21) sees a protest against *manus* marriage, taking "the form of a criminal conspiracy directed not only at their husbands but at public figures in general." The resemblance to the African poison oracle should not need to be pointed out but it apparently does. Any other discipline, historical or anthropological, examining a year of plague during which 170 women are charged with poisoning and then executed would become suspicious. What is most disturbing here is the lack of the barest consideration of the possibility that these women were innocent, a failure of the historian's minimal obligation to question the sources. Given a choice between seeing a vast murderous conspiracy of wives, or acknowledging the use of ritual scapegoats, some have chosen the former (see nn. 106, 112, 113).

[104] See Münzer 1923, 1721; Gagé 1963, 262–64 (for doubts as to historicity); Monaco 1984. Cantarella (1987, 126) gives the number as 160; Pomeroy (1975, 176) as 116.

[105] See Palmer 1974, 122–25, 132–34.

[106] Bauman (1992, 17 and 223, n. 15) assumes they were guilty of prostitution; Gardner (1986, 123) of no more than drunken high-spirits. I see no reason to assume they were "guilty" of anything.

[107] See Palmer 1974, 135–36; Culham 1982.

for adultery.[108] In 204, there was the trial by ordeal of Claudia Quinta, charged with adultery.[109] In 186, the Bacchanalia crisis erupted when unknown numbers (in the thousands) of women were executed by family tribunal or the state.[110] In 184, there was a further series of poisoning trials, involving both men and women.[111] In 180, Hostilia Quarta was condemned for poisoning her husband in order to advance her son by an earlier marriage, while in Rome and environs, three thousand people were found guilty of poisoning.[112] In 154, Publilia and Licinia were accused of poisoning their husbands, tried by family tribunals, and strangled.[113] In 113, following the condemnation and execution of the Vestal Virgins, the temple of Venus Verticordia was rededicated.[114]

Two questions arise: Why was this fear directed against matrons, women at the center of society, rather than solely against the old, the widowed, the unprotected, or other societally marginal women, as in the European witch craze?[115] And why was the charge of adultery the expression of that fear? These eruptions of rage against women reveal a profound fear at the core of Roman society. In brief, the role of Woman as Sign has led to the role of Woman as Stranger: the very interchangeability and exchangeability on which Rome was based necessitated that a woman still be attached to, and be a member of, her father's family for her to have value as an exchange.[116] As a result, she was still a stranger in

[108] Bauman (1992, 25), though covering the first event, fails to note the second. Gruen (1990, 40) does not comment on implication of women in the purification.

[109] See Herrmann 1964, 58–59; Gallini 1970, 71–72; Beard 1995, 171.

[110] For the poisoning trial and the Bacchanalia of 186, see Herrmann 1964, 68–79; Gallini 1970, 11–52; Pailler 1988, 1990; Rousselle 1989; Gruen 1990, 34–78; Bauman 1992, 35–40.

[111] See Herrmann 1964, 78; Gallini 1970, 45. Bauman (1992, 38) is right to argue for the inclusion of women.

[112] Bauman (1992, 38) wonders if the remaining members of the Bacchic cult were not indulging in "a fund-raising programme" by murder; again, the idea of a witch-hunt does not occur.

[113] Bauman (1992, 38) speculates that Publilia was "a Bacchanalian sympathizer who killed for the cause."

[114] Bauman 1992, 52–58.

[115] For an excellent introduction, see Briggs 1996.

[116] See Hallett 1989; Dixon 1992, 42–43 (purely in economic terms); Saller 1994, 76–88; Parker 1998, 154–55, for overviews of this conceptual difficulty. The most obvious sign of this lifelong possession is the fact that a woman retained her father's gentile name; Hallett 1989, 67: "Roman society thus labeled her the daughter of her father for purposes of lifelong identification"; see also Kajanto 1972, 13–30; 1977, 184; Pomeroy 1975, 152, 165; 1976, 225–26.

her marriage family and feared as a stranger, that is, as a potential traitoress to her new family, as a potential witch to her husband and poisoner of his children.[117]

This fear, though best known to folklore as centering on the figure of the step-mother, was not confined to her. Rather, since for Rome the children were the husband's, both legally and biologically, all mothers were stepmothers, fostering another's children.[118] Anthropological data from a variety of cultures demonstrate the way in which accusations of witchcraft are frequent against brides brought into virilocal or patrilineal villages.[119] For Rome, a single example may serve to illustrate this nexus of adultery, poisoning, and betrayal. According to Plutarch (*Rom.* 22.3), the laws of Romulus specified that a husband may divorce his wife only for poisoning his children, counterfeiting his keys, or adultery.[120]

This very marginality of women, as we have seen, makes them the

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Even in the case of (increasingly rare) *manus* marriage, the new *materfamilias* did not lose all connection with her natal family. She was transferred to her husband's *familia* (Gel. 18.6.9; Serv. *A.* 11.476) for purposes of property transfer (especially intestate succession); she stood *filiae loco* (*Tit. Ulp.* 23.3), but she was not part of her husband's *gens* (see Ulpian's careful definition: *D.* 30.16.195.2). As Treggiari (1991, 30) writes: "She was not a daughter but in the position of a daughter." That is, her *pater* remained her *pater* (though she was no longer *in patria potestate*), her *mater* remained her *mater*, and so on. The most vivid proof of these agnatic ties, besides the fact that the wife *in manu* did not change her gentile name, is that a father retained the right to kill a daughter taken in adultery even after he had transferred her to the *manus* of her husband (*Coll.* 4.2.3 from Paulus = *FIRA* 2.553; but not over a daughter freed by *emancipatio*: *Coll.* 4.7.1): "Secundo vero capite permittit patri, si in filia sua, quam in potestate habet, aut in ea, quae eo auctore, cum in potestate esset, viro in manum convenerit, adulterum domi suae generive sui deprehenderit isve in eam rem socerum adhibuerit, ut is pater eum adulterum sine fraude occidat, ita ut filiam in continenti occidat." See Treggiari 1991, 282, for texts and analysis.

[117] Purcell 1986, 95; Edwards 1993, 51–52; Santoro L'Hoir 1992, 41–42; Wiedemann 1987, 25–26; Parker 1998, 154–55, 164 (see also the bibliography cited in n. 27).

[118] Noy 1991; Watson 1995.

[119] See Rosaldo 1974, 32–34, for an overview. Gluckman 1956, 98 (Zulu); Middleton and Winter 1963, 14–17 (E. Africa); Beidelman 1963, 86–87 (Kaguru, a Bantu-speaking people of Tanzania); Winter 1963, 278, 287–88 (Amba, mentioned above); Epstein 1967, 135–54, esp. 150 (Mysore); Harper 1969 (Brahmins in S. India); Hunter Wilson 1970, 252–63, esp. 261 (Mpondo, Bantu speaking people of S. Africa); Marwick 1970, 280–81 (South-Eastern Bantu). See also Giovannini 1981 (Sicily).

[120] ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ τέκνων ἢ κλειδῶν ὑποβολῇ καὶ μοιχευθεῖσαν. Cobet reads ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ καὶ τέκνων ὑποβολῇ, while Ziegler (Teubner 1957) inserts καὶ to read ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ ⟨καὶ⟩ τέκνων ἢ κλειδῶν ὑποβολῇ, "for poisoning, or for substitution of children or keys," producing a harsh zeugma. There is no reason to doubt the text, unless one has already decided that it cannot be saying what it says.

perfect victims. In times of panic, the society can easily be restored to health by the sacrifice, exile, or punishment of wives, who are central to the family yet not fully members of it; who are necessary to produce children yet expendable; who are, in short, human but less than human.[121] Yet why do Girard's objections to women as the ideal sacrificial victim not apply? The execution of a wife would appear to be fraught with the dangers of reciprocal violence from either her birth family or her marriage family, which Girard noted. Here we can see the role that the charge of adultery played. Adultery of a wife was the betrayal of all her male relatives, both by birth and by marriage. Only for adultery did both husband and father have the right, indeed the duty, to kill a matron. Only the charge of adultery could sever a woman from both her agnatic and her marriage families.[122]

The list in the Appendix makes clear the prevalence of the theme of conspiracy. We hear not of individual women put on trial but masses. We are told not of monstrous women acting alone but in consort, and not merely with adulterers, but more terrifyingly with the other outsiders, with slaves and foreigners, and most terrifyingly, with each other. They formed an anti-society, an underground where women were adulterous and poisoned their husbands, even their children. They created a witch-world whose values were distorted parodies of the values of patriarchal society: women as active, rather than passive; as sexual subjects, rather than sexual objects; as murderers, rather than victims.

Thus the magical and liminal functions of women were not confined to the Vestal Virgins. Female sexuality under male control was the basis of and paradigm for keeping society under control. Yet in times of crisis, the society turned on those elements, which it feared would threaten social stability, the very categories it created in order to have stability at all. The unpenetrated virgin and the well-regulated wife both embodied the city in the symbolic universes of sympathetic magic and ideological praxis.[123]

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[121] Cf. the famous remarks of Metellus Macedonius on the burdensome necessity of wives in order to procreate: Suet. *Aug.* 89.2; Livy *Per.* 59; Gell. *NA* 1.6.

[122] See n. 83.

[123] Versions of this paper have been previously delivered at APA 1988 (Baltimore); University of Arizona, March 1989; Miami University, April 1992; Vassar College, March 1993; and at the conference "Virginity Revisited," University of Western Ontario, October 1998.

APPENDIX

c. 750 B.C.E. (traditional): Vestal Tarpeia. Only three sources call her a Vestal: Varro *LL* 5.41; Prop. 4.4; Plut. *Numa* 10.1. The rest merely label her *virgo* or παρθένος: Livy 1.11.5–9; Ovid *F.* 1.261–62; Dion. Hal. 2.38 (citing Piso, Fabius, Cincius); Val. Max. 9.6.1; Plut. *Rom.* 17–18.1 (citing Juba, Sulpicius Galba, Simylus, Antigonus of Carystus); Festus 496L (464L, frg.).

c. 616–579 (traditional): Vestal Pinaria (under Tarquin Priscus). Dion. Hal. 3.67.3; Zonar. 7.8 (no name).

491: Foundation of Fortuna Muliebris, open only to *univirae* (widows and others excluded since they were unlucky: Dion. Hal. 8.56.4; Tert. *Monog.* 17). Livy 2.40.12; Festus 282L; *De Vir. Ill.* 19; Val. Max. 1.8.4, 5.2.1, 4.1; App. 2.5; Plut. *Cor.* 1.2, 4.3–4, 34–36.

483: Vestal Oppia (during the Volscian War, with signs of "divine anger"). Livy 2.42.11; Dion. Hal. 8.89.4 (Opimia); Oros. 2.8.13 (Popilia); Euseb. 2.101 (Pompilia).

472: Vestal Orbinia (during a year of plague which caused miscarriages). Dion. Hal. 9.40.3.

420: Vestal Postumia (spoke and dressed too freely; acquitted). Livy 4.44.11; Plut. *Mor.* 89f (Pont. Max.: Sp. Minucius).

337: Vestal Minucia (same charge as Postumia; condemned). Livy 8.15.7–8 (*RE* Minucius 68); *Per.* 8; Hieron. *Adv. Iovinian.* 1.41; Oros. 3.9.5. Cf. *Hell. Oxy.* (*P. Oxy.* 12. col. iii, 33–37 = *FGrH* 255, 1155.6–8) under Olympiad 111, Year 1 (= 336 B.C.E.), which mentions plural Vestals.

331: (a year of plague): 20 patrician wives executed for a poisoning conspiracy. Further 170 matrons subsequently executed. Livy 8.18 (170); Val. Max. 2.5.3 (170); Oros. 3.10 (370).

296: The cult of Plebeian Chastity founded. Livy 10.23; Prop. 2.6.25.

295: Matrons found guilt of adultery, fined and the money used to build the temple of Venus Obsequens. Livy 10.31.9.

275: Vestal Sextilia. Livy *Per.* 14; Oros. 4.2.8.

266: Vestal Caparronia (plague). Oros. 4.5.6–9.

c. 230: Vestal Tuccia. Livy *Per.* 20: *Tuccia, virgo vestalis, incesti damnata est*; all others know her as proven innocent by the trial of the sieve: Dion. Hal. 2.69; Val. Max. 8.1 abs. 5; Pliny *HN* 28.12; also Aug. *Civ. Dei* 10.16.

(228: Sacrifice of two Gauls and two Greeks for the first time; in the Forum Boarium.)

215: (following Cannae) Vestals Floronia and Opimia.

(a) One Vestal executed, the other commits suicide, together with more explicit human sacrifices. Livy 22.57.2; *Per.* 22; Plut. *Fab.* 18.3 (no names).

(b) The Oppian law is passed. Livy 26.36; Tac. *Ann.* 3.34; Val. Max. 9.1.3; Oros. 4.20.14; Zonar. 9.17.1.

(c) The temple of Venus Verticordia dedicated. Val. Max. 8.15.12; Pliny *NH* 7.180.

213: Wives exiled for adultery. Livy 25.2.9–10.

207: Lightning strikes Temple of Juno (among other prodigies). Matrons summoned and fined. The occasion of Livius Andronicus' hymn. Livy 27.37.8–10.

206: Sacred fire goes out; Vestal scourged by Pont. Max. P. Licinius. Livy 28.11.6.

204: Trial of Claudia Quinta. Livy 29.14.12; Ov. *F.* 4.305f.; Lactant. *Inst. Div.* 2.7; App. *Hann.* 56.

186: Bacchanalia suppressed; women are executed by family tribunal or the state. Livy 39.8–18.

184: Poisoning trials involving both men and women. Livy 39.41.5–6.

180: (a) Trial and execution of Hostilia Quarta for poisoning husband C. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 180) in favor of her son from a previous marriage, A. Fulvius Flaccus. Livy 40.37.1–7 (184: *Hell. Oxy.* 39).
(b) 3000 people found guilty of poisoning. Livy 40.43.2–3.

178: Vestal Aemilia: fire went out, and eventual miracle proving her (or her disciple's) innocence. Dion Hal. 2.68.3–5; Val. Max. 1.1.7. Cf. Livy *Per.* 41; Obseq. 8.

154: Publilia and Licinia accused of poisoning their husbands, tried by family tribunals, and executed by strangling. Livy *Per.* 48; Val. Max. 6.3.8; see Licinius 178, *RE* XIII.196.

114 (Dec.): (a) Helvia, a girl, blown up by lightning.
(b) Vestal Aemilia condemned (Dec. 16), but apparently not executed immediately; Saturnalia intervened (Dec. 17); Licinia tried (Dec. 18) but found innocent. Soon thereafter in the next year:

113: (a) The other two Vestals, Licinia and Marcia, condemned, again with more explicit human sacrifice.
(b) The temple of Venus Verticordia rededicated.
Macr. *Sat.* 1.10.5 (citing Fenestella, our source for the dates); Dio 26 (frg. 87); Ascon. *Milo* 45–46 (§32) Clark; Oros. 5.15.20–22; Plut. *QR* 83; Obseq. 37; Livy *Per.* 63; cf. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3.74. For Venus Verticordia: Val. Max. 8.15.12; Ov. *F.* 4.157–60. (Val. Max. 3.7.9, 6.8.1, cited by *MRR* I.536 and others, concern a vague charge of *incestum* against the orator M. Antonius).

73: (a) Accusations against Licinia (Licinius 185, *RE* XIII 498) for intercourse with Crassus (charge brought by Plotius: see *MRR* II.114). Plut. *Crass.*1.2; *Mor.* 89e.
(b) Accusations against Fabia for intercourse with Catiline. Cic. *Cat.* 3.9; *Brut.* 236; Sal. *Cat.* 15.1; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 19.3; Oros. 6.3.1.

83 C.E.: Trials of the Vestals by Domitian: Oculata, Varronilla, Cornelia. Acc. to Suetonius, Oculata and Varronilla were allowed to choose the methods of their deaths; their lovers banished. Chief Vestal, Cornelia, buried alive; her lovers beaten to death, with the exception of one ex-praetor who was exiled. According to Pliny, Cornelia buried alive; her (possible) lover, Licinianus, exiled; other accused lover, Celer, scourged. According

to Dio, many Vestals (no names) put to death, but not by being buried alive. Suet. *Dom.* 8.3–5; Plin. *Ep.* 4.11; Dio 67.3.

213: Caracalla said to have raped Clodia Laeta; she was buried alive, protesting her innocence; Aurelia Severa and Pomponia Rufina buried alive; Cannutia Crescentia committed suicide. Dio 77.16; Herod. 4.6.

219: Elagabulus "lives with" the Vestal (Iulia) Aquilia Severa (Dio 77 [78].16); *incestum* (SHA *Ant. Elag.* 6.6–8). His marriage to her is known only from coins: see *PW* Iulius (Severa) 557. Dio 77 [78].16; SHA *Ant. Elag.* 6.6–8; Herod. 5.6.2; Zonar. 12.14.

Late fourth century (c. 390): *Incestum* of Primigenia, Vestal at Alba, with a certain Maximus. Punished in the old way "in the custom and institution of our ancestors." Symm. *Ep.* 9.147–48.

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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE CULT OF SILVANUS

PETER F. DORCEY

Silvanus, the Roman god of agriculture, woods and boundaries, enjoyed a wide popularity during the first few centuries of the Principate, to judge from the over eleven hundred inscriptions and hundreds of statues, reliefs and other objects vowed to him.[1] Scholars, however, have viewed Silvanus' appeal as limited exclusively to men.[2] I will argue that the divinity certainly appealed to women, even though they were not as visible and active in his cult as men. Underrepresentation of women in itself is hardly unusual and does not necessarily imply the existence of any sort of sexual taboo.

There are few clear examples of sexual restriction for reason of religious scruple in Roman religion. The Mithraic mysteries were closed to women perhaps because of the club-like structure of the cult rather than for any ritualistic requirement.[3] Religious *collegia*, including those of goddesses, rarely had female members.[4] Pseudo-Lucian (*Erotes* 42) vaguely alludes to all-female mysteries. Perhaps he had in mind Bona Dea who excluded men from at least some of her rites, certainly from her December festival, notoriously desecrated by P. Clodius in 62 B.C. A large number of dedications from men to this most staunchly feminine of all Rome's goddesses suggests, however, that total sexual prohibition was rarely enforced completely.[5]

Few other Roman cults were dominated entirely by one sex or the other, although some deities forbade the participation of men or women at particular times or in certain places, or had aspects appealing to masculine or feminine taste. For example, women could not sacrifice to Hercules at the *Ara Maxima* in Rome, and men (including the Pontifex Maximus) were denied access to the inner sanctuary of the temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum and the shrine of Diana on the Vicus Patricius in Rome.[6] From the Greek world we know of the exclusion of men or women from cults in certain locations, but not others.[7] For this reason it has been suggested that exclusionary practice was attached not to the divinity, but to the site of veneration.[8]

The two sexes, of course, had different spiritual needs. *Genii* and *Junones* watched over men and women respectively. Mothers invoked Fortuna Primigenia to ensure the fertility of their offspring; soldiers looked to Mars for success in warfare. Women in particular were devoted to certain goddesses, such as Fortuna (especially under the epithets Virginalis and Muliebris), Venus Verticordia, Pudicitia and Mater Matuta (except female slaves). These cults did not exclude one sex so much as they attracted the other. They involve the selectivity of the dedicant, not of the deity.

There are two generally conflicting bodies of evidence regarding female participation in the cult of Silvanus. A few Roman authors suggest some restriction against women, while inscriptions show that the god had many female adherents. A disparity between literary and epigraphic sources also confounds our understanding of sexual exclusion in the worship of Bona Dea.[9] In regard to Silvanus, inscriptions are the more reliable source, not to minimize the importance of literature. They are often closer to real life—and thus more representative of the humble individuals who venerated the god—and in sheer numbers dwarf the casual references to the divinity in ancient authors.[10] At any rate, literary texts are not so clear about Silvanus' attitude toward women and may merely indicate that only particular rites were limited to men.

The earliest indication of an interdiction against women in Silvanus' cult appears in the early second century B.C., when the Elder Cato (*De Agri Cultura* 83) referred to the exclusion of women in a sacrifice made to both Mars and Silvanus for the protection of cattle on the farm:[11]

> Votum pro bubus, uti valeant sic facito. Marti Silvano in silva interdius in capita singula boum votum facito. Farris L. III et lardi P IIII S et pulpae P IIII S, vini S III, id in unum vas liceto coicere et vinum item in unum vas liceto coicere. Eam rem divinam vel servus vel liber licebit faciat. Ubi res divina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito. *Mulier ad eam rem divinam ne adsit neve videat quo modo fiat.* Hoc votum in annos singulos, si voles, licebit vovere.

Although there is no reason to doubt Cato's words or question the reading of the passage, the text does not imply that women were prevented from sacrificing to Mars-Silvanus on all occasions, only in this particular instance when the two deities were invoked together "pro bubus." The reason for the prohibition of women

thus could lie in the nature of the sacrifice, its setting, or even the joint invocation with Mars, whose war-like side was not popular with females. But Mars' cult did not normally exclude women elsewhere.

Almost three hundred years later Juvenal (6. 447) criticized a woman for sacrificing a pig to Silvanus. That the writer mentioned the practice at least may indicate that it occurred. Whether such female actions were socially unacceptable at some level depends, of course, on how much faith one has in Juvenal as a representative of Roman thinking at the time. Perhaps the main object of the satirist's criticism was the pig sacrifice rather than the deity involved. Yet Juvenal's scholiast, writing in the late fourth century, interpreted the writer's words as meaning nothing other than the total exclusion of women from the worship of Silvanus:

> Silvano mulieres non licet sacrificare.

A plaque found in Rome, which announces the prohibition of women from entering a man's pool by command of Silvanus, may also refer to sexual restriction (*CIL*VI 579):

> Imperio Silvani/ni qua mulier velit/in piscina virili/descendere si minus/ ipsa de se queretur/hoc signum/sanctum est.

Silvanus was invoked surely because of his partiality towards males, but there is no indication that women were denied access to a sacred area or the right to worship the deity. On the contrary, the situation seems quite secular—as far as that word can be used when speaking of antiquity—unless the pool somehow played a role in religious rites.[12] More at the heart of the matter is the traditional, prudish desire to keep the sexes separated. Such segregation in public baths is well attested.[13] Here we may have an example from the private sector where Silvanus acts as the defender of female *castitas*.

In his treatise *Civitas Dei* (6.9) Augustine portrays Silvanus as a cruel god who not merely shut out women from his rites, but preyed on them at night while they were helpless in childbirth:

> ...(Varro) tamen mulieri fetae post partum tres deos custodes commemorat adhiberi, ne Silvanus deus per noctem ingrediatur et vexet, eorumque custodum significandorum causa tres homines noctu circuire limina domus et primo limen securi ferire, postea pilo, tertio deverrere scopis, ut his datis culturae signis deus Silvanus prohibeatur intrare, quod neque arbores

> caeduntur ac putantur sine ferro, neque far conficitur sine pilo, neque fruges coacervantur sine scopis; ab his autem tribus rebus tres nuncupatos deos, Intercidonam a securis intercisione, Pilumnum a pilo, Deverram ab scopis quibus diis custodibus contra vim dei Silvani feta conservaretur. Ita contra dei nocentis saevitiam non valeret custodia bonorum...

Although the venerable and reliable Varro is the stated source for this tidbit of information, possibly Augustine does not present an accurate description of Silvanus. That the Church Father was not very informed about this deity is conceivable; that he purposely distorted whatever he knew also cannot be excluded. Still, he must have based his story on some kernel of truth which can now no longer be recovered, for he seems to have had some crude concept of Silvanus' three-fold nature as *Agrestis, Domesticus* and *Orientalis*, described by the Gromatici Veteres.[14] To guard pregnant women, three men, representing the tutelary spirits Intercidona, Pilumnus and Deverra, were accorded the tasks of striking the threshold of the house with an ax, pestle and broom respectively. Augustine's claim that these symbols of agriculture (*culturae signa*) prevented the god's entry into the home is quite odd. Silvanus, although concerned with the uncultivated woods, was more closely tied to agriculture and the household. The night setting of the passage also causes some problems. Although the notion of Silvanus as a deity of the night surfaces in the description of his (or Faunus'?) role in the Battle of the Arsian Forest, Cato (*De Agri Cultura* 83) specified that the sacrifice to Mars-Silvanus be made only during day-light hours (*interdius*).[15]

In another passage of the *Civitas Dei* (15.23) Augustine explains how *Silvani* and *Panes* (*Fauni* in some manuscripts), called *incubi*, often attack and sexually harass women in their sleep:

> Silvanos et Panes (Faunos in some manuscripts), quos vulgo incubos vocant, inprobos saepe extitisse mulieribus et earum appetisse ac peregisse concubitum.

Augustine alone accuses Silvanus of attacking women, causing bad dreams during the night, and displaying anti-agricultural and anti-domestic traits. Rather, Faunus consistently possesses these malevolent attributes.[16] But, even though the Christian writer may have confused the two divinities, we cannot offhandedly cast aside the possibility that he accurately preserves a very early text,

perhaps reflecting a time when Silvanus exhibited pronounced misogynistic traits.

Another Christian source, Pseudo-Ambrosius *Epistolae* 2.12, gives a different view of the female role in the cult. The text may suggest that women not only venerated Silvanus privately, but also participated in feasts held by male-dominated *collegia.*[17]

> Ipsa autem dum reverteretur ad urbem Mediolanensium, incurrit homines idololatras Silvano sacrificantes in itinere, quam cum vidissent, deponentes eam de vehiculo, hortabantur secum epulari. Cumque illa, resistens, diceret: Christiana sum, non licet mihi de Silvani vestri sacrificiis manducare, statim illi haec audientes, tanta eam caede mactaverunt, ut vix eam seminecem sui homines ad Mediolanensium urbem perducerent, ita ut intra triduum migraret ad Christum.

The passage narrates the fate of Valeria, mother of Saints Gervasius and Protasius, who happened upon men sacrificing to Silvanus. When asked to worship along with them she refused because she was a Christian, not because of her sex. Thus, possibly women were not always forbidden to join in worship, but required an invitation from men.

Although some evidence suggests that Silvanus was a pro-male or, in the case of Augustine, an anti-female deity, women were welcomed as devotees in some capacity since they formed a significant proportion of Silvanus dedicants. Inscriptions erected by women amount to forty-nine in a corpus of just over eleven hundred. That number becomes more noteworthy when dedications with anonymous or unspecified donors are eliminated from the counting. In all, there are about eight hundred inscriptions which give the name of a dedicant. Accordingly, about 6.1% of inscriptions with specified dedicants and 4.4% of the entire corpus make some mention of women. This percentage is not insignificant, given that only 18.3% of all inscriptions to Isis, who particularly addressed feminine needs, are from women.[18] A large number of female dedications on stone are known only for the Magna Mater, Bona Dea, Diana and Ceres. Women simply were not active in erecting inscriptions, whether because of lack of money, illiteracy or social conditioning. R. MacMullen notes that female dedications amount to 10% or less of the inscriptions recorded in *CIL* for Eastern gods in the Gallic, Rhineland and Danubian provinces.[19]

In this perspective, the relatively low percentage of female Silvanus dedicants is not surprising.

An epigraphic profile of Silvanus' female adherents is worth constructing. Thirty-one inscriptions were erected by women alone, eight by wives with their husbands, eight by women and men of unspecified relationship, one by a father and daughter, and one by a mother and son. In addition, other dedications to the god were erected for the health of women.[20] The geographical range of female inscriptions covers the entire Western empire, with a large concentration of offerings in Pannonia where the Silvanae, the god's female attendants, were especially popular with women. Indeed, over twenty percent of all female dedications to Silvanus include the Silvanae.

Silvanus' female dedicants, although from diverse walks of life, were mostly of rather humble social class: Theodora, the only clearly identifiable slave (*CIL* XIV 4327); [A]diuta, a freedwoman of a private citizen (*AE* 1930 82 bis); Chia, the wife of a freedman of the emperor (*CIL* VI 297); Cornelia Ampliata and Fe[sce]nia Astice, wives of freedmen *seviri Augustales* (*CIL* XIV 309; *BASD* 30 (1907) 118, no. 3928a); Faustina, the wife of Indagius, a native (or slave?) at Lambaesis (*AE* 1968 644); Aurelia Severa, the daughter of a legionary serving in Pannonia (*CIL* III 3393); Vibia Pacata, the wife of a centurion stationed in Northern Britain (*AE* 1964 175); Valeria Profutura, wife of a Roman citizen (*CIL* VI 690); Julia Sporis, wife of Hymetus, an *aedituus* of the Temple of Diana *Planciana* in Rome (*AE* 1971 31); and Fortunula, the spouse of a *sacerdos Martis* with Roman citizenship (*AE* 1899 47). Few belonged to the aristocratic classes: Crispiana, a *clarissima* (*CIL* XII 1726); and Claudia Proculina, the wife of a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* and *consul designatus* (*AE* 1967 571 = *CIL* VIII 2585).

Most of these women had Latin names; others were of Greek origin or adopted Greek names: for example, Calybe, Theodora, Aeburia Artemesia and Chia.[21] Very few seem to have had obvious non-Roman roots, although ethnicity is difficult to determine from onomastic criteria alone.[22]

Women sometimes record the reasons for their offerings to Silvanus. In most cases these are similar to men's professed claims: to fulfill a vow (*CIL* III 14359[30]), for the health of a son (*CIL* IX

1552), to honor the dead (*CIL* V 822), to record the reconstruction of a shrine (*CIL* XIV 4327). Many women had sound justification for venerating an agricultural/pastoral deity. In areas where male-dominated slave labor was scarce women comprised a high percentage of the field hands (exactly how high is not known), as in many Mediterranean countries today. Still, most female, as well as male adherents mentioned on Silvanus inscriptions lived in cities and did not practice farming.[23] For them Silvanus' appeal lay in the distance or inaccessibility of the countryside. Lurking behind many of these urban offerings is a sentimental nostalgia for the rural world and a longing for a simpler, quieter way of life. By the imperial period Silvanus was rarely invoked as protector of fields and flocks, but served as an outlet for the stress of urban life and a constant reminder of real or imagined country roots.[24]

The large number of dedications from women cannot be explained through the practice of *interpretatio Romana.* In the regions where the majority of female dedications come—Italy, Pannonia and Dacia—Silvanus is not once identified with local native equivalents and his epithets are never derived from indigenous languages.[25] Even the Silvanae's immense popularity in Pannonia is not immediately traceable to the Celtic cult of the Matronae. Thus Silvanus does not seem to be hiding an indigenous god who might have been more luring to women.

Nothing in the epigraphic record suggests that women acted any differently than men in cult worship. Surely because of their interest in home and family women had a particular liking for Silvanus *Domesticus*, an epithet found mostly in Dacia and Pannonia; but that aspect of the cult was also very popular with men. Male and female also seem to have experienced equal closeness with the deity. One woman even offered a *sacrum* to the god on account of a dream (*ex viso*), in which Silvanus presumably appeared to her (*AE* 1971 31).

A strong reason for rejecting the notion of Silvanus as a solely male-oriented deity is the existence of a feminine side of his personality, the Silvanae.[26] These woodland goddesses, represented on reliefs as Nymphs in a peaceful relationship with Silvanus, are never shown chased or sexually molested in the way Pan and the Satyrs harassed the Maenads and the Nymphs. A deity invoked

with female companions and depicted harmoniously with them would not be hostile to women.

Of the twenty-six dedications to the Silvanae and Silvanus, nine were vowed by women, one by a father and daughter, and the remainder by men.[27] Nearly 39% of all Silvanae inscriptions were erected by women, indicating the incredible appeal this aspect of the cult had for their sex, at least in Pannonia where most of the evidence is concentrated.

The often tersely worded dedications do not answer many questions about female involvement in Silvanus' worship. If women were excluded from certain aspects of the cult, in what capacity were they permitted to participate? One woman helped to contribute funds for the erection of a shrine to Silvanus at Ostia (*CIL* XIV 4327). Was this a common practice? Did women attend the banquets in honor of Silvanus which male-run *collegia* administered, as is perhaps suggested by the above passage of Pseudo-Ambrosius? Or was female involvement in worship on a more individual level? The bulk of female dedicants were probably excluded from *collegia*, for none are found as members of these organizations. At any rate, Silvanus' veneration centered more around the family and the individual than the *collegium*.

Women may even have formed part of a priestesshood of Silvanus. A joint dedication to Jupiter Hammon and Silvanus *Barbarus* at Carthage lists a certain Sempronia Salsula and Valeria Paulina as *matres sacrorum*, along with fourteen or fifteen men designated as *sace[r]dotes dei Barbari Silvani* (*CIL* VIII 245 19a-b). The African inscription evidently involves Silvanus' identification with a Punic or Berber deity and might be discounted as hard evidence that women formed part of any organized priestesshood of the Roman Silvanus. The only other instance of a female devotee designating herself as *mater* probably refers to family instead of religious office.[28] But one should not cast aside the possibility that some women took on a very active role in Silvanus' cult, even in instances when *interpretatio Romana* was not at play.

Far from being solely a male oriented deity, as some evidence suggests, Silvanus attracted women also. The worship of the Silvanae shows that this ancillary cult definitely appealed to women. They erected shrines, attended sacred feasts (if the

testimony of Pseudo-Ambrosius is credited), and may even have formed a priestesshood to administer rites. Their many dedications show that Silvanus could address feminine concerns.

Women, of course, played a less visible role in the Silvanus cult compared to men, a reflection of the enormous social and economic barriers they faced in society in general and in the system of Roman paganism in particular. The state cult—to which Silvanus did not belong—was dominated by men who monopolized most religious offices. Private family worship, in which Silvanus played a considerable part, was closely controlled by the eldest male, the *paterfamilias*. Also, religious *collegia*, almost always directed and patronized by men, became increasingly important during the imperial period. We tend to see fewer female dedicators because women generally had little money for the erection of expensive inscriptions, statues and buildings. They may even have had a lower level of literacy and thus were reluctant, or unable to leave a written testimony of their *pietas*. Also contributing to the relative inactivity of women was the moral pressure not to draw attention to themselves.

Given the many barriers to female participation in religion, the number of women who venerated Silvanus is impressive and suggests that his cult was sexually indifferent, at least during the second and third centuries A.D. when most of the inscriptional evidence dates. The lure of the forbidden alone cannot have attracted so many female dedicants. If there had been a taboo against women, it either was not often enforced or applied only to particular rites, such as those described by Cato and Juvenal.

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[1] For a list of Silvanus dedications, iconographical representations and literary references and a bibliography on his cult see P. Dorcey, "The Cult of Silvanus in the Roman World," (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University 1987). Note the following abbreviations: *AE* = *Année Epigraphique; AIJ* = V. Hoffiller and B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. Heft I, Noricum und Pannonia Superior* (Zagreb 1983); *BASD* = *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata; BudReg* = *Budapest Régiségei; CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum; DE* = E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane; EE* = *Ephemeris Epigraphica; GZMS* = *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u*

Sarajevu; IDR III, 3 = I. Russu, *Inscripţiile Daciei Romane* (Bucharest 1984) III, 3; *RIU* II = L. Barkóczi and S. Soproni, *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns* (Budapest-Amsterdam 1976); *RIU* III = L. Barkóczi and S. Soproni, *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns* (Budapest-Bonn 1981).

[2] See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich 1912) 214; A. von Domaszewski, "Silvanus auf lateinischen Inschriften," *Philologus* 61 (1902) 10-11; A. Brelich, "Osservazioni sulle "esclusioni rituali"," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 22 (1949-1950) 8-9; Idem, *Tre variazioni romane sul tema delle origini* (Rome 1976) 68-72; A. J. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca* (Graz 1975) 299; and R. E. Palmer, "Silvanus, Sylvester and the Chair of St. Peter," *PAPhS* 122 (1978) 222.

[3] For the only known female devotee of Mithras see S. Panciera, "Il materiale epigrafico dallo scavo di Santo Stefano Rotondo," *Mysteria Mithrae*, U. Bianchi ed. (Leiden 1979) 101.

[4] For women in religious *collegia* see J. P. Waltzing, *Etude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* (Louvain 1900) vol. 4, 256.

[5] For the cult of Bona Dea see G. Wissowa, "Bona Dea," *RE* 3 (1899) 686-694; D. Vaglieri, "Bona Dea," *DE* I (1886) 1012-1015; and H. Brouwer, "Bona Dea" (Diss. Utrecht 1982), who gives a full collection of the total evidence, including inscriptions. Brouwer indeed confirms that, quite contrary to the official, mainly literary reports on Bona Dea's exclusively feminine nature, there are many votives to the goddess from men.

[6] According to Propertius 4.9, and Plutarch *Quaestiones Romanae* 60 and 90, women could not worship Hercules at the *Ara Maxima.* Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.12.28, believed that the hero's cult excluded women throughout all Italy; Gellius 11.6.1, reported that they abstained completely from sacrifices to Hercules. However, female adherents of Hercules are known from Italy and throughout the empire: e.g. *CIL* II 728, 2816; VI 286, 297, 327, 337. For Vesta see: H. Hommel, "Vesta und die frührömische Religion," *ANRW* I, 2 (Berlin-New York 1972) 397-420; and M. Beard, "The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins," *JRS* 70 (1980) 12-27. For Diana's exclusion of men in the Vicus Patricius see Plutarch *Quaestiones Romanae* 3.

[7] E.g., women were forbidden to enter the grove of Ares at Geronthrai (Pausanias 3.22.7) and, with the exception of Thracian women, to worship Hercules at Erythrai (Pausanias 7.5.8). Men were excluded from the cults of Ares at Tegea (Pausanias 8.48.4), and Dionysos at Brasiae (Pausanias 3.20.3) and from the festival of the Thesmophoria in Athens. For a thorough listing of Greek cults with local sexual taboos see L. R. Farnell, "Sociological Hypotheses Concerning the Position of Women in Ancient Religion," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 7 (1904) 70-94.

[8] Brelich, art. cit.

[9] It is interesting to note that Silvanus was worshipped with Bona Dea, but always with other deities: with Diana (*AE* 1913 187), Diana and the Silvanae (*CIL* III 10394), and Hercules (*AE* 1946 93). Brelich, art. cit., 10f., elaborating on Wissowa's theory that Silvanus was the private counterpart of the public cult of Faunus, draws an unlikely correlation between the exclusion of males from the cult of Bona Dea-Fauna, and that of females from the worship of Silvanus-Faunus. Silvanus and Faunus, although sometimes confused in ancient literature, cannot be identified with one another.

[10] Only a handful of senators, equestrians and decurions are known as adherents of the god, which may explain why Silvanus was never incorporated

into the elite controlled state calendar, and never given a public temple and priest in Rome.

[11] For the general restriction of women from religious duties see *De Agri Cultura* 143.

[12] The *signum* itself was *sanctum*, not the pool. Baths of Silvanus, known from Saepinum (*CIL* IX 2447) and mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (28.4.19), probably did not have any ritualistic function, if they are to be identified at all with the divinity instead of with an individual bearing that *cognomen*.

[13] Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Hadrian* 18: "Lavacra pro sexibus separavit;" *Marcus Aurelius* 23: "Lavacra mixta summovit;" *Alexander Severus* 24: "Balnea mixta Romae exhiberi prohibuit, quod quidem iam ante prohibitum Heliogabalus fieri permiserat."

[14] K. Lachmann *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser* (Berlin 1848) 302, 13-19: "Omnis possessio quare Silvanum colit? quia primus in terram lapidem finalem posuit. Nam omnis possessio tres Silvanos habet. Unus dicitur domesticus, possessioni consecratus. Alter dicitur agrestis, pastoribus consecratus. Tertius dicitur orientalis, cui est in confinio lucus positus, a quo inter duo pluresve fines oriuntur. Ideoque inter duo pluresve est et lucus finis."

For this passage see D. Briquel, "Le pilon de Pilumnus, la hache d'Intercidona, le balae de Deverra," *Latomus* 42 (1983) 265-276 (with bibliography). Of the three minor deities, only Pilumnus is known elsewhere (e.g., Vergil *Aeneid* 9.3-4). Briquel claims that the distinction among the three *Silvani* in the Gromatici Veteres cannot be likened to that among the three divinities opposed to Silvanus in *Civ. Dei* 6.9, since the differentiation in the former passage is spatial, while in the latter it is functional. But the *Silvani Domesticus, Agrestis* and *Orientalis* of the Gromatici Veteres can easily be assigned domestic, agricultural and boundary functions respectively. Palmer, art. cit., 222, in fact sees a correspondence between the two texts which, however, he argues is a bit defective: Deverra, the goddess of the broom, and Intercidona, the spirit of wood cutting, should not be matched with Silvanus *Agrestis* and *Orientalis* respectively. But Deverra does correspond to Silvanus *Agrestis* since, as Augustine explains, grain is gathered with brooms. Then it is perfectly reasonable that Intercidona be opposed to Silvanus *Orientalis* in the sacred grove, while Pilumnus, the god of the pestle (or, in other words, food production), be juxtaposed with Silvanus *Domesticus* in the home.

[15] Livy 2.7.2: "Silentio proximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam." Valerius Maximus 1.8.5, follows Livy almost verbatim, but there is some confusion over the divinity in this episode. Plutarch *Publicola* 9.4, does not specify the name of the god; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 5.16.2-3, credits Faunus with the divine pronouncement in battle.

[16] There are many indications of Faunus' violence toward women. Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.12.24, records how Faunus' daughter resisted the sexual advances of her own father; Horace *Odes* 3.17, described Faunus as a "Nympharum fugientum amator," in less euphemistic terms the god is accused by Servius of *stuprum* and even of raping animals (*Aeneid* 6.775); see Ovid *Fasti* 2.303, for the story of Faunus' attempted rape of Hercules' girl friend; for Faunus' hostility to women in general see Brelich, *Tre variazioni*, 71. On the other hand, our only source for Silvanus' sexuality shows he was interested in the male, not the female: Servius on *Georgics* 1.20.

Faunus' connection with the night is also undeniable. Lucretius 4.581f., spoke of the noises of the night-wandering Fauns; Calpurnius Siculus 1.15f., referred to the *nocturna gaudia* of Faunus, whom he called *nocturnus pastor*; in Ovid Faunus gives

an oracle at night to Numa (*Fasti* 4.662), and cannot be seen at midday (*Fasti* 4.762); in Vergil *Aeneid* 7.102f., the god delivers a prophecy at night, while in Pliny *NH* 30.84, *Fauni* are contrasted with *nocturni di.*

Many authors describe Faunus as a causer of nightmares. Pliny *NH* 25.29, prescribed a plant to be picked at night as a cure for the nighttime delusions caused by Fauns; Ovid *Fasti* 4.661f., described the *somnia nigra* which Fauns bring on; other sources specifically call Faunus an *incubus*, the term given to Silvanus by Augustine *Civ.Dei* 15.23: Servius *Aeneid* 6.775, and Isidorus *Origines* 8.11.104.

[17] *Patrologia Latina* 17 (1879) 823-824. For the date of this text see L. Ruggini, *Economia e società nell'Italia annonaria* (Milan 1961) vol. 1, 87, note 230; vol. 2, 282, note 206; and F. Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* (Oxford 1935) 319-320. The document unquestionably postdates St. Ambrose, but was written before the time of John of Damascus (675-749) who first quotes it.

[18] S. K. Heyob, *The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden 1975) 129.

[19] *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven-London 1981) 117. Note also that only about 8% of inscriptions to Jupiter Dolichenus were dedicated by women: P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus* (Paris 1951); M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni* (Leiden 1987).

[20] By women alone: *CIL* VI 581, 31003; *AE* 1971 31 (Rome); *CIL* IX 1552; *CIL* V 706, 817, 822, 3303 (Italy); *CIL* XII 1571 (Narbonensis); *CIL* III 3498, 3672, 3963, 4304, 10460, 11001, 11173-11175, 13428, 14089, 14359[30]; *AE* 1930 82 bis; *AE* 1950 118; *AE* 1965 124; *AIJ* 467-468; *BudReg*11 (1932) 380 (Pannonia); *CIL* III 7860 = *IDR* III, 3, no. 131; *AE* 1914 104 = *IDR* III, 3, no. 121 (Dacia); *AE* 1964 175; *AE* 1979 384b (*tabella defixionis* written by a certain Saturnina who replaced *Marti Silvano* with *Mercurius* on one side of the tablet; on the other side presumably the same women invoked Silvanus) (Britannia).

In addition, perhaps Silvanus' name can be substituted for that of Saturn on a female dedication from Volubilis in Mauretania Tingitana (*AE* 1955 207).

By husbands and wives: *CIL* VI 297, 667, 690 (Rome); *CIL* IX 3526 (Italy); *AE* 1899 47 (Africa); *AE* 1967 571 = *CIL* VIII 2585; *AE* 1968 644 (Numidia); *BASD* 30 (1907) 118, no. 3928a (Dalmatia). By women and unspecified males: *CIL* VI 592; *AE* 1971 31 (Rome); *CIL* XIV 309, 4327; *CIL* V 5118 (Italy); *CIL* XII 1726 (Narbonensis); *CIL* VIII 24519a-b (Africa); *CIL* III 4164 (Pannonia). By father and daughter: *CIL* III 3393 (Pannonia). By mother and son: *CIL* V 822 (Italy). For health of women: *AE* 1977 692 (by husband; Dacia); *CIL* VII 1038 (by *libertus*; Britannia).

[21] *CIL* V 817; *CIL* VI 297, 581; *CIL* XIV 4327.

[22] L. Barkóczi, "The Population of Pannonia," *AArchHung* 16[3-4] (1964) 321, regards Garginia Procula (*CIL* III 14359[30]) as a native.

[23] To give some example of Silvanus' urban appeal, note that on inscriptions the god ranks second only to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the cities of Rome and Aquincum, and is the most frequently encountered divinity in Carnuntum.

[24] Of the god's over seventy epithets, surprisingly few have any agricultural significance: *sator* (*AE* 1922 67) and *messor* (*CIL* III 9867; 14970; *GZMS* n.s. 6 (1951) 51) are the only indications of Silvanus invoked to ensure the planting and harvesting of crops. Other titles which refer to country life in any way are also rare: *agrestis* (Vergil *Georgics* 2. 493-494; Lachmann, *Feldmesser*, 302, 13-19), *campester* (*AE* 1967 405 = *IDR* III, 3, no. 220), *erbarius* (*CIL* III 3498) and *Lar agrestis* (*CIL* VI 646).

[25] For Silvanus' purely Roman character in Dacia see P. Dorcey, "The Cult of Silvanus in Dacia," *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 131-140; in Pannonia see A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London-Boston 1974) 250-252. Silvanus, however, is equated with local gods frequently in Africa, Britannia and Gallia Narbonensis.

[26] These goddesses appear with Silvanus on reliefs, especially in Pannonia: see, e.g., *BudReg* 3 (1891) 70. Nymphs, to be distinguished from Silvanae (a purely epigraphic term), are associated with Silvanus also in literature and on inscriptions: Vergil *Georgics* 2. 493f.; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1. 192-193; Lucan *De Bello Civili* 3. 402; *CIL* XI 3289, 3294 (Italy); *CIL* III 1958, 9754 (?), 13187; *BASD* 30 (1907) 118, no. 3928a; *GZMS* 39 (1927) 257 (Dalmatia); *AE* 1983 711 (*Nymphae loci*) (Belgica); *AE* 1927 58 (?) (Moesia).

[27] Women alone: *CIL* V 817, 3303 (Italy); *CIL* III 4304, 10460, 14089; *AE* 1965 124; *AIJ* 467-468 (Pannonia); *AE* 1964 175 (Britannia). Father and daughter: *CIL* III 3393 (Pannonia). Men: *AE* 1946 197 (Tarraconensis); *CIL* III 10077 (Dalmatia); *CIL* III 4441-4442, 4534, 10394, 10847, 13475, 13497, 14355; *EE* 4 (1881) 474; *AE* 1937 209; *AE* 1957 164; *AE* 1978 657 (Pannonia); *CIL* III 12367; *AE* 1955 67 (Moesia).

[28] *CIL* III 3672. Silvanus dedicants also sometimes designate themselves as *patres*, but this term probably does not carry a religious connotation, as in the cult of Mithras: *AE* 1944 119 = *RIU* II, 457 (probably reads *pa(tronus)* rather than *pa(ter)*, since a *collegium* is mentioned); *AE* 1967 405 = *IDR* III, 3, no. 220.

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CONTRACEPTION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE *

Summary of Argument

It has long been recognized that upper class Romans in their desire for small families practised abortion on a large scale. What is not well known is the extent to which these same upper class Romans were concerned with contraception. Some of the methods advocated by Greek and Roman doctors could have been very effective, and aspects of ancient contraceptive theory were as advanced as any modern theory before the middle of the 19th century. Such contraceptive theory was part of a lively literary medical tradition, appearing first in Aristotle and in the Hippocratic Corpus; its repeated appearance in our fragmentary sources, when considered together with the organization of doctors' training, argues for its significance in medical practice, at least among the upper class. Nonetheless, the total effect of contraception upon fertility in Rome cannot be seen only in these terms.[1] For many other ancient contraceptive methods were ineffective; indeed, the rudimentary character of some Romans' knowledge of this subject is highlighted by what seems to be an interesting and surprising confusion of contraception with abortion, both in method and conceptualization. Nor can we necessarily assume that Romans who wished to limit their families had recourse to what might seem to be an obvious and effective solution, namely the practice of coitus interruptus. It is possible that some Romans practised it. But knowledge of coitus interruptus is by no means universal and is even unknown in societies in which other methods of family limitation are used. Finally, on general theoretical grounds I shall argue that the practice of all forms of contraception declined in the later Empire.

I shall deal mainly with those methods of birth-control which Romans of the upper classes used intentionally in order to prevent conception. I have left

* I should like to thank Professor A. H. M. Jones for much teaching and advice; it was under his supervision that I began this work; I should also like to thank Mr. J. A. Crook, Dr. M. I. Finley, Professor D. V. Glass and Dr. A. N. Little for their helpful criticisms.

[1] Fertility is not used in any biological sense, but refers to the rate at which births actually occur in a particular group of people. Where fertility in the biological sense is meant, fecundity (the ability to bring about a pregnancy) is used.

out those practices which in fact limited fertility but which were not undertaken with that end primarily in view (e.g. religious celibacy, homosexuality). The lower classes are left out because so little is known about them. Abortion and infanticide are also left out (they would require an article each), except in so far as Romans confused abortion with contraception.

This confusion of abortion with contraception and the problems of deciding whether the Romans practised coitus interruptus both raise and provide an opportunity to examine some wider methodological considerations. To the modern the concepts contraception and abortion are obviously distinct. In ancient Rome, as I hope to show, this was not always the case. Yet as moderns and as historians we have no alternative but to use our own concepts and categories to describe and explain other societies. Even if the inhabitants of the societies we describe used quite different concepts and categories to make patterns out of the external environment, we can explain their behaviour only in our own terms. Yet the existence of differences between our own and the Roman conceptualisation of the external world poses problems. We have to ask what are the limitations of using categories to describe and explain behaviour which was not conceived by the actors themselves in those terms. Certainly the difficulties are not solved merely by becoming aware of the problem — though this awareness certainly prompts questions and even suggests answers. Some systematic investigation of the differences or similarities in conceptualisation is surely necessary, and it is surprising that so little of the efforts of ancient historians has been directed to this end.

Ancient historians have mostly been content with assuming that Romans in all significant ways thought, perceived and attached meaning to their actions in a manner roughly comparable to their own — be they French, English, Italian or German of the 18th, 19th or 20th centuries. This may be justifiable in straight political history; it is certainly less justifiable in social history — and in both cases it would be better, if systematically and openly justified. The confusion of abortion and contraception provides one example of how our concepts differ from the Romans; the problem of coitus interruptus raises another related issue. If we can assume some harmony between the conceptualisation of total environment on the one hand and personality on the other, differences in conceptualisation would lead one to expect differences in personality. Romans might typically be significantly different from modern Westerners. This difference is obviously difficult to assess, but at least per contra it seems illegitimate for historians to assume that human nature (as in "Naturally . . .") or "reasonable" behaviour can be used as constant elements in their explanations of historical acts. Human "nature", if it is to be used at all, may more reasonably be seen as variable, not constant, and this degree of variability is a proper subject for investigation not assumption. But such issues are too grand to receive any adequate treatment in an article on birth-control. Yet they are germane; I began by wondering

how aristocratic Romans kept their families small, and I found that only by touching upon these wider questions, could I come to terms with the subject.

It is also beyond the scope of this article to establish, delimit and document the extent, intensity and causes of the motives which led the upper classes to limit the size of their families. Yet one of the most important aspects of contraception is that conscious motivation is a key to its success. The intensity of the desire not to beget or not to conceive is an important factor in increasing the efficiency of most contraceptive methods, from the most hazardous to the potentially most efficient. A general fall in fertility is a product of will plus technique, but the will is prior, if not to the discovery of contraceptives, at least to their use.[2]

Nevertheless for current purposes it is enough to refer to what is well-known: the legislation of the emperor Augustus (18 B.C. and A.D. 9) designed to increase fertility; the complaints of low fertility and references to the unashamed practice of abortion which abound in the literature of the first centuries before and after Christ; the re-enactment of Augustus' laws in the second and third centuries A.D. and similar legislation in the middle of the fifth century A.D. Let us assume that these complaints had some substantial foundation in reality, at least among the upper classes; let us assume that the birth rate was, in fact, low; that a significant number of upper class families had fewer than three children born to them, since this was the target set by the Augustan laws.[3]

Roman girls married young; half of their first marriages would have lasted about 18 years.[4] If they had regular and frequent intercourse we should expect many more than three children from most marriages. Some have claimed that the low fertility of Romans can be explained by racial decline, either through racial mixture or through selective breeding of the weakest (e.g.

[2] P. Ariès, "Attitudes devant la vie et la mort du XVIIe au XIXe siècle", *Population*, 3 (1949), 469; C. V. Kiser, "L'enquête d'Indianapolis sur la fécondité", *ibid.*, 5 (1950), 272.

[3] For example: Aulus Gellius, *NA*, 1, 6; Propertius, 2, 7; Pliny, *NH* 14, 5; Augustus' laws: Suetonius, *Aug.*, 34 and 89; *Dig.*, 35, 1, 64, 1 (Terentius Clemens); their re-enactment: frag. Vat., 168 and 247; cf. *CIL*, XI, 6358; and in the third century: D. 50, 5, 2 (Ulpian); CJ 5, 66, 1 (203); these laws were formally annulled by Constantine, C. Th. 8, 16 (320), though something of it lingered cf. C. Th. 9, 42, 9 (380) and 8, 17, 1–3 (396 and 410). Majorian re-enacted penalties for childless women in 458 (N. Maj. 6.) The evidence for small families among the upper class in the Early Empire is legion; I have collected some of the evidence from the later Empire in my unpublished fellowship dissertation, "A demographic profile of the Later Roman aristocracy", King's College, Cambridge, 1963.

[4] For this calculation I have used UN model life tables, level 10, with an expectation of life at birth for both sexes of 25 (*Methods for Population Projections by Sex and Age, UN Population Studies*, 25 (1956), 74–6, ST/SOA/Series A). The median duration of first marriages, with no account taken of divorce, but only of one or both partners' death, is based for purposes of illustration on a couple married at 15 (female) and 25 (male). Cf. M. K. Hopkins, "The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage", *Population Studies*, 18 (1965), 325.

Seeck's *Die Ausrottung der Besten*).[5] There is little serious evidence in favour of either argument. In all societies in which it has been observed, fall of fertility has been too swift to be accounted for by biological changes. There is in modern studies some backing to be found for Galton's theory that "only" children (Galton's heiresses) are sub-fertile (and sub-fecund); but only to a limited degree. It has yet to be shown that a significant number of fecund aristocrats married the only daughters of rich bourgeois; and it has yet to be shown that these "heiresses" were "only" children because of the hereditary sub-fecundity of their parents, rather than through the earlier death of sibs or parents.[6] Secondly it might be argued that Romans avoided large families by being unfaithful to their wives. There was in Rome little or no ideal of the faithful husband. Courtesans were extolled in the literature and presumably visited.[7] But, on the other hand, adultery among equals, affairs between mistresses and slaves, were also, if the literature reflects reality, common enough, morally condemned but often condoned. Besides, even discounting the wife's infidelity, occasional or repeated infidelity by the husband alone might be insufficient to account for the widespread achievement of less than three children over the total length of married life; that would require not occasional infidelity but considerable periods of continence. This may have occurred but all in all it seems reasonable to assume that, in general, low fertility among upper class Romans was achieved by some means of family limitation.

Thus, I assume that Roman women of the upper classes had a median married life (first marriage) of 18 years, significant exposure to the risk of pregnancy (whether marital or extra-marital), as high a fecundity as is to be found in comparable pre-industrial populations, and a low fertility. Since motivation and achievement are closely related, it is possible to deduce from this a high level of motivation to limit family size. The question remains; how was this low fertility achieved? We know that Romans practised abortion with little or no sense of shame.[8] There is some evidence that they practised infanticide, but it is by no means agreed that this was common among the upper classes.[9] What we are concerned with is to discover whether upper

[5] O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart 4, 1921), 1,269 sq.; cf. also the similar, if much qualified views of H. Last, "Letter to N. H. Baynes", *J.R.S.*, 37 (1947), 152–6.

[6] F. Galton, *Hereditary Genius* (London 1869), 130–140; R. A. Fisher's elaboration in *Genetical Theory of Natural Selection* (Oxford 1930); T. H. Hollingsworth, "A demographic study of the British Ducal Families", *Population Studies,* 11 (1957-8), 23–4.

[7] *E.g.*, "Uxor legitimus debet quasi census amari Nec censum vellem semper amare meum." (Meyer, *Anthologia*, 146). For prostitution cf. H. Herter, "Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution", *Jahrbuch für Antike u. Christentum,* 3 (1960), 70 ff. (This article is not sociological.)

[8] Cf. R. Hähnel, "Der künstliche Abortus im Altertum", *Sudhoffs Archiv Gesch. Med.*, 29 (1936), 224–55; J. H. Waszink, *RAC*, sv "Abtreibung".

[9] M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* (Munich, 1959), 2, 143–4, and the literature cited there. I agree, of course that the lower classes also killed or sold their children,

class Romans, highly motivated as they were to limit their families, extended the logic of infanticide and abortion; did they use contraceptives and were these contraceptives efficient? Some advantages of contraception are apparent; it is an extra line of defence against the unwanted child; it saves the mother the pain and danger of childbirth and abortion; it saves interruption of love life; it avoids the disruption and tension which surround the responsibility of killing one's own child.

We may perhaps guess that Romans used contraceptives — or say that it is likely that they did — but can we know? Representatively Professor Syme has answered that we do not know, that there is no evidence.[10] And to be sure the evidence is slight — but some at least does exist, and we shall see if something can be made of it.[11]

The Medical Tradition

A major part of Roman medicine was derived from Greek medicine, and indeed many of the famous doctors who practised in Rome were Greek-speaking and trained in Greek "universities". Greek medicine in the Roman Empire rested upon a long-established and voluminous literary tradition. As Drabkin wrote: "Though many a doctor must have been trained with few or no books, it is nevertheless the literary tradition that is important for the significant development of Greek medicine, and its transmission to later ages . . . Great as is the bulk of medical writings, much greater than that of any other field of ancient literature, by far the greatest part has failed to survive." [12] The surviving writings however amply illustrate the liveliness of the literary tradition; for writers frequently expresed their indebtedness to previous medical scholars. Soranus, for example, cited 39 medical authorities in his 152 pages on gynaecology. But over and beyond literary doctors the very structure of medical training and practice must have reinforced the significance of the central core of ancient medical learning. True, there were many uneducated doctors, and many slave doctors, but there were also famous centres of medical training such as Alexandria, Smyrna, Pergamum and Rome; the state and the municipalities paid for the establishment of

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though the usual economic causes cited need qualification. For infanticide by the rich, cf., Longus, *Pastoralia*, 4, 35; Suetonius, *Aug.* 65, 4; *Claudius*, 27; Tertullian, *Apol.*, 9; Musonius, apud Stobaeum (ed. Hense), 4, 665; Firmicus Maternus, *Math.*, 7, 2.

[10] R. Syme, "Bastards in the Roman Aristocracy", *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, 104, 3 (1960), 324.

[11] Two scholars in particular have blazed the trail: N. B. Himes, *A Medical History of Contraception* (London, 1936), esp. 79–96; he was not a classicist and relied upon translations, which in one or two instances were misleading, and in others incomplete. The other is P. Diepgen, *Die Frauenheilkunde der alten Welt* (Munich, 1937), which gives a fuller, but somewhat fragmented account and is concerned with the knowledge rather than with the use of contraceptives.

[12] I. E. Drabkin, "On Medical Education in Greece and Rome", *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 15 (1944), 350.

chairs of medicine, gave privileges and tax immunities to doctors throughout the empire, and from the second century A.D. provided positions for a number of salaried doctors according to the importance of the town. In the later empire, especially, doctors were highly honoured.[13] All these arrangements are likely to have encouraged the employment of doctors trained at one of the famous universities. In Ephesus, for example, there was a competition organised by the local medical association with prizes for achievements during the previous year in surgery, and for medical knowledge. In Rome during the fourth century, state doctors had to be chosen by at least seven other doctors.[14] Taking all these factors together it is reasonable to suppose that general medical precepts and contraceptive advice which survive and are found repeatedly in ancient medical writings had a fairly wide circulation; in particular those doctors who served the well-to-do are likely to have had access either to "university" training or to the written tradition; or to both.

While the influence of Greek medicine on Roman medicine is well documented for the early Empire, its continuing influence during the Later Empire (from the fourth century onwards) is perhaps less well known, and deserves illustration. This I shall give with especial reference to the gynaecological literature with which we shall be dealing later. The works of Vindicianus (c. A.D. 370), Theodorus Priscianus (c. A.D. 400) and Cassius Felix (c. A.D. 440) all show traces of earlier Greek writings. Theodorus Priscianus wrote his medical treatise, the *Euporiston,* first in Greek, then both shortened it and translated it into Latin. Both Vindicianus and Cassius Felix were highly indebted to Greek sources and both were intent on spreading Greek knowledge. From the fifth century there also survives the translation by Caelius Aurelianus of Soranus' lengthy work *On Acute and Chronic Diseases,* and especially important for our present subject is his recently discovered translation of Soranus' *Gynaecia.*[15] Oribasius, a medical encyclopaedist and

[13] In general, cf. T. C. Allbutt, *Greek medicine in Rome* (London 1921), esp. on the public medical service, pp. 443 ff., and P. Diepgen, *Geschichte der Medizin* (Berlin, 1949), 1, 151. Scribonius Largus laments that anyone can become a doctor (ed. G. Helmreich, Leipzig, 1887, p. 4, 23). On public payment and privileges given to doctors cf. Suetonius, *Julius Caesar,* 42, 1; *Augustus,* 42, 3; *Dio Cass.,* 53, 30, 3; D. 27, 1, 6, 2; C. Th. 13, 3; Strabo 4, 1, 5. On public lectures and medical schools — Galen, ed. Kühn, 19, 21 and J. Oehler, "Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ärztestandes", *Janus,* 14 (1909), 14–5.

[14] On Ephesus medical association, cf. L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms* (Leipzig, 1921), 1, 192; for others, cf. the epitaphs to *tabulario scholae medicorum* (Orelli 4226) and set up by a *scriba medicorum* (*CIL,* VI, 9566). On the selection of municipal doctors, C. Th. 13, 3, 9 (370).

[15] Some of Vindicianus' work, including a *Gynaecia,* survives in fragmentary form (ed. with the works of Theodorus Priscianus by V. Rose, Leipzig, 1894). He was a teacher of Priscianus, and one of his main purposes was to make Greek works available in Latin, so K. Deichgräber, *RE, sv* Vindicianus, col. 36. Theodorus Priscianus also wrote a *Gynaecia,* which shows the influence of Soranus, whether direct or indirect. Cf. Deichgräber, *RE sv* Theodorus (46). The *de medicina* of Cassius Felix was written in A.D.

court physician to the Emperor Julian (A.D. 361-3), cited Soranus as well as Galen, to name but two of his many sources. In the sixth century Mustio, possibly an African, and Aëtius of Amida, as well as Mustio's later Byzantine translator, preserved the gynaecological work of Soranus.[16] According to Cassiodorus, translations of Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Galen, as well as Caelius' translation of Soranus, were being read in Italy in the sixth century. Marcellus of Bordeaux at the beginning of the fifth century seems to have relied almost completely on such Latin translations and adaptations of Greek knowledge.[17]

The opinion of Cassiodorus and the internal evidence of the nine medical writers, cited above, provide evidence of the lively and derivative medical tradition during the Later Empire. Thus the writings of the earlier Greek doctors should not be seen as single contributions, fixed to the time of their composition. They were repeatedly read, learned, revised, translated; more than that they were part and parcel of day-to-day medical practice.

The tradition of effective contraceptive knowledge is part of this wider medical tradition. Our knowledge of it stems, as with so much else, from the Hippocratic Corpus and Aristotle.[18] It can thereafter be traced faintly in

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447, and has in the manuscript (codex Parisianus Latinus 6114) the subtitle ... *medicinae logicae sectae de graeco in latinum liber translatus.* It was based particularly upon Galen. Caelius Aurelianus was also an African; his *Gynaecia* was first published by M. F. and I. E. Drabkin, *Bull. Hist. Med.*, Suppl. 13 (Baltimore, 1951).

[16] The influence of Soranus may be seen in Oribasius, Coll. 24, 31, ed. J. Raeder, *CMG*, VI, 2, 1; ed. U. C. Bussemaker and C. Daremberg (Paris, 1851–76), vol. 3, 369–82; cf. J. Ilberg, "Die Überlieferung der Gynäkologie des Soranos von Ephesos", *Abh. der phil.-hist. Kl. der kön. sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.*, 28, 2 (Leipzig, 1916), 27. Soranus is drawn on by Tertullian, *de anima* 6, 6 and praised by Augustine, *Contra Julianum* 5, 14, 51, *PL* 44, 813. Aëtius was physician at the court of Justinian 1 at Constantinopole; he was strongly influenced by Soranus, cf. his *de re medica* liber XVI, ed. S. Zervos (Leipzig, 1901). Mustio translated and adapted Soranus' *Gynaecia*; his work was edited by V. Rose under the title *Sorani Gynaeciorum vetus translatio Latina* (Leipzig, 1883); it had been retranslated into Greek and attributed to Moschion (ed. F. O. Dewez, Vienna, 1793), who was long thought to be a different man; but their identity is shown by Ilberg, *op. cit.*, 6, 9. 74 sq., 102 sq. A brief account of the influence of Soranus on later gynaecology is given by O. Temkin, *Soranus' Gynecology* (Baltimore, 1956), xliv ff.

[17] Cassiodorus, *de inst. div. litt.* 31; Marcellus Empiricus or Burdigalensis (ed. G. Helmreich, Leipzig, 1889, and M. Niedermann, Berlin, 1916, *CML*, 5) wrote in a letter, addressed to the sons of the emperor Theodosius, of his Latin sources (Helmreich, 1; Niedermann, 3); also cf. E. Kind, *RE* sv Marcellus (58).

[18] Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, 583a, recommends that a woman who does not want to conceive should before intercourse smear her genitals with cedar oil, white lead or frankincense. [Hippocrates], *Nat. Mul.* 98 (ed. E. Littré, 7, 414) and *Mul.*, 1, 76 (Littré, 8, 170) recommends that the woman should drink misy, which is possibly copper sulphate. In *Genit.*, 5 (Littré, 7, 476), the author mentions the practice of women who do not want to conceive, but the wording is so vague that it is difficult to know what is meant; it seems to be either coitus interruptus or some method of getting the semen out of the vagina after coitus; such methods are often found elsewhere (cf., Himes, *op. cit.*, 26, 82): Ἐπὴν δὲ μιχθῇ ἡ γυνὴ, ἢν μὲν μὴ μέλλῃ λήψεσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτὴν, πρὸς τῷ ἔθει χωρέει

Pliny the Elder; [19] and certainly in Dioscorides in the first century A.D.[20] In the beginning of the second century A.D., the great doctor Soranus, a Greek who practised in Rome, advanced in his *Gynaecia* both technique and theory to a level surpassed only in the last hundred years.[21] After him, the tradition is to be found partially in Oribasius, and more fully in the work of Caelius Aurelianus in the fifth century A.D. and of Aëtius in the sixth.[22] It is of con-

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ἔξω ἡ γονὴ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ὁκόταν ἡ γυνὴ ἐθελήσῃ. "When the woman has intercourse, if she does not intend to conceive, the semen from both customarily falls outside, when the woman wishes it." Cf., *Nat. Puer.*, 13 (Littré, 7, 490).

[19] Certainly if it is there at all in Pliny it is distorted. Pliny, *NH* 24, 11, 18 (Loeb translation): "Gossip records a miracle: that to rub it (cedar gum) all over the male part before coition prevents conception." Cf. below, p. 138 and n. 39. Not only is it a distortion of Aristotle's prescription, it is also unlikely to be effective. There are many other references to contraceptives in Pliny's *Natural History*, but most of them are cautionary; e.g., fern, or asplenon, is good for such and such, but is should not be taken by women because it causes sterility or abortion (27, 55, 80; 27, 17, 34; and similarly: 20: 44, 114; 51, 142–3; 53, 147). He also positively recommended some antaphrodisiacs and medicines designed to cause impotence (for use against third parties?); these are purely magical (28, 32, 122; 28, 77, 256) and herbal (22, 45, 91). In another passage Pliny states his attitude towards the use of contraceptives (29, 27, 85): "There is also a third type of phalangium, a hairy spider with an enormous head. When this is cut open, there are said to be found inside two little worms, which tied in deer skin as an amulet on women before sunrise, act as a contraceptive (ne concipiant), as Caecilius has told us in his Commentaries. They retain this property for a year. Of all such preventives (atocio) this only would it be right for me to mention, to help those women who are so prolific that they stand in need of such respite." Cf. Tosephta, Yebamot 8,4.

[20] Pedanius Dioscorides came from Cilicia, and served in the Roman army. He wrote one of the most important ancient pharmacological and botanical treatises. It had great influence in later times and after the invention of printing went through 70 editions in many European countries (cf. Himes, *op. cit.*, 85-6). There survives from antiquity a sixth century manuscript of it with fine drawings of many plants; these have been published by R. T. Gunther (Oxford, 1934 and New York, 1959). The references here are to the text by M. Wellman (Berlin 1907-14), 3 vols; his enumeration differs slightly from Gunther's. I have not been able to consult T. Fischer, *Die Gynäkologie bei Dioscorides u. Plinius*, Diss. Vienna, 1927, nor to translate J. Lachs, *Ginekologia u Dioscoridesa* (Krakow, 1949). Dioscorides has at least 20 prescriptions for childlessness: a) only four of these are cautionary (2, 179, 2; 4, 20; 4, 185; 5, 146); b) three are magical (e.g. asparagus as an amulet and its decoction drunk, 2, 125, considered spurious by Wellman; and also 2, 79; 3, 134); c) seven are ineffectual potions (e.g.: willow leaves with water, 1, 104; and also: 1, 81; 2, 19; 2, 75; 4, 19; 5, 80 (2); d) two are ineffectual pessaries (to be applied to the genitals) one after coitus (2: 75, 159); e) only the last four are possibly effective; they consist of pessaries or sticky substances to be applied to the genitals before coitus (peppermint(?) + honey + water, 3, 34; cedar(?) gum, 1, 77, 2; axe-weed with honey, 3, 130; alum, 5, 106, 6).

[21] Himes, *op. cit.*, 88; Soranus, *Gynaecia*, 2, 44; Suidas, *Lexicon* (ed. Adler) *sv* Soranos.

[22] Oribasius, *Euporiston* 4, 116 (Bussemaker and Daremberg, 5, 777–8; Latin; 6, 623) gave essentially the same advice as Dioscorides in three prescriptions, of which only one is possibly useful (a pessary of axe-weed to be applied before coitus), added a further useless pessary (of cabbage) to be applied after intercourse, and converted what was to Dioscorides an ingredient in a possibly effective prescription into a sole and useless ointment for the male genitals (peppermint). Caelius Aurelianus *Gynaecia* (ed. Drabkin, p. 29; 1, 83) follows Soranus and except for recommending that the woman should hold her breath on receiving the semen, proposes possibly effective methods.

siderable significance that this tradition can, given the gaps in our sources, be traced so far. But for the recent discovery of the translation of Soranus' *Gynaecia* by Caelius Aurelianus, we might have been faced with large gaps between Soranus, Oribasius and Aëtius. For in the gynaecological writings of Theodorus Priscianus who shows the influence of Soranus, in the fragmentary Vindicianus, and in Mustio's translation of Soranus, there is no mention of contraception. The fact that translators and adapters of Soranus omitted his sections on contraception, calls for investigation. It may be that in the fourth and sixth centuries after Christ some writers thought that married people were no longer interested in contraception. I shall return to this later.

Meanwhile we must establish the importance of the ancient evidence on contraception. In order to do this I looked at the work of 26 ancient medical writers; their work comprises the bulk of published ancient medical writings; the principle of their selection was their easy availability in standard texts.[23] These works cover general medical texts, books on herbs, simples, gynaecology, chronic and acute diseases, etc. I excluded the work of 4 writers from the following discussion, because the nature of their subject matter (e.g. kidneys, lungs, poisonous animals) made it unreasonable to expect contraceptive information. Of the remaining 22, 11 suggested contraceptive methods, while a further writer, Galen, mentions the practice of preventing conception, without actually suggesting means.[24] Of those 9 writers, with specifically gynaecological works or sections, five mention contraceptive methods (3 at length); three of the four who do not mention contraceptive methods, come from the Christian West during the fourth and fifth centuries. Of these same 22 writers, 18 mention methods of aiding conception, but then there is more reason why the medical profession should see sterility as pathological. 18 writers also mention abortion, of whom 15 give methods. But in fact, and in spite of the Hippocratic oath which forbids abortion, abortifacients figure more frequently than either aids to conception or contraceptives.[25] Among the simples of Paulus of Aegineta, for example, there are 10 abortifacients, 1 remedy for sterility and 1 contraceptive. In Sextus Placitus there are 6 remedies for sterility and 9 contraceptives; and in Dioscorides' first two books (of five), 26 out of over 400 herbs, plants etc. are said to be abortifacients, only 2 are remedies for sterility, while 9 are contraceptives. It may be that frequency of mention is more a function of ineffectiveness than of concern with a problem; but I do not think so. Nevertheless

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Aëtius at his best closely follows Soranus; he added brine and vinegar (which occur in Knowlton, 1832), but he added also magical recipes (*de re medica*, 16, 16–17).

[23] Teubner and the Corpus of Greek and Latin medical writers.

[24] Galen, *CMG* 5, 10, 1, 221 sq.; The exact references to contraception in these 11 authors are given elsewhere *infra*, except for Paulus Aegineta 7, 3 and Ps. Apuleius Platonicus, *CML*, 4, 293.

[25] Soranus, *Gynaecia*, 1, 60.

TABLE OF MEDICAL WRITERS CONSULTED

Name and century	*Nature and length of work*	*Abortifacients detailed*	*Aids to conception detailed*	*Contraceptive methods detailed*
Aëtius 6 c.	General medicine; long *	yes	yes	yes
Aristotle 4 c. B.C.	voluminous *	yes	yes	yes
Caelius Aurelianus 5 c.	Gynaecology; short *	yes	yes	yes
Cassius Felix 5 c.	General medicine; medium	no	no	no
Celsus 1 c.	General handbook; long	yes	yes	no
Dioscorides 1 c.	Herbal; long	yes	yes	yes
Galen 2 c.	General medicine; voluminous *	yes	yes	practice but not method
Hippocratic Corpus from 5 c. B.C.	General medicine; voluminous	yes	yes	yes
Marcellus 4 c.	General medicine; long	no	no	no
Mustio (and Moschion) 6 c.	Gynaecology; short *	yes	yes	no
Oribasius 4 c.	General medical encyclopedia; long	yes	yes	yes
Paulus Aegineta 7 c.	General medicine; long	yes	yes	yes
Pliny 1 c.	General encyclopedia; voluminous	yes	yes	yes
S. Placitus Papyriensis ?5 c.	Herbal etc.; short	yes	yes	yes
Ps. A. Musa well after 1 c.	Herbal; short	no	no	no
Ps. Apuleius Platonicus 4 c.	Herbal; long	yes	yes	yes
Scribonius Largus 1 c.	Simples; medium	no	no	no
Q. Serenus 3 or 4 c.	Medical handbook in verse; 600 lines	no	yes	no
Soranus 2 c.	Gynaecology; medium *	yes	yes	yes
Theodorus Priscianus 4 c.	General medicine; long *	yes	yes	no
Vindicianus 4 c.	Gynaecology; fragmentary *	no	yes	no
Antidotarium Bruxellense ?	200 folk recipes.	no	yes	no

Excluded because of subject

Alexander Tralles	6 c.	Kidneys, lungs, ears etc.; long	
Aretaeus	2 c.	Acute and chronic diseases; medium	
Philumenus	?2 c.	Poisonous animals; short	
Rufus	2 c.	Bladder kidneys; fragmentary	

Short = < 100 pp. text; Long = > 200 pp. text; * = with special gynaecological section.

one could not claim any preoccupation with contraception; neither it nor abortion occurs as frequently as toothache or gout; but the fact that 11 out of 22 medical writers suggest contraceptive methods is surely important.

Effective and Ineffective Methods

The contraceptive methods which Greek and Roman doctors suggested include the application before coitus of cedar gum, vinegar, brine or olive oil to the vagina or male genitals and a gamut of vaginal plugs and occlusive pessaries, mostly with wool base soked in honey, alum, white lead or olive oil.

Ancient attitudes to the problems of efficient contraception, partly scientific, partly unverified theory and partly superstition but in no way authoritarian or religious, may be seen at their best in one passage of Soranus. He wrote:[26]

> For if it is much more advantageous not to conceive than to destroy the embryo, one must consequently beware of having sexual intercourse at those periods which we said were suitable for conception.[27] And during the sexual act, at the critical moment of coitus when the man is about to discharge the seed, the woman must hold her breath and draw herself away a little, so that the seed may not be hurled too deep into the cavity of the uterus. And getting up immediately and squatting down she should induce sneezing and carefully wipe the vagina all round; she might even drink something cold.
>
> It also aids in preventing conception to smear the orifice of the uterus all over before with old olive oil or honey or cedar resin or juice of the balsam tree, alone or together with white lead; or before the act with moist alum, or with galbanum together with wine; or just to put a lock of fine wool into the orifice of the uterus; or before sexual relations to use vaginal suppositories which have the power to contract and to condense. For such as these things as are styptic, clogging and cooling cause the orifice of the uterus to shut before the time of coitus and do not let the seed pass into its fundus.

Several other contraceptive prescriptions follow.

Many of these methods could have been effective, and were still being used in Western countries in the last thirty years. M. Stopes was still advocating the use of olive oil in 1931. In 1947, E. L. Koos reporting on his

[26] *Gynaecia*, 1, 61; translated by O. Temkin, *Soranus' Gynecology* (Baltimore, 1956), 63–4. The passage by Aëtius is similar, 16, 16–17.

[27] *Gynaecia*, 1, 36: "when urge and appetite for intercourse are present", at the time after menstruation. This idea was still current among Western doctors in the nineteenth century, e.g. C. Knowlton, *Fruits of Philosophy* (London, 1841), 16.

investigations in New York City, found that some members of the lower classes were using douches of water with vinegar, lemon juice or alum. Alum, vinegar and brine are all highly spermicidal, and were recommended by Stopes in 1927.[28] Olive oil and the sticky substances recommended by the ancient authors, besides blocking the os of the uterus, would reduce the motility of the sperm and so diminish the chances of conception. If Roman arristocrats acted upon recommendations such as these at all consistently, the effect upon their fertility would have been considerable.

But this would have been difficult for them. Just as Soranus suggested sneezing, almost in the same breath as he recommended the blocking of the cervix, many medical writers at Rome indiscriminately mixed the effective with the ineffective or magical. Isolation of methods which are or can be efficient distorts the issue. Soranus remonstrated against amulets, but from what we know of Roman superstitions by no means all Roman aristocrats, or for that matter all fashionable Roman doctors can be credited with the same critical and scientific attitudes.

There are in fact some writings of the Later Empire extant (e.g. the *Liber medicinae* Sexti Placiti Papyriensis *ex animalibus pecoribus et bestiis vel avibus*),[29] which consist entirely of ineffective medicines. All 9 of Placitus' contraceptive recipes are useless, so that it may have been as well that he gave his followers so many alternatives. Even Aëtius, whose passage on contraception is, after Soranus', the most rational and complete, recommended the following charms against conception:

> Wear the liver of a cat in a tube on the left foot . . . or else wear part of the womb of a lioness in a tube of ivory. This is very effective.[30]

Similar recipes are to be found in Pliny and Dioscorides.

[28] "Positive and Negative Control of Contraception in its Various Technical Aspects", *Journal of State Medicine*, 39 (1931) 359; "Class Differences in the Employment of Contraceptive Measures", *Human Fertility*, 12 (1947), 97–101; M. C. Stopes, *Contraception, Its Theory, History and Practice* (London, 1927), 119–21, 124–5; Himes, *op. cit.*, 96. J. T. Noonan, the typescript of whose book *Contraception. A History of its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Harvard, 1965) I have been privileged to see, cites some recent research which suggests that some potions used by primitive peoples do have a temporary contraceptive effect; these researches do not tell us whether any specific ancient medicines were effective, only that some potions may be effective or partially effective. Cf. H. de Laszlo and P. S. Henshaw, "Plant Material Used by primitive peoples to affect fertility", *Science*, 119 (1954), 626, and H. Jackson, "Antifertility Substances", *Pharmacological Reviews*, 11 (June 1959), 135 sq.

[29] Ed. E. Howald and H. E. Sigerist (Leipzig, 1927), *CML* 4. The work dates from the fourth or fifth century A.D.

[30] Aëtius, 16, 17. To the contraceptive methods noted there may perhaps be added the first intimations of a condom: see the curious story in Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses* 41 (ed. E. Martin, Leipzig, 1896, in *Mythographi Graeci*, 2, p. 124–5). A kind of condom made from a goat's bladder is described, but its use seems to have been less contraceptive than prophylactic. Cf. P. Richter, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kondoms", in *Zeitschrift für Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*, 12 (1912), 35; and Himes, *op. cit.*, 187–8.

Yet some of the methods recommended were more effective; the wealthy had access to those doctors who could and probably did read the writers who recommended, inter alia, effective contraceptives. Sometimes, by luck rather than by judgement, they must have hit upon them.

The Use of Contraceptives and the Confusion of Contraception with Abortion

Yet in one respect both effective and magical methods of contraception point in the same direction. Both point to the existence of motives to limit family size. These motives taken together with the consistent and repetitive tradition of contraceptive prescriptions constitute a *prima facie* argument that contraceptives (even if many were useless) were recommended, available and used.

As evidence that contraceptives were used, the existing medical writings leave a lot to be desired. But the very existence of contraceptive prescriptions from each century of the Roman empire prompts us at the very least to turn the question with which we started. If contraceptives were known, readily available (olive oil and wool, rather than wombs of lionesses) and used, why do we not hear more of their use?

To some extent we can say that the subject is not one which appealed to Roman litterateurs;[31] Juvenal perhaps, but only perhaps, refers to contraceptives; after him satire declined, and we have to wait for the next wave of social criticism, to be found in the sermons of Christian priests. But although these will yield a thin harvast, the problem goes deeper than that. There was, I think a basic lack of clarity about the concept "contraception" even in the most educated circles. Contraception was in some ways confused with, or at least not distinguished from, abortion, surprising as that may seem; the same confusion has been found in Japan and India recently, in English professional medical writings at the end of the 19th century and in French literary writings of the 16th and 17th centuries.[32]

To be sure, Soranus made the distinction with some firmness, indeed with sufficient emphasis to make it clear that there were still people to persuade that the distinction was valid. "A contraceptive differs from an abortive, for

[31] Juvenal, 6, 595–7: "So powerful are her arts and medicines that she makes women sterile and brings about the killing of humans in the womb." (*Tantum artes huius, tantum medicamina possunt, / quae steriles facit atque homines in ventre necandos/ conducit.*) *Steriles* may refer to contraceptives, but it may also refer to abortion. The desire for childlessness is again mentioned by Juvenal together with the means to achieve it, Juv., 6, 366–8: Sunt quas eunuchi inbelles ac mollia semper/oscula delectent . . ./et quod abortivo non est opus. But this use of eunuchs cannot have been very common, although the same accusation is found in the fifth century, Cyril of Alexandria, *Sermo contra Eunuchos*, *PG* 77, 1108–9.

[32] I. B. Taeuber, *The Population of Japan* (Princeton, 1958), 272; Ariès, "Sur les origines de la contraception en France", *Population*, 8 (1953), 469; K. Dandekar, "Family Planning Studies . . .", in *Research in Family Planning*, ed. C. V. Kiser (Princeton, 1962), 8; J. Peel, "Contraception and the medical profession", *Population Studies*, 18 (1964), 136.

the first does not let the conception take place, while the latter destroys what has been conceived. Let us, therefore, call the one "abortive" (*phthorion*) and the other "contraceptive" (*atokion*). And an "expulsive" (*ekbolion*) some people say is synonymous with an abortive." [33] Others were not so clear headed. St. John Chrysostom talked in a sermon of *atókia*, contraceptives, but confessed he did not know what to call them, and then ambiguously described what they are for. "Indeed something worse than murder. I do not know what to call it. For it does not only destroy what is conceived but prevents it from being conceived." [34]

Moreover some of the medicaments recommended by doctors as contraceptives were also considered abortifacients.[35] Soranus listed some of them and warned his readers against them: "These medicines not only prevent conception but also destroy its product. According to our opinion the damage caused by them is considerable . . ." [36] Soranus was, as we have seen, clear about the distinction between abortion and contraception, but it is difficult to think how he conceptualised the workings of these dual prescriptions. Dioscorides considered pepper an abortifacient, unless applied after coitus; then it was a contraceptive (*atókion*); he explicitly makes this distinction; but why after coitus? [37] Again it is hard to envisage his conceptualisation. He mentioned another plant — *Pteris aquilina* — and said it caused both childlessness and abortions; it was the same herb which Pliny considered antaphrodisiac as well as abortifacient and contraceptive (its effects lasted for 12 days).[38] Such evidence is circumstantial perhaps, and justifies raising the question rather than calling it settled. But in the following passage of Pliny, surely the confusion between contraception and abortion is unambiguous? About cedar he wrote: *Portentum est quod tradunt abortivum fieri in venere ante perfusa virilitate.* W. H. Stuart Jones, in the Loeb edition, translated this: "Gossip records a miracle: that to rub it all over the male part before coition prevents conception." This certainly conveys some of Pliny's intention, but Jones rationalises and imposes the clarity of modern concepts on Pliny's obvious confusion between *ante* (before coition) and *abortivum*.[39]

[33] Soranus, *Gynaecia,* 1, 60, trans. O. Temkin; cf. Aëtius, *de re medica,* 16, 16.

[34] St. John Chrysostom, *In Epist. ad Rom.*, 24, 4 (*PG* 60, 626). Cf. also, *In Matth.*, 28 (*PG* 57, 357) which may refer to abortion, but probably refers to contraception.

[35] Some were in fact abortifacients; P. Diepgen, *op. cit.*, 301. Perhaps in the same confusion the lawyer Marcian wrote; "By senatorial decree a woman is to be exiled if, without malice, but setting a bad example, she gives a medicine (*ad conceptionem*) (?against) for conception, from which the recipient dies." D. 48, 8, 3, 2. Noonan, *op. cit.*, Chap. 1, thinks this *ad conceptionem* might refer to contraception, rather than conception. Certainly an abortifacient seems more likely to kill; but contra T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899), 637.

[36] *Gynaecia,* 1, 63.

[37] *de materia medica,* 2, 159, 3.

[38] *Ibid.*, 4, 185; it is the nymphaea (pteris) of Pliny, *NH* 25, 37, 75 and cf. also 27, 55, 80 and 20, 51, 142–3.

[39] Another interesting passage, which to my mind is only explicable in terms of a

This confusion by some writers was no doubt facilitated by the fact that ancient doctors (and presumably laymen) neither found it easy to tell when pregnancy had begun nor were they agreed about the length of gestation. According to Aulus Gellius, for example, a child could be born after 7, 9 or 10 months but not 8.[40] He lived it is clear amid an upper class which was not interested in testing the reality of these myths. An accurate reckoning of the time of conception was made more difficult — and the confusion with abortifacients was helped, since very early abortions can pass easily, almost unnoticed. Indeed, in Latin, the uncommonness of the distinction between the two is illustrated by the absence of any abstract word to express contraception. For abortion there was *abortio*; for contraception, the verbal clauses, *ne concipiat* or *ut non concipiat* (sic) were used.[41]

It would be reasonable to assume that such unclarity about the concept and the unavailability of a single word in Latin restricted the frequency with which authors mentioned the practice. But such unclarity probably is symptomatic of difficulties in applying contraception. If Romans found difficulty in timing conception to the nearest month, and confused abortion with contraception in practice and concept, it would hardly be surprising if they found it difficult to isolate those contraceptives which were likely to be efficient from those which were magical. Abortion and infanticide are methods of family limitation whose success or failure can be seen very quickly; magical remedies are more likely to be discountenanced. Moreover, both involve less inconvenience for the man than for the woman. But contraceptives, besides involving the inconvenience, forethought and persistent effort of the man and/or woman cannot be immediately gauged according to their effectiveness. Far from it — for the task of convincing someone of the efficiency of a technique is massively complicated by factors some of which are to this day not widely known; for example, the chances of conception from coitus at different times and frequencies, the fecundity of the husband, the fecundity of the wife, the incidence of sterility, the recall of the consistency with which a particular practice has been used.

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confusion between abortion and contraception, is to be found in the German translation of an Arabic text of Galen, *CMG* 5, 10, 1, 221.

[40] *E.g.*, cf., Soranus, *Gynaecia*, 1, 44; Caelius Aurelianus, *Gynaecia*, p. 18, 445 sq.... The difficulties of diagnosing pregnancy must also have been increased by the prevalence of amenorrhea; I think it must have been prevalent because of the very large number of remedies given for it. Aulus Gellius, *NA*, 3, 10, 8 and 3, 16; the discussion of the seven month child has a long history, stretching back to Aristotle and Hippocrates. Oribasius (*Coll. Med.*, 22, 5; Bussemaker and Daremberg, 3, 63-5) cites Aristotle who held that 8 month babies do survive though they are smaller than 7 or 9 month babies and that Greeks only think that they do not exist from a preconception that it is impossible.

[41] *ne concipiat* Pliny, *NH* 29, 27, 85 where he uses the Greek *atocium* also; *ut non concipiat*, Placitus, *loc. cit.*, n. 30; *inhibeatur conceptio*, Caelius Aurelianus, *Gynaecia*, 1, 83 (ed. Drabkin, p. 29).

Many of these shortcomings can be overcome by the sharp intellectual perception of the factors most germane to conception — and therefore of those most germane to contraception. But even in those ancient medical writers who perceived what was germane, we also find some irrelevant or marginal suggestions, such as sneezing. It is exactly this situation in which there is no culturally dominant perception of the most important factors in conception, which opens the way for the use of magical as well as non-magical contraceptives. For in such a society a man who has used an efficient contraceptive once but had a child as a result of subsequent intercourse can be outfaced by another, who is sub-fecund, but who has successfully used an ivory tube on his ankle.[42] In such general circumstances, prevalent in most pre-industrial societies, abortion and infanticide have preceded and precluded contraception.

This confusion of abortion with contraception, and the failure to make the distinction between them explicit may colour all our evidence. Actual use of contraceptives may be lost in general references to means of remaining childless or to abortifacients. Alternatively of course the near silence of the literary sources may reflect the infrequency of the use of contraceptives. We cannot tell. In any case it is certain that references to wilful abortion and abortifacients and to infanticide are many times more frequent than references to contraception.

But the sources are not completely silent. Augustine, bishop of Hippo in the early fifth century, spoke of *Sterilitatis venena,* used by married couples who did not want children; abortion was a second line of defence, if the poisons were unsuccessful.[43] Jerome, in the late fourth century, accused some women of drinking potions to achieve sterility and of murdering "unsown humans" (*necdum sati hominis homicidium*).[44] Caesarius, bishop of Arles in the early sixth century, accused land- and slave-owning wives of taking deadly poisons in order not to conceive.[45] Perhaps his accusations were justified, even if poisons are more readily associated with abortifacients than with contraceptives. At least this may be evidence of the use of contraceptives if not of their efficiency.

Augustine, in his Confessions, obviously had doubts about the efficiency of contraceptives when he recalled his relations with his concubine:

[42] For this same syndrome, A. Hasanat, *Controlled Parenthood* (Dacca, India, 1945), 111. Several passages of the book seem aimed at readers not much different from those envisaged by ancient doctors, e.g., pp. 106–111; the same amulets are decribed as by Soranus.

[43] *de nuptiis et concupiscentia*, 1, 17 (*CSEL*, 42, 229–30). Ambrose's two accusations against the rich: "in/utero proprios negant fetus et parricidalibus sucis in ipso genitali alvo pignera sui ventris extinguunt", *Hexameron*, 5, 18, 58 (*CSEL*, 32, 1, 184) probably both refer to abortion.

[44] *Ep.*, 22, 13.

[45] *Sermones* (ed. G. Morin, Turnholt, 1953), 44, 2.

> ... with her I discovered by my own experience what a great difference there is between the restraint of the marriage bond contracted with a view to having children and the compact of a lustful love, where the children are born against the parents' will.[46]

Not that Augustine could complain, since from 13 years' cohabitation with this one concubine, and from his other affairs, he had (for all we know, and the Confessions are fulsome) only one son. It would be tempting to think that this was achieved by his use of some contraceptive device; but apart from coitus interruptus to which we shall return later, the only practice which Augustine mentioned and for which he castigated the Manichaeans, was continence during the time at which women were most likely to conceive. This would of course have reduced the chances of conception but for the fact that the time Augustine thought most fecund was immediately after menstruation. This was also the opinion of many ancient doctors.[47] If continence then was compensated by pleasures taken later, the chances of conception would have been increased rather than diminished.

As against this, the pagan and Christian objectors accused people of achieving childlessness, so that some of the methods used may have been effective. Hippolytus, priest at Rome in the early third century, wrote of Christian woman of good birth who used "medicines of childlessness" and abortive techniques in their relations with slaves.[48] Epiphanius, bishop of a town in Cyprus in the fourth century, in his old age recalled the sexual perversions of the heretical Gnostics whom he had visited, seen or heard of in his youth. They practised, he said, abortion, homosexuality, masturbation and coitus interruptus. "They have intercourse yet forbid the begetting of children. Their corruption has run riot not for children but for pleasure." Augustine makes similar accusations against the Manichees — and especially of interest to us, he accused them of practising coitus interruptus — once in general and on the other occasion in what seem to be ritual orgies.[49] These are almost the only Graeco-Roman references to coitus interruptus, and it is interesting to find it numbered among the sexual perversions of heretics who came from the East.

Not all contraceptive practices, however, are known to us only because they were condemned by Christians. In the works of Methodius (3rd century)

[46] *Confessions*, 4, 2; echoed perhaps by Caesarius, *Sermones*, 42, 4 and 44, 3.

[47] *de moribus Manichaeorum*, *PL* 32, 1373; and *contra Faustum*, 15, 7 (*CSEL*, 25, 1, 430). Soranus, *Gynaecia*, 1, 36; Caelius Aurelianus, *Gynaecia*, 1, 46; Mustio, *Gynaecia*, 1, 33; Oribasius, *Coll. Med.*, 22, 3 (Bussemaker and Daremberg, 3, 54) citing Galen; also before menstruation suitable, but rarely, *ibid.*, 22, 7 on p. 69.

[48] Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, 9, 12, 25: ἀτοκίοις φαρμάκοις; again these medicines of childlessness might refer to abortion and/or to contraception — but given the Greek ἀτόκιο (contraceptive) Hippolytus may have had contraceptives in mind.

[49] Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26, 5, 2 (*GCS* 1, 281); Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 22, 30 (*CSEL* 25, 624); *De Haeresibus* 46 (*PL*, 42,36); cf. Titus, *Adversus Manichaeos* 2, 33 (*PG*, 18, 1197).

there appears that strange phenomenon, the mention by a Christian father of contraceptive practice without condemnation.[50] And on a papyrus from the fourth century we have a Greek spell or charm advertising its contraceptive powers and boldly declaring its uniqueness: — "Contraceptive, the only one in the wide world".[51] It would be idle to think that such a claim won no followers.

The earliest explicit evidence for the use (as opposed to the recommendation) of contraceptives in the Roman Empire is to be found in a secular condemnation by the Stoic Musonius Rufus in the first century A.D., at least if an emendation of the text which I have recently proposed is accepted. The emended passage is translated:

> The rulers forbade women to abort and attached a penalty to those who disobeyed; secondly they forbade them to use contraceptives on themselves and to prevent pregnancy; finally they established honours for both men and women who had many children and made childlessness punishable.

It is impossible to say with certainty to what if any historical reality a philosophic writer like Musonius was referring. It could perhaps have been a reference to Augustus' legislation. But however that may be, it cannot be pure fantasy; Musonius, and the rulers he refers to, thought that people used contraceptives, and it is therefore probable that they did. Moreover there is the implication that together with abortion, contraception could prolong childlessness.[52]

It is not by chance that most of the references to contraceptives which are found in non-medical writings condemn it. Both Romans and Christians had an ideal of marriage as an institution for the procreation of children (*liberorum procreandorum causa*). Yet it is clear that many people did not live up to this ideal; else there would have been no need for moralists, Stoic philosophers and Christian priests to preach against those who had intercourse without desire for children. Yet it is remarkable that in these condemnatory passages we find so few explicit references to contraception. In one passage, for example, Clemens of Alexandria, a leading Christian thinker of the very early third century, condemned the waste of semen; he instanced adultery and intercourse during menstruation and pregnancy, but not contraception. In yet another passage Lactantius, who wrote in the early fourth

[50] Methodius, *Symposium* 4, 3 (*GCS*, 48-9).

[51] "asunlēpton, to monon en kosmōi", in *Papyri Osloenses*, Fasc. 1 Magical Papyri ed. S. Eitrem (Oslo, 1925), 1, 321 sq. .... This is probably aimed beyond the upper classes, and so is in a way outside my scope, as are contraceptive precautions taken by prostitutes — but even these are mentioned very seldom; cf. Lucretius, 4, 1274-5; Augustine, *Contra Secundinum* 21 (*CSEL*, 25, 938–9).

[52] Musonius, frg. 15a (ed. O. Hense, Leipzig, 1907, p. 77); *apud Stobaeum*, ed. C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense (Berlin, 1909) 4,605. M. K. Hopkins, "A Textual Emendation in a Fragment of Musonius Rufus", *CQ*, 15 (1965), 72–4: the impossible ἀτοκία in the manuscript has been converted in the standard texts to an awkward ἀτοκίᾳ; I suggest moving the accent to read ἀτόκια.

century, preached that a Christian who is too poor to have a family must be continent; abortion, he said, and infanticide and exposure are wrong, but he made no mention of contraception.[53]

It is clear that many people, in spite of some moral and even perhaps legal condemnation, did limit their families. But did they do it by contraception? The moral and legal condemnation would not I think have had much effect — indeed the very difficulty which the modern scholar has in discovering an early Christian viewpoint on contraception reveals that it was to them only a peripheral issue. Tacitus refers to the inefficacy of the laws.[54] Some doctors, Soranus says, condemned the use of contraceptives as well as of abortifacients.[55] Yet others did not, and many Roman doctors were not in a sufficiently secure professional position to withstand the demands of their wealthy clients.

All in all, the evidence on the use of contraceptives in Rome is slight, and I have brought forward all that I have been able to find. Several qualifications may be made; contraception is unlikely to be mentioned much in the type of literature that survives; its confusion with abortion might lead to an underestimate of its commonness. Nevertheless the very infrequency of references to contraception when compared with abortion and infanticide, and the silence about it in passages where one might expect it, lead me to doubt that contraception played a major role in family limitation in Rome. However, that said, there is an obverse side; adequate and sound knowledge on contraception was available in the medical writings; the use of that knowledge is referred to, though seldom, in the literature. It would therefore be rash to claim that the effect of contraception on Roman family limitation was negligible.

A note on the Talmudic tradition [56]

In the Talmudic tradition we find two forms of contraception which are completely or almost completely absent from the Greco-Roman tradition. No doubt the Rabbinical writings were not widely read by Romans; but on the other hand, even before the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) Jews were by no means confined to their homeland. In so far as contraception arises from a life situation, rather than from a literary tradition, we may well argue that Jewish knowledge may have been relevant to some Roman lives, and may have spread from one culture to the other.

In the Tosephta Niddah (which dates from A.D. 230, though the tradition is older), a spongy substance is suggested as an occlusive contraceptive:

[53] Clemens Alex., *Paedagogus* 2, 10, 91, 1 sq. (*GCS*, 1, 212); Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, 6, 20, 18 sq. (*CSEL*, 19, 558–9).

[54] Musonius, *loc. cit.*; Hopkins, *op. cit.*; n. 35 *supra*; Tacitus, *Germania*, 19.

[55] Soranus, *Gynaecia*, 1, 60.

[56] I have in this section followed Himes, *op. cit.*, 71-3; Noonan, *op. cit.*, has a fuller treatment.

There are three women that must cohabit with a sponge: a minor, a pregnant woman, and one that nurses her child — a minor, because she might become pregnant and die; a pregnant woman, because the foetus might become a foetus compressus; one that nurses her child, because she might kill her child.[57]

Secondly there was coitus interruptus. The story of Onan is well known. According to later Catholic theologians the sin lay exclusively in the practice of coitus interruptus, though this is very rarely noted in ancient commentaries.[58] Jewish rabbis stressed rather his punishment for refusing to perform the levirate marriage. Some rabbis however did condemn coitus interruptus, others merely refused to recommend it. Still others recommended it in some circumstances; for example, R. Eliezer (A.D. 80-100) recommended its use for nursing mothers.[59]

Coitus Interruptus

It is then the Talmudic tradition which draws our attention to coitus interruptus. This may be surprising; one might imagine that it was the obvious remedy for the Romans' unwanted fertility. It would compensate for the shortcomings of all the other contraceptive methods, whether mechanical, herbal or chemical. Yet there are difficulties in accepting this view.

Apart from the Jewish writers and two ambiguous passages in the Hippocratic Corpus,[60] no ancient author before the fourth century A.D. mentions coitus interruptus. In the fourth and fifth centuries, it is twice mentioned by Epiphanius and Augustine in the restricted context of orgies attributed to Gnostic and Manichaean heretics. On another occasion Augustine accused the Manichaeans in general of practising it; and on yet another he said that it was shameful to have intercourse "where the conception of offspring is avoided. This is what Onan the son of Juda did and God killed him for it." [61] This reference to Onan may be an illustration only, with no imputation that coitus interruptus was practised frequently.

[57] Tosephta Niddah, 2, 6, 642.

[58] Noonan cites Epiphanius (fourth century) as the first important father to interpret the story of Onan in terms of condemning coitus interruptus: *Panarion* 26, 11, 11 (*GCS*, 1, 290); but in the immediate context the contraceptive purpose of coitus interruptus is not mentioned. He also cites Augustine, *de adulterinis coniugiis*, 2, 12, 12 (*CSEL*, 41, 396); in contrast he cites several passages in which one would expect, but does not find this interpretation.

[59] Niddah 31a (third century); Yebamot, 34b; cf. R. Meir (AD 150), Tosephta Niddah 2, 6, 642.

[60] Hippocrates, *Genit.* 5 (Littré 7, 476) and *Nat. Puer.*, 13 (Littré 7, 490); cf. n. 18 supra; Lucretius (4, 1268 ff.) does not seem to be referring to coitus interruptus. The phrase coitus interruptus is not of classical origin.

[61] These references I owe to Noonan, although my interpretation of them is different. For Epiphanius and Augustine cf. n. 49 supra and Augustine, *de adulterinis coniugiis*, 2, 12, 12 (*CSEL*, 41, 396). Noonan, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV has shown that most Christian references to Onan in these times do not mention coitus interruptus — so little, perhaps, did it matter to them.

It is of course possible that by this time the practice had spread. Coitus interruptus is mentioned by the Talmudic writers, and Christianity did after all unite the Hebraic with the Graeco-Roman tradition. Nonetheless the complete silence of all previous classical writers on this subject is surely a little puzzling. By itself of course the silence proves nothing. On the one hand, one could argue how extraordinary it is that a writer like Soranus, for example, who dealt at length with the subject of how not to have a child, said nothing about coitus interruptus; but on the other hand, one could argue that he was concerned with medicinal contraceptives only, that he took coitus interruptus for granted. Besides, whether or not coitus interruptus appeared in medical textbooks, may not be all that important. Many people may have practised it without having learnt it from a book.

We must examine such arguments as these for assumptions. There can be no doubt of the efficacy of coitus interruptus as a contraceptive practice. Obviously its efficiency varies according to the consistency, thoroughness and accuracy with which it is performed; these would in turn depend upon knowledge and motivation which are very difficult to measure accurately. We do know, however, that coitus interruptus has been used by large sectors of modern populations over long periods as the sole or a major contraceptive method. Its efficiency bears comparison with other contraceptive methods, and its use has had considerable effect upon the birth rate.[62] On the other

[62] French historical demographers at least seem agreed that coitus interruptus was primarily responsible for the fall in the birth rate in the 18th and 19th centuries; cf. P. Ariès, *Histoire des populations françaises et de leur attitudes devant la vie depuis le xviiie siècle* (Paris, 1948), 496–7. The comparative and varied effectiveness of coitus interruptus may be seen from the table below.

PREGNANCY RATES PER 100 YEARS OF EXPOSURE WITH DIFFERENT CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS IN 3 SURVEYS

	Indianapolis 1927-42 data collected 1941-2 by recall	*Princeton study 1950–56*	*Calcutta 1956–7 Soc. Class: 1*	*2*	*3*
Diaphragm	4.5	14.9	—	—	—
Condom	7.0	15.0	11.9	25.4	32.1
Coitus Interruptus	9.3	16.0	9.3	10.7	15.2
Douche	19.3	37.8	—	—	—
Rhythm	—	34.5	13.1	18.7	25.0
Other methods	10.8	28.9	19.9	27.3	61.7

Based on C. Tietze, "The Use-Effectiveness of Contraceptive Methods" in *Research in Family Planning*, ed. C. V. Kiser (Princeton, 1962), 365; and on S. J. Poti et al., "Reliability of data relating to contraceptive practices", *ibid.*, 64. The extent of the consistent and successful use of coitus interruptus may be seen in England (1946-7, nation-wide sample). Of married couples with any contraceptive experience, 43% used coitus interruptus only, and this figure rose to 61% among unskilled manual workers. The pregnancy rates per 100 years of exposure were 12 in the first 5 years of marriage, 9 in the second 5 years and 5 in the third. Coitus interruptus was slightly less efficient than appliance methods in the first ten years. See H. Lewis-Faning, "Family Limitation

hand, there are several populations, in which there is a desire to limit fertility, and in which abortions and infanticide and even other forms of contraception are practised, but not coitus interruptus.[63] The problem may thus be recast; we should try to isolate some of the factors which may account for the use of coitus interruptus in some societies, but not in others. We may then see if these can be applied to Rome.

The important point that strikes one on reading contemporary Indian reports, and the earliest English and American tracts on birth control which date from the beginning of the 19th century, is that the effective use of coitus interruptus as a method of family limitation has to be learnt. It is quite wrong to assume that given the knowledge that ejaculation of the sperm into the vagina is a necessary condition of conception, coitus interruptus automatically follows. Far from it. This can be amply illustrated. Indian propagandists of birth control point out that there is "almost complete ignorance regarding the possibilty of family planning and limitation".[64] In particular, "coitus interruptus as a method of family planning required great effort on the part of the field workers to convince the villagers of its practicability".[65] A primer on family planning, written in 1945, indeed treated coitus interruptus as obvious: "The method is apparently simple, and suggests itself to couples. No tutoring seems necessary . . . Simply stated the method of 'withdrawal' consists in . . .", and the explanation follows.[66] Other campaigns to induce Indians to practice birth control treat coitus interruptus as something to be taught.

The evidence of the early English and American tracts has a different timbre. Here we have no sociological or demographic reports but only the propaganda of enthusiasts encouraging and cajoling the ignorant. The evidence is therefore much more patchy (in this respect it is similar to much Roman evidence), nevertheless it is revealing. Knowlton, the first major ad-

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and its Influence on Human Fertility in the last Fifty Years", *Royal Commission on Population* (London, 1949), table 91.

[63] Many writers have assumed that the knowledge of coitus interruptus is elementary, and have therefore guessed at its existence among most tribes (e.g. Himes, *op. cit.*, 183–4). M. Nag, *Factors affecting human fertility in non-industrial societies: a cross cultural study* (= *Yale Univ. Publications in Anthropology*) (New Haven, 1956) tabulates the following information. In 19 out of 47 simple societies, coitus interruptus was practised; it was however frequently practised in only 3 of these societies and in only one practised commonly by the married outstide the post-partum period. (pp. 130–1, table 70, pp. 214–8). Its most general use is pre-maritally and post-partum. In 11 out of 41 simple societies there was frequent recourse to abortion; in 3 out of these 11 there was no practice of coitus interruptus recorded, and in a further one almost none (table 73, pp. 219–222). The accuracy of such data is, however, doubtful.

[64] K. Dandekar, "Family planning studies conducted by the Gokkala Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona", in *Research in Family Planning*, ed. by C. V. Kiser (Princeton, 1962), p. 8.

[65] K. K. Mathen, "Preliminary lessons learned from the rural population control study of Singur", *ibid.*, 41.

[66] A. Hasanat, *Controlled Parenthood* (Dacca, 1945), 125.

vocate of the douche, saw the greatest obstacle to the acceptance of his proposals in the multiplicity of erroneous beliefs about the process of conception. For this reason, he thought that people would have no confidence in his ideas. He also explained coitus interruptus and insisted that partial withdrawal was wrongly relied upon, through a false idea of the process of conception.[67] Owen, who advocated coitus interruptus above all other methods of contraception, appealed to honour, to the customs of France, and to man's duty to the fair sex; but above all, he explained what coitus interruptus was and persuaded his readers of its possibility. Owen cited a case in point. A trusted acquaintance of his had practised coitus interruptus, and had spoken to his relatives about it, "one or two of whom, he knew, had profited by his advice, and afterwards expressed to him their gratitude for the important information".[68] Richard Carlile, again, explained coitus interruptus; he averred that it was commonly practised on the continent, and offered an inefficient and mystical variation of it to his readers, and also admitted that given the various theories of conception, experience alone must decide whether complete or partial withdrawal was more suitable to particular persons.[69]

Individual instances could no doubt be multiplied by further searches into the literature; but I shall cite only two cases more. M. Stopes cites a letter written in 1868 in which a distinguished doctor wrote that he had "explained" coitus interruptus to a clergyman.[70] In the Place Collection, in the British Museum, there is a manuscript letter initialled "by I.C.H.", attributed by Stopes to F. Place but perhaps wrongly (it can be dated to 1823 or thereabouts), which observes:

> It now remains to suggest a more simple method; it is little known to the English, who are full of the coarsest and most vulgar prejudices on these subjects. . . . This expedient is sometimes called la Chamade, the Retreat, but most commonly by the softer name of la Prudence, or la Discrétion . . .

The writer goes on to explain what seems to be coitus interruptus. And then said:

> Those to whom this is made known for the first time always object that 'I do not perceive the moment, and if I did, it would be impossible to escape'.[71]

Thus there are many people in pre-industrial and industrialising societies who presumably know the connection between the ejaculation of sperm into the vagina and conception, but who remain nevertheless unaware of coitus interruptus. Not only do they have to be taught how to practice coitus interruptus, but they have to be convinced of its practicability. They have to be

[67] C. Knowlton, *Fruits of Philosophy, or The private companion of young married people* (London, 1841), esp. p. 33.
[68] R. D. Owen, *Moral Physiology* (New York, 1831), 61 ff. and esp. p. 64.
[69] R. Carlile, *Every Woman's Book or What is Love?* (London, 1838), 40–42.
[70] M. Stopes, *Contraception, Its Theory, History and Practice* (London, 1927), 325.
[71] British Museum, Place Collection, vol. 68, 103 (manuscript); Stopes, *op. cit.*, 321.

persuaded of its effectiveness. Why? Surely once the connection between the ejaculation of the sperm into the vagina and conception is known, the knowledge of coitus interruptus can be assumed to follow. Logically perhaps, but the stubborn facts provide evidence to the contrary. The early English and American writers on the subject argued that the fault lay in the multiplicity of theories of conception. Drelincourt, mentioned by Knowlton, "is said to have collected 260 hypotheses of generation".[72] Carlile wrote: "The theories of conception are various. The precise process is as much unknown to modern anatomists and physiologists, as it was to Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen. Hitherto, it has eluded all research, and there is scarcely a hope of discovering it, since women are not anatomists, and since their own experience is not equal to an explanation".[73]

But only part of the blame can be placed here, for to isolate the physiological factors is misleading. As a result of modern scientific discoveries and the modern revolution of rationality, we can isolate those factors which are relevant to conception. It is not that every member of modern industrial nations is knowledgeable about the process of conception itself, but rather that by and large he has been accustomed to exclude metaphysical beliefs, and fortuitous contemporary occurrences from his explanation of it; but we should be wrong to transpose the clarity of our own concepts upon pre-industrial or industrialising populations. The contemporary recipients of Indian propaganda on birth control and the recipients of early English and American leaflets (and most Romans), if the authors of the propaganda judged their audience at all correctly, must have conflated the magical, metaphysical and physical worlds so that the fact that a mother was breast feeding, for example, or the fact that a piece of ivory was worn on the left ankle, or a fatalistic belief that the incidence of children is beyond human control, or the belief that the spacing of children is peculiarly innate to every woman seemed relevant to conception.

Thus, although the Romans, just as the Indians now and the Americans and English in the early 19th century, knew about the process of conception, and knew the relevant role of the ejaculation of sperm into the vagina in the process of conception, they knew much more besides, they knew the relevance of heat, God, breast feeding, homeopathy, etc. We do violence to historical imagination, if we seek to transpose upon them our own analytical categories based upon physiological factors alone; we are surprised that coitus interruptus was not known, seemed impracticable or ineffective, only if we expect others to have shared in what is, after all, the fruit of a revolution in rationality, a revolution viable because of our control of physical nature and because of the growth of the custom of testing hypotheses experimentally.

We must now see how these conclusions may be applied to Rome. Basi-

[72] C. Knowlton, *op. cit.*, 18.
[73] R. Carlile, *op. cit., 41.*

cally, we do not know whether the Romans practised coitus interruptus or not, but we can examine the circumstantial evidence, and make some deductions. We cannot theorise with certainty, because even in societies about which we know much more, no one has established an adequate theory to explain the rise of motives which led to the demographic revolution of the 19th century. But there are several factors which make the practice of contraception more or less likely.

The demographer Ariès noted that modern populations in industrial countries were the first in which coitus interruptus was practised on a wide scale. He related the conscious self-control necessary for the efficient practice of coitus interruptus to the growth of modern rationalism; the widespread use of coitus interruptus was possible only when the body and the self were identified and separated as interesting objects of study; the practice of coitus interruptus required, he claimed, a conscious separation of sex for pleasure and sex for procreation.[74]

This is an ingenious theory; but it is clearly based upon European experience alone and it depends upon Ariès' intuitive selection of what he thinks important from among the many and complex factors at work. But there is also some evidence which cannot be fitted easily into his theory. According to some ethnographers coitus interruptus is practised among some primitive tribes. It is best attested among the Tikopia, Kgatla, Nupe and Masai.[75] Such tribes as these cannot be called rational in Ariès' sense. Besides it is clear from modern societies that rationality can be compartmentalized, that ends-means efficiency can arise in one particular sector of society alone, or for that matter irrationality may survive in a society whose dominant ideal is technical rationality. A scientific astronomer may still look at his stars.

Of course the citation of contrary examples does not invalidate Ariès' theory, but his theory is certainly incomplete as it stands. The practise of coitus interruptus in these tribes may possibly be explained by the conflict to be found there between the relative sexual freedom particularly of adolescents and the strong social pressures against pregnancy. This relative sexual freedom might minimise mythmaking about sex and thus allow people to test their fantasies against reality, to isolate relevant variables in the process of conception in order to prevent pregnancy. This formulation which refers to the difficulty of isolating relevant variables in the process of conception is preferable I think, to Ariès' body/self, pleasure/procreation dichotomies; although I do think that they are closely related to each other. What seems valuable in Ariès' theory is the proposition that will, rationally and conscious self control are all variable, that they change, and that their change may be, or rather is, related to social institutions.

[74] Ariès, *Histoire des populations françaises et de leur attitudes devant la vie depuis le xviiie siècle* (Paris, 1948), 495–8, 514–21.
[75] M. Nag, *op. cit.*, 214–8.

The precise pattern of this relationship must await fuller studies, more information and an overriding theory, but for the present we can hypothesise that efficient contraception in general, and coitus interruptus in particular, are more likely to occur in a society which displays to a high degree some or all of the following characteristics:

1. Religion and common beliefs do not block the perception that the incidence of children may be controlled by man rather than by God.
2. The individual family/couple is sufficiently isolated to promote its own advantage; and/or the extended family or state has an interest in limiting fertility.
3. Rational scientific attitudes in non-sexual activities predominate.
4. Sexual activity is sufficiently uninhibited, but pregnancy is sufficiently feared to promote the conceptual isolation of the process of conception.
5. The married or sexually involved female has high social power and is reluctant either to abort or to have children.
6. Contraception is differentiated from abortion.

According to these criteria the structure of Roman institutions was more favourable to the extensive use of contraception during the Late Republic and Early Empire (c. 200 B.C.-A.D. 200) than in the Early Republic or Later Empire. The Late Republic and Early Empire saw, in the upper class at least, the growth of rationalism, scepticism, individualism, high status for women, and sexual freedom for women after marriage. We have had enough difficulty in establishing the use of contraceptives in the Roman Empire at all, and it would be absurd to try to use this same evidence to measure the comparative extent of contraceptive practice at different times. We must therefore resort to hypothesis. It is reasonable to suppose that the evidence we have for the use of contraceptives during the early empire does not also apply to the time of the Kings or to the early Republic (before 200 B.C.). The use of contraceptives must have begun at some time; and it is reasonable to place this beginning in the second century B.C. when the Roman upper classes first became very wealthy, urbanized and less religious. By the same token the use of contraceptives must have ended at some time; for we have next to no further evidence for the use of contraceptives in Europe outside the circles of prostitutes, before the seventeenth century. Ariès has argued for the virtual absence of contraception during the middle ages except among prostitutes.[76] When did contraception stop? A lot of our evidence for the use of contraceptives in the Roman Empire came from the Later Empire. Yet I cannot help feeling that this is fortuitous and reflects more the survival of the later literature than social reality. The fourth century A.D. is the best documented century of the whole of classical antiquity. Besides, the fourth

[76] P. Ariès, *op. cit.*, pp. 495–9, and "Sur les origines de la contraception en France", *Population* (1953), 465: "On admet sans discussion que les procédés contraceptifs n'étaient pas pratiqués dans les sociétés occidentales du Moyen Age jusqu'au xviie siècle."

and fifth centuries A.D. saw a growth in irrationalism, a lowering in the status of women, a re-conflation of the physical and metaphysical worlds, and a decline in experiment. Dissection for example, was forbidden; and in the West, two translations and adaptations of Soranus' *Gynaecology* omitted the sections on contraception.[77] It was a period, which, according to the hypothesis we have outlined above, was likely to have seen a decline in the use of contraceptives.

Conclusions

The Romans did have available some useful and some useless contraceptive techniques. Soranus, the greatest Greek gynaecologist and his later followers perceived clearly the relevant parts of the process of conception, and devised means to prevent it. But even in Soranus' work there are ineffectual suggestions. The majority of doctors and laymen must have inextricably confused the effective and the ineffective, and one can only suggest that in the majority of cases, the habit of trying everything, which stands out in the herbals and medical books might have had some limiting effect upon the fertility of the Romans.

There was in the literature an interesting confusion between abortion and contraception, a confusion which is parelleled in other societies. It highlights the difficulties of isolating relevant factors in the complex process of conception and contraception, and warns us against the naive transposition of our categories upon the Romans. The same difficulties arose with coitus interruptus. There is no Roman evidence for its use, and comparative evidence shows that there is no ground for assuming its use. But its incidence may vary, as may the incidence of contraception in general, with the development of social institutions. There is no adequate tested theory of this relationship, but certain criteria are suggested. By these criteria it seems more likely that contraception was practised more intensively in the Early Empire than in the Later Empire; but there is no direct evidence for this.

Two points emerge. As is obvious with analytical categories like class, race, liberty, one cannot transpose them to Rome without some investigation of how they match the subjective feelings of the Romans; or at least, they become blunt instruments unless this is done. The confusion between contra-

[77] On dissection, see Vindicianus, pp. 429–30. The elimination of contraceptive knowledge in the Middle Ages can be traced in the transmission of Dioscorides' herbal. Paulus Aegineta in the seventh century leant heavily upon Dioscorides, mentioning many of the same herbs; but he cited only one as contraceptive, as against over 20 cited by Dioscorides. In the 14th-century herbal of Rufinus (cited by Macer, 16th century), which also depends heavily upon Dioscorides, there is again only one contraceptive recipe, *The Herbal of Rufinus,* ed. L. Thorndike (Chicago, 1946), 187 and 404. Add to these the omission by Theodorus Priscianus and Mustio (or by their copyists) of the contraceptive passages in their adaptations of Soranus' *Gynaecology,* and we have at least some evidence of the decline of contraceptive knowledge in and after the fourth century A.D.

ception and abortion, and the assumed relevance to conception of amulets, for example, worn around the left ankle, reveal that the conflation by the Romans of the physical and the metaphysical worlds make categories like abortion or contraception difficult to apply — rather, that unless this inapplicability is realised, wrong questions are asked or wrong answers assumed. We might assume that once the correct elements in the process of conception are recognized, given the motivation to limit families, coitus interruptus automatically follows. But this would be to neglect the Roman conflation of the physical and metaphysical, and secondly it would probably be based upon an assumption on the constancy of rationality and will. Ariès and Elias have pointed out that these factors vary, and this has to be borne in mind, as does the probablity that they vary in a specific relation (as yet unknown) to given social institutions.[78] Too often ancient historians treat rationality and will as constants, as part of human nature, and they use them as the intervening factor between historical facts and their explanation.

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[78] N. Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation,* 2 vols. (Basel, 1939), a brilliant treatment of the growth of modern rationality and self control.



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CLOSE-KIN MARRIAGE IN ROMAN SOCIETY?

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Patterns of endogamy and exogamy form a central issue in the history of the family in Mediterranean lands. Contrary to the recent suggestion of Professor J. Goody, there is strong evidence for continuity of the general practice of exogamy in the western Roman empire from the pre-Christian period (first three centuries after Christ) to the era of the establishment of Christianity as the state religion. Despite legal rules permitting cousin marriage in the pagan era, parallel and cross-cousin marriages were rare among aristocrats, as were parallel-cousin marriages among modest inhabitants of the western empire. Consequently, the Christian ban on marriages within the sixth degree of kinship had little impact. The dispersed pattern of property holding offered pagan aristocrats no incentive to marry within the family to protect consolidated estates; their financial interests were met by marriage within the same class. Finally, the Church's ban on endogamy should not be interpreted as part of an effort to disrupt transmission of property within the family: no such effort was necessary because for centuries pagan aristocrats had been using the will to disperse their wealth widely. The Church need only have replaced the emperor as the principal institutional beneficiary of these wills in order to enrich itself.

The issue of endogamy in Roman society has recently been raised in the context of arguments relating to the historical development of western European society. That there did exist various forms of 'in-marriage' in the Roman world, no modern historian of the period would dispute. Most historians agree that marriages within village or ethnic units and, above all, within social classes and status groups, were common in the communities that constituted Roman society of the first three centuries of our era. So too, there also seems to have been some effective endogamy along ethnic and ideological lines in the Christian communities of the mid and later empire (e.g. within Christian groups and Jewish groups or even within individual Christian sects).[1] But endogamy in the precise sense of close-kin marriage has never struck historians of Roman society as a characteristic of Roman family formation (Weiss 1908). Recently, however, Professor Goody, in a stimulating book *The development of the family and marriage in Europe* (1983), has identified endogamy of this type as a (perhaps *the*) fundamental characteristic of the social structure of the ancient Mediterranean —a common foundation of ancient society that was irrevocably changed by the impact of Christian ideology and practice from the early fourth century after Christ onwards.[2]

Put briefly, Goody's thesis is that the Christian Church in the West imposed a

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number of novel ideological tenets on social practice, impositions that fundamentally altered the structure of the family. By restricting a whole range of heirship strategies and ancillary practices, including cousin marriage, adoption, remarriage, and concubinage, the Church brought about a radical reformation of family life in western European society. In fact, Goody interprets these Christian innovations as forming a turning point in the history of the family in the West: before A.D. 300 the social structure found in most circum-Mediterranean lands was relatively homogeneous, with kin-endogamy being common; after A.D. 300, following upon the impact of Christian ideology as espoused by a formally instituted ecclesiastical power, the social continuity of the old Mediterranean and near Eastern world was ruptured. The Church successfully altered traditional patterns of kinship and heirship (in its own proprietorial interests) by requiring marriages to be made outside a wider circle of personal relations than before, by labelling cousin marriages 'incestuous', and by discouraging, even eliminating, other heirship strategies, such as adoption and remarriage (Goody 1983: ch. 2, 6–33; cf. specific statements on 4–5, 7, 9, 31–33, 36, 39 etc.). In Goody's view this new exogamous marriage pattern is the critical point of differentiation between traditional Mediterranean society before A.D. 300 and the western European society that developed in the medieval period. Under pressure from the Church's broadened incest prohibitions, close-kin marriage, in particular that of parallel cousins, disappears as a characteristic of the European family (Goody 1983: 32 sq., 36, 39).

Goody makes the case for the novelty of this exogamous pattern on the basis of a few scattered literary references and a change in the formal law by a late Christian emperor which prohibited hitherto legal marriages between cousins (Goody 1983: 51–5).[3] The purpose of this article is to show that a central thread of Goody's thesis—that systematic kinship endogamy was customary in the western Roman empire before the establishment of Christianity as the official religion—does not bear close scrutiny of the historical evidence. Further, we contend that some of the related arguments that depend closely on this thesis, such as that regarding the Church and property, must also be brought into question.

There is no doubt that marriage between cousins was not only legal but also carried no social stigma in Roman society of the late Republic and early empire. Cicero in his famous, bitter attack on his enemy Antony makes reference to Antony's marriage to his father's brother's daughter.[4] If he had been able to use this marriage to cast aspersions on Antony's character, he certainly would have done so. But the only criticism made in regard to the marriage is that Antony broke it off by divorce. Clearly, in pre-Christian Rome, marriage between first cousins or more distant kin (within the sixth degree of relationship) was both legally and socially acceptable. It is equally clear that the Christian Church changed the rule by legally defining the incest prohibition to include kin related within the seventh degree.[5] In a discussion of patterns of property transmission, however, the vital question concerns not the legal rules, but customary behaviour: the Church would have been disrupting traditional lines of property transmission only if kin endogamy had been common practice before its suppression by the Church in the late fourth century. Was this the case?

The historian Tacitus gives us the only indication in our literary sources from the first three centuries after Christ that close-kin marriages were frequent. It comes in a report of a senatorial debate over the legality of uncle-niece marriage, but the context of the comments belies their truth value: they are part of a highly tendentious speech put in the mouth of the sycophantic courtier Vitellius. In an attempt to persuade the senate that the emperor Claudius's proposed marriage to his niece ought not to be frowned on as incestuous, Vitellius points out as an analogy that cousin marriage, once thought incestuous, has become common. This comment cannot be taken as reliable evidence because other statements in this speech are plainly dubious, part of Tacitus's effort to show up Vitellius's falseness. The meagre literary evidence, then, does not provide a reliable guide to the frequency of close-kin marriage.[6]

By comparison with the data usually relied on by ancient historians, the quantitative evidence for evaluating the prevalence of close-kin marriage, though not without its limitations, is very good; indeed, in our view it is conclusive. While cross-cousin marriage cannot always be detected in our records, parallel-cousin marriages, or rather those which are certainly *not* such, can easily be identified because of the Roman system of nomenclature. Sons and daughters nearly always took the *nomen* (the 'clan' or *gens* name) of their fathers.[7] Women kept this name after marriage. Consequently, brothers will have the same *nomen*, as will their children, and so husband and wife in a parallel-cousin marriage will most often share a common name (e.g. a Marcus *Julius* Saturninus married to a *Julia*). A shared *nomen*, however, is no guarantee of a parallel-cousin marriage, only an indicator of the possibility of such a marriage. Husband and wife could have the same name for a number of other reasons, the two most common of which are worth elaborating. Slaves upon manumission assumed the *nomen* of their master. So a freedwoman who married her former master (not uncommon among the lower orders) or a freedwoman who married a fellow freedman of her former master (an even more common occurrence) would have the same *nomen* as her husband even though they were unrelated by blood.[8] To circumvent the confusion that would be caused by 'contaminating' our samples with marriages of this type we have eliminated from our surveys all marriages including a freedman or a freedwoman.[9] Despite this precaution, it is impossible to eliminate all freedmen because the custom of freedmen identifying themselves as such was not consistently followed in all parts of the empire and, in fact, it gradually died out as a common practice by the third century after Christ. Another way in which persons unrelated by blood came to share a common name was through the extension of Roman citizenship to conquered areas of the empire. The new citizens often took the *nomen* of the emperor or Roman aristocrat who was responsible for the grant of citizenship to the community in which they lived. Thus in areas where Julius Caesar or Augustus extended citizenship the name (*nomen*) or *Iulius* is very common and does not necessarily imply anything about kinship of the persons bearing it.[10] In short, a survey of possible parallel-cousin marriages based on shared *nomen* of husband and wife is bound to overestimate considerably the actual proportion of such marriages.

Our genealogical information for the senatorial aristocracy is sufficient to allow us to arrive at some idea of the frequency of parallel-cousin, cross-cousin

and, more generally, intra-gens marriage. The multi-volume *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (*PIR*) offers a catalogue of all known members of the imperial aristocracy of the first three centuries after Christ. For most of the entries little information about the man's or woman's family is available. For a few families, however, extended family trees can be constructed. From these stemmata close-kin marriages, particularly parallel-cousin marriages, can be detected. As a sample we used the six extended stemmata of volume one of *PIR* (second edition). These stemmata (those of the Acilii Glabriones, the Aemilii Lepidi, the Anni Veri, the Arrii Antonini, the Aurelii and the Calpurnii Pisones) include thirty-three marriages, excluding those of emperors, distributed fairly evenly over time from the Augustan age to the early third century after Christ. Among the thirty-three marriages there is not one between cousins related within a legally recognised degree. There is only one marriage between a man and woman of the same *gens*, Aemilia Lepida and Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus (who was consul in A.D. 21). Since their lineages in the Aemilian clan had been distinct for well over a century, the marriage hardly qualifies as an example of endogamy.

Another body of data readily to hand from a different study yields much the same conclusion regarding parallel-cousin marriage. One hundred and ten holders of the highest magistracy of the Roman state, the consulship, are known from the first two decades of the second century after Christ (a period chosen *exempli gratia*). Fourteen marriages are recorded in the senatorial families of these office holders, in only one of which do husband and wife have the same *nomen* (*Iulius*), indicating that they might be parallel-cousins.[11] But this singular example involves a family from the Greek east where the name Julius was pervasive among the local elites.[12] A stemma of the wife's family shows no known prior blood relationship with her husband's family. Our samples could be enlarged and the survey extended, but it seems pointless to do so when the evidence against endogamy is so decisive for the aristocracy of the early empire.

Much the same pattern remains true of the aristocracy in the century after A.D. 300, after the formal entrenchment of Christianity as the state religion but before the institution of the new incest rules. For this period a body of material comparable to that assembled for the early empire is available in the first two volumes of *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire*. Here we were able to check the stemmata of seven of the more important aristocratic families of the time, including that of the first Christian emperor, Constantine (as well as those of the Anicii, of Ausonius, of the Ceionii Rufii, the Flavii, the Petronii and the Symmachi).[13] There are more than fifty attested marriages in this group (about five of these being too conjectural for our purposes). Out of these there are again no examples of parallel-cousin marriage and, outside the family of Constantine, only one possible case of a cross-cousin marriage.[14] Goody is quite correct to point out that the family of Constantine contains three examples of the children of a brother marrying a half-brother's children—a fourth case if the subsequent marriage of Helena to Julian is counted (Goody 1983: 53). But to claim such marriages as paradigmatic of marriage patterns in the society at large is to hold a position that is misleading in the extreme.

First, such marriages were not common even within Constantine's own

family (three out of fifteen attested cases) and second, they are almost wholly aberrant when set against the dominant patterns attested for the rest of the Roman aristocracy of the time (no certain case). Ironically, given Goody's hypothesis, these endogamous marriages were occurring in the only Christian aristocratic family of the period tested and were in the family of the emperor who passed the single most repressive set of legislation on marriage and sexual relations of the whole period (Barnes 1981: 52–3, 219–20).[15] In all the other aristocratic families, overwhelmingly pagan in background, where, on Goody's hypothesis, old endogamy ought to have been most apparent, marriages seem to have been exogamous in kin terms. Thus, the most economical explanation for the unique and aberrant behaviour in Constantine's family would seem to be, not any continuity in a strong tradition of endogamy in Roman society but rather, as Goody himself seems to suggest, the political exigencies of maintaining central imperial power in the early fourth century (Goody 1983: 55). The Roman aristocracy of the fourth century, therefore, does not seem to manifest any significantly different pattern with regard to intra-clan marriage from that of the aristocracy of the early empire.

In fact, one of the characteristic features of Roman imperial social history is the rapid disappearance of old senatorial families and the concomitant entry into the aristocracy of new families from outside Rome, at first from Italy and then from the provincial regions of the empire. Of the thirty-nine patrician families known from A.D. 70–117, for example, twenty-two do not appear in our records again after A.D. 117, and most of the remaining seventeen families disappear after the next generation.[16] Given this rate of flux in the social composition of the aristocracy, endogamy was simply not possible on any significant scale. Rather, in order to tie the new provincial families into the old aristocratic networks, exogamy was an important element in the process by which new blood from distant cultural groups was brought into Rome without markedly changing the face of traditional senatorial culture.[17] As remarked above, exogamy remains a consistent feature of the Roman aristocracy both before and after A.D. 300.

To test the hypothesis of parallel-cousin marriage in the social strata below the elite another type of evidence, that of funerary inscriptions, can be exploited.[18] Many Romans of modest means erected tombstones to their deceased kin, recording in the epitaph the names of the deceased and of the commemorator, together with their relationship, very often that of husband and wife. Most of these tombstones are memorials for people who were below the local elite in social status (i.e., below the 'leisured class') and above the pauperised. In terms of geography, samples of epitaphs with the necessary data in them can be gathered from most of the urbanised areas of the western empire that came under Roman cultural influences. We have taken samples of husband-wife dedications which include their names from northern Italy, southern France, Noricum (roughly modern Austria) on the upper Danube, Spain and North Africa.[19] The table presents the data necessary for the 'same name test' for possible parallel cousin marriages.

The table shows that parallel-cousin marriage was not widely practised in any of these areas. It must be remembered that the figures considerably exaggerate

TABLE. Proportion of Husbands and Wives with Same Nomen in the Western Provinces.

Region	*Husband and wife with same nomen*	
	%	*N*
Northern Italy	8	25
Southern France	12	25
Noricum	20	25
Spain	7	108
North Africa		
Military Officers	10	61
Footsoldiers	7	71
Civilians	12	113

In the cases of northern Italy, southern France and Noricum a sample of the first 25 cases was taken; larger control samples were taken from Spain and North Africa based on larger data sets that were already processed. The data for North Africa come from the Roman legionary fort and town (*municipium*) of Lambaesis, and therefore allow a breakdown of military and civilian elements in local society.

the actual proportion of such marriages. Two of the three names shared by husband and wife in southern France, for example, are *Julius*, a name which is extremely common throughout the province and which would not normally be taken by prosopographers to demonstrate a blood relationship.[20] The North African cases follow the same pattern. Among the army officers at Lambaesis, out of six possible parallel-cousin marriages, the *nomina* found include Aurelius (1), Claudius (1), and Iulius (3), all names commonly assumed by new citizen families; among the serving soldiers, out of five possible cases all are *Iulii*. The civilian populace of the town shows the same trend: out of thirteen cases, eleven are *nomina* of emperors (one Aelius, two Aurelii, eight Iulii).[21] In these provincial areas, then, it seems most likely that very few, if any, of these 'same name' cases are attributable to parallel-cousin marriage. Only Spain and Noricum offer a more complex pattern. In the samples from these areas we found sufficient variation in *nomina* so that the same name is more likely to indicate a parallel-cousin marriage.[22] But even here the proportion of such cases does not rise much above ten per cent. of all marriages—hardly an indication of a widespread custom of parallel-cousin marriage. Unfortunately, no comparable data are available to test the hypothesis of prevalent cross-cousin marriage at this level of the social hierarchy. But the aristocracy, surveyed above, is the most significant social group for this study in any case, since the acquisition of riches was, in Goody's view, the goal of the Church in its extension of incest prohibitions.

We may now ask why close-kin marriage does not seem to have been widespread in the Western empire, when it was practised elsewhere in ancient Eurasian societies. No evidence is available to answer the question for the common people, but, regarding the aristocracy, it is clear that the rationale for endogamy offered by Goody, and a Roman historian, Y. Thomas (1980), is simply not relevant in the Roman context. Thomas writes: 'La recherche de mariages "internes" a pu constituer un moyen pour retarder le départ de la terre.

Un mariage entre enfants de frères (*patrueles*) présentait l'avantage d'éviter les frais de la dot, de rassembler le mince héritage, et de resserrer la solidarité lignagère' (1980: 349).[23] But he offers no serious evidence in support of this claim. In fact, the arguments advanced by Thomas reflect a misunderstanding of the nature of Roman dowries and of patterns of Roman property holding. Both require brief elucidation.

Roman dowries were normally relatively modest and did not, as a rule, comprise the bulk of the woman's share of the patrimony.[24] Under many circumstances the dowry went back to the woman or to her side of the family on dissolution of the marriage. In the Roman partible inheritance system, as revealed in the laws of intestate succession, daughters were thought to deserve a full share of the patrimony, and consequently the wife's inheritance was likely to be more important than her dowry. The wife held her inherited property independently of her husband and could bequeath it to whomever she wished (usually her children, we would suppose). This is the aspect of 'diverging devolution' on which the discussion about marriage strategies should be focused. Here the desire to avoid the flow of wealth out of the family patrimony is a good reason for selecting a marriage partner from the same social class, but not necessarily from among close kin. A family line ends up none the poorer if it marries off a daughter into another family and loses her dowry and inheritance, provided that it brings in a wife with comparable wealth from another family.[25]

Parallel-cousin marriage does make sense as a strategy to prevent fragmentation of a consolidated family estate. Roman aristocrats, however, patently did not hold estates of this kind.[26] The younger Pliny, for instance, felt a special attachment to his family farm at Comum, but also owned other substantial estates in the same region and in Umbria which he was prepared to buy and sell as the need arose or as the opportunity presented itself. Much the same appears to be true of the distribution of property and willingness to alienate large parts of it among the aristocracy of the later empire, as can be seen from our knowledge of the holdings of Petronius Probus, Ausonius, Symmachus, and the younger Melania (Jones 1964: II.782 sq.). Indeed, except for actions stemming from personal sentiments attached to the 'home estate' or the 'ancestral farm', the pattern of dispersed holdings and alienation of landed property other than the old family farm appears to have been typical of the Roman aristocracy of all historical periods.[27] In a context such as this, there was no reason to develop marriage strategies to protect the unity of the whole of the landed property of a family. But we need not rely only on our notions of what makes sense in the Roman context: letters of Cicero and Pliny concerning marriage arrangements exist. The criteria of wealth and honour of the potential spouse appear repeatedly in them, but not a word is said about kinship, nor are the suggested mates related to their intended spouses.[28]

In sum, when the Church moved to formalise an extended incest prohibition in the fourth century, it was not acting to disrupt a widespread practice of close-kin endogamy in the western Roman empire. In fact, Augustine, in his discussion in the *City of God* concerning the recent extension of the incest rule, clearly indicates the opposite. He states categorically that marriage between cousins always had been *raro per mores* ('rare in customary practice'), well before

the imposition of the new prohibitions.[29] Nor did the Church need to alter family life in any fundamental way in order to enrich itself, as Goody suggests.[30] Long before A.D. 300 Roman kinship mores, particularly the extraordinarily wide dispersion of property through written wills (a factor surely underestimated by Goody) had allowed emperors to accumulate property holdings of staggering proportions through bequests left to them by the wealthy. The first emperor, Augustus, claimed in his will to have received 1,400,000,000 sesterces from the testaments of his friends during the last twenty years of his life.[31] The Church need only have replaced or partially replaced the emperor as the beneficiary of the great dispersion and redistribution of wealth that was already a distinctive feature of Roman society in the early empire.

The central political power of the Church and its social position surely account for most of the process of enrichment we can see in the period. Goody mentions, though only in passing (1983: 98, in one sentence), the massive gifts by Constantine (who had many heirs at the time) to the Church, which made it at a single stroke one of the richest organisations in the Roman world.[32] And, whereas it is true that it became a common practice for people to include a bequest to the Church in their wills (Goody 1983: 98, from Jones 1964: II.895), a similar practice had already been customary under the Roman emperors when people would often include the emperor as one of the heirs or legatees, if only to protect the devolution of their property (Millar 1977: 155). Indeed, as Goody himself notes (1983: 103–5, 111), the Church acted in effect as a guarantor and recorder of wills and of property transfers at death. In this respect, it can be no coincidence that the practice of including the Roman emperor as co-heir or legatee in wills seems to die out by the end of the third century, just as the Church was becoming formally instituted as a state organisation (Millar 1977: 157).

If we consider one of the best documented cases of the acquisition of property by the Church in the period of the later empire, that of the younger Melania (Gorce 1962), a complex situation emerges. Melania, a very wealthy young woman of senatorial rank, attempted to dispose of vast tracts of her property and other more liquid forms of wealth in donations to the Church for the founding, among other things, of monasteries in north Africa and Palestine. Christian ideology undoubtedly had an influence on the disposition of her vast wealth: Melania at age twenty agreed to live a life of sexual abstinence with her husband Pinianus, after their two children died in infancy. But it is entirely unclear how much the closure of any 'strategies of heirship' influenced this case. That she chose to dispose of her property in massive bequests to the Church did not follow solely from a new configuration of family and marriage practices. Although a life of continence did foreclose the possibility of child-heirs, there were collateral members of the family who could receive the property and, in fact, her husband's brother Valerius Severus managed to acquire a great deal of it.[33]

We must also bear in mind that just as the Church began to impose certain legal restrictions on marriage and, by implication, on certain aspects of traditional heirship, new avenues of devolving property were opening up in compensation. For example, the laws of Visigothic Spain, unlike earlier Roman

law, allowed *donationes inter coniuges* ('gifts between husband and wife') thereby permitting lateral transfers of wealth that had previously been forbidden (King 1972: 236). It is true that the ideology of chastity, virginity and continence connected with the other sexual and kinship patterns Goody discusses could work against certain types of heirship strategies with which he is concerned (though again he surely underestimates the ability of the written will to make alternative arrangements before the death of the principal). But they did not uniformly act against a planned transmission of property from one generation to the next. Given the Roman legal expectation of equal partibility of estates among surviving children, for example, the institution of the monastery and, above all, the convent gave great scope to wealthy and middling families for 'disposing' of surplus sons and especially daughters. It was an institution that already had counterparts in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia (Harris 1963; 1964). We hear of many wealthy families in the later Roman period, just as in Old Babylonian Sippar, placing their daughters in cloisters in order to preserve the size and unity of family inheritances, and to avoid the expenses, however minor, of dowry. The connexion is noted in a *Novel* issued by the Christian emperor Majorian in A.D. 458, who enacted a series of laws encouraging marriage among Roman aristocrats, and the remarriage of widows. Majorian expresses fears of a shortage of children which he specifically relates to the number of girls being placed in convents. It was an effective strategy of heirship that persisted throughout Christian medieval Europe, the abandonment of which was to have significant consequences for aristocratic fortunes in early modern England.[34]

The basic conclusions of this article leave the extension of incest prohibitions legislated by the emperor Theodosius unexplained. We can only suggest that it is better to interpret its meaning in the context of the whole of the sexual and marriage legislation enacted by Christian emperors from Constantine onwards, and that the explanation for the enactment of all this imperial legislation lies more in the realm of Christian ideology of family and sexuality than in that of property ownership. Whatever their precise meaning, these laws no more reflect real and current practice among the general populace of the western empire than do the avalanche of moral preachings by the early Church fathers on the very same subject. The communities that constituted Roman society in the West were not characterised by any special type of close-kin endogamy, and the actions and legislation provoked by the formal institution of Christianity as the state religion after A.D. 300 did not revolutionise family structure in the Latin-speaking West in the ways argued by Goody.

NOTES

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[1] Both the prohibitions frequently preached by patristic authors, and the enactments of Roman law on the subject, must have had some effect (especially as regards intermarriage with Jews). But the fact that 'mixed marriages' (i.e. between Christians and 'pagans') are frequently alluded to by authors from Tertullian to Augustine shows that they must have been a common occurrence in spite of injunctions to 'ideological endogamy'.

[2] Goody's interpretation of this shift in social structure from antiquity to the early medieval period is already winning adherents among influential scholars; see Duby (1963) who finds connexions with the ideas of Paul Veyne on Roman sexual behaviour.

[3] Part of Goody's discussion (1983: 51) about Rome is designed to show that exogamy was not required in early Rome before 200 B.C. We agree with him that the evidence for this period is flimsy and think it best to admit ignorance. Our focus in this article is on the first four centuries after Christ.

[4] Cicero, *Second Philippic* 99.

[5] The law is attributed to the late fourth-century emperor Theodosius in pseudo-Aurelius Victor, *Epitome of the Caesars* 48.10 and Ambrose, *Letters* 60.8.

[6] Tacitus, *Annals* 12.5–6. Goody 1983: 51 recognises the dubious value of this passage, but limits the scope of his doubt to Vitellius's claim that cousin marriage had once been prohibited in Rome.

[7] There were some exceptions to this rule, but they were so rare that our case would not be seriously affected if we could identify them (e.g. sometimes daughters could bear the mother's *nomen*, cf. *CIL* 2.1., 987, 971, 1099).

[8] See Weaver (1972: 21–41, 129–32, 148–53) for the sharing of the same *nomen* by freed wives, husbands, and children; in provincial areas of the empire, these conditions are rarely specified on stone (*CIL* 8, 3417, is an exception).

[9] Hence the city of Rome, where slaves and freedmen were a prominent element in the whole population, could not be used for this very reason; see Rawson (1966).

[10] Sherwin-White (1973: 291, 294 sq. and 308).

[11] Julius Fronto was married to Julia Polla, sister of the *consul ordinarius* of A.D. 105, C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus (*PIR*^{2} I. 507).

[12] Sherwin-White (1973: 308).

[13] Jones et al. (1971: 1133–46), stemmata nos. 2 (cf. 3–5), 7–8, 13, 16, 24 and 27.

[14] That of C. Ceionius Rufus *signo* Lampadius and Caecina Lolliana, if the reconstruction of the family tree in *PLRE* is correct.

[15] As Barnes (1981: 52) emphasises, the tendency of this single set of legislation is the complete opposite of the Augustan laws on marriage and family which had been left unrevised for three centuries. Instead of rewarding and promoting the production of progeny, the law now set virginity and celibacy above the married state; and those who were celibate were now thought deserving of admiration rather than penalties. The net effect of the new and brutal legislation was, as Barnes has noted, that '. . . it rendered criminal *the normal behaviour* of many Roman aristocrats. . . .' (Barnes 1981: 219 who cites cases in Matthews 1975: 56 sq.). What is important to note here, however, is that the Constantinian legislation actually improved, rather than worsened, the property control of such persons; Constantine removed all restrictions on the unmarried and childless of either sex to receive gifts and inheritances (see the *Theodosian Code* 8.16.1, A.D. 321). On Christian influences on late Roman marriage legislation see Wolff (1950).

[16] Hammond (1957: 75); for a more sophisticated treatment of this phenomenon see now Hopkins (1983: 31–200).

[17] Saller (1982: 135); patronage, discussed in the same chapter, supplied another important means for recuitment and enculturation of provincials.

[18] We have used this evidence elsewhere, Saller & Shaw (in press) and Shaw (in press), to show the primacy of the conjugal family and the weakness of more distant kinship bonds in the whole period before the advent of Christianity in the western empire, and certainly before its formal institution as state ideology after A.D. 300, *pace* Goody (1983: 156, 211).

[19] The inscriptions on which this table is based can be found in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), volumes 5.2, 12, 3.2, 2.1, and 8.1–supplement.1.

[20] *CIL* 12.288 and 328.

[21] For the 'same name' cases from Lambaesis in North Africa, see *CIL* 8, 2826, 2843, 2895, 2896, 2903, 18314 (officers); 3133, 3141, 3158, 3160, 3167 (soldiers); 3346, 3366, 3461 (servile?), 3464 (servile?), 3493, 3664, 3702, 3734, 3739, 3742, 3750, 3769, 3806.

[22] The 'same name' marriages in Spain include Aelius (1), Avitus (1), Cominus (1), Curius (1), Fabius (?1), Iulii (2), Licinius (1), and a Valerius (1). See *CIL* 2.1, 210, 291, 391, 442, 511, 524, 564, 748, 789, 1350 (?). Of the five shared *nomen* marriages from Noricum, two have common names

(Julius and Aelius), while three have unusual names (Votticus, Caiantius and Aterius) which more strongly suggest close-kin marriage (*CIL* 3.4717, 4735, 4755, 4874, 4881).

[23] Y. Thomas (1980: 349); Goody (1983: 31 sq.). Thomas and Goody claim that some of their Roman examples of close-kin marriage were motivated by this logic. The parallel-cousin wife in Livy 42.34, however, brought no dowry with her 'to keep in the family'. The husband in Plutarch, *Moralia* 265D was poor and married his cousin heiress—an instance of the well-known Roman phenomenon of heiress-hunting, rather than an attempt to keep the property in the family, for which there is no other evidence.

[24] Saller (in press). These remarks apply to dowries of the classical period (the first two and a half centuries after Christ; for the law see J. A. C. Thomas (1976: 428–31). Y. Thomas's statement in the text is made for early Rome, but he believes that close-kin (though not necessarily parallel-cousin) marriage continued for reasons related to dowry and property. Traditional conditions in provincial areas that may have persevered below the surface of an imposed Roman legal system are difficult to discover. The Visigothic law codes of Spain, however, do seem to reflect certain local legal and customary practices as distinct from central Roman ones, and yet they too reveal the same general importance attached to dowry. Dowries were limited by law to a maximum of ten per cent. of all property a man owned or stood to inherit (with some minor exceptions allowed for the very rich). And the husband exercised no more authority over the *dos* than over any other property the wife brought into the marriage, or acquired during it (King 1972: 226–7, 236–7).

[25] Goody (1983: 32) acknowledges this argument.

[26] Finley (1973: 112).

[27] Finley (1976), in particular the chapters by R. P. Duncan-Jones, J. Crook and E. Rawson on Cicero. See Duncan-Jones (1982: 17–32) on the younger Pliny's estates. Treggiari (1979) adds some important qualifications to Rawson's arguments on property, especially on the sentimental attachment to the paternal home, but does not otherwise affect the substance of her claims.

[28] Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 5.4.1, 6.1.10, 6.4.2, 6.6.1, 7.3.12, to be read with the commentary by Shackleton-Bailey (1968). Pliny, *Letters*, 1.10, 1.14, 3.11, and 6.26.

[29] Augustine, *City of God*, 15.16. The pagan emperor of the mid-fourth century, Julian, expressed his distaste for the cousin marriage of his Christian predecessor (*Orations* 228).

[30] See Goody (1983: 46) where he suggests 'a dramatic shift from close to distant marriage' as a result of Church intervention for the sake of enriching itself. It is true that Goody here admits that the Church's accumulation of property may have been the 'consequence if not always [the] intention' of its new rules about the family, but the logic of his argument that there was no scriptural or ethical rationale for the changes (p. 84) strongly *implies* property accumulation as the primary motivation. Goody fails to provide a systematic treatment of the changes in post-classical family law under Christian influence in order to show that they worked on the whole to direct a flow of property out of the family and into the Church. He alludes to a major change in the Roman law of adoption in the Christian period (1983: 72) and implies that adoption was gradually withdrawn as a strategy for continuing the family line with its patrimony. But he neglects to say that the nature of the change under the pious Christian emperor Justinian was to make adoption easier and he does not explain why, in his view, Christian emperors allowed women to adopt for the first time (J. A. C. Thomas 1975: 39 sq.). The requirement of an age-gap between adoptor and adoptee, cited by Goody as an aspect of the increasing difficulty of adoption, preceded the establishment of Christianity as state religion (J. A. C. Thomas 1975: 39). If anything, Justinian's new rules regarding adoption protected the adoptee's rights of succession and thus worked to lessen the flow of property out of the family and into the Church, as did some of his other legal changes: e.g., the extension of siblings' rights to complain about a will not giving due regard to relatives and an increase in the proportion of the father's estate that his children could claim as a right (Thomas 1975: 39; Moyle 1912: 139, 280–1). The disappearance of adoption in the West during the medieval period may require explanation, but, as the work of the pious Justinian shows, 'Christian influence' is hardly sufficient.

[31] Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* 101; see Millar (1977: 153 sqq.) and Saller (1982: 71 sqq., 124 sq.). The figure (more than two million times the annual salary of a legionary soldier) has been doubted as unrealistic (K. Hopkins, *Journal of Roman Studies* **68** (1978) 184), but it is defensible on two grounds: (1) documents show that Augustus gave away almost twice that sum in gifts from his private estate—the funds had to come from somewhere; (2) senators could hope to accumulate fortunes of tens or hundreds of millions from bequests—that the emperor should receive ten times more is

entirely reasonable. See Hopkins (1983: 237, n. 48), noting that Cicero boasted of having received at least 20 million sesterces in bequests—and the senator Mark Antony a very much greater sum than this (Cicero—*Philippics*, 2.40).

[32] On the magnitude and sources of the Church's wealth in the first centuries after its institution as state religion see Jones (1964:II.894–920; on Constantine's bequests see p. 895). What Jones emphasises is the degree to which the Church quickly became an economic power in its own right, enjoying massive fiscal and tax privileges that allowed it to win out over other competitors in the acquisition of land and other property. Jones (1964: II.904) sees imperial donations, especially that by Constantine, as the single factor that transformed the Church into a wealthy institution.

[33] Not only her brother-in-law, but many other senators who claimed kinship (*parentela*) with her also rushed in to claim parts of the estate: see Gorce (1962: I.9–12, 19–20) with reference to earlier editions and literature; on her family see Jones et al. (1971: 593 and stemma 20, 1142); a good narrative account of the life and the sheer difficulty of dispersing her wealth can be found in Allard (1907).

[34] *Novels of Majorian* 6, esp. 6.1 and 6.3, though the whole of the set of laws is well worth reading; cf. Stone (1979) 38.

[35] In his search for a clear turning point around A.D. 300, Goody (1983: 85) agains misrepresents the facts in his claim that 'The Fathers of the Church writing before the fourth century have little to say on the subject of marriage and the family, which become topics of importance only after the conversion of the Empire, and the establishment of the Church'. To take only one example, Tertullian, who was writing c. A.D. 200, composed half a dozen treatises directly relevant to family and marriage which are similar in substance to the writings of Augustine on the same subjects (e.g. monogamous marriage) over two centuries later. In this, as in other ideas relating to family, marriage and sex, there was no profound rupture in Christian thinking after A.D. 300, but rather a strong continuity in the main themes developed by the faith's leading ideologues.

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CONCUBINAGE AND THE *LEX IULIA* ON ADULTERY[1]

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The social and legal status of Roman concubinage has long been a subject of debate.[2] In this paper, I hope to clarify some aspects of this institution through an examination of the legal texts. The line of approach is an inquiry into the notion of how liability for sexual offenses was constructed by the adultery law of Augustus,[3] undertaken through an exploration of the ways in which the statutory regime was applied, and not applied, to persons who were not legally married, but who were united in a respectable and recognized relationship.

Much of what follows is devoted to the status of concubinage as a legal institution. But the dualistic frame of analysis traditionally maintained in the scholarship, which attempts to define concubinage as either social or legal in

[1] I owe a great debt of thanks to Professors Bruce W. Frier and Susan Treggiari, who read an earlier draft of this article and made many valuable suggestions. I also thank the anonymous referees of this journal and the editor for their contributions, which have resulted in numerous improvements. Research was conducted with the financial assistance of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Vanderbilt University Research Council.

[2] For bibliography, see the notes below and the appendix at the end of the article. I depend most of all on the work of Rawson and Treggiari. B. Rawson, *TAPA* 104 (1974) 279–305 finds a heavy concentration of partners of freed or slave status and concludes that objective impediments, especially involving status, were often a bar to marriage and so encouraged concubinage as a substitute. I differ from her in that I believe with most scholars that an act of the will rather than cohabitation (Rawson, 279) created and maintained the marriage bond and that the marriage prohibitions of the *lex Iulia et Papia* did not preclude, but only penalized, unions that violated the law. S. Treggiari, *PBSR* 49 (1981) 59–81 examines the relative status of partners within this type of relationship and takes Rawson's conclusions one step further, showing that the men were generally of higher status than the women (59). Her review of the legal sources suggests that Augustus did not exclude *ingenuae* as possible concubines, and that among the poor, where the incentives of the marriage law were not as keenly felt, "concubinage may have seemed a normal alternative to marriage"; moreover, society in general approved concubinage where the male partner was of significantly higher status. As for the relationship of this institution to the adultery law, she concludes "although concubinage with a freeborn woman probably did not constitute *stuprum*, there was probably some feeling that a freeborn woman should become a wife, if the man was of comparable social status, so that they could produce second-generation freeborn children."

[3] The law referred to the woman potentially liable to its penalties as *mater familias*, whether she was married or not: Paul. D. 48.2.3.3; Pap. D. 48.5.9(8) pr.; *Idem* D. *eod.* 11(10) pr. On *mater familias*, see W. Kunkel, *RE* 28 (1930) s.h.v. 2183–84; W. Wolodkiewicz, *Studi Sanfilippo* 3 (Milan 1983) 733–56. Still essential on the adultery law are A. Esmein, *Mélanges d'histoire du droit* (Paris 1886) 71–169 and T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig 1899) 688–701. For more of the vast literature on this subject, see the notes below.

nature, must be viewed with skepticism. To inquire whether concubinage enjoyed *full* juridical status overlooks the fact that marriage itself was largely an institution of fact, not law. Kaser's description is apt: "Nach wie vor (i.e. the beginning of the classical period) ist die Ehe ihrem Wesen nach primär kein Rechtsverhältnis, sondern ein faktisches Verhältnis des sozialen Lebens, 'verwirklichte Lebensgemeinschaft'."[4]

Even while positive law governed aspects of marriage and concubinage, these institutions were largely self-regulating.[5] Social convention was a broader and stronger influence than statute law, or even juristic law. Many details, such as the marriage ceremony, were relegated entirely to the social sphere. Evidently, widely-held, uncontroversial social norms were often transformed into law in straightforward fashion, as with the requirements for age and degree of relationship.[6]

There were occasions when the legal authorities assumed the responsibility of defining what was socially acceptable, not an easy task where convention clashed with positive law. Emperors and jurists were compelled to choose between competing standards of behavior, which ultimately depended on conflicting policies over such issues as sexual honor, suitable partners, the relative worth of different types of relationship, and the transmission of status from one generation to the next.

With concubinage, as with marriage, ethical norms were transformed into positive rules, but the process was less predictable and more problematic. This point is easily derived from the writings of the jurists, where a steady reference to the bedrock of policy on which the rules rested can be observed. One cannot speak directly of "choosing" a convention, but in this area choices aimed at the regulation of convention had to be made. The elaboration of a legal regime for concubinage, like that for marriage, is the more readily distinguished from its societal context by the result of such hard choices. Ethical rules, as legal principles, have a different content and a different application than purely social norms.[7] Most important, neither marriage nor concubinage was a creature born exclusively of the social or the legal sphere.

Kaser's description, then, holds true for concubinage, at least the serious, stable type of relationship that the jurists take in hand.[8] As with marriage, they

[4] M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* 1^2 (Munich 1971) 310 (hereafter Kaser, *RP* 1^2). Contrast J. G. Fuchs, *Fs. Gerwig* (Basel 1960) 31–54 (at 35), who describes marriage as utterly removed from the legal sphere, being governed entirely by the *mos maiorum*. See also R. Villers, *ANRW* 2.14 (Berlin 1982) 285–301.

[5] This point is obvious for concubinage; for marriage, see M. T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *L'Egalité* 8 (Brussels 1982) 452–77, esp. 462–65.

[6] For these, see P. E. Corbett, *The Roman Law of Marriage* (Oxford 1930) 47–51.

[7] A good illustration is found in the legal conception of *boni mores*: see T. Mayer-Maly, *Fg. Kaser* (Vienna 1986) 151–67.

[8] Thus marriage and concubinage were supposed to be mutually exclusive: Ulp. D. 24.2.11.2; *PS* 2.20.1; cf. Pap. D. 45.1.121.1; Constantinus C. 5.26.1 (a. 326); Iustinianus C. 7.15.3.2 (a. 531). (This principle was once judged to be post-classical: E. Volterra, *ACIB* 1 [Pavia 1934] 34–165 [at 134]). Treggiari (above, note 2) 61 shows that keeping multiple *concubinae* was widely disparaged, citing Cael. *apud* Quint. *IO* 4.2.124; Tac. *Hist.* 1.72.3, 3.40.1. The

largely filled in the legal contours of this institution, for example, by establishing analogous requirements concerning age and degree of relationship.[9] But the most difficult question they faced was this: in what circumstances, and in particular with what sorts of women, could concubinage be realized without risk of a criminal charge being raised under the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*?

The answers given varied a good deal, from personal conviction or in response to policies dictated by specific emperors. Sometimes the context in which the reply is found, be it a record of a court decision, a commentary on the *lex Iulia et Papia*, advice on how to avoid liability for *stuprum* (these categories are not mutually exclusive), seems to affect its content. An important influence must be sought in contemporary upper-class practice, which tolerated, even encouraged, concubinage when a man with children by a former wife (given the high rates of mortality and divorce, such situations would have been common) wished to have as a companion a woman of lower status without jeopardizing the arrangements for inheritance that were already in place.[10] So we find several emperors who perhaps served as examples,[11] and members of the senatorial

jurists were uninterested in simple *amicae*: Treggiari, 60. In special circumstances slave concubines are mentioned, as when they are exempted from a general pledge or sale of debtor's goods: Ulp. D. 20.1.8; *PS* 5.6.16; Paul. D. 42.5.38 pr. (= *PS* 1.13a.1g).

[9] See Ulp. D. 23.2.56; *Idem* D. 25.7.1.3–4; discussion in J. Plassard, *Le concubinat romain sous le haut empire* (Paris 1921) 40–45.

[10] On this important point, see B. Kübler, *SZ* 17 (1896) 357–65 (at 360–61); R. Saller, *Slavery and Abolition* 8 (1987) 65–87 (at 71–76).

[11] Of interest are Vespasian (Suet. *Vesp.* 3 ["paene iustae uxoris loco"], 21, *Dom.* 12.3; Dio 65.14.1–5; *CIL* 6.12037) with Caenis, a freedwoman of Antonia, mother of the emperor Claudius (*PIR*^{2} A 888); Antoninus Pius (*HA Pius* 8.9; *CIL* 6.8972) with Galeria Lysistrate, a freedwoman of his deceased wife; and Marcus Aurelius (*HA Marcus* 29.10) with the daughter of his deceased wife's procurator, name unknown and status uncertain (see note 79 below). That the concubine steps into the shoes of a departed wife is reported explicitly for Vespasian and Marcus, to be inferred for Pius from the death of Faustina early in his reign. For the children from a preexisting marriage, see Suet. *Vesp.* 3; *HA Pius* 1.7, *Marcus* 29.10. Children are rarely attested for concubinage: Treggiari (above, note 2) 68–69. The legal bar to marriage between senators and freedwomen laid down by the *lex Iulia et Papia* (which did not spell invalidity until late in the classical period: see note 28 below) may also have helped determine that these women became concubines, not wives: B. Rawson, in *Eadem* ed., *The Family in Ancient Rome* (Ithaca 1986) 1–57 (at 14). However, the point should not be pressed too hard. Presumably, emperors were able to find suitable marriage partners if they wanted them. If affection for a particular freedwoman was decisive as a motive for the union, the legal penalties might be tolerated or even ignored by such men. In a sense, to take a concubine was to ignore the law, although it is unlikely that *caelibes* with three or more children were penalized: Rawson, 49 n. 94. The point is important for the general question of upper-class practice; if merely taking a concubine did not exempt one from the law's penalties, the statute is unlikely by itself to have motivated a decision to live in concubinage instead of marriage. Not one of these emperors took up with a *sua liberta* (below), perhaps another sign that the marriage law was not uppermost in their minds. The purely social concern with the relatively low status of the woman and the wish to avoid complicating the issue of succession to property take pride of place as motives.

order.[12] Epigraphical evidence suggests the practice was fairly widespread, at least among the propertied classes.[13] For young men, who typically married at around age 30,[14] concubinage provided a means to companionship and sexual gratification in the years between puberty and marriage.[15]

Concubinage was also an option where objective obstacles to marriage existed. Soldiers and sailors, who were forbidden to marry while on active duty, frequently took concubines as partners.[16] A shortage of marriageable women, at least on some levels of society, presented an obstacle of another kind.[17] Frequently men married down, but when the gulf in status between the partners was especially broad, as between *patronus* and *liberta*, concubinage was regarded as the more respectable relationship.[18] It is worth noting that the jurists typically deal with relationships for which no objective impediment to marriage exiested, but which were characterized by the lack of intent to be married or, to prefer a positive description, by the intent to live with one's partner in concubinage.

Finally, it is likely that the Augustan laws on adultery and marriage indirectly encouraged the rise of respectable concubinage as an institution recognized in its own right. The adultery statute set aside frivolous liaisons with most types of women as unacceptable, while the *lex Iulia et Papia* conferred a degree of legitimacy on one or more types of concubinage.

Ideally, concubinage did not distract upper-class men from the responsibilities of marriage and family, but provided a way of ensuring that these were met in proper season. As an institution, it tended to reflect received opinion over the proper articulation of a social hierarchy based on rank and gender: low status

[12] There is Marcus Aurelius' grandfather (M.A. 1.17.2), Pontius Paulinus and his freedwoman during the reign of Severus (Ulp. D. 24.1.3.1: like the following text, a finding of fact by a court), and a close contemporary, Cocceius Cassianus and an *ingenua* (Pap. D. 34.9.16.1). Rawson (above, note 2) 291–92 gives two epigraphical instances; the senatorial status of one is challenged by Treggiari (above, note 2) 66. Not all of these are known to be "second marriages."

[13] *CIL* 5.1918, 6.14027, 9.944, 9.2255, 10.1267, 11.1471 (doubtful), 14.4454. In most or all of these examples, a concubine was taken after dissolution of a marriage: M. Humbert, *Le remariage à Rome* (Milan 1972) 105–6.

[14] R. Saller, *CP* 82 (1987) 21–34.

[15] Augustine *Conf.* 4.2; Treggiari (above, note 2) 76; Saller (above, note 10) 74.

[16] C. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy*[2] (New York 1960) 82–84, 90–94; G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (Ithaca 1969) 133–42. A number of these relationships can fairly be characterized as *matrimonia iniusta*, where the parties intended marriage.

[17] Dio 54.16.2 asserts that there were far more males than females in the elite population of 18 B.C. Noteworthy is the fact that most women married and typically remarried upon dissolution of a union, while many men remained celibate, that some males were willing to take as marriage partners females who had not yet reached sexual maturity, and that there appear to have been a great number of marriages where the husband was of notably superior status. See the discussion in S. B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (New York 1975) 164–66; P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* (Oxford 1987 rev. ed.) 148–54; Saller (above, note 10) 68–71. The imbalance in sex ratio is explained plausibly as a consequence of the more frequent exposure/infanticide of females.

[18] See below, note 54. The marriage law raised another objective obstacle, as seen above.

women were the ideal concubines for upper-class men.[19] When it functioned properly (of course, it did not always do so), concubinage helped assure social reproduction, in the sense both of biological reproduction and of transmission of property and status. At the same time, commonly held notions about sexual honor were respected, insofar as concubines, like prostitutes and slaves, might serve as an approved sexual outlet for males of any age.

At the same time, the potential for conflict is evident. It is not just that reality did not always measure up to the ideal. The various demands made upon and expectations invested in the ideal itself were not easy to reconcile. To be understood properly, concubinage must be viewed in the context of a system, a moral economy wherein different values and practices in the areas of marriage, sexuality, and social reproduction coexisted, often uneasily, side by side. The neat picture delineated in the preceding paragraphs does only partial justice to this complex scheme, for reasons set forth below.

The argument that follows is often intricate, the juristic texts reluctant to yield their meaning. For the convenience of the reader, I offer a general summary here.

The incidental treatment of concubinage by the Augustan statutes is readily revealed as unsatisfactory. It was left to the jurists to steer a troubled course between the devil of the adultery law and the deep blue sea of social convention. Given the lack of sufficient guidance from positive law and the complexity of the issues of social policy posed by this problem, it is not surprising to find the jurists adopting solutions that differed from each other in significant ways. More than this, the opinions rendered by some jurists are themselves ambivalent or even somewhat self-contradictory.

In the sections of the paper that follow the survey of statute law, I set forth a three-fold division in juristic opinion. A conservative group of three jurists (Atilicinus, Marcellus, Ulpian) is the most reluctant to expand the range of acceptable concubinage beyond a narrow base. Two others constituting a middle group (Papinian, Marcian) temper their more liberal stance with various qualifications. The broad interpretation, represented by one jurist (Paul), appears to allow a fairly generous discretion in the choice of a concubine. The difficult evidence of Modestinus is introduced in a separate section, where I attempt to chart his position on the map of this juristic debate. He is seen to emerge as one of those most hostile to the practice of concubinage and to stand outside, in a certain sense, the parameters of this discussion. In the concluding section, I explain why the jurists ultimately failed to come up with an adequate response to the challenge posed by concubinage.

[19] Saller (above, note 10) 73: "This peculiarly Roman notion of propriety in concubinage embodies a combination of the social subordination expected by the master class from servile classes and the sexual subordination expected by men from women."

1. Statute Law.

Augustus, acting on the basis of his *tribunicia potestas*, promulgated the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* in 18 or 17 B.C.[20] This statute had as its principal aim the repression of those forms of non-marital sexual relations considered unacceptable by Roman society, particularly adultery.[21]

Such acts were now punished for the first time by trial in a standing criminal court, the *quaestio perpetua de adulteriis*.[22] This court continued to function

[20] Dio 54.16.3–6. Better evidence on the date is lacking: see G. Rotondi, *Leges publicae populi Romani* (Milan 1912; repr. Darmstadt 1962) 445–47. It falls in with the series of *leges Iuliae* passed at this time: V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Scritti* 3 (Naples 1977) 249–94 (at 250–51).

[21] Apart from adultery and criminal fornication (*stuprum*), there has been disagreement as to what the law punished. A. Guarino, *SZ* 63 (1943) 175–267, argued against P. Lotmar, *Mélanges Girard* 2 (Paris 1912) 119–43 and others that it also punished incest, but even the late classical jurists treat this as a separate crime (see above all Pap. D. 48.5.39[38] pr.–7), to the extent that incestuous marriages might receive protection under the statute (Ulp. D. *eod.* 14[13].4). *Stuprum* with *ingenui* was punished by the Republican *lex Scantinia*, though the details are uncertain: Mommsen (above, note 3) 703–4; I. Pfaff, *RE* 4.A1 (1931) s.v. *stuprum* 423–24; A. Berger, *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia 1953) s.v. *lex Scantinia, stuprum cum masculo*. This offense was almost certainly not punished by the adultery statute: G. Rizzelli, *BIDR*[3] 29 (1987) 355–88 (at 383n. 97) (I thank Dr. Rizzelli for having allowed me to see a copy of this article before its publication). By the late classical period, it may have been brought within the ambit of the *lex Iulia* (perhaps through legislative action). So two texts of Papinian and Modestinus (barring interpolation): Pap. D. 48.5.9(8) pr.; Mod. D. *eod.* 35(34).1. G. Flore, *Studi Bonfante* 4 (Milan 1930) 335–52 (at 348–52), argued that rape was repressed by the statute. This is untenable, though the offense was punishable *qua* adultery. On adultery as the main offense of the *lex Iulia*, see Corbett (above, note 6) 139: Guarino, 185–86; J. A. C. Thomas, *Iura* 12 (1961) 65–80 (at 65); Rizzelli, *passim*.

[22] Before the passage of the *lex Iulia*, the repression of sexual misbehavior was generally conceded to the private sphere. Most of our information concerns adultery, the offense of the married woman and her lover. If an adulterous pair were caught in the act, the husband might kill with impunity both parties on the spot (for the wife, see Gell. 10.23.5; short of death, a variety of insults might be visited upon the lover: Hor. *Serm.* 1.2.37–46, 64–79, 127–34; Val. Max. 6.1.13). Other cases were dealt with by a *iudicium domesticum* convened by the father of the offending woman if she were still *in potestate*, and by her husband if she were wed *cum manu* or (perhaps) if she were *sui iuris*. Women guilty of adultery might lose one-sixth of their dowry under the *actio* (or *exceptio*) *de moribus* (*UE* 6.12). Cases that were especially notorious, or (perhaps) where a domestic tribunal could not be constituted, were prosecuted by the aediles through the *iudicia populi* (Cic. *Rab.* 3.8; Livy 8.22.2–4, 10.31.9, 25.2.9; Val. Max. 8.1 *absol.* 7). Some legislation existed on the subject, to judge from the statement by Paul (*Coll.* 4.2.2) that the first chapter of the Augustan statute obrogated many laws and the report attributed to Sallust by Plutarch (*Comp. Lys. et. Sul.* 3.2) to the effect that Sulla introduced legislation on marriage and "*sophrosune*" (Val. Max. 8.1 *absol.* 8 is not convincing evidence on pre-Augustan legislation, but see the reference at Hor. *Serm.* 1.3.105–6). On the situation prevailing before the introduction of the *lex Iulia*, see Esmein (above, note 3) 73–74; W. Kunkel, *Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung des römischen Kriminalverfahrens in vorsullanischer Zeit* (Munich 1962) 121–23 (who refutes Mommsen's extreme

throughout the classical period of Roman law, until as late as the early third century.[23] Afterwards, offenses were addressed exclusively through the *cognitio extra ordinem*.[24]

Criminal penalties were ordained for the adulterous female spouse and her lover. These were chiefly patrimonial in nature, dictating the confiscation of one-half of the adulterer's property, one-third of the woman's, as well as one-half her dowry.[25] Upon conviction, neither one could deliver oral or written testimony before a court, and the adulterer could not witness a will.[26] In addition, there was *relegatio in insulam* for both parties,[27] while convicted women were forbidden to remarry.[28] Later law established the death penalty.[29] Those

pessimism over the "inadequacy" of the pre-Augustan regime); A. H. M. Jones, *The Criminal Courts of the Roman Republic and Principate* (Totowa 1972) 15, 30; G. Pugliese, *ANRW* 2.14 (Berlin 1982) 722–89 (at 732n. 17) (who argues that Sulla's proposals never became law); L Garofalo, *SDHI* 52 (1986) 451–76 (especially 455–56, 474–76), and *Il processo edilizio* (Padua 1989) 121–34 (who shows how the competency of the aediles in all criminal matters involving women defendants derived from their responsibility for prosecuting sexual offenses). On the rules attributed to the regal period, see now P. Giunti, *Adulterio e leggi regie: Un reato fra storia e propaganda* (Milan 1980).

[23] That the *quaestio* persisted this long is the dominant thesis, represented by U. Brasiello, *Studi Betti* 4 (Milan 1962) 551–70 and W. Kunkel, *Kleine Schriften* (Weimar 1974) 33–116 (at 74). It is defended by R. A. Bauman, *Antichthon* 2 (1968) 68–93 against Garnsey, *JRS* 57 (1967) 56–60. On the late development of a specialized juristic literature on criminal law, see Bauman, *Index* 5 (1974/5 [1979]) 39–48.

[24] On the *cognitio* procedure, see I. Buti, *ANRW* 2.14 (Berlin 1982) 29–59.

[25] *PS*. 2.26.14.

[26] The latter is apparently a juristic extension: see Pap. D. 22.5.14; Paul. D. *eod*. 18; Ulp. D. 28.1.20.6.

[27] *PS* 2.26.14, which insists on separation of the guilty couple: "...dummodo in diversas insulas relegentur." We do not know if the *relegatio* was permanent or *in tempus*: E. Sehling, *SZ* 4 (1883) 160–63 (at 162) holds for the latter, basing his conclusion on the provisions against remarriage and giving testimony. Some have questioned whether any form of *relegatio* was imposed by the law itself: U. Brasiello, *Repressione penale* (Naples 1937) 93–96; G. Branca, *Enciclopedia del diritto* 1 (Milan 1958) s.v. *adulterio (diritto romano)* 620–22 (at 621); Bauman, *Antichthon* (above, note 23) 80n. 95; C. Venturini, *SDHI* 54 (1988) 66–109 (at 88n. 61). The contrary view is more convincing: compare the early cases where *exilium* (a harsher form of exile) is meted out as an aggravated penalty (Tac. *Ann*. 2.50.1–3, 2.85.1–3 [with Suet. *Tib*. 35.2], 4.42.3; Pliny *Ep*. 6.31.4–6); *deportatio* (a later term for *exilium*) is given where adultery is combined with incest (*duplex crimen*: Marci. D. 48.18.5). See B. Biondi, *Scritti* 2 (Milan 1965) 47–74 (at 50–57); P. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1970) 116; R. Rilinger, *Humiliores Honestiores* (Munich 1988) 157–80.

[28] For the prohibition against remarriage, see Ulp. D. 48.5.30(29).1. The husband was guilty of *lenocinium*, and where lovers in adultery married each other, their union was void: Pap. D. 34.9.13. An *SC* pursuant to the *lex Iulia et Papia* forbade a woman *deprehensa* (but not convicted) to marry a member of the senatorial order: Ulp. D. 23.2.43.10–13 (*UE* 13.2 shows a post-classical extension of the principle). Marriage contracted in violation of this ban rendered the spouses *caelibes* under the marriage statute; an *SC* passed under Marcus and Commodus declared void unions that violated the prohibitions imposed on the *ordo senatorius*: R. Astolfi, *La lex Iulia et Papia*[2] (Padua 1986) 114–19.

found guilty of a type of complicity identified by the law as *lenocinium* were subjected to the same penalties as adulterers; in fact, all accessories to the main crime were punished, by the late classical period at least, in the same way as the principals.[30] We are not informed as to the statutory penalties for *stuprum*.[31]

The law did not, to all appearances, offer a definition of the acts it outlawed. There was a simple prohibition of *adulterium* and *stuprum*, qualified by the requirement of a *mens rea*.[32] The jurists complain that the statute did not distinguish adequately between the two principal crimes, but used the words *stuprum* and *adulterium* indiscriminately.[33] Properly speaking, *stuprum*, although in a generic sense it might refer to any type of unapproved sexual activity (including adultery), meant, under this law, fornication with an unmarried woman who was not exempt from the statutory penalties, while *adulterium* was the sexual offense committed with a non-exempt married woman.[34]

This point is of crucial importance. The question of liability under the law always depended, as we have seen, on the status of the female partner to the sexual act at issue, a status which the *lex Iulia* defined only (aside from scattered references to the *mater familias*) in the negative. This was accomplished by setting forth, expressly or by implication, certain categories of women with whom sexual relations might be enjoyed without fear of prosecution. In this way, Augustus drastically curtailed the range of possible sexual partners for Roman males outside of marriage, insofar as this range was defined at law. Strictly speaking, only prostitutes, procuresses, slaves, and peregrines were left

[29] The references to this penalty in Alex. Sev. C. 9.9.9 (a. 224); Diocl., Max. C. 2.4.18 (a. 293); and Constantinus C. 9.9.29(30).4 (a. 326) are convincingly shown to be interpolated by M. Wlassak, *Anklage und Streitbefestigung im Kriminalrecht der Römer* (1917) 63–64 and Biondi (above, note 27) *passim*, against the view of Mommsen (above, note 3) 699, who argued for introduction in the third century. Aside from a special case regarding slaves convicted of adultery, the capital penalty makes its first legitimate appearance in Constantius, Constans CTh. 11.36.2 (a. 399). Worthy of note is Inst. 4.18.4, which falsely claims to derive this penalty from the statute itself. The post-classical development itself is disputed. Biondi rather improbably attempts to derive the death penalty from the *ius occidendi*, the conditional "privilege of slaying" granted outraged husbands and fathers by the statute. Better are Venturini (above, note 27) 68, and R. Bonini, *Ricerche di diritto giustinianeo* [2] (Milan 1990) 109–12, 151–53.

[30] For *lenocinium*, see Pap. D. 48. 5.9(8) pr.: "quasi adulter." In time, most accessory crimes under the statute came to be identified as species of *lenocinium*. Note that the wife who accepts money "ex adulterio viri" is punished "quasi adultera": Marci. 48.5.34(33).2.

[31] Sehling (above, note 27) 160 argues that they were identical to those laid down for adultery.

[32] Ulp. (1 *de adult.*) D. 48.5.13(12): "Haec verba legis 'ne quis posthac stuprum adulterium facito sciens dolo malo' et ad eum, qui suasit, et ad eum, qui stuprum vel adulterium intulit, pertinent."

[33] See Pap. D. 48.5.6.1; Ulp. D. *eod.* 14(13).2; Mod. D. *eod.* 35(34) pr.; *Idem* D. 50.16.10.1.

[34] The terminology has been given careful study by Rizzelli (above, note 21) *passim*.

as possible concubines.[35] The jurists added one more category, convicted adulteresses:

> Ulp. (2 *ad legem Iuliam et Papiam*) D. 25.7.1.2: Qui autem damnatam adulterii in concubinatu habuit, non puto lege Iulia de adulteriis teneri, quamvis, si uxorem eam duxisset, teneretur.
>
> I do not think that a man who keeps as a concubine a woman convicted of adultery is liable under the *lex Iulia* on adultery, although he would be liable if he married her.

The law forbade anyone to marry a convicted adulteress; by Ulpian's day offenders were charged with *lenocinium*.[36] By compelling these women to wear the toga, the same statute reduced their status to that of a prostitute. Ulpian invokes this analogy[37] and in this sense simply applies a provision which he accepts as implied by the law. Far from serving as a privilege, it is a confirmation of the low status imposed on convicted adulteresses.

Another factor in the deliberations of the jurists was the evident mention of concubinage by the *lex Iulia et Papia*. This is suggested first by a passing reference to the statute made by the jurist Marcian in a context that guarantees its significance for the question of liability for *stuprum*, but does not shed any light on the legislative provision itself.[38] Other evidence, equally circumstantial in nature, points in the same direction. All of the passages in the *Digest* title D. 25.7 ("*De Concubinis*") come from juristic works or sections of works that comment on the *lex Iulia et Papia*,[39] as do two relevant texts of Modestinus.[40] Naturally, much of this material applies rules on marriage to concubinage by

[35] These are the types of women exempted under the regime of the adultery law. On prostitutes, see Tac. *Ann.* 2.85; Dioclet., Maxim. C. 9.9.22 (a. 290); Salv. *Gub. Dei* 7.3. Procuresses are included through analogy with prostitutes. Slaves were not explicitly exempted, but they were understood not to qualify as *matres familias*: see note 3 above and Mod. D. 23.2.24; Pap. D. 48.5.6 pr.; Mod. D. *eod.* 35(34) pr.; Dioclet., Maxim. C. 9.9.23 pr. (a. 290), C. *eod.* 24(25) (a. 291); *PS* 2.26.16. *HA Aurel.* 49.4–5 suggests a change in the law: very temporary, if true. For peregrines, I follow L. Mitteis, *Römisches Privatrecht bis auf die Zeit Diokletians* 1 (Leipzig 1908) 70.

[36] See Ulp. D. 48.5.30(29).1.

[37] I do not mean to suggest this rule must be original to Ulpian.

[38] Marci. D. 25.7.3.1, controversial, but see Biondi, *Scritti giuridici* 2 (Milan 1965) 77–188 (at 159–60); Kaser, *RP* 1^2 328–29 and below.

[39] The first four are from Book 2 of Ulpian's *Libri ad legem Iuliam et Papiam* (Iul.-Ulp. D. 24.2.11 pr. and Ulp. D. *eod.* 11.1–2 are from the third book), the next from Book 10 (corrected from the ms. 12 by O. Lenel, *Palingenesia iuris civilis* 1 [Leipzig 1889, repr. Graz 1960] cols. 1125n. 3, 1134n. 1 and 3 [hereafter Lenel, *Pal.* 1, 2]) of Paul's commentary on the same law. The following two texts are from Book 12 of Marcian's *Institutiones*, which like the preceding two books (Lenel, 1 cols. 667–69) deal with this law, as does part of the 19th book of Paul's *Responsa*, the origin of the next fragment (Lenel, 1 col. 1250), and the last is from the second book of the *Pauli Sententiae*, part of which concerned this legislation (Lenel, 1 col. 1298; cf. # 1968 and 1969). Paul. D. 50.16.144 (below) also comes from Book 10 of his commentary on this law.

[40] Both are from the first book of his *Regulae*, which dealt with, among other things, the marriage law: Mod. (1 *reg.*) D. 23.2.24; *Idem* (1 *reg.*) D. 48.5.35(34) pr., with Lenel, *Pal.* 1 cols. 732–733.

analogy, which helps account for its placement. But not all of it can be explained in this way.

Of interest is a text of Paul,[41] which contains the definitions given *pellex* or *paelex* by two scholars. For the sake of clarity, I reverse the order preferred by Paul himself for the two sets of definitions. The antiquarian Granius Flaccus gives "a woman who has sex with a married man" as the common contemporary definition, and "an unmarried woman *uxoris loco*," the equivalent of Greek *pallake*, as a secondary meaning.[42] The jurist Masurius Sabinus observes that the latter was the meaning of *pellex* "apud antiquos,"[43] but that in his day different words were used to describe such a woman, *amica*, and the more respectable *concubina*: "quam nunc vero nomine amicam, paulo honestiore concubinam appellari." Paul reports these definitions in his commentary on the marriage law, evidently in order to illustrate a change in usage. The jurists consistently use *concubina* to refer to the partner in the respectable relationship mentioned by Flaccus in his secondary definition.[44] Sabinus says outright that

[41] Gran.-Mas.-Paul. (10 *ad legem Iuliam et Papiam*) D. 50.16.144: "Libro memorialium Masurius scribit 'pellicem' apud antiquos eam habitam, quae, cum uxor non esset, cum aliquo tamen vivebat: quam nunc vero nomine amicam, paulo honestiore concubinam appellari. Granius Flaccus in libro de iure Papiriano scribit pellicem nunc volgo vocari, quae cum eo, cui uxor sit, corpus misceat: quosdam eam, quae uxoris loco sine nuptiis in domo sit, quam παλλακὴν Graeci vocant."

[42] Pacius (Mommsen, Krüger ad loc.) reads "quondam" for "quosdam." The change relegates the second definition to a period before Flaccus' day, which at first glance better correponds to Sabinus' "apud antiquos." It is unnecessary, however, since it is possible, even plausible, that two definitions existed simultaneously (both at the time Flaccus wrote and before); moreover, Sabinus' *antiqui* themselves cannot be pushed *en bloc* far back into the past: see note 43.

[43] All three appearances in the *Digest* of *antiqui* used as a substantive synonomous with *veteres* (*VIR* s.h.v.) are attributable to Sabinus. See Paul. (17 *ad Plautium*) D. 5.4.3 with Lenel, *Pal.* 1 col. 1174n.1; Mas.-Ulp. (18 *ad edictum*) D. 9.2.27.21 with G. MacCormack, *TR* 51 (1983) 271–93 (at 275–76). These other instances suggest "apud antiquos" should be translated "in the writings of the Republican jurists," not "among earlier generations," as the Pennsylvania *Digest* has it. See also P. M. Meyer, *Der römische Konkubinat nach den Rechtsquellen und den Inschriften* (Leipzig 1895) 9–14; J. Plassard (above, note 9) 18–19. For Sabinus, then, *antiqui* has the meaning given *veteres* by jurists of the imperial period (including S. himself). On this usage, see F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science* (Oxford 1946) 100. (The narrower view of the meaning of *veteres* proposed by O. Behrends, *RHD* 55 [1977] 7–33 is difficult.) On Sabinus' reliance on the *antiqui* or *veteres*, see P. Stein *BIDR*^{3} 19 (1977) 55–67 (at 62).

[44] This is the only example of *paelex/pellex* in the juristic sources: *VIR* s.h.v. The jurists use *amica* only two other times. One instance is irrelevant (Scaev. D. 34.2.40.2: a woman's friend). The other appears in a quotation from a will, which appears to reflect popular usage (see below, note 89): Paul. D. 34.2.35 pr. As expected, non-legal usage is far more varied. *Concubina* and its cognates, while not widely attested before the law (a fact which suggests it did not yet enjoy status as a term of art), are employed afterwards to refer even to non-respectable relationships: *TLL* s.v. *concubina, concubinatus, concubinus*. The primary meanings of *paelex* and its cognates have a pejorative force—mistress of a married man, member of an oriental harem, woman of loose morals (sometimes it functions simply as a term of abuse). There are a few examples (mostly late)

this is the more honorable term. Granius Flaccus wrote in the period just before the passage of the marriage law and Masurius Sabinus not long after.[45] This may be taken to imply that the law itself used *concubina* and/or a cognate word and that this term was thereby endowed with a measure of prestige.

We are left with the suggestion that, at minimum, the law conferred a degree of legitimacy on concubinage through a passing reference,[46] and this influenced the jurists in their discussions of the adultery statute.

What precisely did the *lex Iulia et Papia* have to say about concubinage? It is significant that the juristic discussions on the question of liability for *stuprum* typically take as their point of departure the case of concubinage between patron and freedwoman.[47] This is because the marriage law took an interest in relationships between these parties.

Marriage between freedpersons and members of the senatorial order was prohibited by the marriage law, though such unions remained legally valid;[48] marriage between freedpersons and other *ingenui* was permitted.[49] Before

where it appears as the equivalent of *concubina*, but only *sensu lato*; I know of no example where it refers unambiguously to a respectable form of concubinage, aside from the citations of Flaccus and Sabinus in the principal text. See *TLL* s.v. *paelex, paelicator, paelicatus*; Meyer (above, note 43) 7–8; J. N. Adams, *RhM* 126 (1983) 321–58 (at 355). *Amica* can refer to any type of non-marital sexual partner: *TLL* s.h.v. I do not share the conclusion of A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic* (Oxford 1967) 1–10 that "*concubinae* were in a special social position as early as Plautus." The evidence he discusses (20 instances of *concubina* and *concubinatus* in Plautus' plays [15 of which are from the *Miles*] and one use of *concubina* at Cic. *De Orat.* 1.40.183; on the Cicero passage, see Rawson, *Family* [above, note 11] 48n. 35) does not prove that respectable concubinage under the Republic was strictly, or even typically, characterized by *concubina* and its cognates. To be sure, the respectable form did exist, as is suggested by the text of Paul under discussion (evidence dismissed by Watson, 9n. 2), which also shows that the terminology was not fixed before the Augustan legislation was passed. See Adams, 348–50. Caution is necessary: the respectable version itself may not have been readily distinguishable from the non-respectable forms of concubinage before Augustus; the uncertain terminology simply reflects this situation. Even afterwards, as Sabinus' remark suggests, the terms used to describe concubine varied, though *concubina* was now established as the prestige form for the respectable type: see Plassard (above, note 9) 62.

[45] On Flaccus, who dedicated a work on pontifical formulas of evocation (*De Indigitamentis*) to Caesar, see Schulz (above, note 43) 41; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (Baltimore 1986) 93, 113, 213, 303, 305. On Sabinus, who received the *ius respondendi* from Tiberius, see Schulz, 102–3, 119–20; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen*[2] (Graz 1967) 119–20, 341–42.

[46] Treggiari (above, note 2) 74–75 is correct to argue that Augustus had sufficient motive to allow concubinage, against earlier authors, who protested that this was inconsistent with the social policy pursued by his legislation. An extreme statement of this view is given by Kübler (above, note 10) 360.

[47] This is true of Ulpian, Marcian, Marcellus, Papinian (by implication) and perhaps Paul. Modestinus is an exception.

[48] This remained true until an *SC* of Marcus and Commodus rendered such unions void: see note 28 above.

[49] Dio 54.16.1–2, 56.7.2; Celsus D. 23.2.23; Paul. D. *eod.* 44 pr.; *UE* 13.1. See Watson (above, note 44) 32–38; S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic* (Oxford 1969) 82–86.

Augustus, all such marriages had been considered disgraceful, at least from an upper-class perspective, and potentially liable to the censorial *nota*, but while those with senators continued to be penalized under the new statute, the permission granted *ceteri ingenui* (to judge from the language of Dio and Celsus, this was express) afforded these marriages a new degree of legitimacy.[50] Augustus went even a step further and granted outright protection to one type of such relationships, by refusing to allow a freedwoman married to her patron to divorce him without his consent.[51]

The protection of the consent requirement applied only to the special case of marriage with the *sua liberta*, and even this relationship was perhaps felt to be somewhat less respectable where the patron himself was freeborn. At most, this suggests that the prohibition against unilateral divorce by the *sua liberta* was accompanied by the bare recognition that concubinage between such parties was to be preferred to marriage, a position later adopted by Ulpian, as seen in the section that follows. When the strong probability that the *lex Iulia et Papia* made some concession to concubines of a right to receive testamentary bequests[52] is added to these considerations, the logical conclusion is that the law made a concrete reference to concubinage.

The jurists took this oblique statutory grant of legitimacy as a foundation for constructing categories of concubines who might be taken without fear of prosecution for *stuprum*. Their method was to integrate the types of women immune under the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* into the discussion. Three

[50] See the sources cited in note 49, with Watson (above, note 44) 37; Treggiari (above, note 49) 85; Astolfi (above, note 28) 104–5; M. Humbert, *Index* 15 (1987) 131–48 (at 135–36).

[51] Evidently, this was a simple prohibition with no penalty stipulated. A controversy resulted, with Julian holding the divorce to be void, and Ulpian allowing it but depriving the offender of *conubium* with future partners. On the prohibition, Ulp. D. 23.2.45 pr.–6; *Idem* D. 24.2.11 pr.–2; Astolfi (above, note 28) 164–66. On the controversy, A. Watson, *TR* 29 (1961) 243–59 (at 249–52).

[52] The question of the concubine's *capacitas*, or eligibility to receive inheritances and legacies, under the *lex Iulia et Papia* has long been debated: Astolfi (above, note 28) 31–34, 60–61. L. Mitteis, *SZ* 23 (1902) 274–314 (at 314) holds for full *capacitas*, on the ground that respectable concubines were not among the *feminae probosae* who were deprived of this by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 8.3). This is certainly correct, but begs the question of whether they were disqualified *qua caelibes*. The evidence (dismissed by Astolfi, 60n. 14) suggests otherwise: Celsus (*pater*)-Celsus (*filius*) D. 31.29 pr.; Casc.-Treb.-Lab.-Iav. D. 32.29 pr.; Scaev. D. *eod.* 41.5; Ulp. D. *eod.* 49.4; Pap. D. 33.2.24.1; Scaev. D. 34.1.15.1; Tryph. *ibid.*; Paul. D. 34.2.35 pr. One might suppose that the *sua*, whose concubinage with *patronus* was recognized under the statute, was exempted from its penalties, at least to the extent of being treated as an *orba*, if she had no children: see Humbert (above, note 13) 147 (148)n. 5. By the mid-second century at latest, children *vulgo quaesiti* made their mothers eligible for the law's privileges: Astolfi, 31–34, 79. There is no implication that the *capacitas* of these women was affected by their unmarried status. Concubines with children will have benefitted from this recognition, and perhaps all respectable childless concubines were by now classed as *orbae*. Another explanation is that the law permitted bequests only from the male partner (all of the texts cited deal exclusively with bequests of this type). Either view seems possible, although it should be emphasized that the evidence does not speak directly of any limitation on a concubine's *capacitas*, so that Mitteis' view cannot be refuted.

basic categories were created, and all were a source of controversy, to a greater or lesser extent. These were the *sua liberta* (one's own freedwoman taken as concubine), *aliena liberta* (someone else's freedwoman taken as concubine), and *ingenua*. The fact that the marriage law itself made explicit mention only of the first seems guaranteed by the fact that Marcellus, who bases his recognition of immunity from *stuprum* in concubinage on legislative authority, does not proceed beyond this category.[53] This suggests that as late as the mid-second century a strict constructionist view of the *lex Iulia et Papia* permitted women to be taken as concubines only if they had been manumitted by the male partner, that is, some jurists recognized as legitimate only the *concubina patroni*.

My exposition of juristic opinion is not chronological, because it is impossible to trace an evolution over time. The debate over this issue exercised jurists who were roughly contemporaries of each other; indeed, our only evidence, aside from scattered references, comes entirely from the late classical period. No solution is therefore to be found in a pattern of linear development.

2. The Conservative Interpretation: Atilicinus, Marcellus, and Ulpian

Of the three jurists who, I argue, represent the conservative view, Ulpian has the fullest surviving evidence. He addresses the problem of acceptable partners in concubinage in the context of a discussion about the regime that governed the *patronus/liberta* relationship:[54]

> Ulp. (2 *ad legem Iuliam et Papiam*) D. 25.7.1 pr.: Quae in concubinatu est, an[55] ab invito patrono poterit discedere et alteri se aut in matrimonium aut in concubinatum dare? ego quidem probo in concubina adimendum ei conubium, si patronum invitum deserat, quippe cum honestius sit patrono libertam concubinam quam matrem familias habere.
>
> Can a woman living in concubinage leave her patron against his will and either marry someone else or become his concubine? I think that a concubine should be deprived of the right to marry (*conubium*) if she leaves her patron without his consent, since it is more respectable for a patron to keep his freedwoman as a concubine than as a wife.

To understand the nature of the issue confronted by Ulpian in this text, one should begin by restating the principle already laid down above, namely, that the *lex Iulia et Papia* prohibited a freedwoman married to her patron from divorcing him without his consent. Ulpian held, against Julian, that a *liberta* wed to her *patronus* might end the marriage, but was denied *conubium* with other

[53] See below at notes 71–82.

[54] This passage has been much criticized, but not all of this criticism is well-informed about the purpose or even provisions of the *lex Iulia et Papia*: *Index Itp.* ad l→ Better is V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Aegyptus* 5 (1924) 104–9 (at 107n. 1), who objects to "aut in concubinatum" on the ground that the rules should only apply in case of marriage. Even so, the jurists repeatedly apply the regime already developed for marriage to concubinage, for reasons given below.

[55] Krüger ad loc. proposes the insertion of this word.

men.[56] In the principal text, Ulpian applies the rule to the same types living in concubinage, justifying this with the observation that it is "more respectable" for a man to keep his freedwoman as his concubine rather than as his wife—here called *mater familias.*

The justification does not, at first glance, flow naturally from the holding that precedes it. In fact, commentators[57] have pointed up a difficulty in the construction of the last phrase, for which two translations have been proposed. One takes *mater familias* as "wife," the other as "woman of respectable status."[58] The second version is patently unacceptable. It conflicts with other legal texts which grant this status—and with it liability for *stuprum* committed with third parties—to freedwomen who are concubines of their patrons. Ulpian himself does as much, in language that must refer to the status of *mater familias* as defined under the adultery statute, when he permits the male partner to prosecute his concubine *iure extranei*, provided the relationship is a serious and respectable one: "si modo ea (sc. concubina) sit, quae in concubinatum se dando matronae nomen non amisit, ut puta quae patroni concubina fuit."[59]

As we have seen with the requirements for age and blood relationship, the regime for marriage is often extended to concubinage. In one text, the *liberta* leaving her reluctant patron is punished with loss of *conubium*, as if their relationship were marriage. In the second, the privilege of prosecuting an act of adultery, albeit *iure extranei*, is extended to the male partner in concubinage. But if we assume Ulpian intended to equate the two institutions, the last phrase of the principal text is rendered unintelligible. Another passage shows that he recognized a clear distinction between them:[60]

[56] Julian argued that marriage still existed, with the result that the freedwoman could not even enter into concubinage with another man: Iul.-Ulp. D. 24.2.11 pr. On the interpretation of this text, I agree in principle with Watson (above, note 51) 249–52. For a different view, see A. Wacke, *RHD* 67 (1989) 413–28 (at 424–25).

[57] Meyer (above, note 43) 28; Kübler (above, note 10) 361–62; see further Plassard (above, note 9) 64–65.

[58] This is the meaning of the term in the *lex Iulia* on adultery: see above, note 3.

[59] Ulp. (2 *de adult.*) D. 48.5.14(13) pr. (For the phrase *nomen matronae*, see also Tert. *Uxorem* 2.8.3). Concubinage with the *sua* is given as an example *par excellence*, and is consistent with the position adopted in the principal case, but this does not mean that Ulpian limited the privilege to this instance: his language (*ut puta* instead of *id est* or the like) suggests that he is allowing himself some flexibility, so that he might, for example, allow the *ius extranei* where the concubine was an *aliena* manumitted by a woman: see at notes 77–79 below. (*Contra*, Plassard [above, note 9] 68, who argues that the scope of the privilege granted in this text is exhausted with the *sua*). The acknowledgment of potential liability of the woman for *stuprum* suggests Ulpian contemplated a wider range of possible concubines when it was not a question of insulating the male partner from liability under the adultery law. That a jurist could hold somewhat contradictory opinions on the subject is a fair illustration of its complexity. See also Iul.-Ulp. D. 24.2.11 pr., where Ulpian's disagreement with Julian implies he is prepared to accept concubinage of the *aliena liberta* with another man after the freedwoman has divorced her own patron.

[60] Despite some doubts, the text is classical: R. Orestano, *La struttura giuridica del matrimonio romano* (Milan 1951) 368n. 979.

> Ulp. (22 *ad Sabinum*) D. 32.49.4: Parvi autem refert uxori an concubinae quis leget, quae eius causa empta parata sunt: sane enim nisi dignitate nihil interest.
>
> It makes little difference if it is to a wife or to a concubine that someone makes a legacy of things bought and acquired for her. The only real difference between them is that of social status.

The observation that the "only real difference" concerned *dignitas* must be understood in context. Ulpian employs it as a rationale for this particular rule, which does not mean, for example, that he disagrees with Papinian about the different effects of gifts to wives and concubines.[61] In that situation the distinction in rank leads to a different result.[62] In this text it simply makes no difference. In the passage about *conubium* (D. 25.7.1 pr.), it is used to justify an equivalent result. This is largely because the difference in status between the partners made the less respectable relationship more socially acceptable, a conclusion suggested by the literary and epigraphical evidence.[63]

In sum, Ulpian, like other jurists, was responsive to what appears to have been widespread upper-class practice and notions about acceptable forms of concubinage. It is precisely this background, more than just an oblique mention of this institution (or even, as I believe, an explicit grant of testamentary rights to

[61] Ulp. D. 24.1.3.1; Pap. D. 39.5.31 pr. (*FV* 253b); see also Scaev. D. 24.1.58 pr.–1.

[62] The same is perhaps implied by Paul. D. 25.7.5 (= *PS* 2.20.2): provincial administrators can take as concubines women from their provinces, whom they were forbidden to marry. See Ulp. D. 25.2.17: a concubine can be prosecuted for *furtum* and does not enjoy, as wives do, the privilege of liability being construed under the less-damaging *actio rerum amotarum*. Also, Ulp. D. 48.5.14(13).6: the right to prosecute adultery *iure mariti* is denied where the offense was committed before marriage, even when the woman is a concubine who subsequently became a wife, or a *filia familias* whose *pater* later consented to the marriage; the "husband" is permitted only the *ius extranei*. Cf. *Idem* D. *eod.* 14(13) pr., which makes the same point with regard to the unfaithful concubine (evidently as if she were an *iniusta uxor*: see Afric.-Ulp. D. *eod.* 14[13].1 and the argument in note 149 below). In the latter case, even the *ius extranei* is permitted only where the woman has not given up respectable status by entering into the relationship; for example, she is a *concubina patroni*.

[63] The principal texts, as well as the other legal evidence examined here, are therefore in full agreement with Treggiari's conclusions (above, note 2) 76 on this point; cf. note 19 above. The same holds for women involved with their social inferiors, even as common prejudice rendered any such union problematic. A *clarissima femina* lost her status by marrying a man not of senatorial rank: Ulp. D. 1.9.8. Concubinage was a means of avoiding this severe consequence, a fact evidently recognized by Pope Callistus (217–22) in his famous decision allowing upper-class Christian women to choose this form of relationship with lower-status believers: Hippol. *Refutatio* 9.12.24. This move was, however, controversial: Hippolytus (25) characterizes this arrangement as *moicheia*. The dispute thus supports the argument that in respectable concubinage the male partner was ideally of higher status, even if this principle did not always hold as strongly as it did for marriage. On this text, see J. Gaudemet, *Studi Paoli* (Florence 1956) 332–44 (G. does not distinguish adequately between marriages void at law and those simply penalized through loss of status imposed on one of the partners); M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *RIDA*[3] 29 (1982) 253–63; P. Brown, *The Body and Society* (New York 1988) 147.

some concubines) contained in the marriage statute, which informs his stance on the *sua liberta* taken as either concubine or wife. We can therefore explain the paradox implied by "honestius" and "matrem familias" in the notorious final phrase of D. 25.7.1 pr. It is more respectable to keep the lower status woman in the lower status union.[64] *Mater familias* means "wife," but is more pointed than *uxor*, precisely because it brings in the idea of social status, which is essential for the jurist's argument. It is difficult to escape the impression that the issue of respectability is treated exclusively from the (upper-class) male's point of view.[65]

What other types of concubines might be recognized? Ulpian was reluctant to proceed to the second category of potential concubines, that of the *aliena liberta*. Instead he invoked the narrow limits of the adultery statute itself:

> Atil.-Ulp. (2 *ad legem Iuliam et Papiam*) D. 25.7.1.1: Cum Atilicino sentio et puto solas eas in concubinatu haberi[66] posse sine metu criminis, in quas stuprum non committitur.
>
> I agree with Atilicinus' view that one can keep as concubines, without risk of criminal liability, only those women with whom *stuprum* is not committed.

Ulpian's position is often regarded by modern scholars as extreme, even unrealistic, insofar as it is contradicted by the opinions of other jurists and by a mass of epigraphical and literary evidence.[67] Ulpian does represent one extreme of the debate, but it is important to take his remarks in context. He here gives his opinion on how best to take a concubine while avoiding the penalties of the *lex Iulia* on adultery. His citation of the first century jurist Atilicinus shows both that his position was not a personal idiosyncracy and that it was of long standing.[68] It has a certain justification. By adopting the exempt categories as a principle, the jurist grasps an easy solution to the twin problems of avoiding

[64] See note 63 above and Paul. D. 25.7.2, a text which has a double implication. A man keeping his freedwoman as a concubine goes mad; it is *humanius*, says Paul, to regard the woman as his concubine. At one blow both marriage (the less respectable relationship for these parties) and criminal liability for *stuprum* are excluded. See also Val. D. 38.1.46: a claim for *operae* against a *concubina patroni* is denied, just as if she were the man's wife. Sometimes the difference is simply regarded as trivial. Scaev. D. 38.10.7: illegitimate children, as well as those born in concubinage, qualify as *privigni* when their mother marries a man not their father, just as if they had been born in a earlier marriage.

[65] This is especially true since the status of wife would have seemed much more preferable from the lower-rank female's point of view: Kübler (above, note 10) 361; Saller (above, note 10) 75.

[66] So the editors for ms. "habere."

[67] See, for example, Mitteis (above, note 52) 309: "...es sich hiebei um einen reinen Doctrinarismus handelt..."; Plassard (above, note 9) 83–84.

[68] On Atilicinus, Kunkel (above, note 45) 129–130. Mitteis' dismissal (above, note 59) 309 of the citation ("...Ulpian sich hiefür auf Niemand anderen zu berüfen weiß als auf den um fast anderthalb Jahrhunderte älteren Atilicinus...") is tendentious: Ulpian was under no compulsion to cite anybody. In fact, the antiquity of the opinion enhanced its authority. Mitteis is followed by C. S. Tomulescu, *Studi Scherillo* 1 (Milan 1972) 299–326 (at 305 [306]n. 19).

the commission of *stuprum* with one's concubine and having to avenge this crime when committed by the latter with third parties.

Upper-class Roman males, toward whom the passages in this title are presumably directed, were especially vulnerable to prosecution under the adultery statute. This explains the jurist's caution. Nor, even in this text, do we find Ulpian to be utterly deaf to the claims of social convention. As will be seen below, concubinage with the *aliena* was often not considered to be as respectable as concubinage with one's own *liberta*. Again, it is evident that Ulpian was reluctant to proceed beyond the latter category.

Ulpian's holding (D. 25.7.1.2)[69] that convicted adulteresses were, on the analogy of prostitutes, acceptable as concubines is of interest in this context. It suggests that the position of this jurist is not quite as extreme as it is usually taken to be. True, Ulpian postulated a narrow category of permissible concubines (again, this included the *sua* plus women exempt under the statute). However, for what it is worth, he was willing to expand the limits of the category itself, by allowing this exemption for convicted adulteresses.

Ulpian in fact goes further than his brief statement of the rule in D. 25.7.1.1 implies. His position on the *sua liberta*, buttressed by a vague legislative sanction, shows that there were circumstances in which he was prepared to allow concubinage with respectable women. If the evidence we have can be trusted,[70] he may, in making concessions to widely approved social practice, be argued to go a step beyond Atilicinus, who appears to stick closely to the exemptions, express or implied, of the adultery law. More than this, Ulpian applies part of the regime for marriage to such relationships, above all, by granting protection from *stuprum* committed with interlopers. By implication, in respectable concubinage there can be no liability for *stuprum* between the partners themselves. But if Atilicinus' rule, as understood by Ulpian, is not meant to exhaust all the possibilities (apart from the *sua*) that fall outside its scope, further extensions were problematic, though they might still be granted recognition on a case-by-case basis.

The manner in which Ulpian addresses the problem of concubinage and the *lex Iulia* on adultery sheds light on an isolated text of a predecessor, Ulpius Marcellus:[71]

> Marcel. (26 *digest.*) D. 23.2.41.1: Et si qua se in concubinatu alterius quam patroni tradidisset, matris familias honestatem non habuisse eam dico.
>
> If a woman lives as a concubine with anyone other than her own patron, I say that she does not preserve the honorable status of *mater familias*.

[69] Quoted at note 36 above.

[70] By this I mean that Ulpian cites Atilicinus only for his opinion on the status of exempt women; we simply do not know if the latter expressed himself on the question of concubinage with the *sua*.

[71] Ulpius Marcellus served on the *consilia* of Pius and Marcus: Kunkel (above, note 7) 213–14. H. Fitting, *Alter und Folge der Schriften römischer Juristen*[2] (Halle 1908) 60 dates his *Digesta* to the period between 161 and 167.

What precisely does Marcellus mean by *matris familias honestas*? It is significant that this text derives from a book of his *Digesta* that dealt with the *lex Iulia et Papia*.[72] Like Ulpian (and Marcian, whose views are examined below), Marcellus has evidently conceded concubinage with *sua liberta* but (unlike Marcian) will go no further. Marcellus uses the expression *mater familias* in the technical sense it enjoyed under the adultery law,[73] to refer to a woman potentially liable to its penalties,[74] in contrast with Ulpian's usage in D. 25.7.1 pr. above.

Under the regime for the adultery law, the determination of a sexual partner's status as *mater familias* had a double implication. It meant that the relationship was sheltered from charges of *stuprum* committed between the partners themselves, while sexual relations by the woman with other men were punishable under the law. Without this status,[75] the *aliena liberta* taken as concubine might not be assumed to have a particular debt of loyalty toward the man, both while the relationship lasts and after it ends (unlike the *sua liberta*, she can leave her partner without his consent, and not be penalized). There is an obvious parallel between the the issue of liability for *stuprum* and the requirement of partner's consent to end a relationship. At the same time, the man might be liable to a prosecution for *stuprum* for his role in the disapproved union itself—another illustration of the ambiguity that often follows upon attempts to regulate sexual behavior.[76]

[72] Lenel, *Pal.* 1 col. 630–32.

[73] To be sure, Ulpian employs the expression in the context of a discussion of the *lex Iulia et Papia*, not the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*. It is also true that the jurists' use of technical language at times falls short of absolute precision: see notes 103 and 104 below.

[74] See above, notes 3, 35, 58, and note 75 below.

[75] Potential liability under the adultery statute was positively defined by the use of the term *mater familias*: see note 3 above. In losing this status, the concubine prejudiced her position (and, by implication, that of her partner) under the adultery law. Two possibilities emerge. The relationship was not respectable because the partners were guilty of *stuprum* committed with each other. The relationship was not respectable because the woman had shed her honor and was therefore, like the prostitute Marcellus discusses in the previous fragment (D. 23.2.41 pr.). exempt from the charge of *stuprum* with anyone (this would give a juristic extension of this exemption, for which there is no other evidence). Logically, these two positions should have been mutually exclusive, but I am inclined to think that Marcellus deliberately left the matter open, in the absence of settled law. Uncertainty over which of two undesirable alternatives might be adopted by the legal authorities in a given case might have been thought to serve as a deterrent to taking such women as concubines. Both may have applied: see further next note.

[76] This is a difficult point. As seen in the previous note, the loss of status as *mater familias* may be considered to imply complete exemption from liability. But I do not believe Marcellus here simply expands (as moderns often assume) the category of women *in quas stuprum non committitur*. The law itself, when it fixed liability for the *mater familias* and specified certain exempt types, was not so constructed as to deny the jurists any room to maneuver (I do not mean to imply this must have been deliberate on the part of the legislator). As seen, no definition of *mater familias* was given; moreover, given the fact that reality could not have conformed precisely to the black-and-white schematism of the law (because a woman was not a slave, adulteress, peregrine, procuress, or prostitute,

The sensitivity of the jurists over the *aliena liberta* category is remarkable. It cannot be explained simply in terms of the law's silence. We want to know why the statute went no further than the mention of *sua liberta*, or why several of the jurists, faced with a widespread social practice at odds with their position, hesitated. The limits imposed by the adultery law provide a partial answer. The rest may be sought in the ambiguous status of the *aliena* as a "respectable" concubine. Like all slaves and former slaves, she was a victim of the presumption that she had been sexually exploited by her master.[77] The same was true of the *sua*, but she enjoyed an advantage in that her partner in concubinage was the same man, so that her sexual integrity was not open to question on these grounds. The *sua* therefore enjoyed a superior status, insofar as socially accepted norms in concubinage went.

There was evidently a partial exception to this rule. A former slave of a female master would not fall under the same suspicion and so was preferred. This is the explanation behind the high proportion, noticed by Treggiari,[78] of concubines who were freed by women. One notes that of the three emperors known to have had "respectable" concubines, at least two kept freedwomen, and both of these had been freed by female owners.[79]

This last qualification appears nowhere in the legal sources, but it helps explain why the courts and some jurists were willing to accept the second

did that automatically qualify her as a *mater familias*?), it was perhaps inevitable that these classifications came to be manipulated by the jurists. Indeed, Marcellus seems to have discovered a new application, unforeseen by the legislator: a type of relationship with a type of woman that was (potentially) ineligible for the "benefits" (right of prosecution for infidelity of female with third party), but (potentially) liable to the penalties of the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* (prosecution of both partners for *stuprum*). In problematizing concubinage with the *aliena liberta*, Marcellus sought to reconcile the legal regime to social practice and opinion, for the reasons given in the text below. If this reasoning holds true, Marcellus is, on a doctrinal level, somewhat more consistent (one might say rigid) than Ulpian (see note 59 above), although their position is practically the same.

[77] See, for example, Sen. *Contr.* 4 *praef.* 10; Val. Max. 6.1 *ext.* 3; Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 1.16.1–9 *Ep.* 123.10; Petron. 43.8; Muson. 63–67H; Quint. *IO* 5.11.34–35; Mart. 12.96, 97; Plut. *Mor.* 140B; F. Gonfroy, *DHA* 4 (1978) 219–62; R. Martin, in *Varron, grammaire antique et stylistique latine* (Paris 1978) 113–26 (especially 123–25); M. Garrido-Hory, *Index* 10 (1981) 298–315 and *Martial et l'esclavage* (Paris 1981) 163–68; J. Kolendo, *Index* 10 (1981) 288–97; M. A. Cervellera, *Index* 11 (1982) 221–[illegible] → R. MacMullen, *Historia* 31 (1982) 484–502 (at 495–99); Saller (above, note 10) 65, 72, 78–79; J. Bodel, *CP* 84 (1989) 224–31 (at 224–25, 230–31). It has been argued that the passage from Seneca's *Controversiae* is poor evidence, since the advocate Q. Haterius' line about sexual *officia* was thought ludicrous and became a joke. In my view, Haterius was guilty of an unfortunate choice of words (*officium* used to describe a freedman's sexual submission to *patronus*), not an error of sociological description. His remark supports the other evidence for the sexual exploitation of slaves and freedmen.

[78] Treggiari (above, note 2) 71.

[79] Vespasian and Pius: see note 11 above. The status of Marcus' *concubina* is unknown: J. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome* (Ithaca 1967) 101 holds for freeborn, Rawson, *Family* (above, note 11) 48n. 37 for freed; see note 11 above. If the latter possibility is admitted, it is significant that her father was a procurator of the emperor's *wife*.

category. At the same time, Ulpian comes off as far less isolated and unreasonable. Nothing dictated an unqualified acceptance of this type of concubine. A line can be traced from him through Marcellus[80] and Atilicinus, all the way back to the Augustan legislation. Atilicinus asserted the claims of the adultery law without (as far as we can tell) reconciling this to the *lex Iulia et Papia*. Marcellus took up the cause of the latter statute without (again, to our knowledge) integrating this with the *lex Iulia* on adultery. This task was left, it seems, to Ulpian himself.[81] Finally, the gingerly manner in which Papinian and Marcian (the "moderates" whose views are treated in the next section of this paper) address the problem of extending the scope of acceptable concubinage is better explained.

Marcellus' refusal to accept the *aliena* category has broad policy implications. It marks him as unsympathetic to most forms of concubinage and as a firm supporter of the goals set by the adultery statute. This does not mean that the citation of him by Marcian, who held a different opinion (below), is mistaken or specious. Marcellus is used by his successor only to show that some form of concubinage was considered acceptable because the *lex Iulia et Papia* allowed it. There is a strong implication that Marcellus accepted the *sua* category based on the authority of the statute. The original context of his remarks must have been directed at this issue, taking as a point of departure the one relationship granted recognition by this law.[82] Marcian's invocation of Marcellus loses none of its relevance because he used it to help justify a significant expansion of the set of acceptable concubines.

3. Two Middle Approaches: Papinian and Marcian.

Other jurists were willing to go further in granting explicit approval to certain types of concubines. Our first text comes from a work of Papinian composed late in his career: [83]

> Pap. (8 *resp.*) D. 34.9.16.1: Quoniam stuprum in ea contrahi non placuit, quae se non patroni concubinam esse patitur, eius[84] qui concubinam habuit, quod testamento relictum est, actio non denegabitur. idque in testamento Coccei Cassiani clarissimi viri, qui Rufinam ingenuam honore pleno dilexerat, optimi maximique

[80] As noted, in the fragment immediately preceding that under discussion, Marcellus treats the definition of a prostitute: Marcel. D. 23.2.41 pr. Lenel, *Pal.* 1 Marcel. # 254 preserves the order. This fact further suggest that Marcellus, like Ulpian and Atilicinus, admitted women exempted under the adultery statute as concubines. In other words, his position on this point is difficult to distinguish from theirs.

[81] Once more, the inadequacy of the evidence is freely acknowledged: it is possible that the positions of the three jurists were in all respects identical.

[82] To be sure, the passage under discussion derives from the 26th book of the *Digesta*, while Marcian cites Book 7.

[83] Fitting (above, note 71) 76–78.

[84] Mommsen proposes "ei" on the basis of a text from the *Epitome*, but this passage simply supports the argument made above (note 52) that some oncubines can receive legacies: C. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Ius Graeco-Romanum* 2 (Leipzig 1856) 265–454 (at 270); J. Zepi and P. Zepi eds. (Zachariä von Lingenthal), *Ius Graeco-Romanum* 4 (Athens 1931) 261–619 (at 268).

> principes nostri iudicaverunt: cuius filiam, quam alumnam testamento Cassianus nepti coheredem datam appellaverat, vulgo quaesitam apparuit.
>
> Since the prevailing view is that *stuprum* is not committed with a woman who has allowed herself to become the concubine of someone not her patron, an action for what was left in the will of the man who had the concubine will not be denied. This is the judgement that our best and greatest emperors (Severus and Caracalla) reached in the case of the will of Cocceius Cassianus, a senator, who treated the freeborn woman Rufina with the utmost respectful affection. It was decided that Rufina's daughter, whom Cassianus appointed as co-heir with his own granddaughter, and referred to in his will as his "foster-child," had been begotten illegitimately.

Mitteis was the first to give a persuasive account of this text.[85] The will of a senator named Cocceius Cassianus has been attacked on the ground that his relationship with a freeborn woman named Rufina constituted *stuprum*. At issue is the regime of *indignitas*, which imposed itself in cases of testamentary bequests between partners in *stuprum* or *adulterium*.[86] Often promulgated by a *delator* or private accuser, such cases were pursued by *advocati fisci* in the court of the *procurator a rationibus*; the proceeds went to the imperial treasury.[87]

The first sentence is tortured and difficult to comprehend. One strategy is to prefer, with Mitteis, Mommsen's substitution of "ei" for "eius" in the phrase "eius qui...habuit." The assumption is that a testamentary bequest made to Rufina was the object of the suit, as might be expected in such cases.[88]

But there are two problems with this interpretation. It leaves high and dry the relatively lengthy disquisition about the couple's daughter, who has been named co-heir and is recognized by the court as Cassianus' illegitimate child.[89]

[85] For a review of previous attempts at exegesis, see Mitteis (above, note 52) 305–7. Mitteis is right to argue that Rufina was not a prostitute (as had been assumed) simply because she had an illegitimate child. The first sentence has been wrongly impugned: see below.

[86] P. Voci, *Diritto ereditario romano* 1^2 (Milan 1967) 459–60. The source of the rule was perforce legislative: Voci, 464.

[87] First the *aerarium*, later the *fiscus*: Voci (above, note 86) 466.

[88] So most scholars who follow Mitteis understand the text. See Astolfi (above, note 28) 33–34.

[89] That this is a determination of fact made by the court is persuasively argued by Mitteis (above, note 52) 312–13, who also asserts that the testator's ambiguous characterization of his daughter as *alumna* had opened the way to the court challenge. This too is plausible. Cf. Paul. (14 *resp.*) D. 34.2.35 pr., where the words of a will (perhaps adapted from a real will, despite the formulaic "Titia": note 44 above) are quoted: "Titiae amicae meae, cum qua sine mendacio vixi, auri pondo quinque dari volo." The use of *amica*, in place of the more respectable *concubina*, may have opened the way to a challenge (i.e. an assertion that the relationship constituted *stuprum*: the text, to be sure, contains only an oblique reference to this assertion, though it perhaps can be read from the fact that a bequest to a concubine is at issue). However, the phrase *sine mendacio* ("without hypocrisy": Pennsylvania *Digest*), as a straightforward expression of intent over the nature of the relationship, will have helped set matters straight. It is possible that Cassianus attempted to obviate a challenge to the will through the use of *alumna* (so B. Rawson, in *The Family in Ancient Rome* [Ithaca 1986]

Second, the position of the pronoun before the clause "qui...habuit" makes for difficulties in attributing it, whether "ei" or "eius" is correct, to anyone but the subject of the clause, the male partner of the concubine.[90] The second sentence makes clear that this man, now deceased, had written the will in dispute, which renders such an attribution impossible. It seems preferable to recognize this text as evidence that the regime on *indignitas* was extended to the progeny of criminal liaisons.[91] In other words, the ms. "eius" should be retained.

The determination that the daughter was the illegitimate daughter of Cassianus is important, since it explicitly acknowledges the legality, under the adultery statute, of the relationship between father and mother. The implication is that the child is the product of a respectable relationship, which was not, however, *iustae nuptiae*.[92] It is the reasoning behind the decision which interests us. The issue seems to have been particularly urgent in this case because the woman was freeborn. Two factors were decisive, both of which go to the question of intent. First, there is the way Cassianus treated Rufina: "honore pleno dilexerat." In other words, he regarded the relationship as a serious and stable one. As Mitteis argues, it is precisely this criterion which is used to

170–200 [at 179]), but it seems equally likely that he innocently chose the affective designation *alumna* over a more neutral, more accurate term (an example might be *filia naturalis*; on terms used to describe the children of concubinage, see Meyer [above, note 43] 34–52; Plassard [above, note 9] 128–33). On *filii* and *liberi naturales* in the classical period, see M. Niziolek, *RIDA*[3] 22 (1975) 317–44; H. Stiegler, *Reformen des Rechts: Festschrift zur 200-Jahr-Feier der rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Graz* (Graz 1979) 81–94 (at 84–87); G. Luchetti, *La legittimazione die figli naturali negle fonti tardo imperiali e giustinianee* (Milan 1990) 1–12. On *alumni*, the frequent recipients of testamentary largess, see Rawson, 173–86.

[90] So the Pennsylvania *Digest*, which translates the first sentence, "since it is agreed that a woman who allows herself to be the concubine of someone other than her patron cannot be the victim of *stuprum*, the man in question will not be denied an action for that which is left to him in the woman's will." Mitteis construes "ei" with "relictum est" instead of "denegabitur," but this is less natural, given the word order.

[91] I agree in principle with Orestano, *Struttura* (above, note 60) 366 (367)n. 977 that an explanation of the text should, if possible, neither assume information not provided nor ignore that which is given. We might indeed suppose that the central challenge was to a bequest made to Rufina, so that the daughter's inheritance came to be treated as *a fortiori* valid. This still assumes the omission of the information that the latter bequest was called into question as well. Rufina (if one can assume she was still alive at the time that the suit was brought) may have posed an indirect concern to the court authorities even if she herself were not bequeathed anything. The rule desumed here against bequests to the progeny of illicit relationships was probably designed less as a moral measure ("the sins of the fathers...") than as a bulwark against (or response to) a dodge whereby children were employed as a vehicle for transferring property to one's partner. Paul. D. 28.2.9.1, which deals with the institution as heir of a *postumus* to be born to a woman married to another man, may represent a development of this rule. For a different interpretation of this text, see M. Kaser, *SZ* 60 (1940) 95–150 (at 126).

[92] So most occurrences in the juristic sources of the phrase *vulgo quaesitus* and its cognates should be understood, despite *OLD* s.v. *vulgo* b.

distinguish an acceptable form of concubinage from *stuprum*.[93] The second point must be inferred from the apparent difference in the social rank of the two parties.[94] Rufina is a plain *ingenua*[95] and Cassianus a senator (*vir clarissimus*): the information is hardly gratuitous. Papinian himself considered the relative social position of the parties important in distinguishing concubinage from marriage.[96] Here marriage is not at issue, but the criteria employed to evaluate the relationship are the same.[97]

[93] Mitteis (above, note 52) 308. The language raises a striking parallel with the chief criterion used to define a relationship as marriage: *honor matrimonii, affectio maritalis* (cf. Cic. *Cluentio* 5.12: *nuptiae plenae dignitatis*). This has led some commentators to mistake this relationship for such: they are refuted by Mitteis. R. Orestano's argument, *ACIV* 3 (Milan 1951) 47–65 (at 56–58) (see also *Idem, Struttura* [above, note 60] 369–72) that the relationship between Cassianus and Rufina was assumed to be marriage before the will was opened and read presses the text too hard. There is no question of marriage, only a dispute over concubinage and *stuprum*. For the former, of course, consent, or the intent to be married, was required under classical law: E. Volterra, *Enciclopedia del diritto* 25 (Milan 1975) s.v . *matrimonio (diritto romano)* 726–805 (at 732). *Affectio* can be both the subjective, psychological requirement and its external manifestation, *honor matrimonii* is more strictly the latter. So we find concubinage distinguished from marriage on the basis of intent. Ulp. (32 *ad Sabinum*) D. 24.1.3.1: "...quia non erat affectione uxoris habita, sed magis concubinae." See the discussion in G. Longo, *Ricerche romanistiche* (Milan 1966) 301–21 (esp. 313–14). The adultery statute required intent for the commission of both *stuprum* and *adulterium*: Ulp. D. 48.5.13(12). Intent can thus distinguish "marriage" from *stuprum* (in the case of incest). Pap. (11 *quaest.*) D. 12.7.5 pr.: "...non enim stupri, sed matrimonii gratia datam (sc. dotem) esse" (on this text, see H. H. Seiler, *Fs. Felgentraeger* [Göttingen: 1969] 379–92 [at 386–88]; cf. Pap. D. 48.5.39[38] pr.–7). It is therefore not surprising to find the same criterion used to distinguish concubinage from *stuprum*: see below.

[94] That this was crucial in defining acceptable concubinage among the upper classes is emphasized by Treggiari (above, note 2) 76.

[95] Since we are given no more information on Rufina, I cannot follow Astolfi (above, note 28) 33–34, who argues that she is "da bassa estrazione sociale." The more alike the social status of the two parties, the more difficult it would have been to accept a non-marital relationship as concubinage and not to treat it as a relationship punishable under the adultery statute. This was precisely the issue before the court, so that the difference in status between Cassianus and Rufina should not be overstated. On the other hand, such a gulf in status would have made it difficult to accept a relationship as miarriage over concubinage. This helps explain the rule instituted by the obscure (and perhaps classical) *priscae leges*, which required documentation where marriage partners were of unequal status: Iustinus C. 5.4.23.7 (a. 520–23). Of course, the documentation would have provided a safeguard against charges of *stuprum* as well.

[96] Mitteis (above, note 52) 311. See Pap. (12 *resp.*) D. 39.5.31 pr., which distinguishes marriage from concubinage on the basis of relative social rank (*personae comparatae*) and the nature of the relationship (*vitae coniunctio*): these are the same two criteria given in the principal text, in reverse order. Such factors are crucial to establishing the presence of *affectio maritalis* and *honor matrimonii*. The passage has been attacked by those who considered *affectio maritalis* to be non-classical: *Index Itp.* ad loc. The prevailing view holds it to be fully classical: Kaser, *RP* 1^2 73, 321–22. Cf. *FV* 253b, which, although fragmentary, confirms much of the text. See F. Wieacker, *Textstufen klassischer Juristen* (Göttingen 1960) 348–51. Ulpian was similarly minded: Ulp. (32 *ad*

The first part of the passage, "quoniam...patitur" seems to have been abridged (perhaps two sentences have been fused), probably by the compilers.[98] At first glance, it is suprising to see this phrasing used in a case which involves a freeborn woman. Why does the jurist not simply say that *ingenuae* taken in concubinage are immune from charges of *stuprum*, or even that all concubines are exempt, provided the relationship is a respectable one? One might attempt to escape the difficulty by attributing the entire phrase to the compilers,[99] but in fact Papinian's own reasoning appears to be preserved.

The answer to this question takes us to the heart of the controversy over concubinage and *stuprum*. All the positions adopted by the jurists on this score depend to some extent on the status of the woman, as one would expect. Several take as their point of departure the case of a relationship between *patronus* and *liberta*. Some will allow concubinage with an *aliena liberta*, others with even a freeborn woman. It is significant that the court and the jurist reporting the case explain a decision involving the third category with language appropriate to the second. The most likely explanation is that, previous to this case, settled law ("placuit") had recognized relationships of the first two types. To be sure, this recognition was probably qualified, especially with respect to the controversial second type, the *aliena liberta*, but the latter may have been taken up by the counsel for the *alumna* in an attempt to extend its scope to cover the case of freeborn women.[100] Concerning them it may be stated, oddly if not inaccurately (given that *ingenuae* have no *patronus*), that they can indeed be the concubines of someone who is not their patron.[101]

Concubines of this stripe were hardly admitted without qualification. The test of intent, as measured by quality of relationship and difference in status, still had to be applied. But this explains nicely why the trial court's *decretum* adopted such ambiguous language and why this is retained by the jurist. Papinian's words can be seen as an attempt to explain the court's decision while limiting its implications. It was clearly not desirable, at least in his eyes, to extend to all *ingenuae* the principle that they could not be held liable for

Sabinum) D. 24.1.3.1, reporting another Severan *decretum* (this one pertains to a senator and a *sua liberta*).

[97] This is especially appropriate given the presence of a child, an atypical feature of concubinage in the classical period: Rawson (above, note 2) 289–90, Treggiari (above, note 2) 68–69.

[98] This seems the most likely possibility (see at note 101 below). On the post-classical fate of the *Responsa*, see Wieacker (above, note 96) 340–73.

[99] Since Mitteis, most scholars have held either for *non liquet* or for attribution to the compilers (in several cases the latter alternative is preferred precisely because the text is deemed unintelligible): Orestano, *Struttura* (above, note 60) 365–68.

[100] G. Castelli, *Scritti giuridici* (Milan 1923) 143–63 (at 154) suggests that opposing (i.e. prosecuting) counsel emphasized that Rufina was not a *sua liberta*, but it would have been an even greater advantage to dwell on her status as *ingenua*.

[101] This is, I think, a reasonable way of understanding the roundabout expression "quae se non patroni concubinam esse patitur."

stuprum as partners in a non-marital relationship.[102] Thus the language of the *aliena liberta* category, or rather the category itself, was retained, though it was expanded to cover some cases which involved freeborn women.[103]

Next is Marcian:

> Marci. (12 *inst.*) D. 25.7.3 pr.–1: In concubinatu potest esse et aliena liberta et ingenua et maxime ea quae obscuro loco nata est vel quaestum corpore fecit. alioquin si honestae vitae et ingenuam mulierem in concubinatum habere maluerit, sine testatione hoc manifestum faciente non conceditur. sed necesse est ei vel uxorem eam habere vel hoc recusantem stuprum cum ea committere: 1. nec adulterium per concubinatum ab ipso committitur. nam quia concubinatus per leges nomen assumpsit, extra legis poenam est, ut et Marcellus libro septimo digestorum scripsit.
>
> Another person's freedwoman can be kept as a concubine; so too a freeborn woman, especially where she is of low birth or has been a prostitute. But if a man would rather have a freeborn woman of respectable background as his concubine, he is not permitted to do this without a *testatio* making his intentions clear. But (apart from this) it is necessary for him either to marry such a woman or, if he refuses, to commit *stuprum* with her. 1. A man does not commit adultery simply by having a concubine;[104] for, because concubinage has been recognized under statute, it is not penalized by the law (on adultery), as Marcellus also wrote in the seventh book of his *Digesta*.

Both fragments have been subjected to withering criticism.[105] In the first, everything from "et maxime" on has met with objections, although there is little agreement on the precise extent of interpolation. The phrase "et maxime...fecit" was attacked by Mitteis,[106] but defended by Castelli,[107] who

[102] Aurelian is said to have forbidden concubinage with *ingenuae*: *HA Aurel.* 49.8. This notice, understood at face-value, is not reliable, but can be taken as evidence of continuing sensitivity on the subject.

[103] The reasons behind Papinian's evident reluctance to approve concubinage with *ingenuae* outright are illustrated by another text, where he holds that a soldier involved sexually with his sister's daughter is liable for *stuprum* if the parties intended concubinage, not marriage: Pap. D. 48.5.12(11).1 (note the incongruent reference to the *adulterii poena*). Lenience was generally accorded to partners in incestuous relationships if these aimed at marriage and were entered upon in ignorance of the law (even so, violations of the *ius gentium* were punished severely), although the union was ordered to be broken up: *Idem* D. *eod.* 39(38) pr.–7. Partners in non-marital incest faced a *duplex crimen*, consisting of incest and *stuprum*: *Idem* D. *eod.* 39(38).1; Marcii. D. 48.18.5 Obviously, concern with concubinage serving as a screen for, or simply amounting to *stuprum* existed where incest was not a factor, above all where the juridical and especially social status of the parties was similar.

[104] Treggiari (above, note 2) 73n. 69 comments on the unsuitability of translating "ab ipso" as "by itself," the way it is typically understood. "Ipso" is better taken as referring to the male partner, that is, the "ei" of the clause preceding and the subject of "maluerit" in the previous sentence. Note that *adulterium* is again used for *stuprum* (see note 103 above).

[105] Here only the main lines are treated. For further literature, see the *Index Itp.*

[106] Mitteis (above, note 52) 309.

[107] Castelli (above, note 100) 150–59. C. rejects only the words "et maxime."

also accepts "alioquin...conceditur," except for "sine...faciente."[108] Plassard[109] defends "alioquin" as well as the expressions "honestae vitae," "adulterium ...committitur" and "et maxime..." while refusing to accept "sine...faciente" and "per...assumpsit." Rebro[110] accepts the text almost in its entirety. Of late, there has been some acceptance of the earlier criticism.[111] For this reason, and because the text as it stands demands a fair amount of exegesis, a full discussion follows.

Like Ulpian, Marcian is engaged in dispensing advice on how safely to reconcile concubinage with the *lex Iulia* on adultery. He takes the same point of departure. As Meyer observed,[112] the section immediately preceding the part of the commentary we possess would have treated concubinage between a *patronus* and his *liberta*. Marcian passes to the second category, accepted by Papinian, of concubinage with an *aliena liberta*. Indeed, he goes even further, in conceptual terms, than Papinian does, for he explicitly adopts the third category of the *ingenua*, albeit with qualification. This is the meaning of the "et maxime" phrase, attacked by Mitteis as "juristischer Nonsens." Mitteis' criticism would stand if Marcian were simply stating what sorts of women make the best concubines,[113] instead of performing a narrow, cautelary function with regard to the *lex Iulia*. Indeed, his mention of the prostitute can be reconciled with Ulpian's position. There was no problem in taking a freeborn prostitute as a concubine because she enjoyed immunity from *stuprum*.

The *obscuro loco nata* is another matter altogether. The phrase refers to low social status,[114] so that an inequality between the partners is assumed. Such disparity accords, as we have seen, with contemporary practice and was a factor in the court decision reported by Papinian. Marcian elevates a criterion previously employed by the courts in such cases into a general principle. But in

[108] Kübler (above, note 10) 361 also rejects this phrase. Although he prefers to regard it as Byzantine, he concedes that the wording may suit the "decadent morality" of the Severan period ("...sondern höchstens den laxeren Anschauungen der Zeit des Marcian und Modestin entstammen"). The long-held view that this era witnessed a pronounced moral decline is not now accepted (P. Veyne, *Annales ESC* 33 [1978] 35–63; P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* [1987] 132–36). But, even if the current view were false, it is doubtful that this phrase should be understood as a sign of decadence.

[109] Plassard (above, note 9) 79–81.

[110] K. Rebro, *Konkubinát v práve rímskom* (Bratislava 1940) 176–77. He demonstrates the falsity of Castelli's assumption that Ulpian's view was the only one possible under classical law.

[111] For example, Treggiari (above, note 2) 73.

[112] Meyer (above, note 43) 26–27. Also P. Bonfante, *Corso di diritto romano* 1 (Milan 1963 repr.) 321.

[113] Mitteis (above, note 52) 309 and Plassard (above, note 9) 81 assume this, even where they defend the text. So also, to an extent, Treggiari (above, note 2) 71–73.

[114] I follow Treggiari (above, note 2) 73 and 75. C. Castello, *In tema di matrimonio e concubinato nel mondo romano* (Milan 1940) 135–38, argues strangely that the phrase refers to women born in dishonorable places such as brothels or taverns. S. Solazzi, *Scritti* 5 (Naples 1972) 61–69 also objects to this, but wrongly holds the phrase to be post-classical: see T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate* (Oxford 1971) ch. 4.

openly embracing the category of *ingenuae*, he does not limit this to exempt women and the lowborn, as "et maxime" makes clear.

At the same time, Marcian hesitates to allow *carte blanche*. Too much discretion permitted with respectable women would defeat the purpose of the adultery law. Given the uncertainty over the legal situation, it would have been risky to take as a concubine a freeborn woman who did not fall in either of these groups. This is why, in the case of concubinage with a respectable *ingenua*, he recommends recourse to a *testatio* affirming the honorable intentions of the partners.[115] This is the most important point, but has often been doubted. Such documents[116] were used to testify to the existence of a marriage, with the aim of satisfying the requirements of the *lex Iulia et Papia*. The purpose behind Marcian's *testatio* is different, but it stands as another example of an analogy drawn from contemporary marriage practice by the jurists and applied to concubinage.[117]

The next sentence, which runs into fragment 1, is difficult. "Sed necesse...committere" at first sight poses two alternatives which exclude concubinage as a possibility. Taken this way, the phrase would not only contradict the first part of the passage but overreach the position adopted by Ulpian and

[115] If this is correct, the entire sentence "alioquin...conceditur" is classical in content. On *alioquin*, see Plassard (above, note 9) 79–80. Castelli (above, note 100) 156–57 defends "maluerit," but on the assumption that *malle* cannot mean *velle* in classical Latin. The verb surely means "voluerit" here, a usage attested by the second century A.D.: B. W. Frier, *Landlords and Tenants in Imperial Rome* (Princeton 1980) 73n. 45. *Manifestum facere* in the sense of "to make plain" is patently classical: *OLD* s.v. *manifestus* 3b.

[116] L. Wenger, *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Phil.-Hist. Klasse: Sitzungsberichte* 219.1 (Vienna 1941) 1–40. *Testationes* were also used to record the birth of certain children in accordance with the dictates of the *lex Papia Poppaea* (the illegitimate child) and the *lex Aelia Sentia* (the *filius anniculus*): E. Cuq, *Mélanges Fournier* (Paris 1929) 119–33; F. Schulz, *JRS* 32 (1942) 78–91 and 33 (1943) 55–64; E. Weiss, *BIDR* NS 10/11 (1948) 316–26; F. Lanfranchi, *Ricerche sul valore giuridico delle dichiarazioni di nascita in diritto romano* (Modena 1951); J.-P. Levy, *Études Macqueron* (Aix 1970) 439–49; Astolfi (above, note 28) 292–95. (For the rules on documenting divorce established by the adultery law, see Astolfi, 295n. 12, with literature.) The documents were not required for marriage:they were simply evidentiary in nature, not the constitutive element. Overall, they are hardly to be distinguished from marriage agreements, *tabulae nuptiales*, which had broader purposes, typically setting forth the financial arrangements for the marriage. See B. Kübler, *RE* 4A2 (1932) s.v. *tabulae nuptiales* 1949–55; J. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (London 1986) 47–50, 144–46, 196–200. E. Karabélias, *RHD* 62 (1984) 599–603 argues for the existence of oral *testationes* in marriage. *Priscae leges* (perhaps classical) evidently required documentation where the status of the marriage partners was unequal: see note 95 above. For post-classical practice, see C. Van de Wiel, *RIDA*[3] 25 (1978) 307–50 (at 341–44) and the other literature at note 133.

[117] The word "recusantem" is of interest. Orestano (above, note 93) 54 sees in this evidence of a declaration before a magistrate and cites the censorial oath concerning marriage as an analogy. But the typical situation where these disputes arose would have been a challenge to the status of the offspring when both parents were dead. Marcian may with this word refer to a practice that he regards as so widespread and/or desirable that failure to observe it was tantamount to refusal; more likely, he means refusal to marry, as translated above.

Atilicinus. Perhaps the compilers omitted a qualifying phrase such as "sine hoc." Understanding this frees Marcian's formulation from the stark, unacceptable antithesis suggested by the text. The sentence would then summarize the alternatives implied by the cautelary advice on concubinage with the *honesta ingenua* just given. This is precisely what we should expect. There follows a transition to a justification for the jurist's opinion, which is based on both legislative and juristic authority.[118]

4. The Broad Interpretation: Paul.

One other passage from the *Digest* title on concubines is of interest:[119]

> Paul. (19 *resp.*) D. 25.7.4: Concubinam ex sola animi destinatione aestimari oportet.
>
> A woman must be considered to be a concubine on the basis of intention alone.

Plassard[120] takes this text to draw a distinction between concubinage and marriage. But the coincidence of its original context in a book of Paul's *Responsa* dedicated to the *lex Iulia et Papia*[121] and its collocation by the compilers with other passages that deal with concubinage and *stuprum* make it just as likely that Paul treats the latter issue.[122] As it stands, the text shows Paul granting the widest discretion possible for the choice of a concubine. There is no talk of a *testatio*.[123] All the same, even if one understands the jurist to

[118] An alternative explanation is to take "uxorem" originally to have read "uxorem iniustam," as suggested by two of the passages from Ulpian discussed elsewhere (D. 48.5.14[13] pr.–1: see notes 59 and 149). These texts indicate that Ulpian's notion of the *uxor iniusta* is conceived broadly so as to include concubines, just as his *matrimonium iniustum* in these texts embraces concubinage. That Marcian saw an analogy between *concubina* and *uxor* is guaranteed by his insistence on resort to the *testatio*. The sentence under examination was perhaps abbreviated by the compilers, just as an expression qualifying the *uxor* has been suppressed. In any event, the phrase both summarizes the point of the holding and provides a transition to the justification, a transition consisting of the observation that *adulterium* (see note 104 above) is not committed by the male partner through having a concubine. Both alternatives have the virtue of elaborating the ambiguous phrase in the fullness of its context, but that given above in the text is to be preferred as easier and more economical.

[119] The doubts of E. Albertario, *Studi* 1 (Milan 1933) 195–210 (at 208) about the classicity of *destinatio* are misplaced: see *OLD* s.h.v.

[120] Plassard (above, note 9) 83n. 3.

[121] Like other juristic texts that deal with concubinage and *stuprum*: see note 39 above.

[122] To split a hair, the text is phrased broadly enough to serve both purposes. Note *PS* 2.20.1: "Concubina igitur ab uxore solo dilectu separatur"; also Paul. D. 25.7.2. The principle was once held to be post-classical: Volterra (above, note 8) 134.

[123] The rule is that which holds for marriage itself. Book 19 of the *Responsa* was written under Alexander Severus (Fitting [above, note 71] 98) while Marcian wrote his *Institutiones* in the reign of Macrinus or that of Elegabalus (Fitting, 122). Paul may be responding to Marcian (or an earlier jurist) in taking the *ingenua* category a step forward.

hold that any woman may be taken as a concubine without fear,[124] presumably he would require some manifestation of intent to shield the parties from prosecution under the adultery law. Plainly, this need not be as formal as the *testatio* proposed by Marcian.

Of course, it would be useful to have more of Paul's opinions on this subject; an examination of the texts of Ulpian and Marcian cautions sufficiently against placing too much weight on juristic *sententiae* isolated from their context. But if the remark about *destinatio animi* is taken at face value, as it perhaps should be, it is unlikely that the compilers have eliminated something from the context that materially qualified Paul's position in light of the adultery law. The jurist evidently viewed the problem as analogous to that of distinguishing marriage from *stuprum*; other Pauline texts support this view.[125]

It seems reasonable, then, to suppose some distance between his views and those of Marcian. This enables us to establish that a range of opinion existed among the jurists.[126] Ulpian, Marcellus, and Atilicinus stand at one end, Papinian and Marcian in between, and Paul at the other end. Papinian and Marcian, especially the latter, are closer in substance to Paul.[127]

5. Modestinus' Position.

There remain two texts of Modestinus, which are extremely difficult. The first has sparked controversy among scholars over the issue of requirements for Roman marriage:

> Mod. (1 *reg.*) D. 23.2.24: In liberae mulieris consuetudine non concubinatus, sed nuptiae intellegendae sunt, si non corpore quaestum fecerit.
>
> A stable sexual union with a free woman is to be understood as marriage, not concubinage, unless she has been a prostitute.

[124] Elsewhere, Paul allows administrators to take women in their province, whom they were forbidden to marry, as concubines: Paul. D. 25.7.5 (= *PS* 2.20.2). A fairly broad discretion seems implied: Tomulescu (above, note 68) 305 (306)n. 19. For what it is worth, *HA Alex. Sev.* 42.4 alleges that Alexander Severus provided a concubine for each of his unmarried provincial governors who was in need of a female partner.

[125] In other words, the question is purely that of determining intent. Observe the practical problem raised in Paul. D. 25.7.2, where the male partner has gone mad and is thus incapable of forming an intent. (See Plassard [above, note 9] 35 on this point). So also *Idem* D. 34.2.35 pr. (see notes 44 and 89 above), where the deceased male partner's intent is desumable from the wording of his will.

[126] My conclusions differ from the view usually taken by the partisans of the "juristic controversy model." These scholars prefer a dualistic version, with Ulpian and Atilicinus at one end and "the majority" at the other. See, for example, Mitteis (above, note 52) 308–10; Plassard (above, note 9) 76–78 As Plassard notes, Papinian makes no mention of a *testatio*. However, his reluctance to proceed to a blanket admission of *ingenuae* emerges from his treatment of the Rufina case. This makes him more conservative than Paul, though not much more so.

[127] Their relative position depends to an extent on what stance one adopts on formal requirements versus manipulation of concepts. As noted, the position of at least one jurist (Ulpian: see note 59 above) is not wholly consistent.

The passage has been variously attacked. Several scholars have argued that the Byzantines substituted "liberae" for "ingenuae," or at least deleted a reference to the latter.[128] Solazzi[129] condemned the entire passage, on the ground that the exception of the prostitute is too narrow. How could the Romans simply assume marriage with the likes of procuresses, actresses, and convicted adulteresses? He does not go on to ask how, if his assumptions are correct, the compilers came to establish such a rule.[130] Orestano leaves aside the question of what types of women were implied and instead focusses on the principle that emerges from the text.[131] He concludes that the presumption of marriage over concubinage, invoked where proof was lacking, is indeed classical.

Longo has criticized this view, so that it is worth reexamination.[132] Orestano points out that the presumption would have come into play only when uncertainty existed over the real status of the relationship. This important qualification is ignored by Longo, who assumes that such a presumption would have threatened the decisive role of *affectio maritalis* in constituting marriage. Modestinus' principle is evidentiary, not constitutive. It presumes not marriage but the presence of *affectio* in the circumstances given, where other evidence is lacking. Longo also overlooks Orestano's detailed demonstration that, under Byzantine law, with its imposition of formal requirements for marriage, such a presumption was less likely to originate.[133] Orestano explains the retention of the classical principle enunciated by Modestinus as a manifestation of Justinianic "nostalgia," which is persuasive, given what we know of this emperor's conservative attitude toward the classical legal tradition.[134]

Orestano's conclusion stands despite the criticism:[135] "...il non lievo valore etico e sociale (sc. of Modestinus' presumption)...si fonda sull'impossibilità

[128] Literature in Orestano (above, note 93) 51.

[129] Solazzi (above, note 114) 67.

[130] The legal conception of prostitute expanded in post-classical times, making this qualification, couched as it is in the language of the statute, unlikely to have been inserted then.

[131] Orestano (above, note 93) 51.

[132] Longo, (above, note 93) 333–37.

[133] Orestano (above, note 93) 58–63 takes the view that it is impossible, but this is too strong. Much of the legislation in question (for the exceptions, see C. Van de Wiel, *RIDA*[3] 26 [1979] 453–73) deals with the issue of subsequent legitimation of children, after the relationship has been transformed from concubinage into marriage. It is easy to see the need for documentation is such cases. In general, see, for example, Van de Wiel (above, note 116) especially 341–44, and the other literature on this subject given in the bibliographical appendix. Other post-classical enactments required documentation where marriage was contracted with actresses and other socially inferior types or, conversely, with persons of the very highest social rank: Kübler, *RE* (above, note 116) 1953–54.

[134] The best statement is that of M. Kaser, *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Phil.-Hist. Klasse: Sitzungsberichte* 277.5 (Vienna 1972) especially 16–19.

[135] Orestano (above, note 93) 64. Longo's argument is flawed in other respects. He takes an extreme position on source criticism, and draws erroneous conclusions from assumed interpolations. For example, he argues from the phrase in the Marcian passage (D. 25.7.3 pr.–1), which he takes to be largely post-classical, that the principle that the relationship without *testatio* must ("*debba*")

morale di supporre (...salvo prova del contrario) che non sia stata voluta come matrimonio un'unione fra persone tra cui il matrimonio sarebbe stato giuridicamente possible e socialmente da attendersi." At the same time it can be admitted that the analysis does not go far enough. No sustained attempt is made to examine Modestinus' view in relation to the other texts that deal with concubinage and *stuprum*.[136] The significance of the juristic controversy goes unnoticed and unexplained. Thus Orestano assumes, on the basis of excessive source criticism, that respectable freeborn women could not be concubines.[137]

Another text of Modestinus provides a clue as to his position in the debate:

> Mod. (1 *reg.*) D. 48.5.35(34) pr.: Stuprum committit, qui liberam mulierem consuetudinis causa, non matrimonii continet, excepta videlicet concubina.
>
> He who keeps a free woman for the sake of a sexual relationship, and not for marriage, commits *stuprum*, unless, to be sure, she is a concubine.

The word "liberam" has met with similar objections as in the first text.[138] The phrase "excepta videlicet concubina" has been suspected by Kübler and Castelli, and afterwards accepted as interpolated by others.[139] Their views have been challenged by Arangio-Ruiz, who thought the exception accorded well with Ulpian's position on concubinage and *stuprum*, and more recently refuted by Treggiari, who demonstrates that the phrase is perfectly classical in form.[140]

When the passage is examined from a substantive point of view, it displays a remarkable resemblance to the difficult sentence in the Marcian text above (assuming to be true the more likely interpretation of its meaning, which is given in the text). Aside from (accepted forms of) concubinage, one either marries a woman of free status or commits *stuprum* with her. This does not mean that Marcian and Modestinus were of the same mind. The formulation of the latter's text is unsatisfactory—taking the "excepta" phrase to be classical—because it does not give any idea of what sort of concubinage is acceptable: the types of women and other requirements, if necessary. Without the phrase,

be understood as marriage is therefore post-classical. Not only is the phrase classical, but Longo misstates its point. Another assumption is that Justinian's policy on concubinage was unequivocally favorable—not at all true, as Rebro had already shown.

[136] Orestano does cite the Marcian text and the passage of Papinian reporting the Rufina case. In the first instance he argues the *testatio* phrase to be interpolated, despite Wenger's evidence. Orestano assumes that Marcian's insistence on the *testatio* is inconvenient to his argument, but this is hardly true. The jurist is concerned with dispensing cautelary advice and distinguishing legitimate concubinage from *stuprum*, not with establishing a requirement for marriage.

[137] I derive this from the remarks of Orestano (above, note 93) 53, 58, cf. 56–57 See also, *Idem, Struttura* (above, note 60) 374–76.

[138] Literature in Orestano (above, note 93) 52.

[139] Kübler (above, note 10) 361; Castelli (above, note 100) 144–45 Cf. *Index Itp.* ad loc. Add H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Postclassical Roman Law* (Haverford 1939) 96n. 357.

[140] Arangio-Ruiz (above, note 54) 107; Treggiari (above, note 2) 73.

however, we are left with only the two alternatives of *stuprum* and marriage, an extreme opinion, given the parameters of the juristic debate examined above.

Here the first passage can help. This directly concerns not *stuprum* and concubinage, but the distinction between marriage and concubinage.[141] Nevertheless, it is the only indication of Modestinus' opinions on acceptable concubinage that we have. It is clear from this that the jurist did take the question of immunity from *stuprum* into account. Once more, the central problem is that of intent. Theoretically, this was all that mattered,[142] but it could not be permitted to serve as a screen for *stuprum* or as a means of evading the responsibility of marriage. The criteria of the quality of the relationship, the relative status of the parties, the *testatio*, were all directed to this point. Modestinus adopts a radically different approach. In all cases where evidence of intent was lacking, marriage is to be assumed over concubinage (if the woman is not a prostitute).

Modestinus' attitude towards this institution is not very favorable. All doubtful cases of stable sexual union with a free woman should be understood as marriage, except when the woman is a prostitute. The position is intelligible in light of the exemptions permitted under the law. The qualification of "liberae" is significant and should be retained. At least potentially, all women not slaves were subject to this law. Modestinus specifically excludes from his presumption prostitutes, who enjoyed the statutory exemption *par excellence*. This may be understood not to rule out application of the principle to the other possible exclusions, not mentioned perhaps because not worth mentioning.[143] Peregrines were of little significance after the *constitutio Antoniniana* and, like slaves, were irrelevant to the presumption, insofar as, lacking *conubium*, they were incapable of contracting a *matrimonium iustum*, the type of union treated in this passage (below). Convicted adulteresses were barred from remarriage. *Lenae* were perhaps fewer in number than prostitutes and may be regarded as having been subsumed under this rubric.

The text shows a double orientation. Prostitutes (and perhaps procuresses) were the only women otherwise eligible for marriage considered unsuitable for the marriage presumption. The obvious explanation lies in their sexual disgrace. At the same time, the jurist sidesteps the thorny problem of concubinage and *stuprum*. In doubtful cases, one might assume the existence of marriage, so that the issue of acceptable concubinage did not even arise.[144] The only women for whom the assumption did not operate were those whom the law exempted. Here there could be no ambiguity.

[141] This point assists the understanding that Modestinus uses *consuetudo* in two different senses, neutral in D. 23.2.24, negative here.

[142] If intent could distinguish concubinage from *stuprum* (see above, notes 89, 93, 96, 125), it also helped justify a given relationship as an instance of socially approved concubinage.

[143] So Orestano (above, note 93) 53 seems to imply.

[144] It is interesting that Modestinus does not address the question of the relative social rank of the partners. This makes it even more imperative to retain *libera* in both texts. Such a *favor matrimonii* is entirely consistent with the aims and juristic treatment of the *lex Iulia et Papia*. The man evidently took a broad view on the question of suitable marriage partners.

This way of looking at the passage does not conflict with Orestano's main conclusion. Certainly Modestinus emerges as more of a strict constructionist than Ulpian *et al.*, since we do not find so much as a hint of approval for concubinage between *patronus* and *liberta*.[145] In this way, the safeguarding of sexual honor, advanced chiefly by the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*, is asserted in extreme fashion. However, the goals pursued by the companion statute, the *lex Iulia et Papia*, are not ignored. For Modestinus, it seems likely that the same broad considerations of social policy that lie behind the jurists' *favor matrimonii*[146] are extended to the relationship between these parties as well.[147] It is hard to imagine Ulpian, who takes the traditional line that concubinage between *patronus* and *liberta* was more respectable than marriage, to be in agreement.

Returning to the second passage, one notes that here as well "liberam" is an entirely appropriate reading. *Stuprum* was impossible with slaves, but both *ingenuae* and *libertinae* were potentially liable. Given this, we might expect to find, after the statement that a sexual relationship with a free woman must be either *stuprum* or marriage, a qualifying phrase referring to the exemptions, for example, that granted prostitutes. Instead there follows what appears to be a very broad exception made for concubines, which begs the question of which concubines were suitable.

As a result, Modestinus is difficult to place in the spectrum of juristic opinion. Lacking the motives—present in the first passage—of a bias toward marriage and the prospect of avoiding the issue of liability for *stuprum* altogether, he may have wanted to leave the matter open. But it seems risky to deduce from the second passage that, where intention was manifest, Modestinus would have accorded a wide discretion in choosing a concubine, particularly given the negative attitude towards this institution he displays in the first text. It is tempting to agree with Arangio-Ruiz and place him in Ulpian's camp, but it is also possible to regard him as more extreme, given his apparent denial of the suitability even of the *patronus/liberta* type, on the grounds that it was

[145] For what it is worth, the *patronus/liberta* relationship is not strongly attested in the inscriptions: Treggiari (above, note 2) 67 and *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 42–69 (at 55).

[146] For this principle, see Ulp. D. 23.2.27, where a freedwoman "married" to a senator (such a union was void in Ulpian's day: Astolfi [above, note 28] 114–19) begins to be a wife when the one impediment is removed, that is, the husband loses his status. The rule can of course be regarded as a logical extension of the *lex Iulia et Papia*, which aimed to encourage marriage and the raising of children.

[147] The rationale for this may be located in another pronouncement of this jurist which asserts that social norms of respectability should serve as an interpretative canon in the Roman law of marriage. Mod. (*lib. sing. de ritu nupt.*) D. 23.2.42 pr. (= D. 50.17.197): "Semper in coniunctionibus non solum quid liceat considerandum est, sed et quid honestum sit." This can be distinguished from Ulpian's reference to "honestius" on the ground that the latter jurist does not accord it the same weight in his decision. More than this, it seems that Modestinus' definition of *honestum* differs in substance from that of his teacher, insofar as it is a function of the type of relationship more than it is dependent on the status of the two parties. On Modestinus' statement of the marriage ideal, see note 149 below.

irreconciliable with the adultery law, and ultimately at odds with the policy goals of the *lex Iulia et Papia* itself.

In a sense, Modestinus redefines the issue raised by his fellow jurists by ignoring, or so it would seem, the entire question of respectable concubinage and choosing instead to infer marriage in cases where intent was not manifest. Through his implicit refusal to acknowledge prevailing ideas and practice in concubinage (insofar as these can be recovered), he appears more radical in his approach than any other jurist whose position is known to us. Both in his presumption of sexual respectability for all women not exempted from the penalties of the adultery law and in his pro-matrimonial stance, he is faithful to the spirit of the Augustan legislation, meaning, respectively, the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* and the *lex Iulia et Papia*. Given the ambivalence of this legislation—both conservative and innovative at once—it is perhaps not surprising that a strict constructionist approach can inform the development of a position that seems radical when it is viewed in light of social conditions.

With some investment of effort, Modestinus' position might be reconciled with any of those examined in this paper, be they conservative, moderate, or broad. This is true insofar as all the other jurists demand, explicitly or implicitly (note the argument made above for Paul's view), some manifestation of intent by the parties living in concubinage. Modestinus refuses to hold the sword of the adultery statute over the heads of those who have not been sufficiently clear as to their motives. This leaves marriage and concubinage as alternatives: the more prestigious union is given pride of place. In this way, the moral and demographic interests of society at large are allowed a better chance of fulfillment, children whose status might be questioned are rendered legitimate, and the innocent (or at least those not obviously guilty) are rescued from the coils of the *lex Iulia* on adultery.

Even as Modestinus seems to sail so effortlessly past the complexity of social practice and prejudice, one is entitled to wonder how well this neat, rather abstract expression of principle would have been viewed by a Roman court of law. The answer is, of course, unrecoverable. One might conclude that the widespread tolerance of concubinage described above would augur a hostile reception. But not everyone practised concubinage, and unanimity of opinion cannot be assumed. Modestinus wrote in an age when marriage enjoyed great prestige as the preferred sexual relationship and an ideal of affectionate relations between spouses was popular, at least among those orders of society from which the bulk of our evidence derives.[148]

In sum, Modestinus, far from holding a view that was isolated and doctrinaire, gave voice to the widespread enthusiasm for marriage prevailing in his day.[149] His evidence, murky as it may be for the problem of what constituted

[148] See Veyne (above, note 108) *passim*, who argues that this development was peculiar to the Principate. A cogent objection is raised by Garnsey and Saller (above, note 108) 133, who cite evidence from the late Republic. See now also S. Dixon, in B. Rawson, ed., *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1991) 99–113.

[149] Important for our understanding of this jurist's position is his own statement of the marriage ideal. Mod. (1 *reg.*) 23.2.1: "Nuptiae sunt coniunctio maris et feminae et consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani iuris com-

acceptable concubinage, can be read as an illustration of just how directly and decisively social values might influence the construction of a legal regime. Given its uncertainties and inconsistencies, the juristic treatment of concubinage was especially vulnerable to this sort of intrusion. To the minds of some Romans, this institution could not withstand a straightforward challenge from that of marriage, except in very narrow circumstances where there was no ideal relationship to safeguard. Concubinage with a prostitute serves as one of the very limited number of examples of the sort of union that lay beyond the application of Modestinus' principle.

municatio." This can hardly be understood as a pure statement of legal doctrine; instead, it is an expression of the valuation placed on marriage by Roman society. On the passage, see Kaser *RP* 1^2 73n. 6, 310n. 2 (with literature). We might compare the "idealistic" language of Africanus and Ulpian in the following text. Afric.-Ulp. (2 *de adulteriis*) D. 48.5.14(13).1: "nec enim soli...Atridae uxores suas amant." The Homeric tag (the line [*Iliad* 9.340] is given in Greek as well) is used to justify an extension of the right to advance the unprivileged adultery accusation (*ius extranei*) where the union was *matrimonium iniustum*. A similar extension is made in the case of respectable concubinage in the preceding fragment (Ulp. D. *eod.* 14[13] pr.: see note 59 above). Can a clean distinction be drawn, on the basis of these texts, between the position of Modestinus and that of his colleagues? An answer to this question begins with a double caveat. We cannot assume without argument that the Homerism refers back to concubinage in the preceding fragment and we do not know for certain that Modestinus excluded *matrimonium iniustum* from his encomium on marriage. However, even if we go as far as to accept that, in cases where the intent of both parties to live in concubinage was manifest, Modestinus agreed with the conservatives on the range of permitted relationships, a strong contrast emerges. Modestinus certainly cannot have shared Paul's position (D. 25.7.2) that concubinage should be assumed where the male partner/patron was mad. Presumably, even Ulpian *et al.* would have agreed with Paul: we have seen that concubinage with the *sua* was not only regarded as more socially respectable than marriage but probably enjoyed a legislative sanction, however minimal. More generally, the passages quoted suggest that Africanus and Ulpian were willing to grant limited recognition, *qua* marriage, to certain relationships that were serious and stable, but which did not enjoy the status of full Roman marriage. This accords well with the subjective view frequently taken of such unions, to judge from epigraphical evidence, where partners and relationships are often described with terminology appropriate to marriage. See the evidence collected by Meyer (above, note 43) 60–77; Plassard (above, note 9) 119–27. Modestinus heads in the other direction, bestowing the status of marriage upon unions where clarity as to the partners' intent was lacking. In this way, doubtful cases are objectively transformed into marriage. It seems more logical to assume that the jurist is thinking of unions where intent alone is at issue and objective impediments are not present. In other words, he means primarily, if not exclusively, *matrimonium iustum* in D. 23.2.24. The same can be said of the marriage encomium: see his comment on the role of *honestum* in evaluating relationships, quoted in note 147 above. Modestinus is writing a decade, at minimum, after the introduction of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, which removed one of the main impediments to full Roman marriage for most inhabitants of the empire. (On the date of composition of the *Regulae*, see Fitting [above, note 71] 129–30).

6. Conclusion.

As represented by Atilicinus, Marcellus, and Ulpian, the conservative approach to the problem examined in this paper was safe and schizophrenic. It responded to two very different questions with answers that were contradictory. What concubines were preferable in terms of upper-class practice? Those women who lacked the *dignitas* appropriate for wives, yet were respectable enough for a stable, serious relationship. Who made the best concubines with respect to criminal liability? The choice narrows to prostitutes and their analogues, that is, women who were exempt from the penalties for *stuprum*. They were safe, but hardly desirable partners for respectable men looking for something more than sex, but less than marriage, in a relationship. This view was at odds with the widespread social practice attested by literary sources and inscriptions.

It is not surprising, then, that other jurists cast about for another solution. Papinian sought to build on the conceptual apparatus offered by the marriage law. His approach is evidently *ad hoc*, with authoritative approval dependent on careful sifting of all relevant circumstances. The result did not meet with universal assent, not only because it strained the meaning of the second category to the breaking point, but also because the manner in which these three categories were defined was not fully satisfactory for the purposes of the *lex Iulia* on adultery. Marcian's answer is pragmatic, in that it attempts to account both for the adultery law and social practice. It had the advantage that the male partner might try to protect himself in advance, rather than waiting until matters reached a court for decision. But only by taking as concubine a woman exempted under the statute could one be completely secure from prosecution. Like Ulpian and the other conservatives, Papinian and Marcian are sensitive to the claims of widespread social practice. Both go a step further, however, in acknowledging a modicum of freedom of discretion. They seek to shelter this discretion from the threat of criminal penalties, albeit only within certain limits.

At first glance, Paul's holding seems completely to ignore the *lex Iulia*. There is a surface plausibility to the argument that, over the two centuries since this law was passed, the weight of custom and the lack of a serious social interest in prosecuting cases of respectable concubinage made for a partial desuetude of the statute. On this estimate, Paul joins Papinian and Marcian in the search for a solution that ran against the grain of the adultery law, leaving Ulpian and his student Modestinus isolated in a position they share with earlier jurists.

However, this scenario emerges as rather improbable. The Severan emperors were markedly aggressive in repressing adultery and *stuprum*.[150]

[150] The argument relies on more than the number of imperial measures adopted (they were numerous, but evidence for Severan legislation is relatively abundant); their content and tone are decisive. Note, for example, Paul. *Coll.* 4.3.6, which reports a rule laid down by Caracalla granting a total release from the penalty for wrongful exercise of the *ius occidendi*. Alexander Severus introduces a rescript on the *crimen lenocinii* with the slogan *castitas temporum meorum*: C. 9.9.9 (a.

Despite some modern assertions to the contrary, the cooperation of contemporary jurists in this enterprise was far from reluctant.[151] The efforts of the jurists to come to grips with the renewed interest in combatting these offenses explains how concubinage came to be problematized at the time they wrote, in the face of longstanding social practice that might have been thought to condone it.

Paul was no exception to the trend toward sexual repression. He viewed the problem of acceptable partners in concubinage as analogous to that of distinguishing *stuprum* from marriage. A claim to be married might serve as a screen for *stuprum* as easily as a claim to be living in concubinage: what mattered was intent, which had to be desumed from the circumstances. Paul's position is not radically different from that of the moderates, who are more cautious. There was in fact no absolute guarantee on the avoidance of criminal liability when the woman herself was not exempt.

It is noteworthy that even the conservatives (with the possible exception of Atilicinus) display a degree of sensitivity to upper-class practice and values. In exploring the approaches taken by the jurists, the analysis has tended to confirm the validity of conclusions reached by others, above all, Susan Treggiari. Concubinage was not only required to be monogamous (this meant more than the requirement that neither partner was supposed to be married to another person), but was to be preferred to marriage under certain circumstances, especially when the male partner enjoyed a significantly superior status to that of the female. Concubines themselves, provided they fell into the category of "respectable," were loved, honored, and expected to remain faithful. Of course, the legislation of Augustus, in particular, the adultery statute, was itself an expression of Roman social values. It played a key role in the formation of policy too, but with a difference worth stressing. As positive law, the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* presented the jurists with a more direct challenge.

Modestinus does not, once again, fit easily into this picture, so that one further caution is necessary. Unlike the others, this jurist is, to all appearances, not dispensing cautelary advice but enunciating a generalized, fairly abstract principle. It is one thing to recommend a *testatio* where a respectable freeborn woman is taken as a concubine and another to condemn, even implicitly, all such relationships without the document as *stuprum*. This is an opinion which we should have difficulty ascribing to Marcian and even to Ulpian himself. To be sure, every jurist knew that situations of fact were not always predictable, and Modestinus may have been allowing himself some room to maneuver. However, before we praise him for his flexibility, we should reflect on the potential for confusion and practical problems of application that his "solution" would have generated. It is surely correct to view this as a suggestion of the

224). See also Dio 76.16.4, which shows not every such initiative was followed through.

[151] The interest displayed by the Severan jurists in the repression of adultery can be measured both by the substance of their holdings (see D. 48.5, the *sedes materiae*) and by the curious fact that the *lex Iulia* is the only criminal statute that received a special commentary from any jurist. Papinian, Ulpian, and Paul all wrote such works. See R. A. Bauman, *ANRW* 2.13 (Berlin 1980) 103–233 (at 129).

inadequacy of the different categories evolved by the jurists to deal with this problem. Caught between the insufficient guidance offered by statute law, and the almost intolerably high degree of variety and ambiguity found in practice, these categories faced an eventual, perhaps inevitable, breakdown.

The truth is that none of the alternative approaches developed by the jurists was enough by itself to resolve the dilemma posed by concubinage. Each represents a choice wherein some social goals are accorded preference over other, equally desirable ones. These revolved around the central issues of social status, the transmission of property from one generation to the next, sexual honor, and freedom of discretion in the private sphere. An absolutely satisfactory solution was impossible, and a compromise or preferred solution was never attained. This explains why the juristic controversy on the issue survives in the Justinianic *Corpus*, not completely intact, but in a form which allows its main lines to be reconstructed. As long as these competing claims continued to be invested with an independent and roughly equivalent validity, the value-conflict could not be resolved through any amount of deletion or rewriting of existing texts, or even by legislating anew.

Bibliographical Appendix.

In spite of the recent, steadily increasing interest in the subject displayed by scholars, Roman concubinage has never received a critical bibliographical assessment. The literature is not so much extensive as obscure, largely consisting of long-forgotten monographs or tucked away in periodicals that are difficult of access. Given its importance, particularly the resonance it has for such areas of contemporary concern as sexuality, marriage, and the status of women, a guide to the general trends and most important individual works recommends itself. What follows does not attempt absolute completeness, but aims to lay down the main lines of a discussion that began, in its modern form, almost exactly a century ago. References to a number of more specialized works (often of great value, it must be said) can be found in the notes to the article above.

On the general subject of concubinage, the early comprehensive studies by P. M. Meyer, *Der römische Konkubinat nach den Rechtsquellen und den Inschriften* (Leipzig 1895) and J. Plassard, *Le concubinat romain sous le haut empire* (Paris 1921) are all but entirely superseded, groundbreaking as they were in their day. Meyer's reviewers, B. Kübler, *SZ* 17 (1896) 357–65 (at 359–60) and E. Costa, *BIDR* 11 (1898) 233–43 (at 234–35), as well as Plassard, criticized the thesis that concubinage under the Empire was an *Ersatzinstitut*, introduced as a compensation for the various bars to marriage established by Augustus. Nevertheless, the view that concubinage developed under the Principate as a social, not legal, response to the Augustan laws found widespread acceptance: see E. Weiss, *Institutionen des römischen Privatrechts*[2] (1949) 456–57; F. Schulz, *Classical Roman Law* (1951) 137–41; cf. the argument of Rawson outlined below.

L. Mitteis, *SZ* 23 (1902) 274–314 (at 304–14) suggested, against Meyer's view of an historical evolution, that the ambiguity and contradictions in the legal sources are the reflection of a classical juristic controversy, and this is the prevailing view today.

Taking up a view propounded earlier by Costa, G. Castelli, *Scritti giuridici* (Milan 1923) 143–63 argued that the institution was not, aside from the indirect influence of the Augustan marriage legislation, really defined by the law until Justinian. In effect, under classical law, only women exempted from the penalties laid down by the adultery law could be taken as concubines. Castelli's views are accepted and elaborated by by P. Bonfante, *Scritti giuridici vari* 4 (Rome 1925) 563–67 (cf. *Idem, Corso di diritto romano* 1 [Milan 1963 repr.] 315–26 ; E. Volterra, *Studi Sassaresi* 17 [1928] 1–63 [at 5]; *Idem, NNDI* 3 [1959] s.v. *concubinato* [*diritto romano*] 1052–1053), but most scholars now regard his method of source criticism as too extreme.

H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Postclassical Roman Law* (Haverford 1939) 93–97 saw the classical juristic distinction between concubinage and marriage as a mixture of subjective and objective elements, a view which owes much to assumptions about the presence of interpolations in the legal texts that are no longer acceptable. This prejudices

W.'s presentation of the juristic controversy, which comes off as overly schematic and simplified.

C. Castello, *In tema di matrimonio e concubinato nel mondoromano* (Milan 1940) is correct to argue that concubinage was not a unitary institution, but goes too far in postulating a dichotomy between those types which are treated by the jurists as an institution analogous to marriage and which could become marriage, when a legal impediment was removed, and those for which this was, in his view, impossible, because one of the parties was stained with "infamia con una vita scostumata."

K. Rebro's study, *Konkubinát v práve rímskom od Augusta do Justiniána* (Bratislava 1940) (German summary, 175–91) has received little attention. Besides setting forth an energetic refutation of the interpolationist criticism practised by earlier authors, above all Castelli and Bonfante, he develops more fully the theme of juristic controversy first put forward by Mitteis.

More recent work has returned to a treatment of the epigraphical data, first examined in detail by Meyer. All serious attempts to come to grips with Roman concubinage must rely heavily on the work of Rawson and Treggiari. B. Rawson, *TAPA* 104 (1974) 279–305 refutes the moralizing interpretations of Meyer and Plassard. She finds a heavy concentration of partners of slave or freed condition and concludes that objective impediments, especially those involving the status of one or both partners, were often a bar to marriage and so encouraged resort to concubinage as a substitute (a variation on Meyer's thesis regarding the *Ersatzinstitut*). I differ from her in that I believe with most scholars that an act of the will rather than cohabitation (Rawson, 279) created and maintained the marriage bond and that the marriage prohibitions of the *lex Iulia et Papia* did not preclude, but only penalized, unions that violated this statute.

S. Treggiari, *PBSR* 49 (1981) 59–81 examines the relative status of partners within this type of relationship and takes Rawson's conclusions one step further, showing that the men were generally of higher status than the women (Treggiari, 59). Her review of the legal sources suggests that Augustus did not exclude *ingenuae* as possible concubines, and that among the poor, where the incentives (and penalties) of the marriage law were not as keenly felt, "concubinage may have seemed a normal alternative to marriage"; moreover, society in general approved concubinage where the male partner was of a significantly higher status. As for the relationship of this institution to the adultery law, she concludes that "although concubinage with a freeborn woman probably did not constitute *stuprum*, there was probably some feeling that a freeborn woman should become a wife, if the man was of comparable social status, so they could produce second-generation freeborn children" (Treggiari, 76). See also Treggiari, *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 42–69, which describes *contubernium*, a type of concubinage where at least one of the parties was a slave during the union.

Some recent work must be approached with caution. O. Robleda, *El matrimonio en derecho romano* (Rome 1970) 275–83 employs a method at odds with contemporary standards of source criticism, and is overly dismissive of previous objections to this approach. A. Rousselle, *Opus* 3 (1984) 75–84 assumes, against the view that prevails today, that it was customary and accepted for a man to keep wife and concubine simultaneously; she also misses

the juristic debate, as does P. Csillag, *The Augustan Laws on Family Relations* (Budapest 1976) 143–46 (for summaries of C.'s earlier work on concubinage, see G. Polara, *Iura* 15 [1964] 484 and K. Visky, *Iura* 17 [1966] 499).

Finally, some relatively specialized work on concubinage can be canvassed briefly. For a valuable examination of some of the implications of concubinage for Roman family life, see R. Saller, *Slavery and Abolition* 8 (1987) 65–87 (at 71–76). For the legal status of children born in concubinage during the classical period, see the literature cited in note 89. On concubinage in post-classical law, see R. Danieli, *Studi Arangio-Ruiz* 3 (Naples 1952) 175–79, better than C. S. Tomulescu, *Studi Scherillo* 1 (Milan 1972) 299–326, who, in the wake of Bonfante, overstates the case for Justinianic recognition of this institution. See now E. Karabélias, *Atti Acc. Rom. Cos.* 7 (Naples 1988) 183–201, and *Atti. Acc. Rom. Cos.* 8 (Naples 1990) 439–53. On the legal status of children born in concubinage during the post-classical period, see C. Van de Wiel, *RIDA*^{3} 25 (1978) 307–50 and *RIDA*^{3} 26 (1979) 453–73; and now M. Navarra, *Atti Acc. Rom. Cos.* 7 (Naples 1988) 459–75; G. Lanata, *Atti Acc. Rom. Cos.* 7 (Naples 1988) 487–93; H. Wieling, *Atti. Acc. Rom. Cos.* 8 (Naples 1990) 455–71; G. Lucchetti, *La legittimazione dei figli naturali nelle fonti tardo imperiali e giustinianee* (Milan 1990). Post-antique approaches to concubinage are treated by C. Nardi, *Arch. Pen.* 19.1 (1963) 108–23 (at 114–23) and J. Goody, *The Development of The Family and Marriage in Europe* (1983) 75–82 (with further bibliography); on Goody's general argument, see B. D. Shaw and R. P. Saller, *Man* 19 (1984) 432–44.

Finally, when this article was already in press, I had the opportunity to consult S. Treggiari's important book, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the time of Cicero to the time of Ulpian* (Oxford 1991). The reader is referred to her treatment of concubinage (esp. 51–52, 55–56, 311), the requirement of intent/consent to marry (54–57, 170–80), the marraige ideal (esp. 229–61), Mod. D. 23.2.1 (9–10, 251), the pre-Augustan legal regime on adultery (264–77), and the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* (277–98).



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QUAE CORPORE QUAESTUM FACIT: THE SEXUAL ECONOMY OF FEMALE PROSTITUTION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE*

By REBECCA FLEMMING

I. INTRODUCTION

Prostitution, it seems to be generally agreed, was a phenomenon firmly embedded in imperial Roman society. It has, however, yet to achieve a similar level of scholarly integration. Moves are undoubtedly being made in this direction. Several topics which have a direct bearing on patterns of prostitution, or in which prostitution is implicated, such as the complex hierarchy of male and female, the patterning of erotic desires and pleasures, the acquisition and dissipation of wealth, and the organization of urban life, can certainly be described as major preoccupations in present enquiries into the Roman world; and a couple of monographs on the subject, or aspects of it, have recently appeared.[1] None the less, there is as yet no study that can really bear comparison with any of the substantial historical works on prostitution in a range of other times and places that have been published in the last two decades.[2] In particular, there has not been any serious effort to take the perspective of the prostitutes themselves into account, which is one of the most emphatic developments in the new historiography of prostitution emerging elsewhere.

This article, therefore, attempts to set out some ways in which this more recent body of historical research into prostitution might be productively brought to bear on the remains of Roman patterns of exchanging sex for money — remains already located in broader fields of interpretation and investigation within Classical studies. It does not seek to apply an established methodology for the study of past prostitutions, nor to extend an established model of their historical formation to the ancient world, for no such tools or templates exist; but more generally seeks to take advantage of prior historical problematizations of the sale and purchase of sexual services, of the possibilities already mapped out, the issues raised and connections made, for understanding prostitution in imperial Rome.

In these prior historical problematizations, prostitution is broadly construed as a changeable compound of two essential elements. The first is sexual availability, allegedly absolutely indiscriminate but actually wrongfully discriminating in a relative sense; availability deemed quantitatively and qualitatively mistaken. The second is economic

* My thanks to Riet van Bremen, Di Paton, and the Editorial Committee of *JRS* for all their comments and suggestions.

[1] T. McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality and the Law in Ancient Rome* (1998) is so recent it appeared after this article was initially completed, and provides a much more systematic (though circumscribed) study of the legal rules affecting Roman prostitution than hitherto. B. Stumpp, *Prostitution in der römischen Antike* (1998) appeared a little earlier, but follows H. Herter's articles, 'Dirne', in *RLAC* III (1957), 1149–1213, and 'Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schrifttums', *JbAC* 3 (1960), 70–111, in providing a useful collection of material organized in a set of rather confused analytical categories; S. Leontsini, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz* (1989), is a more coherent study but of a later period. A still earlier methodological tradition is represented by e.g. J. Balsdon, *Roman Women: Their History and Habits* (1962), 224–9, following K. Schneider, 'Meretrix', in *RE* XV.1 (1931), 1018–27, and the rather more liberal O. Kiefer, *Sexual Life in Ancient Rome* (1934), 55–63, who includes prostitutes in the section on 'free love' rather than 'less reputable women'. Both, however, consider prostitutes who had liaisons with famous poets to be the most blessed of women and worry about the public health consequences of prostitution in ways that never occurred to the Romans, but rather reflect the concerns of nineteenth-century reformers such as A. J. B. Parent-Duchâtelet, whose work *De la prostitution dans la ville Paris considerée sous la rapport de l'hygiène publique, de la morale et de l'administration* (1836) provided a model for similar works produced elsewhere in Europe and America, and has exerted considerable influence on historical studies of prostitution ever since.

[2] Among the more notable of these are: J. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (1980); L. White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (1990); M. Wood Hill, *Their Sisters' Keepers: Prostitution in New York City, 1830–1870* (1993); R. Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (1996); and G. Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (1997).

gain, which is part of the adjudged error in discrimination, but not necessarily the major part (and certainly not the whole). Prostitution is, therefore, at once a form of sexual activity, a kind of sexual style or category, and a form of economic activity, a way of making a living through the provision of certain services, by behaving in accordance with, or falling into, such a category. Some recent works have stressed the former aspect. Karras, for instance, argues that in medieval Europe, 'it was not the exchange of money, not even multiple partners, but the public and indiscriminate availability of a woman's body that was the defining feature of prostitution'; and her collaborative article with Boyd takes this a step further, claiming that in the Middle Ages prostitution was a 'sexual orientation', that it 'involved being a certain type of person, rather than engaging in sex for money', that is doing certain types of things, performing certain sexual acts.[3] White, on the other hand, defines the prostitution she examines in colonial Nairobi as a type of reproductive labour, deriving from the economic needs and aspirations of the women involved, and their families, and meeting various, more social, needs of a new urban, male workforce.[4]

This divergent emphasis partly reflects the cultural specificity of past prostitutions — the fact that the wider set of circumstances and practices, norms and values, pertaining to both sex and wealth, within which prostitutions form and function, were not the same in medieval England and colonial Kenya — but it also reflects differences of scholarly resources and perspective within that framework. White uses, 'the language that comes from the work and experiences of prostitutes themselves', a language that passes to her through interviews and other oral reports.[5] Indeed, the general academic adoption of that language lies at the heart of her bold attempt to re-orient the historiography of prostitution more broadly, to transform a literature that 'speaks of women's victimization' into one that speaks of 'women's actions' and earnings. Karras, however, has no such access to the voices of women in the Middle Ages, and, though sympathetic to these more empowering historical narratives, thinks they must be tempered by the view from outside; the negative view of the work of the prostitute which bears down, in varying ways and weights, on those who engage in it. She, therefore, tries to 'steer between the danger of portraying prostitutes as victims by concentrating too much on how others saw them and the danger of decontextualizing them by concentrating too much on their agency'.[6]

These debates about how women's history is both made and written have a clear resonance for enquiries in the Classical world, where the problems presented by the surviving sources are even more acute. This study thus sets out to examine the specific sexual economy of prostitution in the Roman Empire with these issues in mind. It seeks to find ways of using the scarce and slippery evidential resources of a literature produced by men of the imperial élite for their own particular purposes, and of material and documentary remains that are neither profuse nor unambiguous, to establish an outline of the imperial sex trade both as an institution, as a set of more or less clearly constituted and conceived economic, social, and ideative relations, and as a lived experience, as a field of intentional female activity. That is to explore, with this set of evidence, the possibilities of writing a history of Roman prostitution which forms part of the history of female labour, or of the history of sexuality, not to mention the more traditional history of social policy and a whole host of other histories. This exploration occurs, of course, within the broader historical frame of the Roman Empire itself. It is worth remembering at the outset that, for instance, the institution of slavery — one of the linchpins of empire — is a troubling one for labour history, and cuts across, though does not remove, issues of agency; and that the ancient world had its own distinctive

[3] Karras, op. cit. (n. 2), 10; R. M. Karras and D. L. Boyd, '*Ut cum muliere*: a male transvestite prostitute in fourteenth-century London', in L. Fradenburg and C. Freccero (eds), *Premodern Sexualities* (1996), 104.

[4] White, op. cit. (n. 2), 10–21.

[5] White, op. cit. (n. 2), 6–10; Hill, op. cit. (n. 2), also uses prostitutes' letters to help produce a study of the sex-trade in mid-nineteenth-century New York in which prostitution also appears as a rational economic choice for women, with its own 'positive appeal and rewards' (5).

[6] Karras, op. cit. (n. 2), 9; see also the similar remarks of Hershatter, op. cit. (n. 2), 3–33.

configurations of self and sexual activity. The point is, however, to use all the available resources to try and write a history of Roman prostitution that is not just a history of men's sexual choices and their regulation of the sexual objects they construct, but also of women's lives; that is, not a half, but a whole history.

This means not abandoning male-authored, male-centred texts, but recognizing them as such, and as less interested in describing the phenomenon of prostitution itself than in describing, in making and marshalling, its meanings for the literary élite. They need rather to be made to work harder than ever, with closer attention being paid to their formulations and framings and the way items in the archaeological and epigraphic records relate to them. In particular, this literature should not be coddled with assumptions about prostitutes and prostitution that can be traced back to the social reformers of the nineteenth century, but challenged with questions posed by more recent historical and sociological studies variously informed by feminism and the voices, views, and values of the working women themselves. The aim is to understand the partiality of the literary legacy, its incompleteness and imbalance, but as something none the less integral to the phenomenon itself — to an assemblage of human activities organized around an essential asymmetry, discrepantly, even conflictually, engaged in and interpreted by the different parties involved, who, at the same time, cannot avoid their mutual implication in the complex whole they enact. There are additional problems, of course, as even these élite voices are somewhat disparate in their distribution in time and space, and the material evidence is similarly scattered. So, while an attempt is certainly made to pull all this into a certain shape, to bring a kind of order to affairs, there is no effort to smooth out the differences of positioning and perspective, of locality and chronology; these must remain, with all their ramifications.

The overall approach is thus broad and thematic, rather than in anyway exhaustive, but there are also some specific boundaries necessary to make the project manageable. This is a study of prostitution in the Roman Empire before that Empire became Christianized; which is not to say that Christian evidence is ignored, but that it is used for what it reveals about prevalent 'pagan' practices, about the traditional (but not unchanging) attitudes and activities which Christian writers were working with and reacting against in various ways. And it is a study of female prostitution only. Women made up the vast majority, but not all, of imperial prostitutes, and this must be recognized in dealing with either part of the population. Though this article has little to say directly about male prostitution, it is hoped that it still provides the basis for its future examination; that it offers an introduction to the central elements that will need to be rearranged, reworked, and elaborated in many subsequent, more detailed, investigations into the unwieldy entirety of the sex-trade in the Roman world.

II. LABOUR, LUST AND LUCRE

The process of becoming a prostitute in the Roman world, becoming a *meretrix* — literally a woman who earns (from the Latin *mereo*) — a *hetaira* or a *pornê* — a woman who sells (from the Greek *pernemi*) — is not a matter in which contemporaries evince much interest, in contrast to the concern that was eventually to develop in this area, with its complex classification of paths into prostitution centred around narratives of woman's 'fall' in which her victimization is writ large. Only a handful of reasons for women's prostitution are provided, more or less incidentally, by imperial writers; and though they eschew the more baroque styles of making woman victim, they do not exactly offer her much choice in the matter either. She might *be prostituted*, first and foremost as a slave or, secondly, as a wife or daughter; otherwise she herself might *be driven* to sell her body systematically by either her depraved lusts or indigence.

Dio Chrysostom assumes that the bodies set out as sexual wares in the cities of the Empire have been captured or purchased for the purpose, an assumption also worked with in the assorted stories that circulated in the imperial world of well-bred maidens

captured by pirates or bandits and sold to brothel-keepers (*lenones* or *pornoboskoi*).[7] Whether these statements about the slave supply are in fact accurate may be questioned, but the basic premise that prostitutes broadly become such through enslavement (or, at least, that the great majority of prostitutes are slaves) is certainly borne out in numerous sources, many of which will be discussed in due course.[8] Justin Martyr alleges not only that almost all exposed children (not just the girls) were raised for prostitution, presumably as slaves, but also that pagans commonly sold the sexual services of their own offspring and wives.[9] This latter accusation is supported, without the religious qualification, by the legislation of early Christian emperors formalizing at least one means of escape for daughters from 'lenones patres', that is, fathers who prostitute them.[10] The practice is unlikely to be a recent development, even if this extension of jurisdiction into the family domain and the remedy offered — centred around appeal to a bishop — are. Moreover, a similar scenario, in which the mother replaces the father as prostitutor, is imagined both in a fourth-century A.D. papyrus which recounts an Alexandrian court case in which some of the drama is provided by a mother claiming compensation for the loss of her livelihood caused by the murder of the daughter whom she had placed in the control of a *pornoboskos* so that neither of them might starve, and in Lucian's dialogue between a mother and the daughter whom she has just made turn her first trick so that they might exchange poverty for a life of luxury.[11] As for husbands prostituting their wives, Firmicus Maternus describes a natal celestial configuration that means a husband or wife will, respectively, compel or suffer sexual availability for profit; and in his *Apology* Apuleius accuses his arch enemy Herennius Rufinus of turning his house into a brothel, with his wife as the main attraction, in order to make ends meet after having dissipated a dubious inheritance.[12] There is every reason to think that Apuleius is, at the very least, exaggerating, but the basic plausibility of the situation seems assured.

It is Firmicus too who expresses most explicitly the, more widely hinted at, notion that a woman's licentiousness might dictate her livelihood to herself:

> si vero mulier sic Venerem positam habuerit, <erit> impura libidinosa et ad omnium exposita voluptatem et meretricis semper actibus implicata, quae propter necessitatem vitae in meritorio se statuat vel lenoni locet.
>
> If a woman has Venus in this house, she will be full of vile lusts, accessible for the pleasure of all, and always in thrall to the impulses of a *meretrix*; on account of the necessity of this life she will set herself up in the business, or contract to a *leno*.[13]

Ulpian rejects poverty as an excuse for living a *turpissima vita* ('most sordid life') in his definition of those women whose conduct places them on the wrong side of the Lex Julia et Papia in respect to their marriageability, and Lactantius is only a little more sympathetic to women whom necessity forces to profane their chastity.[14] Both seem to

[7] Dio, *Or.* 7.133, and see also *Cod.* 8.50.7. Stories of enslavement and prostitution feature in Sen., *Contr.* 1.2, the *Hist. Apoll. Tyr.* 33–7, Xen. Eph. 5.5–9, and Apul., *Met.* 7.9–10. Women's fierce resistance to the logical consequence of such a fate — that she should lose her virginity to the wrong man in the wrong circumstances — is the centrepiece of such stories, so there are some limits to her victimhood.

→ W. Scheidel, 'Quantifying the sources of slaves in the early Roman Empire', *JRS* 87 (1997), 156–69, argues that slave reproduction was actually the greatest source of supply. Whether any such reproduction would have occurred within the brothel itself is unclear, certainly the implication in most sources is that prostitutes successfully strove not to reproduce, which recent studies on the efficacy of ancient methods of contraception and abortion might help explain, see esp. J. Riddle, *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance* (1992).

[9] Justin, *Apol.* 1.27. Exposing children thus raises the alarming prospect of committing, not only fornication, but also incest, when visiting a brothel, and so is definitely not to be practised by Christians. Lactantius (*Inst.* 6.20.22) repeats the accusation, but with the qualification that exposed children end up *either* in slavery *or* the brothel ('vel servitutem vel ad lupanar') though this opposition should probably not be pushed too hard.

[10] *Cod.* 1.4.12 and 11.41.6 (= *CTh* 15.8.2). The measure deals with masters as well as fathers.

[11] *BGU* IV 1024.8–18 and Luc., *DMeretr.* 6. On the more imaginative aspects of the Alexandrian court case, see J. G. Keenan, 'Roman criminal law in a Berlin papyrus codex (BGU IV 1024–1027)', *AP* 35 (1989), 15–23.

[12] Firm., *Math.* 6.11.6; Apul., *Apol.* 75–6.

[13] Firm., *Math.* 3.6.22; see also e.g. 7.25.9.

[14] *Dig.* 23.2.43.5; Lact., *Inst.* 5.8.7; see also the judge's remarks at *BGU* IV 1024.20–30.

be speaking, at least primarily, of situations in which these factors act directly on the woman, who has made herself into a *meretrix* as a result.

So, becoming a *meretrix* is, as the word suggests, primarily understood as an economic act, but one that belongs far less to the prostituted woman herself than to those around her; to those who profit from her initial and recurrent sale. The modern verdict that, 'Money is *the* reason for prostitution', may be borne out by the ancient sources, but the money in question is presented not as an incentive for entering the profession, as it is now, but for establishing others in it.[15] The existence of the institution of slavery, and the profits to be realized from its intersection with prostitution, clearly play their part in establishing this pattern. Beyond that, it is also hardly surprising that prostitution was less an individual undertaking than one which occurred within a more complex, and frequently familial, economic network. Nor should the sources' respect for hierarchies of power and agency within this collective context be taken as at all peculiar. It might well seem that the costs and benefits are unequally distributed in a family which, directly or indirectly, prostitutes its womenfolk, but the precise combination of consent and coercion involved in such circumstances is not revealed.

Apuleius does have Rufinus' wife eventually resign in some disgust from her position as family bread-winner but not wife, though this is essential to his plot in various ways and no doubt primarily intended to reflect badly on her husband, and the later imperial legislation also indicates that at least some daughters wanted, and tried, to get out of parental prostitution. However, while Rufinus clearly had other economic alternatives open to him, this is far less obvious for the mothers who sold their daughters, though the financial expectations from such sales appear high. Moreover, a comment by Sextus Empiricus that some Egyptian girls accumulate their dowry through prostitution, though highly dubious in itself, at least raises the possibility that prostitution could be undertaken short-term with a very specific goal in mind, and it also serves to underline the point that in the Roman world in general a daughter's sexual choices, her control over her body, were severely limited.[16] Her sexuality was, in a real sense, for her father and family to dispose of, either in marriage or otherwise.

The problematic nature of these few sources makes it impossible to push them very far on any of these issues. Female bodies clearly counted amongst the economic resources not only of slave-dealers and owners, but also of any family network, available short- or long-term for the avoidance of penury and probably in some cases also for the pursuance of more particular and ambitious economic strategies. How often they were deployed, and how this worked out within the family, as a source of what must have been obligation, support, and conflict, is unclear.[17] Both these mechanisms of prostitution were, broadly speaking, deemed legitimate in the Roman world; they function within two of its most basic power structures. Slaves and daughters in particular were legally positioned so they could be prostituted, and though there were various qualifications to this which will be discussed later, even the Christian legislation did not alter the underlying situation. That they could be, does not of course mean that they should be; the reporting is largely censorious; but attitudes amongst those lower down the social order and thus most likely seriously to consider prostitution amongst their restricted economic options, rather than attitudes of the élite towards them, are unknown.

Firmicus' ascription of a sexual motive to those women celestially destined to become *meretrices* stands out against this predominantly economic pattern, and it is also noteworthy that it is at this point that the women themselves emerge most clearly as individual actors. He does not, however, exactly figure prostitution as a sexual orientation or identity as distinct from a set of sexual activities. Nor does he quite

[15] C. Høigård and L. Finstad, *Backstreets: Prostitution, Money and Love*, trans. K. Hansen, N. Sipe and B. Wilson (1992), 40; and see also e.g. N. McKeganey and M. Barnard, *Sex Work on the Streets: Prostitutes and their Clients* (1996), 26. These are, of course, sociological studies of prostitution itself rather than of popular views of it and its causes.

[16] Sext. Emp., *P* 3.201.

[17] Hershatter, op. cit. (n. 2), 181–209, discusses circumstances and contexts for the selling or pawning of daughters into prostitution in early twentieth-century China, which may give some clues in this respect.

suggest, as was to become a nineteenth-century conviction, that some women are born prostitutes.[18] What some women are born with are certain lusts, with the 'impulses of a prostitute', which she can, or must, then make into her trade, her career. Firmicus thus constitutes the *meretrix* as a woman who realizes the professional potential of her innate desires, whose identity is bound up with the performance of certain acts of a financial as well as sexual character, the making of this condition into a way of life.

These different ways of entering prostitution are connected with the different forms the institution took. The prostitution of slaves was paradigmatically based in brothels — *lupanaria* and *fornices, porneia* and *ergasteria* — but also in a range of other establishments, such as inns, taverns, and bath-houses. These places were managed by *lenones*, *pornoboskoi* or, less frequently, *lenae*, who were in the business of making their denizens sexually available; the verb describing this causative activity being 'prostituere', literally 'to place before', 'to set out' (of wares).[19] The organization of life in a *lupanar* is described, at least in outline, in the Elder Seneca's *Controversia* on the issue of whether a virgin kidnapped by pirates and sold to a *leno* who established her in a brothel, but who none the less managed to preserve her virginity with entreaties and a sword, is permitted to hold a priesthood once she had returned to her family.[20] Many of these same features also occur elsewhere in the ancient literature. The slave *lupanar* appears as an enclosed world, with the women confined to the premises, their basic needs provided for by the *leno* who rules his domain in a cruel and coercive manner, driven by greed and depravity.[21] He sets the prices, displayed along with the woman's name on the *tituli* set over the entrances to the small *cellae* in which they worked, and he takes the money.[22] None the less, the women themselves form some kind of community, as they share meals and intimacies, welcoming new arrivals with kisses and training them in the tricks of the trade.

These literary brothels are located in a range of times and places, from the contemporary Rome and Puteoli of satire, to the vaguely historical Tarentum and Mytilene of the novels. Whether the Roman model of their organization should in fact be applied outside Italy, where it has some archaeological support, at any time is however unclear. Certainly Xenophon of Ephesus, writing in Greek, presents a slightly different picture of brothel arrangements than the Latin texts, but other Greek works have little to offer on the matter. *Pornoboskoi* and slaves appear in relation to city brothels (*koineia poleôs*) in a fragmentary Arsinoite papyrus dating from A.D. 265, but without any indication of internal organization beyond that, and, in interpreting dreams involving prostitutes in brothels, for instance, Artemidorus specifies neither the status of the women nor the regime under which they live.[23]

The elaborate details of Roman brothel life find their way into Seneca's *Controversia* because they serve a clear rhetorical purpose. They substantiate the claim made by several of the speakers that, regardless of the circumstances and her actual virginity, once a woman enters a *lupanar*, temples are closed to her. Once she has been set up by a *leno* as sexually accessible to the general populace — the *titulus* being the potent marker of this availability — and has lived as a *meretrix* among *meretrices*, then, even if no man actually gains access to her, even if she has not in fact worked as a *meretrix*, her chastity is forfeit. These speakers also effectively expose the acute asymmetry that characterizes Roman prostitution, for no such penalties were incurred by a man who entered a brothel

[18] Kiefer, op. cit. (n. 1), 59, quotes, for example, a comment by a contemporary German sexologist that, 'One is born a wife just as one is born a prostitute; and no woman who is meant for free-love becomes a wife by being married'.

[19] With one partial exception, slaves fill all literary brothels where the status of their denizens is clear; the sort of exception is provided by the empress Messalina at Juv. 6.116–32, though the status of the other, more regular, women in the brothel is not clear, and there are also several ambiguous cases.

[20] Sen., *Contr.* 1.2.

[21] The nastiest, most avaricious, literary *leno* is undoubtedly that in the *Hist. Apoll. Tyr.* 33–7; Xenophon of Ephesus' Tarentine *pornoboskos*, on the other hand, shows some redeeming qualities at 5.7–8. The slave collar of a *meretrix* from Bulla Regia in Africa (*ILS* 9455) also emphasizes the coercive element of prostitution.

[22] The *tituli* and *cellae* are the most regular feature of Latin literary *lupanara*, see e.g. Petr., *Sat.* 7–8, Juv. 6.116–32, and Mart. 11.45. *Cellae* are also found in the famous Pompeian *lupanare* at VII.12.18–20.

[23] *PSI* IX 1055a and Artemidorus 1.78, cf. 4.9. For Greek brothels of an earlier age see J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (1997), esp. 83–91.

as a customer. Indeed, the Elder Cato is famously reported to have greeted a well-known gentleman leaving a *fornix* with the congratulatory phrase, 'macte virtute esto' ('Well done!'), praising his decision to assuage his lust with prostitutes rather than other men's wives; though he later added, after meeting the same man in the same situation a number of times, that his approbation extended only to the occasional visit to the brothel, not to making it home.[24] Despite, indeed because of, her degradation and dishonour, the *meretrix* was a perfectly proper sexual object for the Roman man, but one to be enjoyed, like everything else, in moderation; the sexual services she provided were socially useful, though not without qualification.

These twin themes are explored most fully in imperial Latin literature in the pair of major declamations ascribed to Quintilian which argue both sides of the case of a poor man who accuses a *meretrix* whom he loved of poisoning him with a hate potion.[25] The pauper first claims credit for the propriety of his conduct, for pursuing permissible passions, not destroying anyone's marriage; he attacks the prostitute for her profession in general, and her particular use of it to ruin him, as she insinuated herself into his affections, took all his money, and then rejected him as insufficiently lucrative. The woman's advocate also claims that she has behaved admirably (as far as her circumstances allow), causing no matrimonial discord, no paternal complaint, no impoverishment, and seeking only to curb the increasing immoderation of her suitor. A single declamation of Libanius opposing the return of the legendary *hetaira* Lais to Corinth, though it initially seems to present a rather more austere argument than pseudo-Quintilian, actually runs along much the same lines, just set in a somewhat mythical Greek past.[26] The motivation for her recall is that adultery has increased since her exile, resulting in a high death-toll among young men caught, and thus lawfully killed, in the act. Libanius counters that Lais is the cause of the problem and cannot resolve, only worsen it. For she not only acted as a drain on the community's economic resources, as families' wealth ineluctably found its way into her coffers, but also on its moral resources, as she took men away from their wives who then sought to emulate the woman who was so successful where they had failed, and whose depravity has now become habitual. Self-control (*sōphrosunê*), honour, and piety all demand, therefore, that Lais should remain as far away from Corinth as possible. This is not, however, an argument for the removal of all prostitutes from the city, but applies to Lais alone. Indeed, if the allegations made by Libanius' putative opponent that the original motion of exile was instigated by the more lowly (*adoxoi*) local *hetairai* and their *pornoboskoi* in order to protect their trade are true, then they should be thanked for it. The implicit point is that these prostitutes do, in their humble and rather unsavoury way, provide a useful service, while Lais takes matters far beyond that into areas of flagrant excess and dissipation. Similar distinctions, similarly drawn in the territory of the Greek past, can be found in Athenaeus, particularly when Cynunculus warns his fellow-diners against involvement with fabled ladies such as Lais, while recommending the use of the *hetairai* of the brothels and booths (*oikêmata*), whose function is plain and who are, therefore, easily available to all at low cost.[27]

There were those who took a different line. Libanius' arguments are a weaker version of those used by Dio Chrysostom as he demands the business of the *pornoboskoi* be completely banned from city life. That is he directs his energy precisely against what others deemed the acceptable face of prostitution, a prostitution of the present rather than a romantic, if dangerous, past.[28] For Dio, not only does the open availability of some women undermine rather than protect the non-availability of others, as prostitution is the start of a slippery slope into, rather than a buttress against, deeper depravity and licence, but it also, given that this availability is something forced upon slaves, transgresses against the basic honour in which all humanity is held by god. Proper sexual activity, Dio implies, occurs within a proper and productive relationship between

[24] The initial praise is quoted by Hor., *Sat.* 1.2.31–2; the sequel is provided by a scholion in the pseudo-Acronic collection.

[25] [Quint.], *Maj. Decl.* 14–15.

[26] Lib., *Decl.* 25; the general theme seems to be a standard one, see *Rhet. Gr.* 8.409 (Walz).

[27] Ath. 13.566e–71a.

[28] Dio, *Or.* 7.133–52.

man and woman, and Musonius Rufus, the Stoic philosopher who probably influenced Dio, states this explicitly.[29] He counts sex with prostitutes, like any other extra-marital intercourse not intended for the procreation of children, as demonstrating a reprehensible lack of self-control. The tone of Musonius' diatribe, however, makes it clear that he realizes himself to be advocating a minority view within society; and the surviving sources certainly bear this out.

The more general construction of the *lupanar* or *fornix* as a place where contemptible female behaviour and creditable, though not unproblematic, male behaviour, meet, with the acceptance of the latter dependent on the unacceptability of the former, is also apparent in the more moralistic descriptions of the establishments themselves. On the one hand, these are sordid places, smelly and sooty, degraded and unsavoury — places of vice and venality, of soft pleasures and hard deceit.[30] On the other hand, the brothel maintains a certain propriety as a locus of prostitution, a certain status as a structured, even controlled, site of sexual availability; what goes on here is properly concealed behind closed doors, and there is a straightforward simplicity about what is on offer, an honesty to the pretence.[31] Similarly, as Wallace-Hadrill has argued, the urban location of commercial and service activities, especially those trading on various kinds of bodily satisfaction, at a respectful distance from the active centres of public life, of law, politics, and religion, should not be seen as inhibitive, but rather the reverse, as creating the appropriate context in which the less virtuous, but none the less integral, aspects of city life could flourish.[32]

These descriptions, and the wider discourse on prostitution, also make it clear that these *lupanaria* cater primarily for the poorer, rougher, end of Roman society; and the names appearing in the graffiti most securely attached to the selling of sex in Pompeii tend to confirm this, suggesting also that male slaves made up a significant proportion of the clientele.[33] But it is these same locales, not any special, more refined, establishments, that also count the upper classes among their customers. It is his social equals and betters that Horace berates, whether they prefer their women in the full dress of the matron, or 'olenti in fornice stantem' ('displayed in a stinking brothel'), and the poor victim of the hate potion, convinced as he is that prostitutes were invented so that there should be something 'quod liceret amare pauperis' ('that a poor man is allowed to make love to'), has to compete with the wealthy for the attentions of his beloved *meretrix*.[34] Indeed this is the point. The service provided by brothels is a service to all men and the low standards necessary to maintain that availability to the poor acted as a restraint against the potential excesses of the rich in this respect also; it made their place in the sexual life of the élite plain. The vulgarity of these locations, both in the sense of their wide catchment and their tawdriness, was proper to them, both defining and fitting, indicative of and conducive to their rightful use. That *fornices* were generally filled with slaves also forms part of their baseness, and its propriety. This status guaranteed that there was no other man but the *leno* who had any claim on the woman, indeed guaranteed that she had no claim on herself; it was a position wholly in accord with the operational terms of the *lupanar*.

All this, however, leaves the women themselves sunk in sordidness, fully bound by the necessary, and necessarily degrading, conditions for their social utility; able to gain meagre moral credit for conforming particularly closely to the terms on which that utility was constituted but still kept within the overall framework of censure and contempt. This is, of course, the view from the outside, or rather, a view from a very particular external vantage point. This is the *lupanar* as it is located in the sexual and ethical world of the authorial élite; not as it was located in the world of most of its

[29] Muson., *Fr.* 12 (Lutz) and see e.g. C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (1978), 12–18 for his relations with Dio.

[30] See e.g. Juv. 6.121–32 and 11.172–3; Hor., *Sat.* 1.2.30; Sen., *Vit. Beat.* 4.7.

[31] See e.g. Mart. 1.34.5–6 and 2.53.7; Hor., *Sat.* 1.2.83–5 and 101–5; and Ath. 13.569a-f.

[32] A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Public honour and private shame: the urban texture of Pompeii', in T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds), *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (1995), 39–62.

[33] *CIL* IV.2173–296 and *CIL* IV.3929–43; see on the identification of brothels etc. in Pompeii, Wallace-Hadrill, op. cit. (n. 32), 53 with notes.

[34] Hor., *Sat.* 1.2.30; [Quint.], *Decl. Maj.* 14.8, and see also 15.7 and 9–10.

clientele, and still less as it was occupied, experienced, by women who, despite their enslavement, surely had their own aims and values. Indeed, these must inevitably have been at odds with those of their richest and most articulate customers. For it was precisely those features of the brothel that made it a valuable institution — its enclosure and control of a suitable group of women's sexual availability to the populace — that bore down most heavily on its inhabitants, that acted most restrictively on any kind of female self-determination, reducing any room for manoeuvre, and which must have meant that their main objective, beyond simple survival, was escape.

Both the reach of the *leno* and the implication of slavery in Roman prostitution extended beyond the confines of the *lupanar*, but precisely how far and in what direction is hard to discern. The *pornoboskoi* of Dio Chrysostom have, as their name suggests, flocks of slave prostitutes in their charge, stationed in *oikêmata* all over the cities in which they make their obscene profits or driven from festival to festival in search of rich takings.[35] And though *lenones* do not feature directly in transactions with *meretrices* who solicit in front of individual *cellae* in Rome, their presence behind the scenes is not hard to envisage; while Juvenal speaks of girls 'ad circum iussas prostare' ('ordered to display themselves in the circus'), suggesting that at least some of the women who sold their bodies in public places might be at the bidding of, if not owned by, a *leno*.[36] It is possible, however, likely even in the larger cities where control over the sex trade and its workers would be harder to exercise, that some of these outdoor *meretrices* — those who solicited in the open and serviced their customers where they could, who operated without recourse even to an *oikêma* or *cella* — worked independently, or at least within an economic network from which the figure of the *leno* was excluded.[37] Several Egyptian ostraka also show the authorities dealing directly with prostitutes themselves, not intermediaries, including permissions to trade sexually in their cities on certain days, indicating that some peripatetic prostitutes might at least be free, if not more broadly autonomous.[38]

This kind of autonomy creates the possibility of exercising (within certain limits) some degree of control over services offered and to whom, a control notably lacking from most of the literature. The only clear case of a *meretrix* who was able to refuse a paying customer is Republican in origin, though recorded by Aulus Gellius.[39] This is the story of the drunken aedile — Hostilius Mancinus — forcibly prevented from visiting the *meretrix* Manilia, whom he then tried to prosecute for injuries sustained as he was repelled from her door, a prosecution disallowed by the tribunes who upheld Manilia's decision not to admit such a reveller. Nothing so explicit emerges from the imperial period itself, though such independent establishments are sometimes hinted at. Indeed, it is perhaps this kind of situation that Firmicus counterposed to contracting to a *leno* for those celestially destined for a career as a prostitute. In general, however, the *meretrix* is marked, even defined, by her absolute availability. It is the ease of access to, the simplicity and clarity of transactions with, professionals, that poets praise in contrast to the difficulties, the convolutions, and uncertainties of involvement with amorous amateurs. The same openness is viciously attacked by the prosecuting pauper in the Quintilianic case of the hate-potion. He demands of his opponent:

[35] Dio, *Or.* 7.133 and 77–78.4. There is no hint of anything other than an economic motive being involved in prostitutes' presence at these festivals, as also for their presence around temples. Prostitutes did also participate in the religious life of the community like any other group but none of this bears any resemblance to notions of 'sacred' or 'temple' prostitution that have come to form such a potent part of the historical imagination (on which see generally M. Beard and J. Henderson, 'With this body I thee worship: sacred prostitution in antiquity', *Gender and History* 9 (1997), 480–503).

[36] Such *cellae* — single rooms with masonry beds that open directly onto the street — have been found in Pompeii, see Wallace-Hadrill, op. cit. (n. 32), 53 with notes, and their operation seems to be referred to in Ov., *Am.* 3.14.9–10, Mart. 1.34.5, and Juv. 3.134–6. The prostitutes at the circus are at Juv. 3.65.

[37] See e.g. Prop. 2.23.13–16; Juv. 6.O16; and Mart. 3.93.15 for references to these outdoor operations.

[38] All are from Elephantine: *O.Wilck.* 83 and 1157 are both dated to A.D. 111; and *SB* VI 9545 n. 33 and IV 7399 to A.D. 142 and 144 respectively. Any travelling worker in Egypt needed local leave to pursue their trade in this way.

[39] Gell. 4.14.

> tu, cui non licet excludere debilitates, fastidire sordes, exposita ebrietatibus, addicta petulantiae, [et] quaeque novissima vilitas est, noctibus populoque concessa, mores iuventutis emendas?
>
> You — who may not shut out cripples or disdain the dregs of society, who are accessible to the drunk, sold to the wanton, and, which is the ultimate in cheapness, granted nightly to the public — do you seek to correct the conduct of a young man?[40]

Rather than discussing, or ordering, different forms of prostitution according to the amount of control they afford to the women involved, therefore, contemporaries were more likely to assume, or assert, that the absence of autonomy was an integral part of being a *meretrix*. She might resent it, as does the *meretrix* who curses the *imperium* of her *leno* in one of Ovid's *Amores*, but it is still her most salient characteristic.[41] While this attitude is hardly surprising, the lack of Roman interest in distinctions of prostitutional practice, or the constitution of a professional hierarchy generally, is more striking in its contrast with the concerns of many more modern commentators. The Latin language may be rich in words for 'prostitute', but, outside the plays of Plautus and their lexicographical legacy, these different terms carry differentials of tone, connotation and emphasis rather than of status, methods of soliciting, and service provision.[42] 'Prostibulum' may once have designated a *meretrix* who made herself available in front of a *stabulum*, for instance, but in the imperial era it is employed either as just another derogatory term for a prostitute, or to denote a brothel.[43] The much more commonly used noun 'scortum', which derives from the word for 'hide' or 'leather', differs from *meretrix* essentially in the pejorative force it applies to the same persons or phenomena; and even *lupa* — literally a 'she-wolf' — simply takes this condemnation a step further.[44] Similarly, whatever their original difference, the Greek words *pornê* and *hetaira* are used almost interchangeably under the Empire. Hierarchies of the kind Davidson has recently tried to resurrect for Classical Athens, with its 'numerous gradations between the miserable life of the streets and the comfortable existence of the most successful courtesans', are a thing of the past, however much that past is treasured by authors such as Athenaeus.[45] Figures such as Lais do not make it beyond the Hellenistic period. Volumnia Cytheris, mainly associated with Anthony but also with Gallus and Virgil, perhaps comes closest in Republican Rome but is apparently a one-off; and the mistresses of poetry who bear a more recurrent resemblance to the fabled courtesans of Greece are also made markedly different from them in other respects.[46] They are, for instance, significantly not named as *meretrices*, however their situation has been subsequently interpreted; while neither Libanius nor Athenaeus, nor any of his speakers or sources, has any hesitation in labelling Lais and her ilk, as well as the denizens of the cheapest brothels, *hetairai*.[47]

[40] [Quint.], *Maj. Decl.* 14.7.

[41] Ov., *Am.* 1.10.21–4.

[42] On the Latin vocabulary see J. N. Adams, 'Words for "prostitute" in Latin', *RhM* 126 (1983), 321–58; in which, partly through an emphasis on the Republican period, a somewhat different overall view of the terminology is taken than that expressed here.

[43] Tert., *Apol.* 6.3 and Amm. 28.4.9 both use *prostibulum* (or the feminine *prostibula*) to designate *meretrices*; the word is used for a brothel at *Vulg. Ezech.* 16:34 and *Hist. Apoll. Tyr.* 33 (earlier recension).

[44] Paul the Deacon summarizes Festus: 'scorta appellantur meretrices, quia ut pelliculae subiguntur. omnia namque ex pellibus facta scortea appellantur' ('*scorta* are what *meretrices* are called, because they are worked like hides. For all things made from hides are called *scortea*.') (443.6–7 Lindsay; the Festan text at 442.13–17 is longer but badly fragmented). Later writers offer two explanations for the figurative formation of *lupa*: the commentator Servius (*In Virg. Aen.* 3.647) considers the connection between woman and beast to be a shared obscenity and odour, while Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 10.163) refers to the rapacity of the she-wolf as she captures her unfortunate prey.

[45] Davidson, op. cit. (n. 23), 77. See also Hershatter's description of the professional hierarchy in imperial China, which raises the possibility that these hierarchies are always, to a degree, things of the past, that nostalgia is part of the 'shared imaginary' through which they are constituted (op. cit. (n. 2), 34–65).

[46] For Cytheris see e.g. Cic., *Phil.* 2.58; Plut., *Ant.* 9.4; and Serv., *Comm. In Verg. Buc.* 10. If Suetonius' work, entitled by John Lydus in the only remaining reference to it *Peri Episêmôn Pornôn/On Illustrious Prostitutes* (*Mag.* 3.64), had survived it might (or might not, since what Lydus takes from it is entirely mythical) alter this picture.

[47] For discussion of the poetic evocations of these mistresses and their relationship to Roman social reality see, ➡ J. Griffin, 'Augustan poetry and the life of luxury', *JRS* 66 (1976), 87–105; D. Kennedy, *The Arts of Love* (1993), esp. 83–103; and M. Wyke, 'Mistress and metaphor in Augustan elegy', *Helios* 16,1 (1989), 25–47.

The term *scortum*, or more often its plural, is mainly used in a moralizing context, to encapsulate concisely the disreputable aspects of the *meretrix* both as she exists in herself and as she is associated with. It is for a *scortum* that 'honestum officium' ('proper duties') are postponed on the road to ruin sketched out (for its avoidance) by Horace in one of his exhortatory epistles to Lollius, for instance; and Seneca the Younger also warns that life may be wasted 'in complexu scortorum aut vino' ('in the embrace of whores or wine').[48] *Lupa* is employed in more extreme cases, where the contempt is for more than the woman's profession and its attendant dangers. The nasty foreign whores that Juvenal takes such exception to, along with the men that fancy them, are *lupae barbarae*; and when Martial wants to trump Ovid's unfavourable comparison of the conduct of his flagrantly unfaithful mistress with that of a prostitute who modestly does business behind closed doors, it is the behaviour of *spurcae lupae* ('filthy whores') who none the less have the decency to use tombs as concealing shelter for their activities that he evokes as worse than that of more discrete and domestic *meretrices*, but still not as reprehensible as his Lesbia in actually wanting witnesses to her infidelities.[49] Prostitution is, therefore, no undifferentiated phenomenon, but one understood to be engaged in by those both buying and selling sex in manners more or less morally valued, more or less socially sanctioned, and it is thus differentially deployed in a range of ethically charged and culturally conformative discourses, in which both male and female conduct comes under scrutiny and pressure. The behaviour least at issue here, however, is that of the prostitute herself, and this is still a long way from the articulation of any kind of proper professional hierarchy.

All this, of course, takes no account of the issue of price, or earnings, which, it might be claimed, does provide an objective order of a kind; but here too things are neither simple nor straightforward. There was a prostitutional price scale in operation in the Roman Empire: inscriptions record a range between one and twenty-three asses, with two asses as the clear mode, but give few indications about the range of women and services to which they were attached.[50] The second-century A.D. tax law of Palmyra, which uniquely contains within it a ranking of prostitutes' prices, simply lists *hetairai* who receive one denarius, eight, and six asses respectively without any further definition.[51] Literature shows a concern with transactions occurring both at the bottom of this scale and off its other end entirely, but not with what happens in between, that is with the overall cost structure, and certainly not with the livelihood of the women involved.

The sex for one or two asses that appears, for instance, in a couple of Martial's epigrams, does so as a measure of men's miserliness, or moderation, while the income of a legionary tribune easily given by a rich man's slave to some Calvina or Catiena for his occasional enjoyment of her body, in Juvenal's third satire, provides a shocking contrast to the hesitation of an upright son of poor but free folk before he approaches some openly soliciting *scortum*, a Chione, whose face takes his fancy.[52] That the former is not named as a *meretrix* in any way, that she is given — not necessarily paid — her substantial reward while maintaining some control over what it is for, fits in, moreover, with the general pattern of presentation of such ladies who do not inhabit the world of

[48] Hor., *Ep.* 1.18.34–5; Sen., *Brev. Vit.* 16.4, the corrupting combination of *scorta* and *vinum* is standard, see also e.g. Livy 23.45.2 and Nep., *Dion* 4.4.

[49] Juv. 3.66; Ov., *Am.* 3.14; Mart. 1.34. The figure of the whore who services her customers in cemeteries, or stands naked in a stinking brothel, is also used as a most extremely unlikely guardian of basic standards of propriety, standards scandalously let slip by her social superiors, at Juv. 6.O14–O16 and 11.171–3. Apuleius also uses the shocking juxtaposition 'uxor lupa' to describe the wife of Rufinus at *Apol.* 75.

[50] The evidence is collected by Stumpp, op. cit. (n. 1), 216–17 and T. McGinn, *Prostitution and Julio-Claudian Legislation: The Formation of Social Policy in Early Imperial Rome* (unpub. PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1986), 22–3.

[51] *CIS* II iii.3913 and → J. Matthews, 'The tax law of Palmyra: evidence for economic history in a city of the Roman East', *JRS* 74 (1984), 157–80 and further discussion below. It is worth mentioning that the earlier Palmyrene version of the law translated *hetairai* as 'slave girls' (P 122) implying that prostitutes were slaves in Roman Palmyra.

[52] Mart. 2.53 and 1.103; Juv. 3.132–6. The ludicrous price put on Tharsia in the *lupanar* of the *Hist. Apoll. Tyr.* (33) — half a pound of gold initially, one aureus/100 HS thereafter — surely simply befits her status as a beautiful princess, rather than anything else. As R. Duncan-Jones says about the novel in general: 'Figures that have dramatic meaning but no external significance predominate among the prices' (*The Economy of the Roman Empire* (2nd edn, 1982), 252).

fixed fees but of looser and larger exchanges of gifts and services, of relationships formed on terms quite distinct from those on which prostitutes do business, and often take literary form, as here, in contradistinction, if not counterposition, to *meretrices* themselves.[53] This contrast, in Juvenal, is to illustrate the gross inequities in the distribution of rewards and respect in corrupt, contemporary Rome; the wrong man gets the wrong girl, just as he gets the wrong preferments, legal judgements, and so on. But in Ovid, for instance, it serves to police the behaviour of these more refined ladies, to make sure they do not pass over into prostitution, a particularly sordid prostitution since their degradation would then be self-wrought, not forced by another, and in Libanius and Athenaeus it is a not unrelated distinction that is used to police the behaviour of men.[54] In all this, therefore, there is less of a hierarchy of women's prices than one of men's conduct, in particular their sexual purchasing power. Those at the top are able to operate in both the realms of the *meretrix* and the mistress, their dual position further enabling them to use the figure of the *meretrix* to keep their mistresses in line, but also bringing additional responsibilities about how they exercise their choices.

Within the ranks of the *meretrices* themselves, within the realm of fixed fees represented by the epigraphic evidence, there is still, moreover, a crucial distinction between price and income. Even if the common inference that outdoor *meretrices* occupied the lower rungs of the price scale while a *meretrix* such as Manilia commanded the higher prices, with the ladies of the *lupanaria* somewhere in between is correct (and comparative material certainly suggests something of the kind), similar differentials of income do not necessarily follow. For the fee for a single encounter is inversely proportional to the frequency of such encounters, and modern studies indicate that the higher earnings belong not to the more expensive call-girl but to the cheaper street-walker, with low outlays and high productivity.[55] High productivity may have its downside, but so, at least according to the hookers of present-day Oslo, do high prices: 'The more customers pay, the more of yourself you sell', they say.[56] There is also the question of the time-scale involved and the economic objectives pursued. Street-walking may be better adapted to a strategy requiring rapid financial accumulation over a short period of time, and in which migrancy is implicated; whereas the more settled, service oriented, operations of women who wait inside their rooms for men to come to them, lead to a more long-term, gradual acquisition of wealth in circumstances in which the earner is more integrated into the local community.[57] This is, of course, to pass over the position of those based in brothels, and, in general, the high prevalence of slavery, and the role of the *lenones*, complicates the relationship between price and income still further. A few women may have acquired enough money to purchase their freedom, but generally there is no way of knowing what proportion (if any) of the money she brought into a *lupanar* — or elsewhere — she actually received.[58]

The men of the Roman élite may have made, at least on a certain level, a straightforward equation between price and value, but this equation is not equally valid for the women themselves. Here a number of other considerations are relevant in relating fees to earnings and to broader economic aims. Much remains speculative, but it can certainly be argued that though the *lupae* of the streets and cemeteries presumably ruled themselves out of the running for the highest rewards a *meretrix* might receive, rewards entirely in the gift of some rich man, they might, when neither enslaved nor ruled by a *leno*, earn through their own labour a more than living wage.[59] McGinn

[53] This is the kind of distinction Davidson builds his hierarchy on, op. cit. (n. 23), 109–36.

[54] Ov., *Am.* 1.10.

[55] See e.g. Høigård and Finstad, op. cit. (n. 15), 130–1, and also the remarks of White, op. cit. (n. 2), 12–15. Of course, street-walkers may decide to pursue their career in a more relaxed fashion.

[56] Høigård and Finstad, op. cit. (n. 15), 129.

[57] White, op. cit. (n. 2), 13–16 and 103–25.

[58] *Priap.* 40 presents itself as a poem from the prostitute Telethusa marking the purchase of her freedom, but this is the only hint at such a practice.

[59] Juvenal (10.236–9) lambasts a man who left all his money to a whore who had been displayed for many years within the walls of a *fornix*, but the extremities of the case suggest that even more modest versions would have been rare, though the general risk of fortunes being lost in brothels is reflected in the various stories about the over-involvement of young men with *meretrices* which usually turn on their disinheritance, e.g. Quint., *Inst.* 7.4.20 and 11.1.82–3, and Calp. Flacc. 30.

estimates earnings of about ten sesterces a day for *meretrices* operating on the attested price scale, which is about twice the estimates for the daily wage of a male labourer, and there are various other indications that prostitutes might become wealthy, most strikingly Cato's story, as retold by Macrobius, that Larentia, 'meretricio quaestu locupletatem' ('rich from her earnings as a *meretrix*'), left large amounts of land to the Roman people on her death.[60]

It has to be said, however, that the people making the most money from prostitution were not the women themselves, or their families. Greed characterizes the *leno* or *pornoboskos*, not the prostitute; nor, to the same extent, her more familiar prostitutors. By and large prostitution forms part of the slave economy, so though the labour is hers the profits are not. And it is male rather than female lusts that are central; male rather than female conduct that is of most concern in the writings that touch on prostitution. The servile character of most Roman prostitution, its place in the wider pattern of the exploitation of unfree labour by the slave-owning classes, their exploitation of the constitution of the male sexual subject, and the ways women can be made to work at being the ultimate sexual object, becomes clearer in examining the intersection of the law and prostitution.

III. LEGAL RECOGNITION AND REGULATION

Roman prostitutes and their purveyors were recognized groups of persons within the workings of the legal system; indeed they were subject to considerable regulation. It was, however, their general place within society, their powers of personal action as its members, that were regulated as much as, if not more than, their particular profession; and this regulation was rather more incidental than systematic. The *meretrix* herself rarely appears in legal writings, but is usually designated by some version of the phrase, 'quae corpore quaestum facit' ('she who makes a living by her body'), and such a woman was, together with those who made a living by the bodies of others, penalized by a set of legal disabilities that were justified, more or less consistently, with reference to that most flexible of Roman legal concepts — *infamia*.[61] They were persons of such ill-repute that their rights as citizens were restricted, diminished, in various ways. However, since women lacked many of these rights, as women, anyway, the specific penalties connected with *infamia* had more bearing on the *leno* than either the *lena* or *meretrix*; what they did not have could not then be removed from them. This is made most explicit in relation to the provisions of the Praetor's Edict as it regulated litigancy, circumscribing the legal agency of various groups of people, as well as setting out the ways in which that agency might be exercised. Women can act only on behalf of themselves, while those who have incurred *infamia* can act also on behalf of a small number of specified others.[62] Thus the Edict's list of *infames* is exclusively male, including he 'qui lenocinium fecerit' ('who engages in *lenocinium*'), the identifying activity of the *leno*, but not she 'quae corpore quaestum fecerit', for instance, as also those husbands and *patresfamilias* who commit various marital improprieties, but not wives.[63]

Even acting on his own account, however, it would have been a brave *leno* who ventured into a court, as several surviving declamations indicate. Orators slide easily from impugning the moral character of the *leno*, to impugning his juridical capacity. 'Tu te iure audes defendere' ('Do you dare defend yourself in law?') demands an unnamed speaker recorded by Calpurnius Flaccus as prosecuting a *leno* who had thus

[60] McGinn, op. cit. (n. 50), 24; Macr., *Sat.* 1.10.16; this is, of course, not the only story told about Larentia and her lands, but that it could be told is significant none the less.

[61] On *infamia* see generally the remark → B. Levick, 'The senatus consultum from Larinum', *JRS* 73 (1983), 109; and see also, on the particular issues discussed here, McGinn, op. cit. (n. 1), 26–69, J. Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen* (1993), 110–54, and C. Edwards, 'Unspeakable professions: public performance and prostitution in ancient Rome', in J. Hallett and M. Skinner (eds), *Roman Sexualities* (1997), 66–95.

[62] *Dig.* 3.1.1.5 — women; 3.1.1.8 — *infames*, the others (mostly family members) on behalf of which they can act are specified at 3.1.1.11.

[63] *Dig.* 3.2.1.

presumed.[64] For, he asserts, 'nihil ei licet in quem nihil non licet' ('nothing is lawful for him against whom nothing is unlawful'). Similarly, the one point at which the limitations on a prostitute's court appearances exceeded those of other women — her exclusion, on account of the disgraceful notoriety of her way of life, from giving evidence in any case brought under the Lex Julia de vi — must be regarded as actually doing little work.[65] The claim that the very 'condicio personae' ('condition of the character') of a *meretrix* robs her of all *fides* — credibility or honesty — made by the pauper in the case of the hate-potion, represents a very obvious line of attack for anyone faced with the testimony of a prostitute on any matter.[66]

In all these declamations, except the last, the prostitutes are specified as slaves — *mancipia* and *ancillae* — controlled, if not owned, by a *leno*; and it is this feature of his profession that is also most prominent in the definition of 'qui lenocinium fecerit' provided by Ulpian in his work *On the Edict*.[67] He specifies the group of persons thus classified by the law as follows:

> lenocinium facit qui quaestuaria mancipia habuerit: sed et qui in liberis hunc quaestum exercet, in eadem causa est. sive autem principaliter hoc negotium gerat sive alterius negotiationis accessione utatur (ut puta si caupo fuit vel stabularius et mancipia talia habuit ministrantia et occassione ministerii quaestum facientia: sive balneator fuerit, velut in quibusdam provinciis fit, in balineis ad custodienda vestimenta conducta habens mancipia hoc genus observantia in officina), lenocinii poena tenebitur. Pomponius et eum, qui in servitute peculiaria mancipia prostituta habuit, notari post libertatem ait.
>
> He engages in *lenocinium* who has slaves for hire, though he who conducts this business with free persons is in the same situation. He is liable to punishment for *lenocinium* whether this is his principal occupation, or whether he carries on another trade (as, for instance, if he is an inn- or tavern-keeper and has slaves of this kind serving and taking the opportunity to ply their trade, or he is a bath-keeper having, as happens in certain provinces, slaves hired to look after clothing in the baths who are attentive in this way in their workplace). And Pomponius says that he who, while in servitude, had prostituted slaves in his *peculium*, remains infamous after emancipation.[68]

The *leno* is, therefore, primarily a manager of slaves prostituted in taverns, inns, and bath-houses, as well as brothels. He may also himself be a slave, and there are a number of other indications that, even if not, he should still often be seen as a middle-man, running a business in which the major investment comes from, and main profits accrue to, people rather better placed in Roman society than himself.[69]

A similarly full definition of the *meretrix* and *lena* is also offered by Ulpian, but in relation to the Lex Julia et Papia, not the Praetor's Edict; that is, in relation to an enactment regulating the relationship between marriage, reproduction, and inheritance, rather than regulating the instrumental relationship between persons and the law. In the case of the Augustan legislation, moreover, the actual wording of the statute that Ulpian is clarifying is unfortunately lost, or displaced. However, it is clear that it was contrary to this law for freeborn men to marry infamous women, including prostitutes — specified by some version of the phrase 'quae palam corpore quaestum facit' — *lenae*, and those manumitted by a *leno* or *lena*, among others.[70] Ulpian explains:

[64] Calp. Flacc. 5; the same *controversia* is referred to at Sen., *Contr.* 10.1.13–15, where a selection of *sententiae* abusing the *leno* is preserved, and, more briefly, at *Rhetores Latini Minores* 83.1. For similar attacks on the ethical and legal persona of the *leno*, see also [Quint.], *Min. Decl.* 385, where a *leno* is attempting to bring an action *damnum iniuria datum* against a man who administered a love-potion to one of his slave *meretrices*.

[65] *Dig.* 22.5.3.5.

[66] [Quint.], *Decl. Maj.* 14.5.

[67] Other declamations featuring prostituted slaves include Calp. Flacc. 37; [Quint.], *Decl. Min.* 356, and, of course, Sen., *Contr.* 1.2.

[68] *Dig.* 3.2.4.2–3.

[69] *Dig.* 5.3.27.1, for instance, ensures that rents from brothels can be claimed as part of an inheritance, for such establishments are run on the properties of many *honesti viri*; and see also *CIL* III.13750 which is also discussed below.

[70] For discussion of this provision, and the problems that surround it, see e.g. McGinn, op. cit. (n. 1), 70–104, S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage* (1991), 62–3, and Gardner, op. cit. (n. 61), 123–6.

palam quaestum facere dicemus non tantum eam, quae in lupanario se prostituit, verum etiam si qua (ut adsolet) in taberna cauponia vel qua alia pudori suo non parcit. palam autem sic accepimus passim, hoc est sine dilectu: non si qua adulteris vel stupratoribus se committit, sed quae vicem prostitutae sustinet. item quod cum uno et altero pecunia accepta commiscuit, non videtur palam corpore quaestum facere. Octavenus tamen rectissime ait etiam eam, quae sine quaestu palam se prostituerit, debuisse his connumerari . . . lenas autem eas dicimus, quae mulieres quaestuarias prostituunt. lenam accipiemus et eam, quae alterius nomine hoc vitae genus exercet. si qua cauponam exercens in ea corpora quaestuaria habeat (ut multae adsolent sub praetextu instrumenti cauponii prostitutas mulieres habere), dicendum hanc quoque lenae appellatione contineri.

We would say that a woman openly makes a living [by her body] not only where she makes herself available in a brothel, but also if (as is customary) she squanders her chastity in taverns, inns, and other places. Thus we understand 'openly' as indiscriminately — that is without selection — not a woman who commits adultery or fornication, but one who maintains herself in the manner of a prostitute. Likewise, because she has intercourse with one or two, having taken money, it is not understood that she has openly made a living by her body. Also Octavenus says, most correctly, that even a woman who makes herself openly available, without making a living, ought to be counted in this category. . . . We call these women *lenae* who set out women for hire. We also understand as a *lena* she who leads this kind of life under another name. If a woman running an inn has slaves for hire in it (as many are accustomed to have prostituted women, on the pretext that they are servants of the inn), this must also be said to put her in the category of the *lena*.[71]

For Ulpian, then, a prostitute is a woman who makes her absolute availability into a way of life; not one whose sexual activity is, however wrong, essentially selective, nor one who only occasionally turns tricks. This way of life need not even be remunerative. It was juristically possible to separate the *quaestum* out from the *vicis prostitutae* without destroying it, though there cannot have been much call to do so among the non-slave women this law affects. The juristic definition of this way of life was still pretty stringent, however, though it clearly was a sexual position — one of complete openness — that was thus being lived, and the sexuality and the living impinge more closely on each other, are closer correlates, than in the case of other women. This stringency was also not just a legalistic phenomenon. Others too drew a sharp line between the professionally promiscuous, those who lived by their accessibility, and those women whose promiscuity was shaped by other considerations, who had not surrendered control over access to their bodies, even if they exercised that control woefully badly. Quintilian, for instance, considers the notorious Clodia to have been an *impudica*, an unchaste and immoral woman, but not a *meretrix*; though he acknowledges Cicero's application of the latter term to her during his defence of Caelius to have been an effective case of rhetorical exaggeration.[72] And the Younger Seneca describes the transformation of Augustus' daughter Julia 'ex adultera in quaestuariam' ('from adulterer into mercenary'), from a woman who took scores of lovers to a woman who took money from men she did not even know.[73] Economics and remuneration are thus back in the picture.

Ulpian's *lenae* might be in charge of these women (and apparently only women) who make a living by their bodies in a range of locations, indeed there is a persistent concern to cover all forms of prostitution and its organization in these juristic formulations. And a closer relationship between *lena* and *meretrix* than between *leno* and his goods emerges in poetry, though here the *lena* is more of a procurer of individual women than a manager of any kind of institution; while a remarkable third-century A.D.

[71] *Dig.* 23.2.43.pr–3 and 7–9; cf. 23.2.41.pr, where Marcellus implicitly interprets the legislative 'palam' rather differently, as signifying an openness of publicity, rather than of accessibility, as for Ulpian; other juristic usage also tends to favour Marcellus in this respect. However, since what Marcellus is arguing is that the 'palam' is an unnecessary qualification, he agrees with Ulpian that it is accessibility, not publicity, that is at issue in incurring *infamia* and the penalties of the Julian law. These points are also discussed at McGinn, op. cit. (n. 1), 123–39.

[72] Quint., *Inst.* 8.4.2; cf. Cic., *Cael.* 16.38.

[73] Sen., *Ben.* 6.32.1.

inscription from Beneventum even commemorates Vibia Calybeni, a *liberta lena*.[74] For neither the *lena*, nor the *meretrix*, however, can the provisions of the Lex Julia et Papia — the point of departure for Ulpian's definition — have been of much importance. This is not to say that matters of inheritance, particularly for their children, were irrelevant to these women, and their partners, in forming any union, but that a number of factors — the inability of slaves to marry, for instance, as well as the range of alternative relationships available, the compromised status of 'turpes personae' ('disgraced persons'), such as women who make a living by their bodies, as heirs, and the doubt surrounding the application of the Augustan legislation to the poorer sections of society — all conspire to reduce its significance in this respect.[75] However, this law, and others, did play a part in regulating the place of the prostitute, and those who controlled her, in society more generally; it did act to formalize their denigration. This regulation restricted their rights, their powers of action, diminished their standing and agency, as punishment for their way of life. It should be stressed that it is the failure of individuals to conduct themselves in accordance with social norms and values that is being penalized, not its results. No verdict is being passed on the institution of prostitution itself, on its desirability or otherwise, just on its personnel as women and men living in the Roman state.

There were aspects of the institution that Romans did find problematic. Indeed there were even problems involved in the slave base of prostitution. A considerable amount of imperial legislation and juristic writing is dedicated to the restrictive covenant 'ne prostituatur' which could be attached to the sale of slaves and so forbid the purchaser to prostitute the slave.[76] The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* further report that Hadrian prohibited the sale of slaves to *lenones* (or *lanistae*) without cause, and Septimius Severus certainly gave the Urban Praetor the obligation to protect slaves from being prostituted.[77] It was a rescript of the same emperor that laid down that a woman's servile *quaestus* did not affect her standing after emancipation and, in a similar vein, a freedwoman could not be required to perform services for her patron that harmed her reputation.[78] None of these measures amount to anything like a serious attempt to prevent, or even curb, slave prostitution; but they do mark various points of difficulty and contradiction within the Roman legal system and the principles and values it enacted. That women should be so specifically forced to surrender their key asset — their chastity — and so clearly condemned not to fulfill their proper role in society — the procreation of legitimate children — was recognizably wrong, a contravention of basic social norms. But it occurred within structures of power — the family and slavery — just as basic to Roman society, to which certain other benefits also accrued from its occurrence. There was nothing to be done on the fundamental level, but that some *patresfamilias* might seek to prevent members of their household, for whom they had a certain responsibility and whose conduct also reflected back on them, from meeting this fate even after they had passed out of their direct control, and that the state might also try to intervene around the edges, makes sense too, as do the limited legal mechanisms adopted.[79]

The other legal restriction on becoming a *meretrix*, that is the Tiberian *senatusconsultum* prohibiting women of equestrian (and presumably also senatorial) rank from making a living by their bodies, arises from a rather different set of circumstances and

[74] On the poetic figure of the *lena* → K. Sara Myers, 'The poet and the procuress: the *lena* in Latin love elegy', *JRS* 86 (1996), 1–21; and see *CIL* IX.2029 for Vibia.

[75] *Dig.* 37.12.3.pr covers the removal of *turpes personae* as heirs; and the Gnomon of the Idiologos actually sets a minimum inheritance below which the Lex Julia does not apply, which may reflect practice elsewhere even if not the letter of the law, see Treggiari, op. cit. (n. 70), 78–9. There are sufficient legal (and other) references, however, to indicate that *meretrices* did marry, or form other kinds of legally recognized unions, see e.g. *Dig.* 23.2.24 and 47; 25.7.3pr and 48.5.14.2.

[76] See W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery* (1908), 70–1 and 603–4 and T. McGinn, 'Ne serva prostituatur: restrictive covenants in the sale of slaves', *ZRG* 107 (1990), 315–53 and now also McGinn, op. cit. (n. 1), 288–319.

[77] *SHA, Hadr.* 18.8; *Dig.* 1.12.1.18. The phrasing of the Severan instruction suggests that the Praetor's duties were connected with the enforcement of 'ne prostituatur' covenants.

[78] *Dig.* 3.2.24 and 38.1.38pr.

[79] McGinn, op. cit. (n. 76), offers a similar explanation, but one which focuses more on the preservation of the household's honour in all this.

contradictions. This, as Tacitus tells it, was a rapid response to the efforts of one Vistilia, the scion of a praetorian family, to avoid the heavy penalties of the Julian law on adultery by advertising her 'licentiam stupri' ('sexual licence') with the aediles, and thus clearly removing herself from the ranks of the *matresfamilias* with whom adultery was committed.[80] A further *senatusconsultum* closed off engagement in *lenocinium* (and acting) as a possible escape route for women in similar straits, but explicitly so, rather than by banning anyone from taking it up at all.[81] The implication, it should be stressed, is that Vistilia is the first and last aristocrat to respond to the clear incentives of the Augustan legislation in this way; moreover, the real issue here is adultery not prostitution.

The role of the aediles in relation to prostitution, however, raises the issue of a more systematic kind of regulation of the profession and its organization at Rome. Unfortunately, the evidence on the subject is extremely slight. Tacitus' account of Vistilia's recourse to it is the only surviving mention of some kind of aedilician register of prostitutes at Rome; a register which he claims has an essentially penal purpose, though one better befitting an earlier, more innocent, age, when publicity in itself was considered punishment enough for the unchaste. To this can be added a passing reference by Seneca the Younger to places, connected with prostitution, that 'aedilem metuentia' ('fear the aedile'); though what exactly they fear from him is unclear.[82] Whatever aedilician control of prostitution there was, however, must have been eclipsed following the introduction by the emperor Gaius of a raft of new income-generating measures including a tax on the earnings of *meretrices*, which, Suetonius states, was initially collected by the *publicani*, but quickly handed over to the Praetorian Guard in order to maximize revenues for the imperial treasury.[83] As McGinn says in his extensive study of the subject, this maximization was as much about the resources the military brought to the enterprise as about the advantages of direct collection *per se*; the Praetorians had the capability both to keep a careful track of all women making a living by their bodies in the city, and to ensure regular payment.[84] His suggestions about the effect of this measure on the practice of prostitution itself are, however, rather less convincing, as he sees this tax as basically and beneficially 'legitimizing' prostitution, though also increasing the control exercised over those who paid it, a control he admits might be problematic.[85]

For Caligula's tax crosses no lines of criminalization, contravenes no principles of public policy; there is none of the normal, indeed necessary, context for this talk of 'legitimation'. Instead it acts in collusion with the other circumstances of Roman prostitution, both legislative and otherwise. It effectively exploits the situation in which prostitution is entirely licit, but its personnel are legally and socially compromised; not disallowed but disadvantaged. This is revenue raised on the (substantial) earnings of women and slaves, persons of ill-repute and restricted juridical agency, though not illegality; persons who could not defend themselves from imperial depredations, and who were unlikely to find any champions amongst the honourable and powerful, though their profits might be affected. It is, therefore, a tax on vulnerability, on a lucrative vulnerability, which was basically recognized for what it was by Suetonius, who has it motivated entirely by greed, and by later Christian writers who put the failure of a succession of Christian emperors to stop profiting from a trade to which they were now

[80] Tac., *Ann.* 2.85.

[81] Suet., *Tib.* 35.2; *Dig.* 48.5.11.2; and see also Levick, op. cit. (n. 61).

[82] Sen., *Vit. Beat.* 6.7.3; the case of the *meretrix* Manilia and the aedile Hostilia has also been used as evidence of this register, but is less clear in this respect than is often suggested.

[83] The introduction of the tax is described in Suet., *Calig.* 40 and Dio ap. Xiph. 59.28.3; its collection in the second century A.D. by both *publicani* and troops is witnessed by at least two receipts on ostraka from Egypt (*O.Wilck.* 83, *O.Cair.GPW* 60, and see also *O.Edfou* 171), the bilingual inscription of the tax law from Palmyra (*CIS* II.iii.3913), and an inscription from Chersonesus on the Black Sea (*CIL* III.13750); *I. Portes.* 67 also records a harbour passage tax for prostitutes at Coptos on the Red Sea, but the structure of the tariff is too poorly understood to make much of it.

[84] T. McGinn, 'The taxation of Roman prostitutes', *Helios* 16 (1989), 87; and see the further comments of R. Bagnall, 'A trick a day keeps the tax man away? The prostitute tax in Egypt', *BASP* 28 (1991), 5–12 and now also McGinn, op. cit. (n. 1), 248–87.

[85] McGinn, op. cit. (n. 84), 80–6 and 98–9.

at least notionally inimical down to the size of the revenues involved.[86] And far from ameliorating that vulnerability, both the economic pressure exerted by the tax itself and the military means of its collection exacerbated it.

Only speculation is possible concerning the increase in productivity the tax would presumably have forced, and the impact it might have had on the relative merits and demerits of different forms of prostitution; but there is clear evidence that the collection of the tax was accompanied by violence and corruption.[87] A late second-century A.D. inscription from the Black Sea town of Chersonesus preserves, in fragmentary form, a decree from the provincial governor, and various imperial instructions, issued in response to local complaints about the extortion practised by the garrison charged with gathering revenue from prostitution; complaints and instructions which also refer to similar problems, and their resolution, in the past.[88] The grievances set out and responded to seem to centre around threats offered to, and excess monies taken from, those whom the soldiers considered to be in charge of the trade, and the most rewarding objects of their attentions: that is various leading citizens of the town. It is they who have protested, and been answered in the form of orders to the army to behave itself properly in general, and to restrict its activities to actual places of prostitution, rather than calling at the homes of the wealthy in particular. Extortion must have been even more endemic lower down the social order, and most vulnerable to violence and intimidation would have been the independent operative, the *meretrix* who acted entirely on her own behalf. The *leno* or *lena* could provide protection from the most arbitrary abuses, especially if they were both well-organized and well-connected, making working for them more attractive, despite the sacrifice in self-determination entailed, for those who had any choice in the matter. Comparative material provides good parallels for the way this kind of official intervention serves to bolster the position of, and increase the exploitative possibilities for, those who could stand between the authorities and their victims.[89]

Indeed the Chersonesus inscription refers to the tax at issue as being levied on *lenocinium* and it is *lenones* that are the focus of the emperor Theodosius' first faltering move away from the Christian state's participation in the profits of prostitution.[90] This is, in many ways, a tax on prostitution rather than prostitutes, and it reveals and reinforces the position of the main beneficiaries of the business, the *lenones* and, behind them, the élite. Against this, however, must be placed the fact that the two most straightforward Egyptian receipts for the payment of the prostitute tax — the *telos hetairikon* — are issued to women, presumably the *hetairai* themselves.[91] But it was not the military who collected the tax in Egypt, so perhaps this evidence should be placed beside, rather than against, that from elsewhere, and alongside a summary account of farmed taxes levied on a market held in Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 155/6 in which *koineia*

[86] This is expressed most clearly by Evagrius at *HE* 3.39 when he discusses the eventual abolition of the tax by Anastasius in A.D. 498. And it is within the context of a Christian Empire with a new public policy towards prostitution that legitimation becomes an issue, as Evagrius points out.

[87] Its economic effects will have depended, in part, on whether the amount of the tax — set at the amount received for a single *concubitus* — accrued daily, as McGinn argues (op. cit. (n. 84), 90) or monthly, which is the more traditional view. The question is not really resolvable, but Bagnall (op. cit. (n. 84), 9–12) opens the way to a possible reconciliation between the evidence that suggests prostitutes were taxed much more heavily than other earners — that is the shocked report of Suetonius, the survival of the tax for so long under the Christian emperors, and Evagrius' account of its eventual demise — and the evidence of its collection in Egypt and Palmyra which puts it more in line with normal, monthly, accruals. For, as he points out, there is no reason to assume uniformity in implementation across the Empire; moreover, it seems to me suggestive that these latter pieces of evidence come from contexts where collection was by tax-farmers, not the military. McGinn also moves in a more flexible direction at op. cit. (n. 1), 264–8 and 274–86.

[88] *CIL* III.13750 = B. Latyschev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* I^2 No. 404; and see discussion by McGinn, op. cit. (n. 84), 88–90 and op. cit. (n. 1), 261–4.

[89] On the legal repression that led to the development of a pimp system in late nineteenth-century England, for instance, see Walkowitz, op. cit. (n. 2), 210–21.

[90] *CIL* III.13750, 36 and *NTh* 18.

[91] See Bagnall, op. cit. (n. 84) for details. I would further suggest that *O.Edfou* 171, which not only contains a broken text, but is also made out to a known poll-tax payer from a well-attested Jewish family, could well be made out to a profiteer from prostitution of the kind met elsewhere, rather than an actual pimp or simply the victim of a general apportionment of a shortfall in the *telos hetairikon* which are the two possibilities discussed by Bagnall.

(thought to be municipal brothels) are taxed as units.[92] All can be taken as a useful reminder of the undoubted variation in prostitutional practice, its social position and patterning, across the vast expanse of the Roman Empire.

IV. PATTERNS OF SLAVERY AND PROSTITUTION

The authorial élite of the Roman Empire thus viewed prostitution as an institution through which, for basically economic reasons, women were made and marketed as sexual objects of a certain, approved, type for the general populace. This was, then, a sex industry, but one in which the women were considered (and, through slavery, concretely constituted) more as products than producers, more as wares than workers; they were approved only as sexual objects for men, not as themselves, as women, and certainly not as sexual subjects. The general populace mainly meant the poor, including slaves, but also the rich. For them the *meretrix* counted among a whole range of sexual choices; but they could certainly also partake of the goods on offer to everyone, so long as they conducted themselves properly towards them and their milieu. This indeed is a central concern of the élite discourse on the subject; though whether it was a concern shared in any way by the more humble and usual brothel clientele is unknown.

This was not just how the élite viewed the institution of prostitution, it was also how the state, their state, shaped it. The law penalized the *meretrix* and the *leno*, or *lena*, diminishing their standing in society, their ability to act as members of the imperial community; but it protected, in various implicit and explicit ways, the customer and the investor, the less direct profiteer from prostitution. It enabled women to be forcibly prostituted, to have their bodies repeatedly sold under them — their owner being the one who gained, as all monies legally accrued to him and from which he provided her livelihood as he chose. The emperor also participated in, even deepened, this exploitation, with his tax on prostitutes' earnings. The impact of this tax on the historical record, however exaggerated in places, indicates the economic significance of prostitution; and it may also stand as a symbol of the more generally integral position of this institution in imperial society.[93]

In one sense, therefore, external factors bore down especially hard on the Roman *meretrix*, leaving her little room for manoeuvre, little agency at all. However, for those outside the framework of slavery itself, it is not clear that this was in fact the case. Imperial Rome was a divided society to an extent almost unimaginable now in the modern West — the pattern of formal penalties and rewards woven into its legal system, both by broad concepts such as *infamia* and specific provisions such as those in the Augustan marriage legislation, were really relevant only to a select few. It was important that a wealthy man who owned or visited a brothel did not find his powers of litigation and inheritance compromised thereby; but it mattered little to the women inside, they had separate concerns and may not even have been aware of the legal repercussions of their actions. It is not that the outside world was entirely irrelevant, but that it was the views of the poor, amongst whom *meretrices* lived and worked, rather than the rich, who wrote about them, that impinged on the consciousness and experience of these women. It was within these communities that their own attitudes to a career in prostitution would be formed, and within these economies that such a career was pursued; but so little can be said about this part of the Roman world that the *meretrix* is left as an actor without a stage.

The writings of the rich on the subject generally emphasize this distance between the worlds inhabited by the author and the prostitute, even if the two types of persons

[92] *P.Lond.* inv 1562 verso, 19–20, published and discussed by J. Rea in *ZPE* 46 (1982), 191–209.

[93] It is worth remembering, when reading Evagrius' account of arguments by those opposed to the abolition of this tax that it would leave the state unable to pay the army or serve God in the manner to which he was accustomed, the massive size of the global sex industry today and the fact that UN reports in the 1980s estimated that more money was being made in the trafficking of women, mostly for prostitution, than smuggling drugs or arms (see, e.g. S. Altink, *Stolen Lives: Trading Women into Sex and Slavery* (1995), 2).

occasionally met. Not only are *meretrices* clearly positioned, in a number of ways, right at the other end of the social scale, perhaps even so far removed as to be not on the same scale at all, but also women who are of the ruling classes are not *meretrices*, are rarely even accused of being such. The woman against whom the figure of the *meretrix* is marshalled is the mistress of elegy and epigram, not the *matrona*; and even here it is the gap between mistress and *meretrix* that is exploited, not their elision, there is no expansive dilution of the category of *meretrix* to include loose women more widely. The behaviour of the *matrona* was of concern, and it was variously regulated, but the *meretrix* was too far away from her to be of much assistance in this respect. The problem of her sexual conduct, especially of her potential for adultery, was dealt with very much on its own terms. Indeed adultery, a real (if much exaggerated) issue among the élite and an activity they actually sought to prevent, was much more harshly punished by the law than prostitution, an issue of the ordering of the rest of society in relation to the élite, an activity not to be prevented but kept in its place; and adulterer also proved the stronger term in speech, as *moecha* and *adulter* are derogatory synonyms for *meretrix*, not the other way round. Vistilia recognized this as she moved herself from the harsh reality of the threat of a prosecution for adultery into the gentler unreality of the aedile's list of the sexually available.[94]

It is not that being an adulterer was deemed worse than being a prostitute, for it is the utter depravity and degradation of prostitution — proper prostitution in which money changes hands, not a more loosely constituted whoredom — that is the worst Juvenal and Seneca can throw at Messalina and Julia, but that the two were, from the perspective of the wealthy writer, two different kinds of women, separated by an enormous social gulf if sexually more proximate. The image of the 'meretrix Augusta' is an incredible one, in all senses of the word, and is both stronger and weaker for it. Juvenal exploits its potency in his particular poetic programme, but more mundane moralists generally respected the distance between the *matrona* and *adulter* dyad on the one hand, and the *meretrix* on the other. Thus the *meretrix* herself is again excluded from these élite literary conversations. Again it is a quite differently located (and now lost) set of conversations in which all manner of claims and counter-claims may, or may not, have been made by and about *meretrices* and their neighbours that is of real relevance.

These points and patterns, however, fit neatly into neither the history of female labour nor the history of female sexuality, though both work and sex are significant parts of the story. Social policy, even if construed most broadly, takes up only some of the slack, for it is policies towards things other than prostitution itself that are of most importance. Moreover, it is unclear whether it would be possible, even if the evidence from the ancient world was commensurate with that used by White or Karras, to write a history of Roman prostitution that resembled either of theirs; a verdict which is certainly not critical, since both predict it, more or less explicitly. Access to their kinds of materials would undoubtedly make a difference, but a central problem, or pair of problems, would remain. For, on the one hand, the professionalism of the *meretrix*, the sense in which she definitely makes her livelihood with her body, is engaged in economic activity, is unquestioned; she is not 'completely defined by her sexuality'. On the other hand, her professionalism, in the sense that it implies a degree of ownership of, and control over, that economic activity, the making of her livelihood, *is* challenged by the involvement of slavery in prostitution, the way it constitutes the women as goods as much as workers. Furthermore, slavery must have had an impact on the way *meretrices*

[94] McGinn, op. cit. (n. 1), 140–215, argues (*inter alia*) that the Augustan adultery law deploys the categories of *meretrix* and *leno* against adulterous *matronae* and their complaisant husbands, both as deterrent and punishment. The relevant legal notions (especially that of *lenocinium*) were certainly part of the juridical matrix within which this legislation was formulated and elaborated, but McGinn's particular points are harder to make. For the main vehicle through which he claims the assimilation of adulterer to prostitute was achieved — the toga both were allegedly meant to wear — is problematic in many respects, and McGinn has to strengthen the slight contemporary evidence by recourse to later Christian writers who are, needless to say, participants in a rather different moral discourse. In a sense this just goes to emphasize that, in contrast with what was to follow, remarkably few women of the pagan Roman world were called 'whores', at least in polite society.

were understood as a sexual category as well as on their status as workers. It may, for instance, have contributed both to their sexual objectification and the separation of *meretrices* from, rather than conflation with, other women, indeed it probably helped foster the divisions between rather than commonality among Roman women more generally.

A full assessment and understanding of the impact of slavery on prostitution, however, is complicated, if not impeded, on two scores. The first is that within modern debates on the sex industry there are arguments that prostitutes cannot, by definition, attain ownership of, or control over, their situation; that prostitution has an intrinsic affinity with, an innate tendency towards, slavery. That is there are those who (somewhat ironically given their rhetorical use of a more metaphorical notion of slavery) would claim that the existence of juridical slavery, of large numbers of prostitutes who are juridical slaves, makes little or no difference to the plight of the prostitute, or to the wider evil prostitution participates in. There are two main ways in which such anti-prostitution, 'abolitionist', arguments are advanced.[95] The more traditional approach, beginning with the late nineteenth-century campaigns against the 'White Slave Trade', is to characterize prostitution as something innocent young girls are forced into, as the domain of cruel and violent pimps and organized crime, to whom huge profits accrue while the women themselves have to make do with more meagre takings. More recently, however, the issues of coercion, of consent and control, have been discounted in favour of seeing the problem as residing in the very nature of the transaction around which the institution of prostitution is constructed; this is where prostitution is taken to resemble slavery. For prostitution inherently compromises the personhood, the subject-status of the prostitute while enhancing the manhood, the subject-status and power, of the purchaser; it thus assimilates, in a gender specific way, the prostitute to the position of the slave and the purchaser to that of the master.[96] More precisely, however, prostitution is to be classified as a form of sexual violence against women, which is a structural fact, unaffected by its concrete circumstances or by the actual views of either party; and it is to be opposed, abolished, on that basis. It is against these kind of assertions, and to normalize the position of the prostitute in society more generally, that others, importantly including much of the prostitutes' rights movement, define prostitution as 'sex work'; chosen on the same basis as other types of work, and experienced in ways that depend on the conditions in which the work takes place rather than the terms on which the sex takes place.[97] They argue that what is being sold is not the self, or degradation, or even the body, but the woman's time and labour; and even that making men pay for this erotic service, its commodification, may actually be positively self-determining for women and subversive of the dominant sexual order. They speak not of the 'free-choice' to become a prostitute, for in the contemporary labour market free-choice is a chimera, but say rather that many women have made a 'rational choice' in this matter; and that efforts should be made to improve the conditions of the trade, to increase women's autonomy and control and decrease third-party involvement, state repression and social stigma, rather than forbidding them this option. These are then reformers and transformers rather than abolitionists, those for whom prostitution may become slavery, but is not necessarily so.

Historically speaking, the view that the organization of prostitution is automatically coercive has little support. Recent studies in particular have put more emphasis on the rationality of the choice to go into prostitution in contexts where women's economic options are significantly circumscribed, and the ways women found of achieving their objectives, of resisting degradation, in the profession. 'Choice' not compulsion was the main mode of entry into prostitution in late nineteenth-century Britain and America,

[95] For a recent discussion of these issues within the abolitionist tradition see e.g. S. Jeffreys, *The Idea of Prostitution* (1997).

[96] This comparison is based on the definition of slavery formulated by Orlando Patterson in his *Slavery and Social Death* (1982), in particular his highlighting of the dynamics of honour and degradation within slavery. Of course, it is not the prostitute-punter relationship that is the slave-master one in actual slave prostitution.

[97] For a recent discussion within this tradition see e.g. W. Chapkis, *Live Sex Acts: Women Performing Erotic Labour* (1997).

despite the claims about the magnitude and methods of the 'White Slave Trade'; and those who campaign against the traffic in women today estimate that force and deception are implicated in between ten and twenty per cent of recruitment into prostitution both within South East Asia and of foreign women into the sexual marketplaces of Western Europe.[98] That is what might reasonably be taken as a rough reversal of the probable proportions of slave and free prostitutes in the Roman world. Nor are prostitution and pimping synonymous. The sex trade in colonial Nairobi White describes is free from third-party involvement, male or female; and outside of slavery, and the existence of formal ownership, it is state regulation and repression, especially the criminalization of the prostitutes themselves, that establishes the conditions for, and encourages the growth of, the systematic exploitation of prostitutes by the managers of clubs and brothels, and pimps.[99]

On the issue of whether, even in the most favourable conditions, prostitution is abusive, directly damaging to the prostituted women themselves and indirectly detrimental to the position of women in society more widely, the historical view is, of course, less clear. Either way, however, it does seem somewhat perverse to discount issues of consent, coercion, and control completely; to create absolutes rather than a complex continuum of abuse and empowerment, degradation and achievement. And, on any such scale, slave prostitution is going to come at the very bottom. It is the site where all the most harmful and oppressive conditions for the prostituted women, if not wider society, converge and formally congeal. There are certainly free women who approach, and have approached, this position. Those currently forcibly trafficked from South East Asia for instance, who find themselves virtually imprisonned in brothels or clubs in Amsterdam or Tokyo and saddled with an enormous debt notionally incurred in their transport and settlement which must be paid off before they see any of their own earnings. But however close these groups of women come in practice, there is still a formal difference between them, of juridical status and the legality of their treatment, and it is not an irrelevant consideration. 'Non-slaves always possess some claims and powers themselves vis-à-vis their proprietor', as Orlando Patterson says, and it is true however hard they may find it to pursue those claims or exercise those powers in the circumstances; otherwise slavery vanishes as a distinct institution.[100] Indeed, the overall effect of the argument that prostitution inherently imitates slavery is to blur this distinctiveness, to overlook the fact that the relationship between prostitutes and slaves may actually be one of identity not resemblance.

Moreover, this article has tried to draw attention to ways in which prostitutes' legal status made a difference in the Roman world itself, to the lives and livelihoods of the women themselves. However, having insisted that juridical slavery does matter, the second difficulty now comes into play; for it is at this point that the historical comparisons are at their weakest. It is patterns of prostitution in societies without large numbers of slaves that have been best studied; while the impact of patterns of servitude on prostitution in slave societies has received little attention. Both slavery and prostitution are expanding areas of recent historical scholarship, but separately not together. Moreover, the most obvious place to look for comparisons — the American South — turns out to be rather awkward in this respect, though illuminating in others. For there slaves were not commercially prostituted on any substantial scale; demonstrating that the particularities of the Roman world are not reducible to the centrality of slavery within it, to the simple existence of opportunity and motive for slave prostitution.

[98] See e.g. Walkowitz, op. cit. (n. 2), 13–41, and Hill, op. cit. (n. 2), 63–106, for the past and Chapkis, op. cit. (n. 96), 47–8 for the present.

[99] White, states categorically (op. cit. (n. 2), 6) that, 'There were no pimps in Nairobi or anywhere else in Africa, outside of Johannesburg in the 1890s'. She also offers a range of evidence to support her wider claim that, 'men and male control enter prostitution only *after* the state does' (4). This claim ties in with the conclusions of other recent studies, but slavery provides an exception.

[100] Patterson, op. cit. (n. 96), 26.

In their controversial econometric survey of Southern slavery, Fogel and Engerman offer two reasons for this absence.[101] First, that there was no demand, on account of white men's 'racist aversions' to sex with black women; second, that there was no supply, on account of the greater profits to be made from female slave labour in the fields than in brothels. As has often been pointed out, however, white men had no such aversion to sex with black women outside the frame of commercial prostitution. Indeed it has been suggested that it was instead the ease with which female slaves were sexually exploited by white men who had control over them which acted to reduce the numbers prostituted.[102] Rome, however, contradicts this argument, or at least renders it insufficient. Their own slaves certainly counted amongst the acceptable sexual objects and options for élite men in the Roman Empire, indeed, the dissenting Musonius Rufus implicitly locates them as the most socially acceptable, with prostitutes next, and other unmarried and otherwise unattached women after that.[103] But this also shows, as do many more orthodox voices, that the two were not mutually exclusive, and there were those who suggested that the reverse is true, that one form of licence inevitably leads to another. Of course the clientele of Roman brothels was primarily poor, they did not depend on aristocratic, slave-owning patronage for their success, and it may well be that it is in this context that demand was lacking in America. That the lesser degree of urbanization in the Southern States, the less developed and more controlled slave and freed populations of what towns and cities there were, failed to produce a significant sexual market, engendered a demand that could easily be met by the casually organized prostitution mainly of poor whites.[104] The relatively restricted role of prostitution, and slave prostitution in particular, in the wider sexual economy of the American South thus comes primarily from the economic rather than sexual side of the equation; from the economic unattractiveness of prostitution as an investment for slave-owners, rather than its sexual unattractiveness given the alternatives. The traditional aristocratic response to any set of choices is, after all, to opt for both, or all, as the Romans amply demonstrate.

There are other differences between the American South and the Roman Empire which have a bearing on the ways in which slavery and prostitution intersect in each case. Each has its own slave-holding ideology and sexual order, entwined and enforced in their own ways, and bound up in America with a specific racial order. Thus the legal position of prostitution diverges between the two, as indeed does the notion of prostitution itself, and the wider security and certainty of their respective slave systems. In the Southern States, for instance, slave-owner investment of slaves in prostitution would have been investment in a criminal as well as morally reprehensible business, and it would have offered abolitionists, who already attacked slavery as synonymous with a very loosely defined prostitution (since it made women sexually available), a gift.[105] At this point, therefore, prostitution was a more clearly and commonly identifiable evil than slavery, which was to be tarred with its brush rather than vice versa. Whereas in

[101] R. Fogel and S. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (1974), 135. They offer only one statistic about the absence of slaves from prostitution — that in 1860 only 4.3 per cent of Nashville prostitutes were black (and none were slaves) while 20 per cent of the overall population was black — but that Southern prostitutes were overwhelmingly white, and even more overwhelmingly free is, however, not disputed.

[102] See e.g. V. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (1992), 79–80 and C. Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (1982), 221.

[103] Muson., *Fr.* 12 (Lutz).

[104] I take support for this suggestion from the places, mostly busy ports, where prostitution, including of some slaves, did take significant root in the Americas, see e.g. T. Lockley, 'Crossing the divide: interracial sex in antebellum Savannah', *Slavery and Abolition* 18 (1997), 159–73. This is also what seems to have happened to more slaves in Brazil, see e.g. M. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (1987), 207, and the Caribbean, see e.g. B. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (1984), 231–2 and H. Beckles, 'Black female slaves and white households in Barbados', in D. Gaspar and D. Hine (eds), *More than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (1996), 121–2.

[105] The complaint of Mary Boykin Chesnut, the abolitionist wife and daughter of major slave-owners, that, 'we live surrounded by prostitutes', is one of her key objections to slavery; that is the wrongs it perpetrates against white women married to men who make full use of these black 'prostitutes' (C. Van Woodward (ed.), *Mary Chesnut's Civil War* (1981), 29). Pro-slavery ideologue William Harper, on the other hand, praised this state of affairs, claiming that the 'prostitution' of all slave women was a benefit both to the women themselves and to the white men who were 'less depraved' by intercourse with them than they would be by intercourse with 'females of their own caste' (D. G. Faust (ed.), *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830–1860* (1981), 104–7).

the Roman world, prostitution was no less legal than slavery and only slightly less unobjectionable. A few did object, but while Dio Chrysostom might attack the *pornoboskoi* and their avarice and Musonius might criticize the lack of élite male continence, neither raised a murmur against slavery itself, the institution which enabled and encouraged these profits and profligacy.[106]

V. CONCLUSION

The complexity of the subject is thus underlined once again. The multiplicity of factors involved in the formation and workings of past prostitutions is stressed. It is to try and embrace (but certainly not exhaust) all these issues that this article addresses itself to the broader construction of the 'sexual economy' of female prostitution in the Roman Empire; and to the notion that this construct — the interplay of sex and money, of labour and livelihood, in their wider surroundings — is both different from and similar to those from other societies, slave or not. There is, it is suggested, a particular Roman configuration of elements also to be found elsewhere, and understanding it as such, within the context of other possibilities and perspectives is helpful. It is particularly helpful in making some room for the women involved, for their aims and actions, life and work; though it has not been possible to fill in that space with anything much more tangible than suggestion and innuendo. These gaps, their openness rather than their occlusion, are none the less crucial in the move towards the better understanding of Roman prostitution as a phenomenon fully integrated into Roman imperial society.

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[106] On the general security of Roman slavery see P. Garnsey, *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine* (1996).



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Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment

ELIZABETH BARTMAN

Abstract

Roman female hairstyles were highly individualized, gendered cultural markers, in many cases having a physiognomic role in a portrait like the face itself. The paucity of surviving organic remains requires that we consult artistic representations in painting and sculpture to assess the forms of these hairstyles. Despite their often fanciful conceptions, they do not represent artistic inventions, but rather elaborate coiffures made with real human hair, usually the sitter's own. Thus wig wearing may not have been as common as has been imagined; the practice of supplying marble statues with removable wigs in contrasting stone is not in itself evidence for the wearing of wigs in antiquity. Modern commentary on the hairstyles worn by Roman women assumes frequent changes of hairstyle, an interpretation based on a misreading of the ancient evidence and essentialist views of women.*

She knows her man, and when you rant and swear,
can draw you to her with a single hair.
Persius *Satyrica* 5.246 (trans. John Dryden)

In ancient Rome hair was a major determinant of a woman's physical attractiveness and was thus deemed worthy of considerable exertions to create a flattering appearance. Just as every face had its own physiognomy, so did female hairstyles vary—along with looks, a woman's age, social status, and public role influenced her choice of coiffure. This variety has proved invaluable in identifying historical individuals, thereby enabling scholars to construct a chronology of Roman portraiture and, by extension, Roman art.

Yet notwithstanding their pivotal role in the historiography of Roman portraiture, ancient hairstyles remain poorly understood. Like all organic remains, human hair rarely survives in archaeological sites; in lieu of direct material evidence, we must turn to artistic representations in painting and sculpture in order to reconstruct Roman coiffures. Freestanding sculpted portrait statues and busts provide the richest source of information; because of their large numbers and detailed execution, sculpted portraits from the second to third centuries C.E. will be the focus of this article, while the parallel evidence of painting, coins, and gems will be admitted only occasionally. This article does not intend to survey the development of Roman female hairstyles[1] but rather seeks to illuminate their social and cultural implications in the portrait: as gender marker, manifestation of *cultus* (culture), and physiognomic sign no less expressive of personal identity than the face itself. Whether crafted by household slaves or the wearer herself, a woman's hairstyle conveyed her individuality. Except for some overtly divinizing elements, the female coiffures that are recorded in sculpted portraits reproduce real styles that could be made with human hair. That many female hairstyles toy with that reality by a physical size or elaboration that implies artificiality is a paradox; the illusion of artifice reflects, and also contributes to, the long-standing association in antiquity of ornament with the feminine realm.

Typically commissioned as honorific works, life-size public portraits aimed to depict the sitter in a positive mode, as a virtuous individual as well as an example of the best of her sex. Hence we can use the portrait and one of its primary features, hair, in order to reconstruct ancient attitudes about gender. While men's hair may have required no less daily attention than women's, the styling as well as the social response it engendered were radically different. For example, lengthy grooming sessions that were tolerated and even encouraged for women were taboo for men, and throughout most of the period under consideration women's hair was carved according to different techniques than Roman sculptors used for men's. One thing both sexes had in common, however, was the use of false hair, whether "extender" tresses or full wigs. Hair came to be im-

*I thank Bettina Bergmann, Jane Fejfer, and Miranda Marvin for their close readings of this text in its earlier drafts, and also *AJA*'s two anonymous readers for astute criticism. Barbara Borg, Corey Brennan, John Collis, Elizabeth Hartley, Antonietta Viacava, and Greg Woolf assisted on specific points.

[1] For such treatments, see Virgili 1989, 37–62; Mannsperger 1998; Steininger 1912, 2135–50.

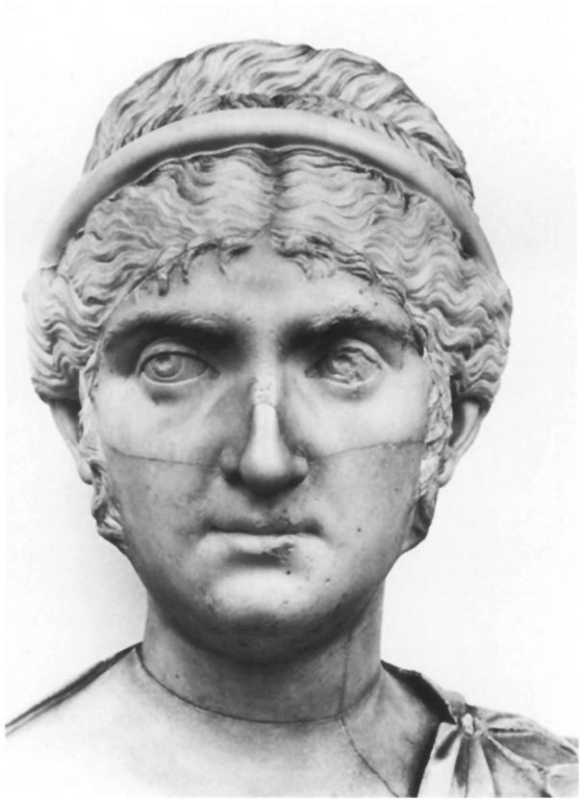


Fig. 1. Head of Elabagalus, restored as a woman, Ripon, Newby Hall 20, front. (Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Universität zu Köln, neg. no. 1302/5)

ported from the far corners of the Mediterranean, its trade representing a commodification of body parts that symbolized Rome's dominance.

Despite the intrinsic flattery of the portrait (a kind of doubled flattery, first in the hairstyle itself and then in the portrait representation as a whole), modern scholars have often imputed negative connotations to female hair. Whether taking at face value satirical and moralizing texts about women's coiffures or imposing a contemporary and anachronistic perspective onto the imagery, they have misinterpreted the evidence and thus impeded our understanding of the many meanings women's hair held for the Romans. This article offers a corrective.

THE "GENDERED GRAMMAR" OF HAIR

At its most basic level, a woman's hairstyle signaled her female sex. How hair functioned as a gender marker in Roman portraiture can be seen in the complicated history of a draped female bust bought in Italy for Newby Hall in the 18th century (fig. 1).[2] Like most of the ancient marbles acquired by English collectors at that time, the bust has been heavily restored. Crisscrossed by lines of breakage and repair, it is today a composite of old and new: the ancient face, really a mask, is completely surrounded by marble attachments added in modern times.[3] Accomplished a carver as the restorer was, however, he erred in bestowing a female sex upon his subject. Alongside the soft, unstubbled chin and the curvaceous lips pressed together in a demure smile, the lady has sideburns. Leaving this distinctly male feature intact (as if hoping it would be mistaken for long locks falling onto the face), while adding a woman's coiffure and chiton, the restorer transformed a male face—possibly that of the third-century emperor Elagabalus[4]—into a female bust.

But was the restorer's mistake unintended? His reworking of the hairline instills doubt. If indeed the original face represented Elagabalus, it had short comma-shaped curls that fell in an irregular pattern onto the forehead. In its female incarnation, however, the face sports short curls arranged quasi-symmetrically and divided in the middle.[5] Intuitively, the restorer has acknowleged one of the primary features of female appearance in ancient Rome: long hair divided by a center part. To be sure, the center part was not popular among all women at all times in Rome's history, but it is readily apparent that it is rarely worn by Roman men.[6]

Given that the hair of men and women has no biological difference—women have hair that is neither intrinsically thicker nor curlier than men's—the adoption of the center-part coiffure by one sex and not the other is a practice determined solely by culture.[7] In the same vein, women's hair tends to be more neatly and symmetrically coiffed than men's; stray wisps of hair at the nape of the neck

[2] Ripon, Newby Hall 20; *EA* 3121 (F. Poulsen). The 1974 edition of the guidebook (p. 16) sold at the house simply states, "Bust of a Roman lady. Roman Imperial period."

[3] The crown, neck, and bust have been restored, as has the nose. A lateral break splits the ancient face into two parts.

[4] Frederick Poulsen (supra n. 2) first suggested Elagabalus as the possible subject of the face, although he rightly pointed out the deviations from the emperor's single known portrait type. Since then an unfinished portrait in Oslo, closer iconographically to the Newby head and conjectured to represent Elagabalus, has come to light. See Sande 1991, 78, no. 64, pl. 63; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 116 Beil. 83.

[5] Because they are fairly thick, Elagabalus's forehead curls could easily have been reconfigured into the arrangement presently seen on the Newby head.

[6] The exception, hairstyles of some barbarian men, is telling. Caligula has a slightly indented hairlock in his most prevalent portrait type (Boschung 1989, pl. 4), but no proper Roman male wears a deep center part on the crown from which long locks flatten out sideways in "barbershop quartet" style.

[7] Seeing the center part as a vestige of the archaic practice of parting the bride's hair with a spear (Ov. *Fast.* 2.560; Festus, s.v. "*caelibari hasta*"), is tempting but probably erroneous, as even Diana, a virgin goddesses, wore her hair parted in the middle.

occasionally escape the hairdresser's control, but in real life hairpins, nets, and snoods would have kept female locks firmly in place. Such accessories ensured that women's coiffures had none of the lively movement that animated men's hair (perhaps in deliberate evocation of Alexander's leonine locks). Whereas a man's hair implied his active role, a woman's connoted passivity. With the addition of costly ornaments of gold or ivory, the female coiffure connoted wealth and luxury.

Roman sculptors also used formal style and carving techniques to gender the coiffures of men and women. In the Imperial period under discussion here, the physical appearance of the hair itself differed in female and male portraits.[8] (Interestingly, the eyebrows of both sexes, which also were subjected to intensive grooming, tended to be treated in the same manner.)[9] In the Flavian period of the late first century C.E., for example, most men have hair trimmed short on the crown and lacking strong plasticity, while their womenfolk go to the opposite extreme, wearing dramatic curls carved with strong chiaroscuro effects. During the next few decades, simple straight hair cut with forehead bangs is popular with Trajanic men, while women sweep their locks off the face into towering mounds. From the mid-second to the early third century C.E., the practice is reversed: male hair on both face and crown is densely textured by deep drilling, while the female is typically rendered more simply with superficial, noninvasive chiselwork.[10] These changes are no doubt linked to the different types of arrangements worn by men and women in real life, but neither hairdressing nor genetics offers a satisfactory explanation for the different treatments. Rather, we must view these formal distinctions as the perhaps unconscious evocation of Roman notions of gender: however men looked, women had to look different, even if that difference was achieved by a deliberate falsification of visual appearances. That these distinctions occurred during an extended period of high technical achievement in Roman portrait production—that is, artistic ineptness cannot bear the blame—underscores their participation in a process of gendering male and female imagery.

As a rule Roman women had longer hair than men. In metropolitan Rome and the West, men usually wore their hair short on the crown and, when fashion or funeral ritual dictated, also on the face. (In the Greek East a different ideal, that of the bearded, long-haired philosopher, whose intellectual distractions led him to ignore his grooming, prevailed, but even there male hair was regularly shorter than female.)[11] The relatively short hair of men, however, did not necessarily lessen the time spent on grooming. Trimming a head of hair and shaving, the rule in Rome since the second century B.C.E., were daily occupations, often performed at commercial barbering establishments. Later in the Antonine and Severan periods, full beards and longer hair on the crown were standard among males, but a carefully scissored contour avoided the impression of extravagance. (Note that the last Antonine emperor, Commodus, is condemned not for his longish curls but for his habit of sprinkling gold dust on them, a divine pretension.)[12]

Apart from routine upkeep, however, the proper Roman male was advised to avoid excessive attention to his hair; the man who curled and annointed his locks risked scorn for appearing effeminate.[13] Such practices had long been associated with Eastern luxury and were highly suspect at Rome; thus a supposedly womanly interest in grooming was a standard accusation in political invective.[14] Because of these sentiments, baldness posed a delicate problem for the male, who wished to improve his appearance but also preserve his manliness—Julius Caesar masked his receding hairline with a wreath, while Domitian and Otho wore wigs.[15]

Although the use of cosmetics to enhance a woman's face and body triggered vitriolic attacks from male writers,[16] female hairdressing, notwithstanding its daily execution, roused scant criticism. Satirists such as Juvenal do take aim at female coiffures, but their quips are relatively mild.[17] In ancient Rome, as in many other societies, women typically had more "symbolic capital" invested in their hair

[8] See the comments of Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 84, 109. Fittschen (1978, 37) makes the same point about different technical modes.

[9] The options ranged from a cleanly plucked brow to one so furry that it makes a "V" over the bridge of the nose. Clearly, the brow's appearance reflected fashion, not genetics. Shaping would have been achieved with a razor or tweezers, implements attested archaeologically (Virgili et al. 1990, 101, no. 163.)

[10] Comparison of the relevant sections of Fittschen and Zanker (1985 and 1983) will make these contrasts clear.

[11] Zanker 1995, 198–266.

[12] Herodian 1.7.5.

[13] Ov. *Ars am.* 1.51; Gell. *NA* 6.12, Sen. *Controv.* 2, preface 2; Mart. 10.65.8; see Gleason 1995, 108–9.

[14] Suetonius's comments about the hairdressing habits of Julius Caesar (*Iul.* 45) and Nero (*Ner.* 51) intend such insinuations. On the Eastern connotations of luxury in the early Imperial period, see Griffin 1976. On the classical fifth-century manifestations of the sentiment, see Hall 1989.

[15] Caesar: Suet. *Iul.* 45.2; Domitian: Suet. *Dom.* 18; Morgan 1997; Otho: Suet. *Otho* 11.

[16] Chronicled by Richlin 1995.

[17] Juv. 6.502; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.113.

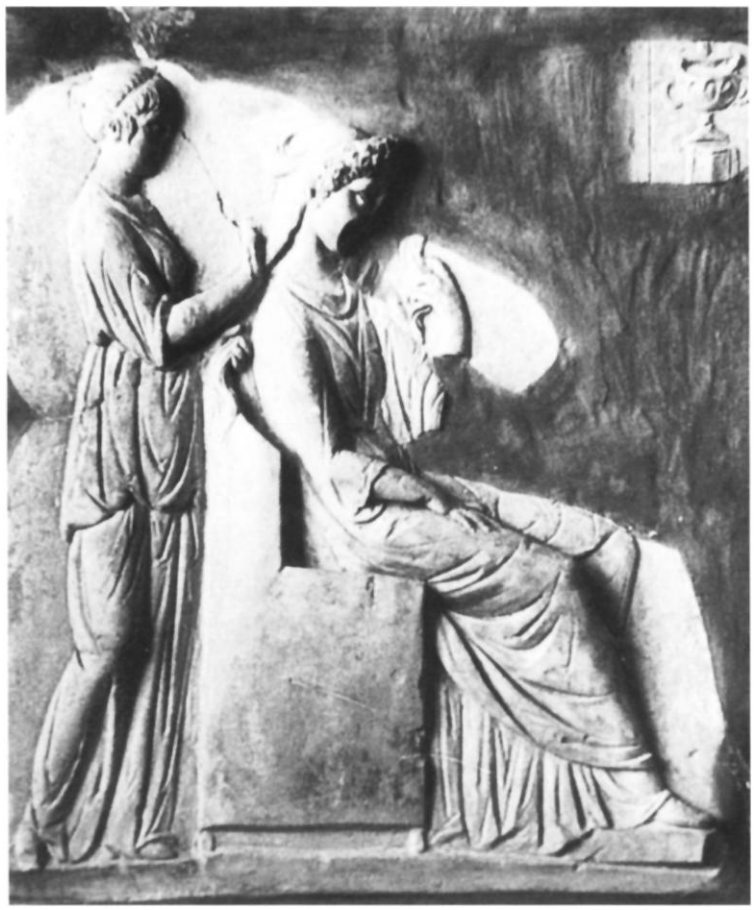


Fig. 2. Stucco relief, Carthage, Musée Nationale de Carthage. (Reproduced from Fittschen 1993, pl. 25a)

than did men, and few protested the attention paid to it. For one thing, a woman typically dressed her hair in the privacy of her home. For another, the intrinsic eroticism of hair made it appealing to most male observers and writers (the Christian moralists, discussed below, are an important exception). Hair's erotic potential is a recurrent theme of literature from the period, whether explicit, as in the poetry of the Latin love elegists, or implicit, as in the advice for styling and coloring proferred by Ovid and others.[18]

Hairdressing and its necessary accompaniment, mirror gazing, were regarded as distinctly feminine activities. In fact, hairdressing scenes appear so frequently in the context of women's tomb reliefs (see fig. 2), an obvious site for emblematic imagery, that they may be said to represent the essence of female life itself.[19] That changes in female hairstyle were markers of major Roman life-cycle events (e.g., the *seni crines* of the bride and the loosened hair of the funeral mourner) adds a special poignancy to the toilet scenes from the tomb context. Because of its wide resonances, however, hairdressing is a far more charged subject than the proferring of the jewelry box to the seated matron on Classical Greek grave stelae, its closest functional analogy.[20] When combined with self-reflection in the mirror, hairdressing evoked a web of associations: leisure, artifice, female behavior, and, as we shall see, cultus.

Ethnographers and anthropologists have long recognized hair's key role not only in creating gender but also in symbolizing the relationship between individuals and the society to which they belong.

[18] Love elegies: Prop. 1.2.1, 1.15.5; Hor. *Carm.* 1.5.4; *Epod.* 11.28. Advice: Ov. *Ars am.* 3.133–55; also Gal. *On the Parts of Medicine* 1; Plin. *HN* 12.76, 28.191; Mart. 3.43, 14.27. The emperor Domitian authored a book about hair, which has not survived (Suet. *Dom.* 18).

[19] For a catalogue of these scenes, see Kampen 1981, 149–52.

The comment, "Control of hair by cutting, grooming, braiding, enclosing in a turban, or other means indicates an individual's participation in social structures within a publicly defined role and that individual's submission to social control,"[21] while observed about South Asian cultures, also applies to ancient Rome. Roland Smith has recently discussed the various hairdressing options available to second-century C.E. men in the Greek East for conveying their cultural values.[22] Compared to men, ancient women's coiffures made few external references, largely because of a lack of suitable iconographic precedents that could be quoted. In the Roman world, however, hair's erotic potential made it a lightening rod for anxieties about female sexuality and public behavior. Hence the ancient sources preserve many references to veiling and other strictures regarding female headwear.[23] We also see a marked difference in the hairstyling deemed acceptible for preadolescent girls, such as long hair cascading loosely onto the back, compared to that for sexually mature women—equally long hair but controlled through wrapping, tying, and braiding (fig. 3).[24] Hair on the body and pubis, one of a human being's secondary sex characteristics, is never depicted in statues of women and may have been removed from real bodies by depilation.

Hair on the head was considered a major determinant of a woman's physical attractiveness, but its appearance derived as much from culture (cultus) as from nature.[25] From the circular "snail" curls worn by Agrippina the Younger to the towering mounds crowning Flavian- and Trajanic-era ladies, Roman female coiffures bespeak human intervention.[26] When looking at sculptural renderings today, we frame our discussion of cultus largely in terms of the shape and construction of Roman coiffures, but we should recall that artificial color provided by dye, bleach, or powder, and the sheen acquired by gel or pomade, also advertised the hairdresser's effort. By contrast, we today favor the so-called natural look in female hairdressing; whether styled in an Afro or Princess Diana bob, contemporary women's hair professes to be close to its natural state. (This is patently untrue, of course, for the waves and shine of the "natural" hairdo often require the substan-



Fig. 3. Statue group of mother and daughter, Chatsworth, front. (Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Universität zu Köln, neg. no. 1040/9)

[20] Schmaltz 1983; Reilly 1992. Jewelry-proffering scenes appear in late Roman monuments such as the ceiling paintings from Trier, where they have a decorative rather than funeral purpose.

[21] Olivelle 1998, 39; Sieber and Herreman (2000) discuss parallel practices in Africa. See also Hallpike 1987, 155.

[22] Smith 1998.

[23] Myerowitz Levine 1995, 109; Kraemer 1992, 146–7; MacMullen 1980, 208–18.

[24] Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection; Boschung et al. 1997, 46–50, no. 45.

[25] For discussion of these paradoxes, see Myerowitz Levine 1995. Some believe that hair never exists in a natural state but is always a product of culture (Hiltebeitel 1998, 7).

[26] In one of Roman portraiture's exceptions, images of Livia made late in her lifetime depict her wearing a center-parted, waved coiffure that derives not from any contemporary style but from the classical imagery of Greek goddesses; although crimped, the hair has a texture and arrangement that looks remarkably lifelike and "natural"; thus in the portraits that liken Livia to the divine realm she looks, at least to our eyes, her most human.



Fig. 4. Figure of reclining woman from a sarcophagus lid, Rome, Galleria Borghese 187, front. (Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione)

tial ministrations of scissors, shampoo, combs, and spray.) To the ancients, however, "natural" was a term of opprobrium, suggesting a lack of civilization and social control—a state close to beasts and barbarians. So Paola Virgili and others have appropriately linked the notion of cultus, implying refinement and civilization, to the elaborate coiffures of imperial Roman women.[27] Two Hadrianic stucco reliefs found in Carthage[28] illustrate the connection: in one (fig. 2) a woman is having her hair dressed in a beehive style by a servant, and in the other, the same woman, her coiffure now finished, sits holding a book. Grooming goes hand in hand with literacy in expressing female cultus. That this stucco and another well-known relief from Neumagen showing a similar scene[29] are both from provincial areas brought under Roman control in the early Imperial period illustrates the connections of female cultus to the Romanization process. Whereas provincial women (and men) are represented with unkempt "barbarian" hair when depicted on triumphal monuments, they adopt Roman modes of hairdressing within a generation or so after Roman conquest.[30]

In view of this cultural context, the public presentation of a Roman woman as deliberately uncoiffed is cause for discussion. A deceased woman reclining atop a late second/early third-century C.E. sarcophagus lid (fig. 4)[31] lets her hair flow freely onto her shoulders. Although the lid has been much restored and the figure's face possibly reworked, the hair itself is largely original.[32] In the center part and the faint pattern of crimping (reminiscent of the fold lines chiseled lightly onto the woven garments of draped sculptures) there remain vestiges of the mode in which the subject dressed her hair while living; we may imagine a Severan coiffure with finger waves. Virtually unparalleled in the corpus of Roman funerary imagery, the Borghese woman seems to be mourning her own death. Her loosened hair evokes a female mourner, either the *praefica* hired for funeral processions[33] or the ordinary woman who responded to the death of

[27] Virgili et al. 1990; Wyke 1994, 143–6; D'Ambra 1997.

[28] Fittschen 1993, 203, n. 6, pl. 25; *De Carthage à Kairouan* 1982, 138–9, no. 194; Delattre 1899, 38–41, nos. 1, 2, pl. 8.

[29] Trier, Landesmuseum NM 184; Kampen 1981, 150, no. 32, fig. 50.

[30] Cf. the barbarians on sarcophagi in Bianchi-Bandinelli 1971, figs. 2, 10, with the carefully coiffed Spanish provincials depicted in figs. 176–181.

[31] Galleria Borghese 187; Moreno 1980; Viacava (forthcoming), no. 199.

[32] Viacava (forthcoming) discerns "forti interveneti nella testa." The hair does have a minor repair at the back.

[33] On *praeficae,* see Serv. *Ad Aen.* 6.16; Flower 1996, 98. Two well-known visual representations of praeficae are the Amiternum relief (Flower 1996, pl. 6) and the relief from the Tomb of the Haterii (Flower 1996, 93–5, pl. 5).

loved ones by letting down her hair.[34] (The use of the verb *spargere* [to stream] with hair in this context underscores its wild, unleashed quality.)[35] By analogy with these familiar images, the Borghese woman appears not only as the deceased subject of the funeral but also as one of its active participants; she infuses an otherwise traditional funerary image with extreme pathos.

HAIR OR SCULPTURE?

Sculpting a head of human hair, whose thousands (on average, 100,000) of infinitesimally thin strands react to both movement and light, posed a daunting technical challenge to the ancient sculptor. By the time of the mid-empire, however, Roman sculptors working in both bronze and marble drew upon centuries of experience for the technical mastery by which they reproduced the texture, arrangement, and even the light-reflecting sheen of real hair.[36] Success in rendering the materiality of hair and its accoutrements inevitably raises the question of authenticity: are Roman portraits faithful translations of the actual hairstyles worn by the sitters?

An answer is problematic for two reasons. First, the paucity of surviving hair leaves little basis for comparison. Owing to a climate that is generally not conducive to its survival, only scattered discoveries of human hair exist in Britain, Gaul (fig. 5), Egypt, and Judaea.[37] Although no ancient coiffure has yet been found in its entirety, examples of human hair from Roman burials, such as long braids from Les Martres-de-Veyre in central France or a bun excavated in York, England, do confirm that the styles portrayed in Roman portraits were actually worn by ancient women.[38] Ranging in color from blond (Les Martres-de-Veyre, fig. 5) to auburn (York) to chestnut (Les Martres-de-Veyre, fig. 5) to near-black (Masada), these finds document the range of colors that Roman hair would have naturally had; paint would have enabled the sculptor of white marble to match these hues.[39] We find further confirmation in the evidence of painted mummy portraits from Egypt. Long dismissed as provincial anomalies, these images recently have been shown to depict coiffures that are identical to those worn by the women portrayed in sculpted portraits from metropolitan Rome.[40]



Fig. 5. Human hair from tombs at Les Martres-le-Veyre, Clermont Ferrand, Musées de la Ville. (Centre Régional de Documentation Pédagogique, Clermont-Ferrand)

[34] See in particular the mourning women who attend Meleager's corpse on sarcophagi (Koch 1975, 119–24) and those surrounding the funeral bier in the *conclamatio* scenes from biographical sarcophagi (Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 112–3). Cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 14.267a–b.

[35] *OLD*, s.v. "s*pargo*." For a good example of this usage, see the *Consolatio ad Liviam* 1.98.

[36] Pioneers in achieving these effects were the Greek sculptors Polykleitos (Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.8) and Lysippos (Plut. *Alex.* 4.1).

[37] Britain: bun from York (Yorkshire Museum; Allason-Jones 1989, 133–4; 1996, 38); Gaul: scalp hair with braids attached from Gallo-Roman burials at Les Martres-de-Veyre (Audollent 1923, 275–328, esp. 284, pl. 8); Egypt: pile of hair held in place with pins and terminating in a bun (Walker and Bierbrier 1997, 208–9, no. 302); Judaea: braid dating to the late first century C.E. found at Masada and now in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (Yadin 1966, 54, col. pl. p. 56, pl. p. 196; Zias 1998).

[38] Cf. the Masada and Les Martres-de-Veyre braids cited (supra n. 37) to a head in the Capitoline (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 68, no. 89, pl. 110) and the York bun to Capitoline 280 (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 96–7, no. 140, pl. 166).

[39] Rueterswärd 1960, 210-27.

[40] Parallelism between the painted and sculpted image lies at the heart of Borg's (1998) chronology of mummy portraits from Egypt. Cf. her figs. 28–29, 50–52, and 51–53.

The second difficulty in assessing the realism of the sculpted coiffure stems from the larger question of the physical accuracy of the Roman portrait itself. On the one hand, the physiognomic variety found in Roman portraits suggests that the ancient sculptor was a kind of premodern photographer, capturing a "snapshot" of an individual's appearance. Yet any serious viewer of Roman portraiture recognizes how both artistry and political ideology undercut the physiognomic accuracy by which a sitter is rendered. Throughout her decades-long portrait career, for example, the empress Livia remained youthful; even images created when she was an octogenarian did not betray her encroaching age. In the portraiture of a later successor, Faustina the Elder, the lack of correlation between the empress's coin portraits and those sculpted in-the-round leads to the conclusion that her images owed as much to the particular design principles of the portrait medium as to her appearance in real life.[41] So, too, the nine changes of hairstyle shown in Faustina the Younger's official portraiture may be at least partially fictive, responses to dynastic politics rather than changes made in the actual coiffure she wore.[42]

Notwithstanding their ideological tint, the female hairstyles recorded in sculpted (and painted) portraits are firmly based in hairdressing reality. According to the contemporary hairstylists and wig makers whom I have consulted, most of the Roman coiffures documented in imperial portraiture could have been made by a skilled hairdresser using the sitter's own hair. From braids to buns, pin curls to marceled "finger sets,"[43] the standard elements of sculpted coiffures could have been actually made in antiquity, and indeed they can be reproduced today[44] by practiced stylists. In Roman times, such skilled hands were abundant, and women of the leisured classes would have had both the staff and the time for lengthy hairdressing sessions.[45] Even if we cannot say positively that the hairstyle of every portrait represents the actual coiffure worn by the sitter herself, we may at least conclude that the designs lie well within the realm of grooming possibility.[46] At a fundamental level, of course, hairdressing was a process similar to sculpture. Most female hairstyles of the late first through third centuries C.E. were conceived as structures whose well-articulated shapes and textures made a visual foil to the face. The wide gap that we envision between sculpture, to the modern mind considered a form of high art, and hairdressing, which is often regarded as an elevated form of grooming, was not necessarily shared by the Romans.

The astute observer can discern the workings, and thus the fundamental realism, of many sculpted coiffures. I will focus on popular female coiffures from the middle and high empire, for these have long triggered accusations of invention. After several generations of Julio-Claudian styles, in which the relative simplicity of Livia's *nodus* and off-swept hair gave way to ever-fussier but still relatively tame arrangements,[47] female hairdressing at Rome underwent a major stylistic change. Characterized by multiple components and towering height, the new styles of the late first and early second centuries C.E. were elaborate constructions whose very complexity challenged the physical possibilities of the sitter's own locks. Their extremism occasioned satirical barbs such as Juvenal's famous likening of a hairdo to a multistoried building.[48] The vocabulary used today to describe the popular styles—beehive, turban, pillbox, helmet,[49] hairbouquet (*Löckenbukett*)—derives from nonhairdressing contexts and thus aptly conveys their artful construction. Although the mockery of Juvenal has vanished, a moralizing tone often slips into current discussion: adjectives like "flamboyant" and "frivolous" and nouns like "confection" and "concoction" hint that the women who wore these styles were slaves to their appearances and led shallow lives. Yet many of these portraits were made at a time of social conservatism, when the Flavian dynasty and then Trajan embraced a down-to-earth public image that consciously rejected the decadent lifestyles of the last Julio-Claudians. In addition, they were worn by im-

[41] Fittschen 1996, 44.

[42] Indeed, her seventh to eighth portrait types differ only in minor details. See Fittschen 1982, 55–62.

[43] This term finds an ancient analogy in *presso pollice*, a phrase used by Propertius (3.10.14) when exhorting his lover to press her thumb onto her hairlocks in order to style it.

[44] Bettina Bergmann and I have produced a video, "Does She or Doesn't She?" (1999) in which a contemporary hairstylist reconstructs Faustina the Elder's coiffure.

[45] For epigraphic testimonia regarding hairdressers, see Kampen 1981, 118–20. Wealthy women employed multiple hairdressers—the empress Livia is attested to have had five. Even the most complicated coiffure would not have taken a team of slaves more than an hour or so to execute.

[46] Artistry does seem to take precedence over realism, however, in the aspect of hairline. On this question see below, p. 15.

[47] Livia's clean, classical look distanced her from the excessively primped styles associated with the Hellenistic East. On Livia, see Bartman 1999; on the Agrippinas, see Wood 1988.

[48] "Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum aedificat caput" (Juv. 6.502). See also Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.113; Mart. 9.37.

[49] This term is also attested in Juv. 6.120 and Tert. *De cultu feminarum* 2.7.

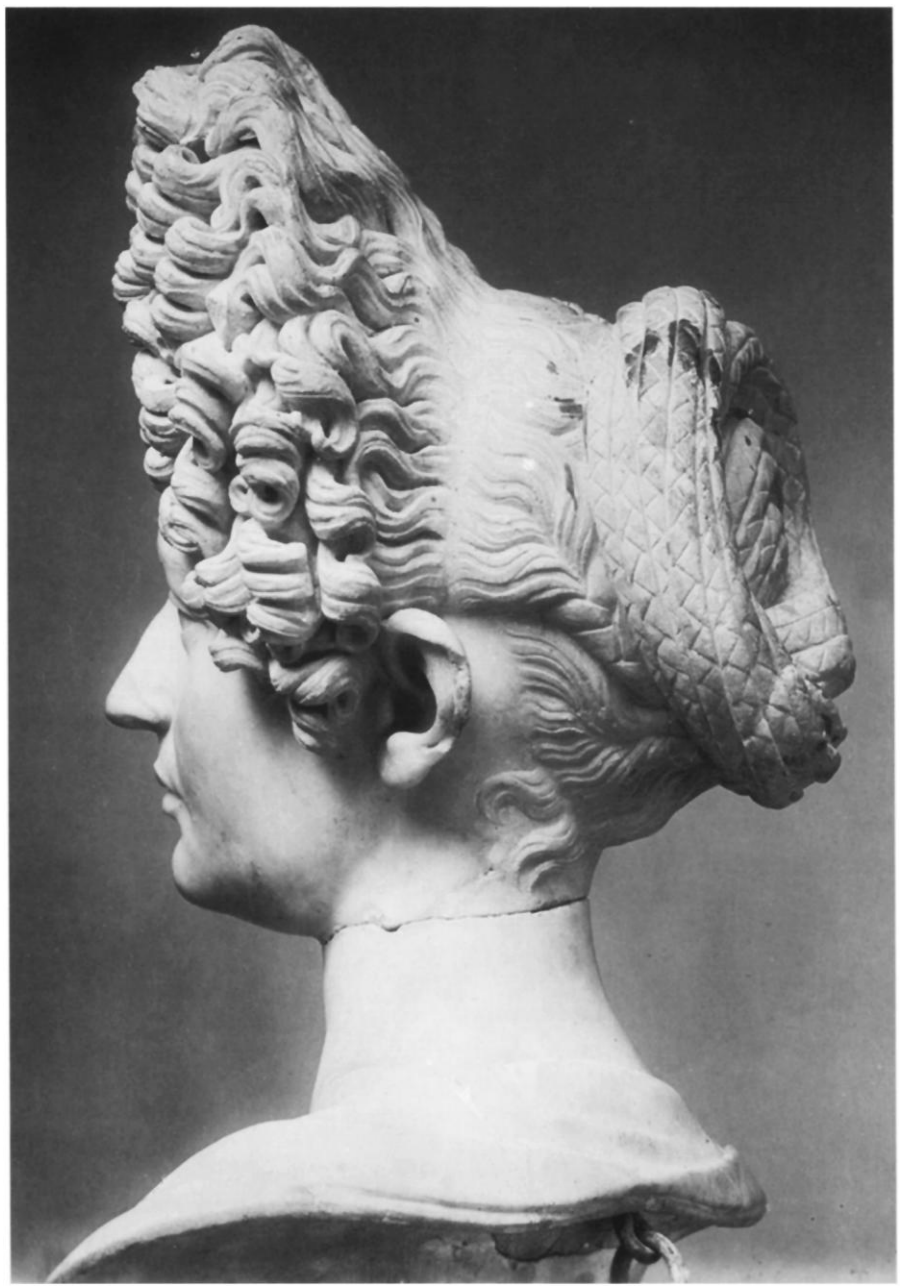


Fig. 6. Fonseca bust, Rome, Museo Capitolino 434, right profile. (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

perial wives, sisters, and daughters, whom we may presume to have been promoted as exempla of contemporary female appearance and behavior. Thus we should see the elaborate coiffures and the plain, sometimes grim faces below as features working in tandem to project a positive message of modesty and control.

The most striking visual feature of these coiffures is the high-arching forehead crown (I use the German *toupet*) that was composed of drilled pin curls during the Flavian era and of complex combinations of braids and curls at later times. In a meticulously carved head such as the Capitoline's famed Fonseca bust (fig. 6),[50] the sculptor details a part that divides the hair on the crown into two sections: in front the hair is combed forward into the prodigious coils of the toupet, and in back it is combed into braids that coil into a generous bun. Suspend-

[50] Museo Capitolino 434; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 53–4, no. 69, pls. 86–87.



Fig. 7. Bust of Matidia, London, The British Museum 1805.7-3.96, left profile. (E. Bartman)

ed over the face, the toupet might be a separate hairpiece made of curls glued or sewn to a backing; the discovery of a braid sewn to two pieces of leather in a woman's tomb in Gaul is tantalizing evidence of precisely this technique.[51] Another way to make the toupet was to pull the sitter's hair through the holes of a loosely woven fabric that had been stiffened with beeswax or resin to form a curved armature.[52] Whether using the sitter's own hair or not, a toupet of the height we see in many portraits had to be somehow secured on the head; a head of Trajan's niece Matidia in London (fig. 7) shows how this could be accomplished, as it preserves a tiny braid combed in such a way as to anchor the tiered toupet in front.[53] In an unusual case of cross-hairdressing, a male *camillus* on a Flavian relief of a sacrifice wears a beehive toupet;[54] because *camilli* typically had hair long enough either to compose or attach this feature, its appearance in this context does not answer the question of real or fictive any more conclusively than do the female portraits.

The head of a full-length draped statue in the Vatican (fig. 8)[55] dissembles about the status of the sitter's toupet by depicting hair combed up from the forehead before being worked into the tightly massed pin curls of the toupet.[56] It is difficult to know whether this peek-a-boo exposure is meant to suggest that the high-arching crescent of the toupet is an addition or that it is formed from the sitter's own, by necessity ample, locks; certainly the long silky strands of hair on the crown behind the toupet convey the impression of a richly endowed head. In many portraits the hairline at the forehead is more emphatically demarcated by a braidlike ribbon or band that forms the basis for the typically diverse elements stacked above.[57] Although its regular striations recall hair, the band does not appear to have been composed of real hair growing from the scalp. It looks, rather, as though it were an addition glued in place (recall the false eyebrows applied to the *Satyricon*'s Giton),[58] as a practical means of absorbing dyes and gums that were applied to the hair, thus preventing unsightly streaks from running down the face.

While Flavian coiffures could easily have been crafted from the sitter's own hair, those of later decades often seem to have required separate attachments.[59] The stiff, thin forms, unhairlike textures, and awkward perching on the head (especially vis-

[51] Audollent 1923, 284. For a modern analogy, see the 19th-century frisette pad (Stevens Cox 1984, fig. 126).

[52] Hair stylists today use cheesecloth or wire mesh to help shape hair on the head.

[53] British Museum GR 1805.7-3.96; Smith 1904, 158, no. 1898. A bust in Venice (Museo Archeologico 208; Traversari 1968, 51–2, no. 33, pl. 33a, b) shows a series of twisted locks that connect the beehive toupet to the scalp.

[54] Museo Gregoriano Profano 9481; Ryberg 1955, pl. 67, fig. 116b.

[55] Galleria dei Candelabri 2708; Amelung 1903–1908, 3.2:285–6, no. 20, pl. 129; Helbig^4, 541.

[56] For another example, see a veiled head in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (2762; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 56, no. 74, pl. 92), where a layer of long curly locks (natural or artificial?) is set several centimeters back from the sitter's natural hairline.

[57] Typical examples occur in the Flavian portraits discussed by Hausmann 1959, and the various women of Trajan's circle (see Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 7–10, nos. 6–8, pls. 7–10).

[58] *Sat.* 110.

[59] Cf. the empress Plotina's fanlike crown (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 8–9, no. 7, pl. 9) to Matidia and Marciana's styles (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 9–10, no. 8, pl. 10 [a posthumous Matidia]; Fittschen 1996, 45, figs. 3–6).

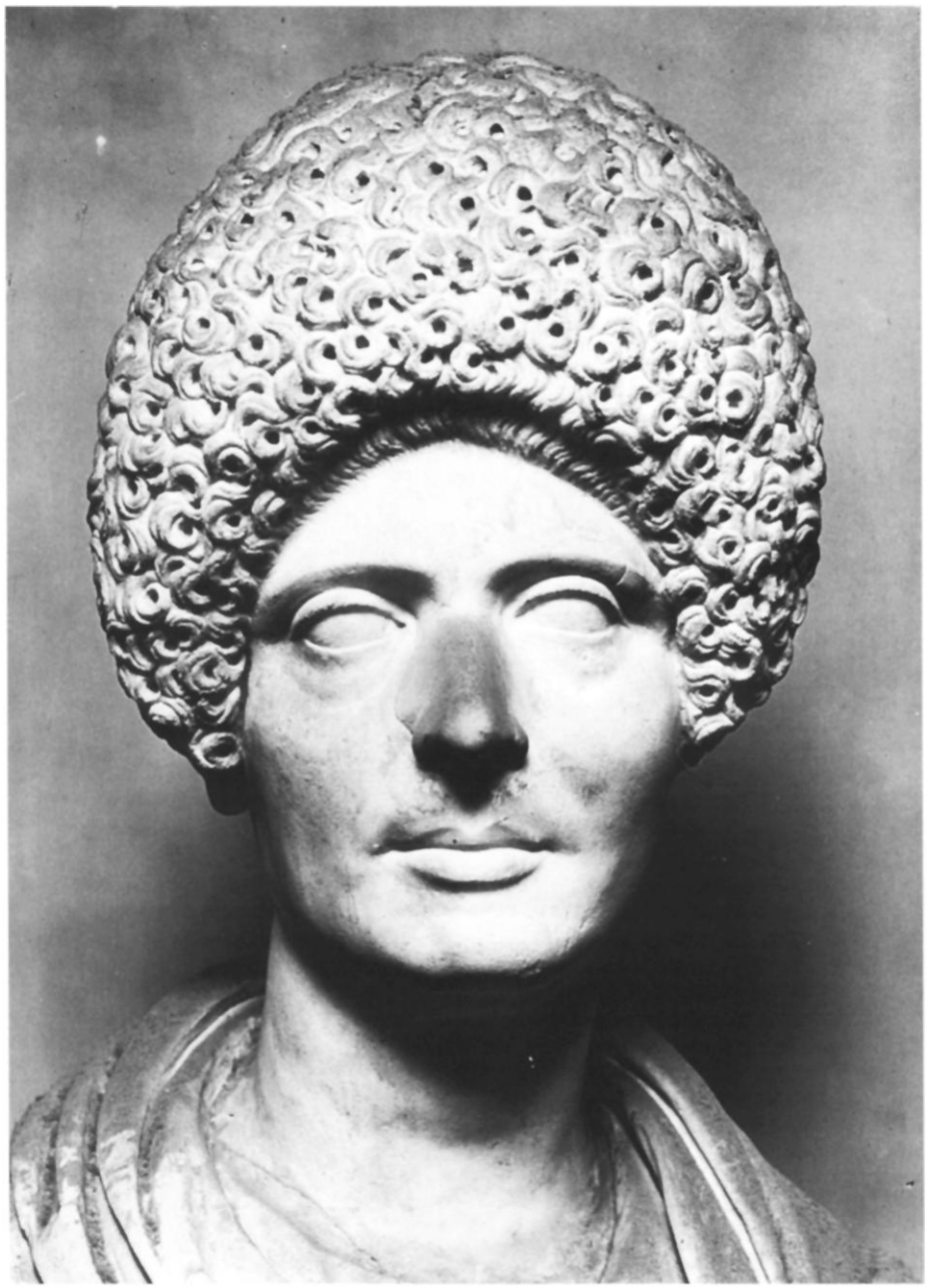


Fig. 8. Statue of a woman, Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri 2708, front. (Musei Vaticani)

ible in the profile view, as in fig. 7 and pl. 1)[60] suggest that the vertical components of these later stacked coiffures are hairpieces.[61] As before, what are (possibly) fictive additions are deliberately juxtaposed with the sitter's own hair. A bust in Copenhagen (fig. 9),[62] for example, wears a coiffure defined at the hairline by two glued bands; in the middle, however, emerges a jumble of pincurls whose texture and looseness makes a sharp contrast—are we to imagine a mélange of natural and artificial? Visually dynamic, these compositions leave the viewer impressed with the artful ingenu-

[60] Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 20.200; Richter 1948, no. 66.

[61] In some heads the coiffure's components are unnaturally flattened: so the ringlets of a head in London (The British Museum 2006; Walker 1995, pl. II) and Dresden (Albertinum ZV 3716; Knoll et al. 1993, 55, no. 30).

[62] Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1539; Poulsen 1974, 91–3, no. 72, pls.116–117.



Fig. 9. Bust of a woman, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1539, front. (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek)

ity of both sculptor and hairdresser. In the deliberate artificiality of this and other contemporary styles, female hairdressing recalls the preparation of food for the imperial banquet table. As the ancient sources tell us, Roman chefs found appreciative diners when they prepared food that completely masked its origins.[63]



Fig. 10. Head of a woman, Rome, Palazzo Corsini 642, back. (Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione)

LAYERS OF ARTIFICE

Long hair extending well below the shoulders was requisite for the elaborate coiffures recorded in second- and third-century C.E. female portraits. At least two secondary images, the Carthage relief already mentioned (fig. 2) and the well-known image of the seated woman from the Villa of the Mysteries frieze at Pompeii, show women with long locks reaching as low as the waist. When sectioned, their tresses could be formed into braids whose combined length was several meters, easily enough to surround the head in even the most lavish concentric arrangements. By applying henna, a temporary dye well known to the ancients, hair could be thickened and made more malleable.[64] Ungents, waxes, and curling irons all helped the transform a woman's natural endowment into the desired arrangement.[65]

[63] I thank Miranda Marvin for this observation. See Apicius 4.2.12 ("ad mensam nemo agnoscent quid manducet") and Petron. *Sat.*15.33 (eggs made of pastry dough), 15.36 (hare to which wings are attached to simulate Pegasus). For discussion of the broader issued raised by food, see Gowers 1993.

[64] Donat. 1.26.

[65] The curling iron (*calamistrum*) is attested in text (e.g., Plaut. *Curc.* 4.4.21), but its appearance is contested. Some scholars identify it as the wandlike rod seen in the stele of P. Ferrarius Hermes from Pisa (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi; Virgili et al. 1990, 87, no. 30), where it appears with other objects of female adornment such as a comb and mirror. (There are modern analogies in the 19th-century curling stick, illustrated in Stevens Cox 1984, fig. 232.) Others, on the basis of other modern analogies, identify metal tongs from Pompeii as the *calamistrum*; for archaeological finds, see Mannsperger 1998, 16–24; postantique tongs in Stevens Cox 1984, figs. 87, 120.



Fig. 11. Statue of Julia Domna, Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 1090, front. (Musée du Louvre)

Of course, only healthy hair could be worked into these fashions, because hair typically loses strength and abundance as it ages. (The point was not lost on Ovid, who advised supplemental hairpieces for older women or for those whose hair had thinned because of overzealous grooming.) In trying to assess Roman female hairdressing, then, we face a paradox: while most hairstyles depicted in marble portraits theoretically could have been fashioned from the sitter's own hair, we cannot be certain that they actually were. Roman portraitists generally refrained from revealing the mechanics of their sitters' hairdos; two exceptions are therefore worthy of mention. The bust of a Trajanic lady in the Palazzo Corsini in Rome (fig. 10) is unique in its sculpted representation of a hairpin,[66] even though Ro-

[66] Inv. 642; De Luca 1976, 65, no. 28, pls. 55–56. For pins in painted portraits, see Walker and Bierbrier 1997, 58, no. 33.

man female graves have yielded this accessory in impressive quantities, and they were essential for many hairstyles. The second exception, a second-century bronze of a woman in Princeton (pl. 2), depicts hair encased in a hairnet. In an extreme manifestation of the quest for mimetic realism, the bronze was cast with a real net.[67]

In view of the portraitist's reticence in this area, it is not surprising that the wearing of artificial hair, by which I mean human hair not belonging to the wearer, is rarely depicted. This may reflect the skilled deception of the ancient wig, but it also stems from the artistic process itself. In making a portrait the skilled artist imposes a unity of surface, material, and color that the sitter's hairstyle may not have possessed in real life; if all art is an illusion, then the sculpted renditions of coiffures constructed with artificial hair represent a doubled illusion.

Ample literary sources document women's (as well as men's) use of wigs and hairpieces, and the extensive vocabulary they employ suggests a wide range of options. *Capillamentum*, *corymbium*, *galerum*, and τρίχωμα are favorite, but by no means the only, terms attested.[68] Most wigs in antiquity were made of human hair and fashioned with a level of beauty and craftsmanship largely unobtainable today. (In modern times synthetic hair has replaced natural human hair in all but the most expensive wigs.) Although no Roman wigs have survived, evidence from pharaonic Egypt attests to the high quality of ancient hairpieces.[69] The blond hair of Germans and jet black of Indians was preferred for artificial attachments,[70] but it is unclear whether their desirability stemmed from their color or texture. While black Indian hair, documented in a late source, was no doubt obtained through trade, the blond hair of Germans was one of the spoils of war, at least in the early Imperial period. Both Ovid and Martial refer to "captured" hair (*captivos crines*), making an explicit link between the commodification of hair and Roman power.[71]

Notwithstanding its implications of Roman conquest, a blond braid interwoven into the dark tresses of a Mediterranean crown presumably announced the fictive nature of the coiffure rather emphatically.[72] This unabashed flaunting of artificial locks contrasts with the generally negative image of wig wearing conveyed by many of the literary sources. According to these texts, the wig-wearer (of both sexes) wore artificial locks to hide baldness and for disguise. But in some instances the context of the verbal testimony warns against too literal a reading, for Juvenal or Martial were satirists who enjoyed skewering the Roman *beau monde*, and Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria were Christian moralists opposed to all female adornment. Still, even neutral references such as Ovid's *crines empti* (purchased tresses) and Petronius's description of a lady's wig and false eyebrows in the *Satyricon*,[73] with their knowing hints of the role that artificial hair played in the grooming of elite Romans, underscore the popular connection between borrowed locks and deception.

Despite the negativism of the literary tradition, the wig is acknowledged in a number of female portraits dating to the early third century, suggesting that by that time it had acquired cachet. The wig's most influential patron was Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Septimius Severus (fig. 11).[74] Throughout a public career spanning nearly 20 years, Julia Domna wore a coiffure that encased her head with a thick mass of hair worked into undulating finger waves.[75] While not so explicitly rendered as that of a private woman in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome (fig. 12),[76] her hair can be recognized as a wig by its heavy, globular character, the

[67] The head is now in the Art Museum, Princeton University (80-10; Jenkins and Williams 1987).

[68] Reinach 1896 provides a full compilation. For other ancient sources on hairdressing, see Steininger 1912; Virgili et al. 1990, 55–8. Although dated, Evans 1906 has many useful observations.

[69] A wig made of linen tinted a chestnut color was among the 18th-century finds from the tomb of a Christian woman on the Via Ostiensis (Boldetti 1720, 297); its present whereabouts are unknown. A well-preserved wig of New Kingdom date from Thebes gives a sense of the enormous labor involved in making a top-quality hairpiece. Both its hanging braids and the mesh that fits, caplike, over the cranium are made of human hair, and each of the some 300 braids bundles together hundreds of individual hairs (Stevens Cox 1977). Wigs are also extensively documented at Deir el-Bahri (Laskowska-Kusztal 1978).

[70] Blonde hair: Ov. *Am.* 1.14.45–6; Mart. 5.68; Juv. 6.120 (confirmed by the find of a male skull with hair from Osterby; Jedding-Gesterling and Brustscher 1988, fig. 85); Indian hair: *Dig.* 39, 4.16.7 (there is no mention of the import of Indian hair earlier in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei.*)

[71] Ov., *Am.* 1.14.45–6; Mart. 14.26. See Bartman 1999, 39.

[72] Cf. the Renaissance woman who covers her brown hair with a curly blond wig (*balzo*) in a painting of ca. 1530 by Lorenzo Lotto (London, The National Gallery).

[73] Ov. *Ars Am.* 3.165; *Sat.* 110.

[74] Musée du Louvre Ma 1090; de Kersauson 1996, 370–1, no. 170.

[75] Schlüter 1977; Buchholz 1963; Nodelman 1964. See also Fittschen 1978.

[76] Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 564; Giuliano 1979– , 1.9 pt. 2, 342–4, no. R 260. K. Fittschen (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 106, n. 26) does not think that the wig belongs to the



Fig. 12. Head of a woman wearing a wig, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 564, front. (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

unnatural hairline, and stray hairs peeking out in front of the ears or along the hairline. Some of her portraits also have an emphatic line that demarcates the hair from the face, but because the feature is not universal, it should perhaps be interpreted as an artistic device for framing the face with shadow rather than as a literal depiction of the contours of a wig.[77] In several of Julia Domna's portraits, finally, her wig is carved separately, but as we will see, this technical detail is not in itself proof of her wig wearing in real life.

Because she was born the daughter of a high-ranking Syrian priest, Julia Domna's taste for wigs is sometimes attributed to her non-Roman origins. Early in this century, Paul Gauckler argued that the sculptural piecing found in the heads of several statues excavated in the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods in Rome was connected to religious rites practiced

head, but a comparable relationship between the sitter's natural hairline and wig occurs in the bust of a deceased woman depicted on an early third-century funerary relief in Frankfurt (Liebighaus 1502; Eckstein and Beck 1973, no. 74 pl. 74).

[77] This line is found in portraits of both men and women from a variety of periods. For typical examples, see the head of a Hadrianic man identified as Jason in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (Poulsen 1974, 87, no. 65, pls. 104–105); the head of a woman from Ostia (Giuliano 1957, 61, no. 70, pl. 43); and the head of a woman in Cincinnati (Cincinnati Art Museum 1946.5; Vermeule 1981, 344, no. 296, col. pl. 27).



Pl. 1. Head of Marciana, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund 20.200, oblique right. (Schecter Lee, Metropolitan Museum of Art)



Pl. 2. Bronze head of a woman, Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University 80-10, oblique right. (Bruce M. White, The Art Museum, Princeton University)

in Syria.[78] Yet while towering (and, in the case of a mosaic panel from Edessa,[79] even outlandish) headdresses are common among Eastern women, there is little clearcut evidence for artificial hairpieces. Among the hundreds of surviving grave reliefs from the prolific workshops of Palmyra, for example, none depicts a woman who is undeniably wearing a wig.[80] Indeed, Palmyrene women typically wore their hair waved in a simple center-part style that could easily have been achieved with their own locks;[81] jeweled diadems and turbans provided luxurious coverage and modesty in accordance with local social mores.[82]

Rather than wear a wig to convey her foreign status and exoticism, Julia Domna seems to have adopted it to project a familiar Roman guise. Specifically, she donned artificial hair to look like her predecessor, Faustina the Younger, whose last portrait types feature a simple, finger-waved style in which the hair forms a globular cover for the cranium.[83] Although Faustina's daughter Crispina was Julia Domna's immediate predecessor,[84] Faustina clearly outshone her daughter and successor in reputation and number of public portraits. The earlier empress, moreover, was consciously evoked by the Severans on at least one other occasion; Dio records that one of the omens accompanying Septimius's rise to power was a dream he had on the eve of his marriage to Julia.[85] In the dream Faustina prepares the nuptial chamber for Septimius and Julia, and thus sanctions the choice of Julia as empress; evoked continually in the emulative imagery of her Severan successor, Faustina remained an ongoing sanctioner.

Why Julia needed a wig to reproduce Faustina's coiffure is unclear; perhaps her own hair was too thin to be coiffed in this mode, or the wig was deemed necessary to underscore the connection. Her use of a wig to project a specific cultural identity is paralleled in a painted mummy portrait from Egypt that depicts the same woman on its two sides: on one she appears wearing a simple center-parted style popular in the East, and on the other, a



Fig. 13. Bust of a woman, London, British Museum 2009, oblique left. (British Museum)

fuller coiffure with a fringe of curls around the forehead.[86] As Susan Walker has pointed out, hair and dress function in the portrait as significant cultural markers, instantly recognizable but also easily mutable.[87] We may conclude from these examples that wig wearing was as much a matter of cultural choice as necessity, the female equivalent, we might say, of the male's growing a beard.

Within a generation after Julia, however, Roman female portrait sitters rejected the empress's blatant artifice for a seemingly more natural coiffure with long silky hair strands lying close to the skull. Portraits of the empress Plautilla, Caracalla's wife, exemplify this hairstyle.[88] But was it any less artificial? Many women wear coiffures that combine Plautilla's close-lying locks with masses of curls clustered on the neck or along the hairline (fig. 13

[78] Gauckler 1910, 378–408, esp. 393–404; Gauckler's thesis was refuted by Crawford (1917, 105) and is now discredited.

[79] The mosaic depicts the family of Moqimu (Kraus 1967, 295, no. 406).

[80] This is not to say that the women are not wearing wigs, only that they are not depicted. For recent surveys of the material, see Parlasca 1981; Tanabe 1986.

[81] As M. Colledge (1976, 143) writes, "For females the classical Grecian mode is almost universal: the hair is brushed back in waves from a central parting to a (hidden) knot at the back."

[82] Nor does Egypt appear to be a pressing source, despite Septimius's devotion to the Egyptian god Serapis.

[83] Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 22–3, nos. 21–22, pls. 29–31; Fittschen 1982, 63–5.

[84] Crispina wears a related hairstyle; see Fittschen 1982, 82–8.

[85] Dio Cass. 75.3.

[86] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.1112; Walker 1997, 2.

[87] Walker (1997) contrasts the two representational modes as Egyptian versus Roman, although the second coiffure with pendant curls is not typically found in metropolitan Rome.

[88] Nodelman 1982; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 30, no. 32, pl. 40. See also a bust in Ephesus (Selçuk Museum 1566; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 134–5, no. 163, pls. 95, 101.1).



Fig. 14. Head of a woman, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 825, front. (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek)

provides a fine example).[89] Contrasting texturally with the smoother hair of the crown, the curls would seem to be the sitter's own hair, pulled out from under the flipped-up wig that covers the crown. Although unwiglike in both texture and arrangement, the coiffure of the British Museum woman nonetheless seems to incorporate a wig. It demonstrates that a wig could be extremely thin and finely textured—it is mistaken to imagine that all ancient Roman wigs had the bulk of Julia Domna's or the dull, leaden appearance of wigs made today from synthetic materials. With thick curly tresses long enough to reach her shoulder and a hairline showing no recession, the sitter for the British Museum bust clearly had no physical need for artificial hair. Thus we conclude that she wore a wig by choice.

At first glance, another popular style in which the face is framed by short pincurls also seems to make use of a wig. In a representative example in Copenhagen (fig. 14),[90] the sitter wears a low-hanging coiffure composed of parallel finger waves and tightly wound pincurls running along the entire hairline. The waves and curls have different textures, but this is not de facto evidence for wig wearing, as the curls could simply be cut short and frizzed into ringlets.[91] In this and numerous related portraits, naturalistic features such as the growth of the hair from the forehead and the tucking of hair behind the ears strengthen the case for the use of the sitter's own hair.[92] Paradoxically, a private portrait known in several versions has thick, deeply drilled finger waves on the crown that look wiglike but behave so realistically, tucking up under the bun at the back, that they seem to belong to the sitter.[93] That most of the portrait subjects wearing these styles are youthful and presumably in possession of healthy locks lends further credence to the view that their hair has not been artificially enhanced.

A number of Severan private portraits make their wig wearing literal, by combining white marble heads with coiffures carved separately, often in a contrasting dark stone that enhances their mimetic effect. Is this a case of art imitating life, in which the sculptor enhances the realism in his depiction of a wig-wearing woman by carving her coiffure literally as a wig? The theory is attractive, especially as many of the portraits executed in this manner reproduce the coiffures and wigs worn by Julia Domna. Of the some 30 examples known,[94] more than half fall into this

[89] British Museum 2009 (Smith 1904, 190–1, no. 2009, pl. 18; Walker 1995, fig. 73). See also a head in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome (*EA* 2932).

[90] Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 825; Poulsen 1974, 146–8, no. 145, pls. 234–235 (Julia Paula?). For comparable examples, see Wood 1986, 52 (argues for wig wearing); Wiggers and Wegner 1971, 115–29, 153–76, 200–22.

[91] See also such contemporary heads as Capitoline 380 and Conservatori 1188 (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 108, no.161, pls. 187–188, 113–114, no. 171, pls. 200–201, respectively).

[92] In a superb-quality head in the Lateran (Giuliano 1957, 78, no. 96, pl. 57) hairs are combed both up and down from the hairline over the forehead.

[93] The two versions are in the Liverpool Museum (Ince 7; Fejfer and Southworth 1991, 41–4, no. 9, pls. 18–19) and Museo Capitolino (401; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 109–10, no. 163, pls. 190–191).

[94] The antiquity of some of the hairpieces carved in onyx and other colored stones is disputed. See the comments of S. Sande regarding a portrait of Julia Domna in Oslo (Sande 1991, 81–3, no. 67, pl. 66); and Fittschen 1989.

category; in addition, many of the "orphan" coiffures, hairpieces that have been separated from the rest of the portrait, have the empress's finger-waved hairstyle.)[95] Yet we have no evidence that the Romans conceived of the separate hairpiece in this way. Two different stones were a dramatic, and costly, way of attaining chromatic contrasts between hair and face (paint was another). Essentially, the techniques used for a "bewigged" portrait are no different from those employed in acrolithic stone statues, where the intent clearly was to suggest the sitter's own hair.[96]

From the earliest discussions of separately carved hairpieces, however, historians have advanced another explanation: that it was designed to be easily removed and replaced when the sitter desired to change her coiffure.[97] K. Fittschen has already refuted this "prospective" theory by noting that many portraits with separately carved hairpieces were funerary commissions and thus represent sitters who could hardly have had expectations of future portraits.[98] In addition, fitting an existing head with a new hairpiece was not the simple job it is sometimes implied to have been, for hair length, relationship of hair to ears, and shape and size of the bun differed from one coiffure to another and precluded a simple substitution of one wig for another. Thus the potential for change that modern observers see in detachable headpieces is not likely to have motivated either the female portrait sitter or her sculptor.

Even without solid empirical evidence, the explanation of the wig as a medium for updating has long found scholarly adherents because of its resonance with contemporary, essentializing assumptions about female behavior: that women are obsessed with their appearance and change their image to keep up with fashion. When men, in contrast, change their hairstyles, it is said to show allegiance to the emperor or express cultural values.[99] In ancient Rome, however, unlike today, changes in dress and hairstyle were not dictated each season by a powerful fashion industry. And one of the primary means by which the rapid change of hairdressing styles is allegedly demonstrated, charts in which numerous coiffures are neatly collated,[100] is misleading, for these charts show the variety of consecutive hairstyles worn by different women, not the multiple changes in appearance of a single individual.

Indeed, some (quite famous) Roman women virtually never changed their hairstyle: Livia's portraits depict her in the simple *nodus* style of the late Republic for the first three decades of empire, and Faustina the Younger's image shows only minor changes in the coiffure during the last 20 years of her career.[101] The recent dating of the Fonseca head to the late Trajanic or early Hadrianic period[102] also demonstrates the longevity of some popular styles—that a woman possessing the beauty and, presumably, wealth of the Fonseca sitter would be represented wearing a hairstyle some 30 years old strikes a major blow against the view that stylish women transformed their hairdos every few years. While female fashions indeed shifted over time, many women clung to old styles, using them in their portraits as generational markers or as expressions of cultural identity. Indeed, hairstyles were all the more important for identification because so many women's faces were idealized. By imagining that an old-fashioned hairstyle required updating, in fact, the modern historian perhaps endows hair with a greater importance than it actually may have had in the ancient image. Certainly it assumes that other features of the portrait, such as the face itself, the clothing worn by the subject, or the bust shape did not themselves change over time and run the risk of appearing outdated.[103]

This is not to say that the coiffures of female portraits were never reworked; in fact, there is scattered evidence for the recutting of hair. A head in Boston (fig. 15),[104] for example, wears a tiered toupet coiffure composed of flat bands whose arcing hairstrands terminate in a spiral curl at the center. At various places, especially along the hairline, the bands are pierced by irregularly spaced drill holes, vestiges of the head's prior "beehive" coiffure. C. Vermeule has identified the head as that of Trajan's niece Matidia, although the face does not

[95] Poulsen 1916; Crawford 1917; Schauenburg 1967; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 105–6; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, nos. 120, 130 (P. Davies).

[96] Cf. also the techniques of pieced bronzes. See Lattanzi 1987, 148; Menzel 1986, 73, nos. 170–171, pls. 84–85.

[97] Reinach 1896, 1453; Burns 1993; Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 164.

[98] Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 105.

[99] E.g., it is implied that men who adopt the emperor's hairstyle do so to advance their careers. See also R. Smith 1998, 15.

[100] Typically the coiffures are rendered as line drawings, e.g., Furnée van Zwet 1956, fig. p. 2; Wegner 1938, figs. 3–4; Wessel 1946–1947, figs. 1–6.

[101] Cf. her portrait types 7, 8, and 9 (in Fittschen's 1982 scheme).

[102] Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 53–4.

[103] It should be noted, however, that at least one famous portrait subject, Julia Domna, combined a young face with "later" hair.

[104] Museum of Fine Arts 1988.327; Herrmann 1991.



Fig. 15. Head of a woman, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1988.327, front. (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

closely resemble her other portraits (nor is there evidence that Matidia ever wore the beehive hairstyle).[105] Whoever she is, this sitter of late Flavian date may have modernized her coiffure to keep current with changing fashions. But that is not the only scenario we might envision. It is also possible that the head was a stock Flavian workshop piece whose beehive coiffure had been carved but whose face was left roughed out. (The procedure is attested for portraits on sarcophagi.) Not finding a buyer when the hairstyle was in vogue, the head would have required recutting when it was eventually purchased.[106]

Remodeling to update the coiffure is also said to have occurred in two late Antonine portraits known colloquially as the Ludwig Curtius and Frank Brown

[105] Vermeule 1989. Matidia's portrait history probably did not begin until Trajan's reign and continued into Hadrian's, when her daughter Sabina married the emperor. See Wegner 1956, 80–3.

[106] A Trajanic bust in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Rogers Fund 14.130.7; Richter 1948, no. 63) seems also to have been recut. Its toupet, now missing, was attached to the crown by dowels; although there may be a technical explanation for the attachment (e.g., the discovery of a flaw in the marble), it is possible that this section of the coiffure was changed. For separately attached beehive toupets, see Calza 1964, 109–10, nos. 191–192, pl. 106.



Fig. 16. Head of Julia Mamaea, Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3552, left profile. (Musée du Louvre)

heads.[107] In both, the sitter's straight hair clings closely to the head, projecting beyond the cranium so minimally that one can easily imagine it to be the result of drastic recutting that reduced a once greater mass. In the Brown head, deep grooves located behind the ears that angle against the present movement of the hair also point toward recutting; there is no clue as to when and why it occurred. Another technical feature of the Curtius and Brown heads, however, casts doubt on the standard interpretation of the coiffures as updated. As in a number of Severan-date portraits, the Brown and Curtius heads have sections of hair near the ears carved as separate marble attachments.[108] The Louvre's Julia Mamaea (fig. 16)[109] makes an instructive comparison. Today large, roughly triangular cavities gape behind both ears. With their surfaces picked and upper edges smoothed, the cavities clearly have

[107] Curtius head: ex Bertelé collection, Rome; now Lewis Dubroff Collection, New York (on loan, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York L1994.87; Curtius 1957; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 341–3, no. 342, pl. 250); Frank Brown head: now a private collection, New York; R. Brilliant (1975) identifies the sitter as Manlia Scantilla.

[108] Occasionally stucco was used instead of marble. See a head in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (790; Poulsen 1974, 116, no. 109, pl. 183); two heads in the Museo Capitolino, 182 and 661 (respectively, Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 94–5, no. 137, pl. 163; 95, no. 138, pl. 164), and a bust in the Museo Profano Lateranense 586 (Giuliano 1957, 65–6, no. 76, pl. 46). The Curtius head also has its upper crown and hair bun carved separately.

[109] Musée du Louvre 3552; de Kersauson 1996, 424–5, no. 196.

been worked to accommodate two separate (but matching) attachments of hair.[110] It is hard to make a case for updating, as Mamaea's current hairstyle follows close on the heavy wig worn by Julia Domna; to recut a Severan style characterized by broad and low-hanging hair into what is now found on the Louvre head would have required interventions so substantial that we would expect to see some trace.[111]

Did piecing represent a repair? To be sure, the zone behind the ear of typical third-century female portraits was especially prone to breakage because the hair here flipped up and was carved away from the neck. Fittschen has attributed at least one instance of piecing to the repair of broken Venus-like shoulder locks.[112] That we see the same piecing technique in portraits of short-haired men, where there is no hair to break,[113] casts doubt on this all-encompassing explanation. At present all that can be concluded is that piecing was an expedient way to apply projecting features such as hair or ears, either when the sculpture was first carved or later recut. Recutting could occur for various motives, including a complete transformation of the sitter's identity.[114]

Even the briefest survey of Roman portraiture demonstrates the wide range, or more precisely, the broad interpretation of the prevailing style of woman's coiffures in a particular period. The stacked coiffures popular in the early second century C.E., for example, share a similar overall shape but vary markedly in the components such as braids, coils, or waves used to build that shape.[115] Individualized in such a way, the coiffure may be likened to the face itself rather than to the stereotypical body type.[116] It follows that it also must have played an important role in a woman's personal identity: although there are exceptions, women seem to have avoided looking just like their neighbors.

By showing how the hairstyles depicted in Roman portraits can actually be made with human hair, I have argued that sculpture reproduces real life. There remains a powerful exception to this practice, however, in the long tresses hanging onto the shoulders, the "shoulder locks" that are found in female portraits from many periods (e.g., fig. 11). An attribute of Venus, shoulder locks are worn by Roman women to evoke the goddess and the qualities connected with her: beauty, sexuality, and fertility.[117] As divine signifiers they are no different in their associative role from nudity or the gesture of the hand covering the pubis, yet in their juxtaposition with patently historical features such as the face and its coiffure, they collapse the boundaries between real and fictive. Their presence makes clear that Romans were accustomed to seeing "through" multiple levels of visual reality.[118] They are powerful reminders that, notwithstanding their physiognomic realism, Roman portraits were ideological statements about social status, gender, and cultural values.

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Bartman, E. 1999. *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial*

[110] Another portrait of Julia Mamaea in the Capitoline (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 33, no. 35, pl. 44) gives an idea of what the hair originally looked like; note that the head shows breakage in precisely the same place as the Louvre statue.

[111] The subject's ears, previously covered by hair, would need to be carved, as would the flip of hair that was worked up into a bun.

[112] Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 95, no.138, pls. 164–165.

[113] The portraits are the colossal heads of Alexander Severus and Gordion found together in Ostia (now Museo Nazionale Romano 329 and 326; Giuliano 1979– , 1.9 pt. 2, 360–2, no. R273; 1979 1.1, 310–2, no. 186, respectively). See also Calza 1977, 65–8, nos. 82, 84, pls. 60, 62. Piecing occurs here not in the coiffure, but in the ears projecting from the head.

[114] There are ample parallels for a portrait's complete change of identity. For this period, see Goette 1986; for late first- and early second-century reworkings, see Bergmann and Zanker 1981.

[115] Even so, similar a decoration as the "chainmail" worn by two late first-century women from opposite ends of the empire actually differs in details like the tightness of the curls and the width of the intertwined bands. One portrait, now in Florence, comes from Italy, while the other, now in Lisbon, comes from a Roman villa at Milreu in Portugal. Both are discussed in Fittschen 1993.

[116] Favorite body types included the draped so-called Large Herculaneum Woman (see Bieber 1962; Trimble 1999) and nude Venus Pudica (see D'Ambra 1996).

[117] Typical examples include the Museo Capitolino's statuary couple in the guise of Venus and Mars (652; Helbig[4], 1394) and other images included in Wrede 1981, 306–22.

[118] Cf. the viewer's experience of second style wall painting, with its obvious architectural fictions.

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CHILD-EXPOSURE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE*

By W. V. HARRIS

for Andrea Giardina

The exposure of infants,[1] very often but by no means always resulting in death, was widespread in many parts of the Roman Empire. This treatment was inflicted on large numbers of children whose physical viability and legitimacy were not in doubt. It was much the commonest, though not the only, way in which infants were killed, and in many, perhaps most, regions it was a familiar phenomenon. While there was some disapproval of child-exposure, it was widely accepted as unavoidable. Some, especially Stoics, disagreed, as did contemporary Judaism, insisting that all infants, or at least all viable and legitimate infants, should be kept alive. Exposure served to limit the size of families, but also to transfer potential labour from freedom to slavery (or at any rate to *de facto* slavery). Disapproval of exposure seems slowly to have gained ground. Then, after the sale of infants was authorized by Constantine in A.D. 313, the need for child-exposure somewhat diminished, and at last — probably in 374 — it was subjected to legal prohibition. But of course it did not cease.

The abandonment of infants in antiquity has been the subject of scholarly discussion for several centuries.[2] It has become an obligatory topic in the literature that has grown out of contemporary interest in the history of the Roman family and in the experience of Roman women. Particular aspects of it have in recent times been the subjects of expert discussion.[3] But there is much more to say.

First of all (below, I): while very few scholars bluntly deny that child-exposure was widely practised in the high Roman Empire (the evidence is, after all, nearly overwhelming),[4] some have expressed doubts,[5] and others suppose that while many infants were exposed not many of the victims died.[6] There are other fundamental questions about child-exposure which Roman historians have not discussed in much detail. The reasons why people exposed infant children (below, II) deserve a more careful examination than they seem to have received in the

* I warmly thank Professor G. B. Parigi (Pavia), who gave me information about the incidence of birth defects, Professor C. P. Jones (Harvard), who told me about Gazelle-boy (n. 65), and Dr T. G. Parkin (Wellington), who generously gave me permission, not eventually used, to adapt a figure from his book *Demography and Roman Society*.

[1] J. Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers* (1988), 25, preferring the term 'abandonment', objects to 'exposure' on the grounds that it 'conveys a sense of risk or harm' which is in his view absent from the terms ἔκθεσις and *expositio*. But innumerable texts that associate exposure with dreadful deaths or with slavery make it obvious that the Greek and Latin terms have very unpleasant connotations.

[2] Of the early literature L. Armaroli, *Ricerche storiche sulla esposizione degl'infanti presso gli antichi popoli e specialmente presso i Romani* (Venice, 1838), is particularly impressive. Among numerous later works note G. Glotz, in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *expositio* (1892), 930–9 (G. Humbert on Rome, 939), with the essay in his *Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque* (1906), 187–227. The most useful discussion of the subject in general is E. Eyben, 'Family planning in Graeco-Roman antiquity', *Ancient Society* 11–12 (1980–1981), 5–82; see also P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C.–A.D.14* (1971), 148–54. On exposure in the Greek world prior to the Romans see especi➡ A. Cameron, 'The exposure of children and Greek ethics', *CR* 46 (1932), 105–14, R. Tolles, *Untersuchungen zur Kindesaussetzung bei den Griechen* (1941).

[3] S. B. Pomeroy, 'Copronyms and the exposure of infants in Egypt', in *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller* (1986), 147–62, F. Kudlien, 'Kindesaussetzung im antiken Roman: ein Thema zwischen Fiktionalität und Lebenswirklichkeit', in *Groningen Colloquia on the Ancient Novel* II (1989), 25–44, A. Huys, 'ἔκθεσις and ἀπόθεσις:the terminology of infant exposure in Greek antiquity', *AC* 58 (1989), 190–7, M. Memmer, 'Ad servitutem aut ad lupanar ...', *ZSS* 108 (1991), 21–93.

➡ D. Engels ('The problem of female infanticide in the Greco-Roman world', *CPh* 75 (1980), 112- ➡ 'The use of historical demography in ancient history', *CQ* 34 (1984), 386–93) ignores almost all this evidence (for his demographic theory, see below, p. 18). Doubt is more legitimate about the extent of child-exposure in Greece before 400 B.C.: see, for example, L. Gallo, 'Un problema di demografia greca: la donna tra la nascita e la morte', *Opus* 3 (1984), 37–62.

[5] M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* II[2] (1975), 204, says orientalistically that exposure was seldom practised at Rome but was widespread in 'the East'. M. Golden writes that there can be 'reasonable doubt' that child-exposure was extensive (in the ancient world in general) ('Did the ancients care when their children died?', *G&R* 35 (1988), at 158). Kudlien's account (see n. 3) is balanced but seems quite doubtful (27). T. G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (1992), 97, concludes vaguely that 'the evidence does not allow us to generalize on this practice [it is not clear whether he means exposure or infanticide] as a social phenomenon'. M. Schmidt has maintained, contrary to a widespread view, that many handicapped infants were allowed to live, and this may be right ('Hephaistos lebt — Untersuchungen zur Frage der Behandlung behinderter Kinder in der Antike', *Hephaistos* 5–6 (1983–1984), 133–61).

[6] R. Motomura, 'The practice of exposing infants and its effects on the development of slavery in the ancient world', in T. Yuge and M. Doi (eds), *Forms of Control and Subordination in Antiquity* (1988), 410–15; Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 42, 128–31.

past. The emotional history of the subject also requires attention (III): did those responsible feel much anguish, or much shame? Who, more generally, approved and disapproved, and on what grounds? Further questions arise because widespread child-exposure was part of a demographic system (IV) and part of an economic system (V). As to how the abandonment of infants fits into the demographic regime of the Roman Empire, if it does, the question has been debated and some further clarifications are needed. This is all the more necessary now that J. M. Riddle has put forward powerful arguments in favour of the effectiveness of the oral contraceptives and abortifacients known in Roman antiquity,[7] thereby invalidating (so it seems) received opinions about the ability of the Romans to control their own fertility. The economic role of exposure derived primarily from the fact that many foundlings became slaves, and it was suggested in an earlier paper that under the Roman Empire they became a major source of slaves.[8]

Above all, the phenomenon of child-exposure should be historicized (VI). It has often been treated as if it had been the same everywhere and always in antiquity. Its early history at Rome cannot be traced, but attitudes undoubtedly altered from one period to another. In particular we shall investigate the growth of opposition to child-exposure. Was this merely a side-effect of the conquests made by Christianity, or were there other factors too?

The subject must also be seen against the background of child-abandonment in other cultures. The history of child-abandonment in Europe since the late Middle Ages has been studied with particular care, and will be invoked from time to time.[9] It is true that the diffusion of the foundling hospital, starting in the thirteenth century, produced a considerable change in the fate of abandoned infants.[10] Yet there are many similarities, and some of those who have written about infants who were abandoned in, for example, eighteenth-century Italy have succeeded in capturing the painful dilemmas that parents often experienced.[11] In antiquity the reality of child-exposure was even more stark, notwithstanding the recognition scenes and happy endings which punctuate the ancient literature on the subject.

Even the most detached historian may find it hard to investigate ancient child-exposure without revulsion.[12] Yet it is important not to issue moral condemnations unthinkingly; instead we should take notice of the dilemmas that ancient parents faced when it seemed necessary to expose an infant child. By all means let us recognize ancient harshness, and patterns of action and thought which to modern morality (not lacking in its own forms of cruelty and heartlessness) are exsecrable. But in very many cases exposure was the consequence of a hard imperative.

An anthropologist expert on the subject of infanticide has argued that it must be viewed as merely one type of killing of the young. Abortion can be seen as another, and the killing of one's children beyond the first year of life as a third.[13] But neither of these practices will be mentioned much in this paper. Abortion seems to have been fairly widely practised under the Roman Empire, but the subject has been dealt with by others. The killing and even the abandonment of children after they had been accepted into a family seems to have been a horrific event in the Graeco-Roman world, and the readiness of many ancient parents to expose their not-yet-accepted infant children contrasts with their protectiveness towards children once they had passed that stage.[14] The fictional law of Romulus on the subject of

[7] J. M. Riddle, *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance* (1992).

[8] 'Towards a study of the Roman slave trade', *MAAR* 36 (1980), 123–4 (cf. P. Veyne, 'La famille et l'amour sous le Haut-empire romain', *Annales ESC* 33 (1978), 46); with respect to Egypt: I. Biezuńska-Malowist, 'Die Expositio von Kindern als Quelle der Sklavenbeschaffung im griechisch-römischen Aegypten', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1971), 2, 129–33, *L'Esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine* II (1977), 22–6.

[9] Recent work: *Enfance abandonnée et société en Europe, XIVe–XXe siècle. Actes du colloque ... 1987* (1991); D. I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control* (1993).

[10] Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 431.

[11] G. Cappelletto, 'Infanzia abbandonata e ruoli di mediazione sociale nella Verona del Settecento', *Quaderni Storici* 18 [53] (1983), 421–43, and F. Doriguzzi, 'I messaggi dell'abbandono: bambini esposti a Torino nel '700', ibid., 445–68.

[12] Cameron, however, op. cit. (n. 2), 105, wrote that 'the cruelty involved in infanticide even by exposure is very slight'.

[13] M. Dickemann, 'Concepts and classification in the study of human infanticide', in G. Hausfater and S. B. Hrdy, *Infanticide: Comparative and Evolutionary Perspectives* (1984), at 428.

[14] For a balanced view of Roman attitudes towards children, at least in one region, see P. Garnsey, 'Child rearing in ancient Italy', in D. I. Kertzer and R. P. Saller (eds), *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present* (1991), 48–65, who warns (49) against the pervasive assumption that all pre-modern societies shared callous attitudes towards children. As to when childhood was 'discovered' by the Romans (cf. M. Manson, 'The emergence of the small child in Rome', *History of Education* 12 (1983), 149–59), there is still much to be said.

child-exposure seems to assume that parents will sometimes kill children under three years of age whom they have accepted, but it forbids the killing of physically normal children below that age; the point of this age stipulation was probably to make the parents wait until an age when they were practically certain to have become too attached to the child to kill or expose it.[15] Though the man with *patria potestas* had the right to kill those who were subject to his power, nothing at all suggests that this right was applied to children beyond their first infancy except in isolated cases.[16] On the other hand children may die from neglect as well as from violence, and given the higher value that was ascribed to boys it is likely that some female children suffered the fatal results of neglect.

A very different article could be written about child-exposure in antiquity as a mental construct and as the subject of discourse of various kinds. What was said on the subject no doubt sent a number of different messages, which it would be eminently worthwhile to analyse. What follows, however, is an essay in social history, which attempts to take full account of the difficulties inherent in the sources.

I. HOW COMMON WAS CHILD-EXPOSURE, AND HOW OFTEN WAS IT FATAL?

A historian wishes to see these questions of degree answered, even though the answers will never be at all precise. In particular, it makes no sense to write about the causes of child-exposure or to deny that it was often the consequence of poverty, while professing unconcern about whether exposure was widely practised (if it was widespread, poverty can scarcely fail to have been an important cause).[17]

The evidence about Roman child-exposure can never be translated into numerical form. But there are limits: no one supposes that exposure was unknown, nor, on the other hand, that it was as common as in some other societies, where levels of infanticide as high as 50 per cent of live births have been reported.[18] One might think that exposing 1 per cent of new-born infants is not remarkable, but that 5 per cent is already widespread child-exposure. However such lines are necessarily rather arbitrary.

The many mythical and fictional tales about infants who were abandoned but more or less miraculously survived which circulated in the Roman world are not going to help us with this question. They suggest a variety of conclusions about the modalities of child-exposure and about its causes and effects, but as to how much exposure took place they lead to no definite result. When infants are exposed in Greek romances, it is tempting to conclude that this was seen as a commonplace occurrence — while we naturally doubt that in real life the end of the story can, except very rarely, have been a happy one. The theme extended back to Middle Comedy,[19] and eventually became hackneyed (though still very acceptable). The attractions for the story-teller were magnetic: pathos and suspense, followed by recognition and contentment.[20] Rather as murder, though it is ubiquitous in some modern genres of writing, is demographically trivial and, in civilized countries, an event remote from the experience of the literary classes, so it is conceivable that Greek and Latin imaginative literature gives an exaggerated impression of the incidence of child-exposure.[21]

But the need for caution in reading the sources goes further. When infants were exposed, it seems normally to have been work for women or slaves.[22] The action often caused parents deep regret. No one had anything to be proud of afterwards. Even among those who saved the lives of abandoned infants, most were interested in exploitation more than in rescue, and most

[15] Dion.Hal. II.15.2, as interpreted by M. Delcourt, *Stérilités mystérieuses et naissances maléfiques dans l'antiquité classique* (1938), 50.

[16] W. V. Harris, 'The Roman father's power of life and death', in *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller* (1986), 81–95.

[17] Hence some disagreement with C. Patterson, '"Not worth the rearing": the causes of infant exposure in ancient Greece', *TAPhA* 115 (1985), 104, who rightly observes that there were 'complex social, economic and psychological variables', — also, one might add, legal, religious, and medical ones. Cf. Dickemann, op. cit. (n. 13), 433–4, for a reasonable warning against being preoccupied with numerical aspects of the problem.

[18] M. Dickeman, 'Demographic consequences of infanticide in man', *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 6 (1975), 130.

[19] Gilbert Murray listed the evidence from comedy, 'Ritual elements in the New Comedy', *CQ* 37 (1943), 46–54.

[20] cf. Kudlien, op. cit. (n. 3), 28.

[21] cf. A. Bresson, 'Démographie grecque antique et modèles statistiques', *Revue, informatique et statistique dans les sciences humaines* 21 (1985), at 15.

[22] Glotz, op. cit. (n. 2), 932.

of the rescued children inconspicuously joined the population of slaves. Furthermore, it was to a great extent the poor who exposed healthy and legitimate infants. What happened in towns was better known than what happened in the countryside. In these circumstances few writers are likely to have had much well-founded information about the abandonment of children in their own communities, let alone in the Empire as a whole.

On the other hand many Roman writers assumed that they knew what was going on. The abandonment of infants is a practice familiar to all sorts of ancient authors, and men in public life could gain information on the subject, as Pliny the Younger did, from having to deal with the legal problems it created.[23] Many Roman parents must have given thought during pregnancy to the possibility of birth defects, and to what would be done to a defective infant (under the Principate some were killed, not all by exposure, some were not). Admittedly, even a physician such as Soranus passes *pudiquement*, as the recent Budé editors say, over what will be done with a new-born infant who is not considered 'suitable' for rearing.[24] At all events, most of our information comes from authors who are, whatever else can be said about them, serious and intelligent people.

The extent to which infants had been exposed in the classical Greek city is a controversy we need not attempt to settle. For most places we have no information at all. Some recent writers have tended to minimize the phenomenon, taking the recommendation of Plato that the children of the inferior kind of guardians should be exposed (this must be the meaning of *Rep.* v.460c) to be counter to current Greek practice;[25] but the debate is probably not over, and *Theaetet.* 151c takes exposure entirely for granted. Aristotle seems to imply (though there is a measure of uncertainty about the text) that the customs of some Greek cities forbade exposure if it was done on demographic or economic grounds,[26] which in turn strongly suggests that in other places such a thing was acceptable. In cataloguing the horrendous crimes practised in some other cities, Isocrates includes ἐκβολαὶ of infants (*Panath.* 122), which tells us nothing about the other cities but shows that such actions were at least to some extent disapproved of at Athens. For Theopompus it was a remarkable fact that the Etruscans reared all their children, and Aristotle saw it as a distinctive characteristic of the Jews.[27] The truth of these observations is for present purposes unimportant: what matters is what they reveal about Greek expectations. By the late fourth century, if not earlier, child-exposure was commonplace at Athens. According to a notorious couplet of the comic dramatist Poseidippus[28]

> υἱὸν τρέφει πᾶς κἂν πένης τις ὢν τύχῃ,
> θυγατέρα δ' ἐκτίθησι κἂν ᾖ πλούσιος.
>
> Everyone, even if he is poor, rears a son,
> But exposes a daughter, even if he is rich.

Scholars have sometimes tried to dismiss these lines, which have reached us entirely without context, but a comic exaggeration rests on a degree of perceived reality — perceived in this case by the audience as well as the poet.[29] When a character in the *Satyricon* says about Croton that 'in this city nobody brings up children',[30] the perceived reality is not only *captatio* (the immediate point of the witticism being that those who wished to be courted rejected their own children), but also that in the author's world parents often did expose infant children — possibly for quite other motives.

[23] Plin., *Ep.* x.65–6, 72.

[24] Soranus, ed. P. Burguière, D. Gourévitch and Y. Malinas, II (1990), p. 85. This reticence was apparently a Greek tradition: cf. Plato, *Rep.* v.460c, Delcourt, op. cit. (n. 15), 66 n. 1.

[25] Patterson, op. cit. (n. 17), Gallo, op. cit. (n. 4), 40–1 (referring to Athens).

[26] Pol. VII.16.1335^{b} 19–26, with the text and interpretation proposed by G. Viljoen, 'Plato and Aristotle on the exposure of infants at Athens', *Acta Classica* 2 (1959), 66–8 (a doxography would be irrelevant, but note that Ross's text and J. Aubonnet's translation (1986) are not to accepted). See also Cameron, op. cit. (n. 2), 109.

[27] Theopomp., *FGrH* 115 F204, Aristotle, *Zoika* fr. 283 Rose.

[28] Fr. 11 Kock = 12 Kassel-Austin, cf. Ter., *Heaut.* 626.

[29] Patterson, op. cit. (n. 17), 119–21, says that this text is 'urban', which seems a simplification and is not very relevant. Gallo, op. cit. (n. 4), 52, ignores its significance for the fourth century, relegating it to his Hellenistic section; but it is not very likely that exposure had very recently become common at Athens when Poseidippus wrote these lines at some date in the decades around 300. See further Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 17.

[30] Petr., *Sat.* 116.7–8. For a somewhat similar exaggeration, cf. Sen., *Contr.* x.4.10 end ('omnes omnibus ...').

In the era after Alexander, however, child-exposure was undoubtedly commonplace in many Greek communities. Even those who argue against the importance of this practice in earlier Greece usually accept this,[31] and the main point of disagreement has been whether girls were exposed considerably more often than boys.[32] This is hard to demonstrate but seems likely.

Concerning child-exposure in republican Rome the evidence is very limited. The Twelve Tables were said to have ordered that a conspicuously deformed child should quickly be killed or 'removed' (the text is uncertain).[33] The *paterfamilias* was permitted to expose any infant born in his family. A society whose foundation myth had as an integral element the exposure of Romulus and Remus perhaps took a certain amount of child-exposure for granted; but not much of a conclusion can be drawn from this, for at least by the late Republic some Romans probably regarded the exposure of the twin brothers as an act which was *ferus* as well as archaic.[34] In any case the twins were supposed to have been the cause of intense shame, being the children of the Vestal Rhea Silvia, and furthermore there may have subsisted something of the archaic sense that twins were inherently ill-omened.[35]

The texts of the Latin comic dramatists that refer to the abandonment of children, such as the well-known narrative in the *Heautontimoroumenos*, are to be taken as legacies from New Comedy which say very little about Roman practice.[36] Appian, however, clearly implies (*BC* I.10.40) that one source of the suffering of the poor in the years before 133 B.C. had been their inability to bring up their children, and he was certainly thinking of exposure. This could merely be a Greek conjecture, or it could reflect the Italian reality of the second century B.C.

The most important piece of evidence concerning the republican period is probably Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description (II.15.2) of the law about children that he attributes to Romulus, a law never even alluded to by any other writer.[37] It supposedly required the citizens to bring up all their male children and the first-born female child, and not to kill any children under the age of three except those that were deformed. This text is without value as evidence about archaic Rome (unfortunately this still needs saying).[38] Not only that, but Dionysius' account is also in some respects suspiciously Greek. Was it really possible to limit *patria potestas* in this way? And the committee of five neighbours who were supposed to approve the verdict that the child was deformed seems not at all Roman.[39] Nevertheless Dionysius' account probably did have some Roman thinking behind it. The Royal Laws were inventions which were intended to express *prisci mores*, and they were no doubt based on a more or less clear social agenda. This one was probably an expression of late-republican Roman anxiety about the prevalence of exposure,[40] arising from concern about the fertility of the citizen body. In any case it is reasonable to infer that the Romans of the late Republic did not rear all their healthy male infants, or all their first-born female infants, and that the abandonment of other female infants was fairly common and not heavily censured.

But the late-republican evidence is thin. Cicero occasionally alludes to the picking-up (*suscipere*, *tollere*) of the new-born child as a deliberate act which may or may not take place,[41] and everyone knew that sometimes infants were rejected. Some were exposed but survived, and one of the *grammatici* celebrated by Suetonius was born free at Spoletium towards the very end of the Republic, exposed 'because of *discordia* between his parents', and rescued for

[31] e.g. Gallo, op. cit. (n. 4), 52–4.

[32] For: Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 17, S. B. Pomeroy, 'Infanticide in Hellenistic Greece', in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (eds), *Images of Women in Antiquity* (1983), 207–22; against: Gallo, op. cit. (n. 4), 37–62.

[33] Cic., *De leg.* III.8.19, where the MSS read *legatus*, which has been emended to *necatus* (Puteanus, followed by Ziegler) and *delatus* (Delcourt, op. cit. (n. 15), 51). Cicero's reference is incidental and he may not have been quoting verbatim.

[34] cf. Sen., *Contr.* IX.3.11 — which is not to say that such an act of exposure would have been unusual.

[35] For the archaic principle of exposing twins see Sen., *Contr.* IX.3, Delcourt, op. cit. (n. 15), 103–4, S. Scrimshaw, 'Infanticide in human populations: societal and individual concerns', in Hausfater and Hrdy, op. cit. (n. 13), 446, etc. The explanation of the name Vopiscus given by Plin., *NH* VII.47 may suggest that it had once been common to kill one of a pair of twins.

[36] Plaut., *Amph.* 499–501, *Cas.* 39–44, *Cist.* 120–202, *Truc.* 399, Ter., *Andr.* 215–24, *Heaut.* 614–67, *Hec.* 400, *Phorm.* 647, Afran., *com.* 347.

[37] It is not likely that Tertullian, *Ad Nat.* I.15.3, is an allusion, though Mommsen considered this to be probable (*Römisches Strafrecht* (1899), 619 n. 3). Much the best reading, incidentally, is not *ae*[*ditui*] (Klussmann, Borleffs) but *ae*[*dilis*] (Reifferscheid).

[38] cf. R. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (1988), 107.

[39] It is Hellenistic according to E. Weiss, in *RE* s.v. Kinderaussetzung (1921), col. 466.

[40] Harris, op. cit. (n. 8), 123.

[41] Cic., *Att.* XI.9.3: it was at least conceivable to Cicero that he might not have been *susceptus*. See also, e.g., *II Verr.* 3.161, 5.123, *Cluent.* 179, *Post red. ad Quir.* 2, *De domo* 34, 36, *Phil.* III.17.

the slave market.[42] But the incidence of exposure in this period and almost everything else about it will remain obscure. One might guess that very few of the victims survived, since in later times the rescuing of exposed infants, though it was encouraged by other considerations, was usually motivated by the demand for slaves, whereas during the second and first centuries slaves must often have been so cheap that rescuing foundlings for this purpose would have been financially unrewarding.

The notion that child-exposure was widespread in the Roman Empire is not, as far as I am concerned, based on the fact — if it is a fact — that there were more adult men than women.[43] Such a phenomenon could certainly be explained by the selective exposure of girls; it might also be explained by reference to gender-differentiated child care. An unbalanced sex ratio probably did prevail in the population of slaves, and one of the mechanisms by which this was brought about was perhaps the selective exposure of girls who were born to slave mothers. But in the free population, while one may suspect that males were in a majority, the fact has scarcely been established.[44]

An array of texts makes it obvious that exposure of infants was widely practised in the high Roman Empire. Small allusions can help. It was, for instance, considered a harsh judgement when an orator attributed cruelty to a man who exposed a son (Sen., *Contr.* IX.3.11). A more reasonable attitude would not have accused the father of *saevitia*. In another brief but still more significant text Plutarch remarks 'that the poor (*penetes*) do not bring up their children', for they fear that without an appropriate upbringing they will grow up badly; they cannot bear to transmit poverty to them (*De amore prolis* 5). This exaggeration probably presupposes a substantial amount of exposure of healthy children among the author's contemporaries.[45]

Divine ordinance forbids the exposure of infants, 'which, has become an everyday (χειρόηθες) impiety among many of the other nations because of their natural inhumanity'. Parents who do it thereby accuse themselves of hedonism, misanthropy, murder, and — the worst of curses — child-killing. 'Some do the deed with their own hands', strangling or suffocating them or causing them to drown. 'Others carry them to a deserted place (ἐπ' ἐρημίαν), exposing them, so they claim, to the hope of safety, but in reality to the most dreadful misfortunes', for animals and birds come to devour them. Sometimes passers-by take pity on them and look after them. Those who kill infants are the cruellest and most merciless of men. So Philo of Alexandria (*On Special Laws* III.110–19). Since the mode is passionate denunciation, there is once again likely to be some exaggeration with regard to the 'other nations'. On the other hand, *On Special Laws* was addressed not simply to Jews but also to sympathizers who were of Hellenic culture,[46] and Philo is likely to have known what the Greeks did (at least those in Egypt).[47]

The best-known of all Roman evidence is Pliny's exchange of letters with Trajan (*Ep.* X.65–6). He consults the emperor about the *threptoi*, in other words 'those who having been born free, were exposed, then picked up by someone and brought up in slavery', a great issue, he says, concerning his entire province. Emperors since Augustus had often given rulings on the subject affecting other provinces, but never with respect to Bithynia; Trajan rules that claims to freedom are not to be made contingent on the payment of *alimenta*. Thus child-exposure was or had been at least fairly widely practised in the provinces of Achaea and Bithynia-Pontus, and in others unspecified.[48]

[42] Suet., *De gramm.* 21. Another *grammaticus* who had been exposed in Gaul: ibid. 7.

[43] This argument is advanced by R. P. Saller in E. Gabba and A. Schiavone (eds), *Storia di Roma* IV (1989), 537. Riddle, op. cit. (n. 7), 11, incorrectly attributes this position to me.

[44] On Dio LIV.16 see below, n. 94. In the article 'Abandonment and exposure', in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* I (1905), 4, P. Giles argued that the Roman way of naming women presupposes the exposure of daughters.

[45] This passage is an exaggeration but not a straightforward falsehood (*pace* Engels, op. cit. (n. 4), 393), rather like the statement about population in Polyb. XXXVI.17. Cf. above on Petr., *Sat.* 116.7–8. It has to be repeated → *CQ* 32 (1982), 116) that the Loeb translator of this passage, W. C. Helmbold, misunderstood it (*'when* poor men do not rear their children, *it is* because . . .'; this is followed by Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 103), presumably because he was unwilling to face the unpleasant reality it describes.

[46] A. Mosès, intro. to *De Specialibus Legibus* III–IV (1970), 30–1.

[47] For Philo's opinions see more briefly *On Virtues* 131–3, which seems to be the earliest existing text to say that exposure is contrary to nature (132).

[48] Note 'inter eas provincias', X.66.2. The law about *alimenta* in *causae liberales* still needs discussion (see esp. M. Amelotti, *Per l'interpretazione della legislazione privatistica di Diocleziano* (1960), 132–9, M. Bianchi Fossati Vanzetti, 'Vendita ed esposizione degli infanti da Costantino a Giustiniano', *SDHI* 49 (1983), at 185–6).

We shall return later to Stoic criticism, but Musonius Rufus and Hierocles also serve to show that child-exposure was a large-scale contemporary phenomenon. 'Raising many children is an honourable and profitable thing', said Musonius (fr.15 Lutz). The poor expose children, for insufficient reasons (even birds are able to feed their young).

> But what seems to me very terrible is that some who do not even have poverty as an excuse but are prosperous and even wealthy none the less have the effrontery not to rear later-born offspring in order that those born earlier may inherit greater wealth .... So that their children may have a greater share of their father's goods, they destroy their children's brothers.

Musonius includes those who are reasonably well-off, as well as the actual *plousioi*, in his complaint; hence it is unlikely that he is simply thinking of isolated instances. He also implies that those who suffered from *penia* (not the penniless, but rather the working poor) commonly abandoned their children. Such is also the implication of the title of the treatise from which these comments are taken, 'Whether all children who are born should be reared'. The author was a Roman knight from Volsinii, but he seems to have written within a largely Greek frame of reference.[49] According to Hierocles (in Stobaeus IV.24.14), 'most people' seem to decline to raise (some of) their children for a not very lofty reason, love of wealth and the belief that poverty (*penia*) is a terrible evil.

Just as Theopompus and Aristotle had said that certain barbarian peoples reared all their children, so Diodorus, Strabo, and later Tacitus and Cassius Dio saw such behaviour as a noteworthy feature of alien cultures, such as those of the Egyptians, Jews, Germans, and Scottish highlanders.[50] Philo and Josephus also make it clear that child-exposure was contrary to Jewish ideas.[51] But the point is that everyone assumes that a normal population exposes a certain number of its healthy and legitimate infants (the scale of the assumption might vary from period to period). These are the assumptions of learned men, with experience and reading such that they were far from isolated. To say that we are dealing with a *topos*[52] might partly or even wholly account for what these writers say about the barbarians, but it does not account for what they assume about their own societies. Tacitus, admittedly, is not likely to have known much about the life of the poor, and the people with whom he is implicitly contrasting the barbarians are Italians and other Roman citizens, not the inhabitants of the Roman Empire as a whole.[53] Strabo's mental range is geographically wider, but the Greeks are presumably his norm in this respect. Within such limitations the texts referred to are valuable evidence.

Child-exposure appears in every Greek and Latin author of the second and third centuries who could reasonably be expected to mention it. In some cases, for example when Apuleius or Longus introduces the theme,[54] it might mainly be attributed to the legacy of New Comedy. And it might be possible, when a religious zealot such as Justin or Tertullian introduces the theme,[55] to ascribe this fact to a desire to lambast the pagans with their traditional crimes even if they were not now being committed very much; the ancient tradition of invective was unscrupulous. But neither approach is especially convincing, especially not in the case of Justin and Tertullian. It is true that denunciations of child-exposure became habitual in Christian literature. But both Justin and Tertullian wrote in deadly seriousness and wanted to persuade.

The evidence from the Greeks of Egypt eventually becomes plentiful. By the end of the first century B.C., exposing an infant was a familiar practice which could be ordained by a

[49] On the Stoic background see A. C. van Geytenbeek, *Musonius Rufus and Greek Diatribe* (1963), 82–3.

[50] Diodorus 1.80.3 (Egyptians), XL.3.8 = Hecataeus Abd., *FGrH* 264 F6 (Jews), Strabo XVII.824 (Egyptians), Tac., *Hist.* V.5 (the Jews consider it *nefas* to kill *agnati*, presumably meaning extra children), *Germ.* 19 ('numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex agnatis necare flagitium habetur' — which is explicitly contrasted with Roman practice), Dio LXXVI/LXXVII.12 (Scots). See also Dion.Hal. IX.22.2 on early Rome.

[51] Philo, op. cit. (n. 47); Jos., *Contra Apionem* II.202.

[52] Cameron, op. cit. (n. 2), 112–13. He concludes that 'writers subsequent to Aristotle who report the custom [of not exposing infants] are drawing not on experience but on literary tradition'. But Strabo on the Egyptians may easily have had a good source, and the argument that Philo's and Josephus' assertions derive from Hecataeus is not credible.

[53] A different story about how the Germans treated new-born children: Galen, *De san. tuenda* I.10 (VI.51 Kühn).

[54] Apul., *Met.* X.23, Longus 1.2–3, etc.

[55] Justin, *First Apology* 27, 29, Tert., *Ad nat.* 1.16, *Apol.* 9.17–18.

husband without much ado.[56] Biezuńska-Malowist has shown that exposed infants were a major source of the province's slaves.[57] As for the notorious Kopr- names, which scholars have derived from κόπρος (dung) on the supposition that the bearers of such names were all foundlings collected ἀπὸ κοπρίας (from the dunghill), the reality has seemed more complicated since Pomeroy assembled the 279 known instances and showed that many of the persons in question were of such respectable standing that they are unlikely to have started life as slaves. No one has found a convincing alternative explanation of such names — and actually there is no need for one: the copronym-bearers were in part foundlings and in part the descendants of foundlings; those who had themselves been rescued ἀπὸ κοπρίας had in some cases been slaves and had in other cases been adopted by people who were free. The cohort as a whole gives the impression of surprisingly high status because those who were adopted were inevitably much more likely to appear later in documents than those who spent their lives as slaves. In short, the Kopr- names remain valuable evidence for a high incidence of exposure in Roman Egypt.[58] Further evidence comes from the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (second century). It taxed those who rescued male infants ἀπὸ κοπρίας (sect. 107). The taxation is so heavy (one-quarter of the person's estate) that it seems penal, and the reason for this is not clear.[59] But in any case the Gnomon contributes to our picture of Roman Egypt as a place in which child-exposure was commonplace.

Archaeological evidence about child-exposure is so far of little consequence. I formerly cited the infant burials at Hambleden in Buckinghamshire, where the excavated burial-ground contained ninety-seven bodies, all of infants. A similar cemetery has been reported from near Alesia. But this evidence loses its significance for present purposes once we learn from Pliny the Elder that it was the general Roman practice not to cremate infants — whereas others were normally cremated.[60] In the Greek world too the cremation of infants was extremely rare.[61]

Gender and class differences in the practice of child-exposure will be discussed below. As far as regional differences are concerned, the plethora of Greek evidence may give the impression that exposure was particularly characteristic of the Greek part of the Empire. However, Tacitus and Tertullian, among others, make it plain that the practice was also common in some areas of the West. Philo was probably right to say that many peoples did it,[62] and the Greeks may not have done so more than others. A more challenging problem would be to discern what it was in the social and economic structures of the 'non-exposing' ancient peoples that caused them to behave differently from the Greeks and Romans. But even to prepare the way requires an investigation into the reasons for child-exposure in the classical world.

Did abandoned infants often survive? One might guess that very few did so, but the evidence is not easy to interpret. And the question is important, for if a high proportion lived, then we are faced with a system scarcely more harsh than those of some later periods in which foundlings were usually accepted into hospitals.

The dangers to the infant's life were urgent and intense: 'ferae serpentesque et inimicus teneris artibus rigor et inopia (wild animals and snakes and cold that endangers tender bodies and lack of sustenance)', as a rhetorician succinctly expressed it.[63] Firmicus Maternus often mentions dogs.[64] Horror at the grim fact that the child might be eaten by animals is probably the ultimate source of the numerous ancient legends and fictions about children who were not devoured but suckled or otherwise cared for by wild creatures.[65]

[56] The famous texts are *P.Oxy.* I.37–38 (A.D. 49), IV.744 (1 B.C.). Many other papyri refer to exposure: O. Montevecchi, 'I paragrafi 41 e 107 dello Gnomon dell'idios logos: implicazioni socio-culturali e demografiche', *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* (1984), III, 966 n. 3.

[57] Above, n. 8.

[58] Pomeroy, op. cit. (n. 3), arguing against the theory of P. Perdrizet, *REA* 23 (1921), 85–94. On Sterc- names in the African provinces see J.-M. Lassère, *Ubique Populus* (1977), 504. I am inclined to accept the argument of D. Hobson, 'Naming Practices in Roman Egypt', *BASP* 26 (1989), 157–74, at 163–5, that copronyms were 'derogatory-protective' names.

[59] Sect. 41, which taxes Egyptians who adopted boys (probably Greeks for the most part) who had been rescued ἐκ κοπρίας is easier to understand. See Montevecchi, op. cit. (n. 56), for bibliography and discussion.

[60] Harris, *MAAR* 36 (1980), 123; W. Deonna, 'Cimetières de bébés', *Revue archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est* 6 (1955), 231–47; Plin., *NH* VII.72 (see also Juv. XV.139–40).

[61] R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (1985), 78–9.

[62] Justin, *First Apology* 27, asserts that it was practised κατὰ πᾶν ἔθνος.

[63] Quoted by Sen., *Contr.* X.4.21.

[64] Math. VII.2.9, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21; cf. Paus. I.43.7.

[65] See for example Aelian, *VH* XII.42 (a list); Longus I.2 and → D. B. Redford, 'The literary motif of the exposed child', *Numen* 14 (1967), 213–14. Some mocked the 'melodramatic absurdity' of the wolf that offered its dugs to Romulus and Remus: so says Dionysius I.84.1. On reports of children raised by wild animals see J.-C. Armen, *Gazelle-Boy. A Child Brought up by Gazelles in the Sahara Desert* (1974).

Those who exposed infants sometimes did so in such a way as to make it as likely as possible that the child would be found and rescued, mainly by leaving it in a conventional place for exposure. This was Festus' antiquarian explanation of the *lactaria columna* in the Forum Holitorium at Rome: 'ibi infantes lacte alendos deferebant (there they used to bring down infants who needed to be fed with milk)'.[66] But in historical times infants were usually, it seems, abandoned outside towns or villages, and while some of the places used — such as the *spurci lacus* mentioned by Juvenal (VI.603),[67] or the Egyptian *kopriai* — had become somewhat less deadly as a result of their conventional use for this purpose, exposure there practically and symbolically removed the abandoned infants from the places where citizens would be most likely to encounter them.[68] On the other hand such places might often be visited by people who wished to discover foundlings.

We should perhaps distinguish between Exposure A, in which the exposer hoped, more or less realistically, that the child would be rescued, and Exposure B, in which the expected result was death. The intention will have determined the kind of place where the infant would be left. Exposure A was the fate of very many of the infants who were exposed for economic reasons, while the illegitimate and the physically compromised were usually subject to Exposure B. Sometimes, however, — perhaps rather often — the exposer's intentions were ambiguous: thus the infant heroine of *Daphnis and Chloe* was exposed in 'the grotto of the Nymphs', a place which was lonely but auspicious.[69]

Most exposed infants seem to have been clothed,[70] and it was a sign of a *paterfamilias* who was especially determined that the child should die when it was 'thrown away naked' (the action of Claudius, Suet., *Claud.* 27). Some parents notoriously left tokens (γνωρίσματα) with their abandoned infants in the hope that they would serve as means of recognition later; rattles, *crepundia*, were sometimes used at Rome.[71] Recognition was probably the conscious purpose of tokens in most instances.[72] They might just possibly encourage someone to think that the child was worth rescuing for material reasons (however Lamon's first thought when he found the infant Daphnis, according to Longus (I.3), was simply to remove the tokens). On the other hand the resemblance of the tokens to grave goods is rather obvious,[73] and no conclusions should be drawn from this practice about the likelihood of survival. Many parents no doubt hoped that the interest or pity of someone or other would enable the child to survive,[74] but no one can have felt confident that this would happen.

There is no reason to think that parents considered that in exposing an infant they were entrusting its fate to the will of the gods.[75] That perhaps suggests that what happened to an infant child was not thought to be a matter of great consequence.

Many exposed infants did in fact survive, especially perhaps in regions where — and at times when — the demand for slaves was high. For enslavement was much the commonest fate of foundlings. The opening words of the *Pastor* of Hermas show vividly how much this was taken for granted: 'The man who reared me sold me to a certain Rhode . . .'. Not that slavery was the only possibility: a small number became changelings (but such substitutions were only common on the stage),[76] and an unascertainable number were adopted.[77] But pity for the exposed was not powerful. A fictional slave woman and her husband who are described by Dio Chrysostom (XV.9) rescued and brought up exposed infants, but they are quite clearly an exception in the context of the high Roman Empire. In Livy's imagination, Romulus and Remus were only saved because from the beginning Faustulus hoped that the foundlings were

[66] Festus 105 Lindsay. The reference to 'loco celebri' in Ps.-Quint., *Decl.* 306.24 has been bracketed by recent editors.

[67] The meaning is not certain (cf. Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 54 n. 163, and E. Courtney's comm.), and possibly they were not outside the city.

[68] Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 17, may have been right to hold that the infant was often abandoned 'at a much-frequented spot', but Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 25, and Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 23, go too far in claiming it as a general rule that infants were exposed where they could easily be discovered (Juvenal provides no evidence of this).

[69] Longus I.4, etc. The alert reader may have thought of Eur., *Ion* 938, 958.

[70] T. Köves-Zulauf, *Römische Geburtsriten* (1990), 20–4.

[71] A. Hähnle, Γνωρίσματα (1929). He emphasizes their function as amulets.

[72] cf. Dio Chrys. IV.25, with Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 19 n. 48.

[73] See Longus IV.24.1 (ἐντάφια), Glotz, op. cit. (n. 2), 934, Cameron, op. cit. (n. 2), 107.

[74] This hope is derided by Philo (see above). Hope for pity: Tert., *Ad nat.* I.16.10, Paulus in *Dig.* XXV.3.4, Lactant., *Inst.* VI.20.22.

[75] But concerning Isis see below, p. 16.

[76] Glotz, op. cit. (n. 2), 934; but see also Dio Chrys. XV.8 (cf. Juv. VI.602–3), Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 74 n. 71.

[77] In Boswell's view, op. cit. (n. 1), 128, 'most *expositi* in fiction do not even know they were abandoned, which suggests a general presumption that exposed children were brought up as adoptees'. But since fiction requires surprise, the *expositi* naturally cannot be in the know.

of royal blood (1.5.5). Childless couples probably satisfied most of their needs by formal adoption. A detailed investigation showed that most of the known *threptoi* were or formerly had been slaves.[78]

It has been judged unlikely that parents were able to reclaim their children except in rare instances[79] — a common-sense opinion. What was to happen when fathers reclaimed their offspring is, however, a matter of constant legal discussion, which goes back at least to the time of Augustus and probably further, and this suggests a constant flow of cases.[80]

One Roman author appears to suppose that not merely some but most exposed infants survived the experience (and became slaves), namely the Christian apologist Justin, writing in the 150s.[81] Rather surprisingly, several scholars have recently accepted and relied heavily upon this assertion,[82] even though it was a commonplace of the Christian polemicists and its origins are not hard to detect (see below). For Justin the worst effect of child-exposure was that, by creating prostitutes (a common fate of the victims) it led to the danger of unconscious incest.[83] When a father in *Daphnis and Chloe* tries to exculpate himself (IV.35) by claiming that many exposed infants were adopted, this is easily recognized as a piece of special pleading.[84] There is indeed a limited sense in which exposure was an alternative to infanticide,[85] and one of the reasons why child-exposure was accepted was no doubt that it helped the supply of labour; but none of this should obscure the fact that the majority of the victims probably died.

The physical risks should not be underestimated, and even the rescued were in great danger, for like the inmates of the old foundling hospitals they must often have died within a few days.[86] In some cases those responsible for exposing the child definitely did not want it to survive, for instance if it was illegitimate. Parents might hope for the infant's death if they thought that it was preferable to its being enslaved.[87] When infants are said to have been abandoned in deserted places,[88] the implied intention is plain.

At all events, it was widely assumed that most exposed infants died.[89] The assumption is implicit, for example, in the Theban law of uncertain date about child-exposure which is known to us from Aelian (II.7): it is salvation from exposure if the child is enslaved. When Lucian is describing the arrival of the dead in the Underworld, he assumes that exposed children for the most part die quickly (*Kataplous* 5). The list could continue.[90] The rhetorician's text that says 'rarum ... est ut expositi vivant. caducum circa initia animal homines sumus (rarely do the exposed survive. For at its beginning the life of us human beings is fragile)' is admittedly another piece of special pleading, which suits the speaker's case, but to serve its purpose it had to be at least near to reality.[91] Finally, there is the much-discussed citation from Paulus' *Sententiae*:[92]

[78] T. G. Nani, 'ΘΡΕΠΤΟΙ', *Epigraphica* 5–6 (1943–1944), 45–84.

[79] Cameron, op. cit. (n. 2), 105 ('extremely rare'). Similarly P. A. Brunt, *Studies in Greek History and Thought* (1993), 350 n. 18.

[80] Other evidence that this really happened: Plin., *Ep.* x.65–6, Suet., *De gramm.* 21. But Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 74, goes much too far in saying that parents 'frequently' reclaimed exposed children; he makes insufficient allowance for the element of fantasy in the literary sources. Flavia Domitilla, wife of Vespasian, is cited as an instance by P. Veyne, *Latomus* 21 (1962), 50 n. 2, on the basis of Suet., *Vesp.* 3, but his alternative explanation of the text is better.

[81] *First Apology* 27; 29 also gives the impression that most but not all survived.

[82] Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 43; Saller, op. cit. (n. 43), 537, who adds that it would have suited Justin's case still better if the exposed could have been said to die in most cases. Kudlien, op. cit. (n. 3), 30 supposes that those who were exposed on rubbish dumps were more likely to be rescued than not; see also Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 22–3.

[83] See also Clem. Alex., *Paed.* III.3.21.5 (fathers 'often' have unwitting sexual relations with their sons and daughters; sexual promiscuity rather than child-exposure is at the centre of his attention here), Min. Fel., *Oct.* 31.4, and the references in n. 55 above.

[84] cf. Glotz, op. cit. (n. 2), 934. Longus balances this against the statement of the other 'exposing father' in the case, who says in effect that he expected his child to die (IV.24). There is probably some intentional irony in the fact that it is the father of the boy who expected the infant to die and the father of the girl who expected his child to live.

[85] Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 136, Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 23.

[86] cf. Firm. Mat., *Math.* VII.2.14, with Cappelletto, op. cit. (n. 11), 421, Kertzer, op. cit. (n. 9), 138–44.

[87] cf. Ter., *Heaut.* 641–2.

[88] Philo, *On Special Laws* III.115, Longus I.2.1, Aelian II.7 (but this text seems to distinguish between forms of exposure: one involving a definitely lethal intention and a deserted place, the other not), Suda s.v. ἐκτίθεναι τὰ βρέφη II.233 Adler, etc.

[89] cf. Dion.Hal. II.15.2, as well as the sources referred to in the text.

[90] The *lois sacrées* mentioned in n. 141 imply that child-exposure was fatal. Athenagoras, *Supplicatio* 35.6, shows that Christians equated exposure and infanticide, which would have made no sense if the exposed had often survived. In both Tac., *Germ.* 19 and Apul., *Met.* X.23 the killing is presumably thought of as taking place by means of exposure.

[91] Ps.-Quint., *Decl.* 306.22.

[92] *Dig.* XXV.3.4.

necare videtur non tantum is qui partum praefocat, sed et is qui abicit et qui alimonia denegat et is qui publicis locis misericordiae causa exponit, quam ipse non habet.

Not only does a person who suffocates a child (sc. of his/her own) appear to kill, but also both a person who throws one away, a person who denies one nourishment, and the person who exposes one in a public place to attract pity — which he does not show himself.

This is widely though not universally believed to be interpolated, but whenever it was put into its final shape (perhaps in the fourth century), it would make no sense unless exposure was believed to be very frequently fatal.[93]

What the Christian polemicists including Justin wrote on this subject was an understandably emotional reaction to the common contemporary allegation that the sexual practices of the Christians were promiscuous and transgressive. He wanted to turn the charge back on the accusers, and as far as reproduction and sexuality were concerned child-exposure was their most vulnerable point. Since it was known that some foundlings, having lost their identities, were forced to become prostitutes — a form of commerce that was extensive in any Greek or Roman city — it was possible that exposure would in any instance lead to promiscuous and transgressive sexual acts. Thus the non-Christians were as evil as the Christians. This was a rhetorical dispute, but one of some importance in the struggle of Christians to dominate the sphere of sexuality. Justin's claim that most of the exposed survived has to be understood as part of his rhetorical strategy.

The survival chances of an exposed infant depended on five variable factors, in addition to luck: (1) his or her initial physical condition; (2) how much the exposers did to help the infant to survive — and here there was a range of intentions, from lethal to desperately hopeful; (3) whether the community included persons willing to invest in bringing up the child as a slave (there were clearly places in Egypt and Asia Minor and probably in Achaea and Syria and Italy, where it was common for exposed infants to be collected); (4) the level of demand for slave labour; and (5) gender — boys were probably more likely to be rescued than girls.

Were notably more girls than boys exposed in the first place? So it is widely and reasonably believed.[94] Doubtless it had been so in Hellenistic cities,[95] as in many other cultures. There is no valid demographic argument to think otherwise.[96] Some writers of the high Roman Empire do assume that a girl was more likely to be exposed than a boy,[97] but perhaps the disproportion was not very great. The Egyptian census documents — a limited but not by any means valueless measure of demographic facts — reveal no sex imbalance.[98] There are various possible explanations of that: perhaps the overall level of *fatal* child-exposure was lower in Egypt than in some other provinces (because of indigenous attitudes?). It is certainly hard to think that in the Roman Empire as a whole male infants were exposed as often as female ones. Indeed one of the reasons why the Romans relied heavily on child-exposure to control population was that, unlike contraception or abortion, it permitted them to choose the sex of their children.

II. THE REASONS FOR ROMAN CHILD-EXPOSURE

Four groups of reasons can be distinguished: (1) the deformity or other physical inadequacy of the new-born infant; (2) its illegitimacy; (3) perceived economic need; and (4)

[93] To support the view that it was unusual for an exposed child to die, Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 128–31, cites some texts that are not germane: Ps.-Quint., *Decl.* 306.24, Chariton II.8–10, and Tert., *Ad nat.* I.16.10. The latter passage does not show that Tertullian thought the exposed were generally rescued: it is his reprise of the 'unconscious incest' *topos*, and I.15.4 indicates that he knew how dangerous exposure was ('quod frigore et fame aut bes<tiis si exp>onitis . . .'; Borleffs' text).

[94] Brunt, op. cit. (n. 2), 151 (but I do not think that in Dio LIV.16 τὸ εὐγενεῖς means 'the free-born population'), A. Rousselle, *Porneia: de la maîtrise du corps à la privation sensorielle* (1983), 70, Pomeroy, op. cit. (n. 3), 161, T. Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (1989), 36.

[95] Gallo, op. cit. (n. 4), 37.

→ W. V. Harris, 'The theoretical possibility of extensive infanticide in the Graeco-Roman world', *CQ* 32 (1982), 114–16.

[97] Dion.Hal. II.15.2, discussed earlier, Lucian, *Hetairikoi dialogoi* 2.1. Ov., *Met.* IX.676–9 and Apul. X.23 refer to instructions to kill new-born girls, which is probably understood to mean exposure. See further Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 16 n. 43.

[98] See Gallo, op. cit. (n. 4), 45, R. S. Bagnall and B. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (forthcoming, Cambridge, 1994).

evil omens and despair. Each of them raises difficulties, in addition to the possibility that the real reason may sometimes have been masked.

What was done with children who were seen as physically deformed or defective is not a simple question. A full investigation would have to begin by considering in detail which defects were thought grave enough to require the destruction or the abandoning of a new-born child.[99] It is not sufficient to say that deformed infants were generally exposed.[100]

An old Roman law, attributed to the Twelve Tables, said that a boy who was strikingly deformed (*insignis ad deformitatem puer*) had to be *necatus* or *delatus* (or somehow disposed of) quickly; the text being corrupt, we cannot be sure exactly what was meant.[101] The Younger Seneca implies that in his time the usual method was drowning, which is also mentioned by some other early imperial authors as a way of killing infant children.[102] The republican evidence, however, suggests that such treatment was reserved for what were perceived as hermaphrodites.[103]

As to the treatment of handicapped infants in imperial times, it may be doubted on practical grounds that they were usually drowned. In all likelihood most of them were promptly eliminated by the midwife.[104] Some may have been exposed. A few who suffered from severe defects were kept alive. The Elder Pliny's statement that hermaphrodites were kept as *deliciae* has little significance in this respect, but there is ample evidence from Augustus' time onwards that dwarfs and others could fulfil this function.[105] Recent studies have assembled the evidence about individuals who survived serious birth defects, and have probably exaggerated the willingness of parents to keep such children alive.[106] It is difficult to imagine, for instance, that victims of congenital blindness were often allowed to survive.

It is sinister that in the passage in which he refers to the practice of drowning deformed infants, Seneca says that the weak as well as the deformed are killed, for the category of the weak could be a very large one. The criteria that Soranus (II.10) gives for judging whether an infant is healthy enough to be reared were so extensive and strict that if anything like them was really applied an enormous number of rejections must have resulted.[107] What should happen to the rejected Soranus does not specify. Also somewhat elusive is the account given by an orator who had been quoted by the Elder Seneca: 'Many fathers are accustomed to expose useless offspring. Some are born damaged right away in some part of their bodies, weak and with no prospects, whom their own parents *proiciunt* (throw forth?) rather than expose', a vague expression which may point to active killing. 'Some', the speaker continues, 'even throw out home-bred infant slaves, when they are born with an evil omen or are physically weak' (*Contr.* X.4.16).

Extreme social embarrassment or disapproval also led to exposure. Babies born to unmarried young women in New Comedy were exposed, which was an essential plot mechanism, and fictional illegitimates continued to suffer this treatment.[108] Some real ones did too, but it is not clear whether it was general practice to expose illegitimate infants. Syme remarked on 'the singular dearth of evidence about aristocratic bastards' and allowed for infanticide as one of the causes (his main explanation, however, was that children took their status from their mothers, so that the bastards of the *nobiles* 'went to recruit the miscellaneous

[99] The question is raised by Parkin, op. cit. (n. 5), 96.

[100] Still less, with Engels, op. cit. (n. 4), 386 n. 1, that 'in general, the practice of exposure was restricted to deformed infants'.

[101] Cic., *De leg.* III.19, on which see above, The 'Law of Romulus' referred to earlier simply said in Dionysius' version (I.15.2) that deformed children under three were to be put to death. Incidentally Cicero says nothing here about the involvement of the tribunes, in spite of W. den Boer, *Private Morality in Greece and Rome* (1979), 99.

[102] Sen., *De ira* I.15.2 ('liberos quoque, si debiles monstrosique editi sunt, mergimus'). Cf. Tibull. II.5.80, Philo, *On Special Laws* III.114, and later Tert., *Ad nat.* I.15.4 (but this is not very valuable evidence), Firm. Mat., *Math.* VII.2.10–11.

[103] Liv. XXVII.37.5–6, Obsequens 22, 27a, 32, 34, 36, etc. There were variations: an apparent pair of Siamese twins were burned in 136 B.C., and their ashes thrown into the sea (Obsequens 25).

[104] Rousselle, op. cit. (n. 94), 69.

[105] Plin., *NH* VII.34. See further J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer* I (1886), 152–3, Delcourt, op. cit. (n. 15), 59–61.

[106] Schmidt, op. cit. (n. 5), H. Grassl, 'Behinderte in der Antike. Bemerkungen zur sozialen Stellung und Integration', *Tyche* I (1986), 118–26.

[107] To summarize: the infant's mother must have enjoyed good health during pregnancy, the birth must not be premature, the infant must cry vigorously, all its limbs and organs must be sound, its sense organs must work, its orifices must all open, the movements of each part of the body must be neither sluggish nor weak, and the articulation of the limbs must be correct.

[108] e.g. Ov., *Her.* XI.84; Heliod., *Aeth.* IV.8 (where the illegitimacy was merely apparent).

congeries of the Roman plebs').[109] The early age of girls at marriage, together with the custom of remarriage, probably meant that Roman women experienced relatively few illegitimate pregnancies (and Syme underestimated Roman contraception). Augustus forbade the bringing up of a child born to his grand-daughter Julia, but Suetonius (*DA* 65) seems to have seen this as a sign of his severity towards his relatives. Claudius not surprisingly insisted on the exposure of his wife Urgulanilla's daughter by a freedman. Illegitimate children do not appear much in the *Digest*, and when the recognition of children is discussed (XXV.3), it is children born just after divorce or after the death of the father who are to the forefront. All this leaves the behaviour of ordinary people in the face of illegitimacy in some obscurity.

The commonest reasons for exposing infants were probably economic ones. This has been contested, without the slightest reason.[110] And it would be pointless to claim, as one scholar has claimed with regard to classical Greece, that poverty did not cause great quantities of exposure because raising children would have been so cheap.[111] No economic historian of antiquity would doubt that many children were born into subsistence conditions in which simply feeding another child would mean taking food from members of the family who were already hungry. And in an agrarian society a bad harvest rapidly puts these choices into stark terms: one of the regular causes of child-abandonment in pre-modern Italy was the *cattiva annata*.[112]

The economic reasons for child-exposure ranged from intense poverty to a desire to conserve a family's property in the face of the system of partible inheritance. We have already encountered in Musonius and Plutarch ample evidence that poverty led to the abandonment of infants. They speak of this as something that is done by the *penetes*, who are agreed to include the working poor as well as the destitute. A range of texts from Greek and Roman sources, including a description of an Ephesian law aimed at ensuring that only those who were literally starving could legally expose their children, indicate that poverty was assumed to be the usual cause of child-exposure.[113] Nerva and Trajan, in founding and extending the system of *alimenta* in Italy, were attempting, as Pliny's *Panegyric* shows, to alleviate the economic need which was held to be limiting family size by various means including child-exposure.[114]

It seems undeniable that economic reasons led to exposure in families that lived far above the level of subsistence. Musonius reserves his bitterest comments for those who exposed infants they could well afford to bring up, and we hear from others, for example Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* II.92–3), to the effect that the economic need that led to exposure was sometimes very relative.[115] Longus makes one of his exposing fathers, a wealthy man, say that he exposed Daphnis because, having fathered two sons and a daughter, he thought he had a 'sufficient family' (IV.24).[116] He feebly adds that he did not expose his new son willingly. The other exposing father in the same romance says that he was poor at the time he exposed his daughter — but this was very relative indeed, for what he had he spent on *choregiai* and trierarchies (IV.35), which were rich men's expenditures.

The average age of girls at first marriage was by modern standards low, about fifteen. The pattern seems clear, even though the evidence is skewed with respect to both culture and class.[117] It was, in one interpretation, infanticide of girls that caused this pattern: potential wives being in short supply, men were compelled to marry them very young.[118] This may be correct, but the reverse seems much more likely: early age at marriage resulted in more children than parents or at least fathers thought they could support, and this was the main

[109] R. Syme, 'Bastards in the Roman aristocracy', *Proc. Amer. Philosophical Soc.* 104 (1960), cited from *Roman Papers* II (1979), 511, 513. In Brunt's account, op. cit. (n. 2), 150, exposure and infanticide form part of the explanation.

[110] Engels, op. cit. (n. 4), 386.

[111] Patterson, op. cit. (n. 17), 117–18.

[112] cf. P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food-Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (1988).

[113] See Plin., *Pan.* 26.5, Lactant., *Inst.* VI.20.24–5, as well as Aelian II.7 on the Theban law. The Ephesian law (date uncertain): Proclus on Hes., *Works and Days* 496–7 (Plu., *Mor.* (Loeb edn) XV.165).

[114] *Pan.* 26.5–7: 'locupletes ad tollendos liberos ingentia praemia et pares poenae cohortantur, pauperibus educandi una ratio est bonus princeps ... haec prima parvulorum civium vox aures tuas imbuit', etc.

[115] See also Ps.-Quint., *Decl.* 306.24.

[116] This is commonly taken (e.g. by Kudlien, op. cit. (n. 3), 41) to mean that he wished to avoid splitting his fortune.

[117] For debate see esp. K. Hopkins, 'The age of Roman girls at marriage', *Population Studies* 18 (1964–1965), 309– → B. D. Shaw, 'The age of Roman girls at marriage: some reconsiderations', *JRS* 77 (1987), 30–46 (a somewhat different view), P. Morizot, 'Remarques sur l'âge du mariage des jeunes Romaines en Italie et en Afrique', *CRAI* 1989, 656–68.

[118] Brunt, op. cit. (n. 2), 137–8, 151–2.

cause of child-exposure. For while nothing suggests that men disliked the customary early age for girls at marriage — which was held to be desirable for strong reasons,[119] — there was in fact a good deal of reluctance to expose infants.

Children born into slavery may have been at somewhat less risk than the children of the free poor.[120] It was paradoxical to expose a slave child (Sen., *Contr.* x.4.16), since the owner could be assumed not to be entirely indigent and the child would soon have economic value. But it sometimes happened, even to healthy children. Girl slaves, especially, might be seen as excessive mouths to feed in a small *familia*.

Everything within this section has so far been accessible to modern consciousness, but occasionally there were stranger acts of child-exposure, deriving from evil omens and despair. We have already encountered an orator who knew that a bad omen was sometimes a sufficient motive for exposure (Sen., *Contr.* x.4.16). A story put about by a freedman of Augustus alleged that an evil portent in 63 B.C. had led to a senatorial decree forbidding the raising of any boy born that year.[121] This entirely incredible narrative has some value in that it suggests a world in which prophecies were taken seriously and infants were not sacrosanct.

Such was the public's grief at the death of Germanicus in the year A.D. 19 that parents exposed their infant children, Suetonius asserts.[122] If this is true, as it probably is, the reason may have been that children who were born that day were thought to be tainted with an evil omen.[123] A better explanation, however, might come from some Romans' identification of their own hopes with the well-being of a beloved ruler (*manqué*).[124] Even if Suetonius' report is false, it is obviously an important indication that parental despair threatened the lives of the new-born. It is a sign of a good emperor, in the universe of the rhetoricians, when parents want to raise up children; under a tyranny they expose them.[125] It is tempting, and probably erroneous, to dismiss all this as nothing more than rhetoric.

Other kinds of despair could also lead to exposure. When another orator says that slave mothers sometimes expose their infant children because they are unwilling to bring them up in slavery (Dio Chrys. xv.8), he can be believed. The reaction of a mother who was divorced while she was pregnant might be to expose her new-born son.[126]

Some of these reasons for exposing infants could be foreseen by the parents, and the question therefore arises why they did not prevent or end pregnancies. In some cases they must have tried unsuccessfully to do so. But Riddle's work on abortion and contraception has shown in detail that the largely herbal remedies prescribed for these purposes by the Greek doctors of the Roman Empire — Soranus and Aetius are the most important sources — were potentially effective. Using his expertise in botany, and the biochemical research of recent decades that has investigated the plants in question, he has shown that the Romans could control their fertility much more than was previously supposed. Furthermore he makes it plain that Roman knowledge of effective oral abortifacients and contraceptives, which in ancient conditions could only be derived from popular experience on a very large scale, was mainly transmitted not by physicians in text-books but by word of mouth, probably for the most part among women.[127]

If the inhabitants of the Roman Empire could to a surprising extent control their fertility, as Riddle argues,[128] why was so much child-exposure thought to be necessary, and how was it demographically possible? The problem is all the more pressing because it may well have been

[119] cf. Hopkins, op. cit. (n. 117), 314–15.

[120] P. Brulé holds that in Greece children born to slave women were generally exposed if the owner was the father ('Infanticide et abandon d'enfants', *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 18 (1992), at 84), but this is quite unproved.

[121] Suet., *Aug.* 94. Cassius Dio (XLV.1) tells the tale that because of an evil prophecy Augustus' father thought of destroying him — perhaps not by exposure — very shortly after his birth.

[122] Suet., *Cal.* 5 ('quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subversae deum arae, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abiecti, partus coniugum expositi'). This is dismissed as rhetoric in the commentary of D. W. Hurley (1993).

[123] It would have been children who were born that day who suffered (Delcourt, op. cit. (n. 15), 63).

[124] For discussion see H. S. Versnel, 'Destruction, *devotio* and despair . . .', in *Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (1980), 541–618. The key question for a reader of Versnel's rich article must be whether Germanicus' death is likely to have produced real despair, as Tacitus also says, at length ('nihil spei reliquum clamitabant', *Ann.* III.4); see esp. Versnel, 542–55, 617.

[125] Sen., *De clem.* I.13.5. Tyranny: Rhet. Lat. Min., ed. Halm, p.343.10–11.

[126] See Scaevola in *Dig.* XL.4.29.

[127] Gallo, op. cit. (n. 4), 38–9, perhaps gave a higher estimate of the effectiveness of Greek contraception than was justified at the time he wrote. Parkin, op. cit. (n. 5), 126, already seems superseded.

[128] There were serious impediments of course, including the probably widespread notion that the most fertile time in the menstrual cycle was in the last days of menstruation (Soranus I.36).

the Greeks who knew most about contraception[129] and were most accepting of and knowledgeable about abortion.

Even when they knew of effective contraceptives and abortifacients, the population of the Roman world might prefer not to use the available methods. Abortions were notoriously dangerous (but normal childbirth was also, of course, very perilous by modern standards). No woman would have needed a text by Ovid or Plutarch to bring this fact home,[130] and abortions were naturally all the more dangerous if a woman waited, uncertain whether missing periods really meant that she was pregnant, until the second trimester. But a primary consideration was that parents who wanted male but not female offspring will have allowed pregnancies to go to term and then, if nature went against them, exposed their infant daughters.[131]

III. DISAPPROVAL, ANGUISH, SHAME

There were laws and customs that applied to child-exposure, there was intellectual and moral disapproval, there were individual feelings of anguish and shame. Each would depend to some extent on the very different reasons which led to the act. Can a coherent history be made out of all this?

Local custom was probably hostile to child-exposure in some fourth-century B.C. Greek cities, and Isocrates and his public seem to have disapproved. The sentiment that lay behind the famous couplet of Poseidippus may also have been critical.[132] Middle and New Comedy may have reflected a certain degree of shame or regret, and plays which depicted near-miraculous reversals of fortune in favour of the exposed must be suspected of serving to assuage the troubled feelings of the many in the audience who had consigned infants to this fate. The unmitigated bliss which in the end comes to the exposed in these stories suggests profound feelings of guilt.

In Roman law, of course, the *paterfamilias* had the right to bring about the death of an infant in his power. It was at least until the Severan age a normal part of his *potestas vitae necisque*, which went into effect at the time of birth.[133] But that left plenty of room for disapproval. We first hear this expressed at Rome in the so-called Law of Romulus (if it is Roman), but in any case some republican Romans are likely to have been critical, at least on grounds of public policy; the censors had long been concerned to see the Romans as numerous as possible.

It may be fortuitous that Augustan literature sounds no censorious note on this subject, especially since the ruler himself was strongly interested in population increase in Italy and devised the *ius trium liberorum*.[134] The first explicitly disapproving voice we hear is Philo's, asserting that divine ordinance forbids it. Next is Musonius Rufus.[135] His objections are multiple. He implies that exposure was contrary to nature, as a Stoic easily might, since Zeno had taught (*SVF* fr. 128) that the seed of humans contains part of their souls. Musonius further claims that civic duty requires large families; so do respect for the law-givers who supported this aim, and respect for the gods and especially for Zeus, guardian of the family. So does honour, which comes to the man with many sons. Finally, brothers are useful. What is perhaps most striking here is the religious element in the argument. There is nothing here, on the other hand, about rights the infant child might have. Other Stoics — Epictetus (1.23) and, in less absolute terms, Hierocles — joined in, on the grounds that exposure was against nature.[136]

[129] There are still unnoticed references to this subject in various authors. What else, for example, can Argentarius have been thinking of in *Anth. Pal.* v.104.6 (= *Garland of Philip* 1328 Gow-Page)?

[130] Ov., *Amores* II.13, Plu., *Lyc.* 3.

[131] cf. Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 76.

[132] Cameron, op. cit. (n. 2), 113, says that Greek ethnographical statements about peoples who bring up all their children are criticisms of Greek practice, but this is seldom if ever clear.

[133] A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic* (1967), 77–82. It hardly needs saying that many exposing fathers were still under their own fathers' *potestas*, or that many others were non-citizens.

[134] Brunt, op. cit. (n. 2), 558–66. Is *Aen.* VI.428 ('ab ubere raptos') an allusion to *expositi*?

[135] In this as in many other cases in which criticism is voiced, it is unclear whether all infants whatsoever, including the handicapped, are meant to be raised. Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 55, perhaps overstates the opposition to exposure in the Julio-Claudian period because he misunderstands Sen., *Contr.* IX.3 and 4, supposing that those who reacted with horror to the deliberate maiming of the exposed were critical of exposure as such, which as far as this text is concerned they clearly were not.

[136] The former claimed that Epicurus had said 'Let us not raise children', and this has become part of a fragment (525 Usener).

But it is perhaps the disapproval of a non-Stoic, Tacitus (*Germ.* 19), that should attract most attention, all the more so as the time when he was writing (98) coincides closely with the creation of the imperial *alimenta* in Italy. This programme implied opposition to all forms of family limitation, and Pliny confirms that exposure was seen as in effect the most controllable of these.[137] Thus by the time of Nerva criticism of child-exposure had spread from philosophers and moralists to leading Romans of more pragmatic mentality. The imperial *alimenta*, which aimed at population increase in Italy by means of subsidies specifically directed towards children, were preceded and, on a much larger scale, followed by private philanthropy with similar aims.[138]

Such measures were, of course, normally aimed at the citizens of a particular city, and no one attempted to discourage child-exposure on an empire-wide scale. Yet Section 107 of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (referred to above), together with the fact that the Egyptian documents concerning the enslavement of foundlings cease almost entirely after A.D. 111, suggest that at least in one province Roman authority was now openly hostile to child-exposure.

There were, on the other hand, still no Roman laws against child-exposure as such, which might in any case have been futile. Tertullian, writing his *Ad nationes* in the 190s, says that there are laws forbidding the killing of children, but he should probably be taken to be referring to the law against murder, and not to any provision against child-exposure.[139] The local laws of Thebes and Ephesus mentioned earlier were special cases rather than part of a general pattern.

It is much too broad to say that Greek 'religious sentiment' was against child-exposure,[140] and the evidence quoted concerns the ritual purification that in two shrines in different cities is known to have been required after an infant had been exposed. Such impurities are not always acts that are regarded as morally displeasing to the divinity.[141] On the other hand, religious arguments were indeed sometimes used against exposure (Philo, Musonius), and there is at least a little evidence that an important deity, Isis, was seen as the saviour of exposed infants.[142]

It has been argued that it was not shameful simply to expose a child,[143] and it certainly appears that when parents attempted to reclaim their children they did so without embarrassment. In *Daphnis and Chloe* exposure is the source of little if any shame, but this is a case in which the artificial world of the romance may be an unreliable guide. The anguish of the parents — a very different matter — is not in any case to be underestimated, and what was commonplace to a social observer could be a crisis to individuals. According to a literary *topos*, wife and husband might be divided on the subject, the father wishing to expose the infant, the mother not.[144] A father could also be described as grieving — as weeping and trembling, in the words of one orator (Sen., *Contr.* IX.3.5). How often the action was performed without much emotion it is impossible to know: inferences are not to be relied on here. However if it is true that parents quite often hoped, however desperately, that the exposed infant would be rescued, then their anxiety was necessarily great.

The act of exposing an infant rather than killing it outright can seem to modern minds to be a hypocritical evasion,[145] especially if it is concluded that the majority of the victims died and that parents generally expected this. Lactantius for this reason portrayed exposure as *falsa*

[137] *Pan.* 26.5–7, quoted in n. 114.

[138] Another topic with a large bibliography: see esp. R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies* (1974), 288–319; S. Mrozek, 'Die privaten Alimentarstiftungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit', in H. Kloft (ed.), *Sozialmassnahmen und Fürsorge* (1988), 155–66. The earliest evidence, from Atina in Latium, is Neronian or a bit earlier (*ILS* 977). For such benefactions in Greek cities in the second century, → C. P. Jones, 'Eastern *alimenta* and an inscription of Attaleia', *JHS* 109 (1989), 189–91.

[139] I.15.3: 'vos quoque infanticidae, qui infantes editos enecantes legibus quidem prohibemini, sed nullae magis leges tam impune tam secure ... eluduntur'. He must be talking about Roman statutes, *pace* Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 60 n. 16.

[140] C. Vatin, *Recherches sur le mariage et la condition de la femme mariée à l'époque hellénistique* (1970), 235, who does not distinguish carefully between child-exposure and other practices. The evidence is *LSCG Supplément* No.119 l. 77 (Ptolemais, first century B.C.), and *LSAM* No.84 ll. 3–4 (Smyrna, second century A.D.).

[141] On evidence of this type see Cameron, op. cit. (n. 2), 108.

[142] Ov., *Met.* IX.685–701 ('nec dubites ... tollere quidquid erit'), Plu., *De Is. et Os.* 14 = *Mor.* 356f. (cf. F. Maroi, 'Intorno all'adozione degli esposti in Egitto romano', in *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso* (1925), at 385). In Egypt itself: H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* II (1952), 380, Pomeroy, op. cit. (n. 4), 160.

[143] Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 90.

[144] Ter., *Heaut.* 626–52. Cf. Ov., *Met.* IX.680–4. Husbands may quite often have been deceived as to whether the child had been exposed: cf. Ps.-Quint., *Decl.* 306.4.

[145] cf. G. Glotz in *DS* s.v. infanticidium, 490.

pietas.[146] But life sometimes offered hard choices, about which Lactantius had nothing very useful to say (he simply recommended that men should abstain from sex with their wives, *Inst.* VI.20.25). For a family living in dire poverty, in particular, not to expose might seem as likely to lead to the death of some member of the family as exposure was to kill the new-born.

The opposition of first-century Judaism to child-exposure was transmitted to the Christians,[147] and a legion of Christian texts can be cited in addition to those already mentioned.[148] Presumably this teaching had some effects on behaviour within the limited circles that were receptive to Christian teaching, and exposing infants is not among the failings and deviations with which Christians reproach one another.[149]

Thus there was disapproval, and there was grief — but perhaps not very much shame. However disapproval and grief were not strong enough to prevent the exposure of a certain number of healthy legitimate infants who could have been fed and maintained. This sometimes happened in families which historically speaking were quite small. Many Romans set a relatively low value on the lives of new-born children, especially girls; a corollary is that they also set a relatively low value on having their own children as their heirs. On what then did they set a relatively high value? On ensuring that the children they did bring up did not suffer from extreme want, and at a higher social level that they had the economic means to live lives as civilized and comfortable as those of their parents. And in the age of Quintilian and Juvenal (see XIV.47) an increasingly humane attitude towards growing children is detectable.

IV. THE DEMOGRAPHIC REGIME

In the absence of a secure and at least moderately precise reconstruction of the demography of the Roman Empire, it would be a mistake to allow a discussion of child-exposure to revolve around a demographic model. The most recent work on Roman demography suggests how great the uncertainties are: we do not know, for example, whether the population of the Roman Empire expanded or contracted in the first two centuries A.D.; even the average life expectancy is known to us only within very wide limits.[150] More generally, the notion that all demographic regimes that preceded the Demographic Transition were quite similar to each other seems increasingly fragile.[151] In any case the instances of past societies that have practised infanticide or the exposure of infants on a large scale while maintaining stable populations (which is a likely enough assumption about the high Roman Empire) are so numerous that the *possibility* of such a thing should not have to be demonstrated once again.[152]

The most recent study holds that the Empire's population was similar to that represented in the life-table Coale-Demeny Model West Level 3 female,[153] and concludes that average life expectancy at birth lay somewhere between twenty and thirty years (in other words, it remains very uncertain). The author sees no difficulty in accepting a high level of infanticide. This model includes a mortality rate of 30.6 per cent in the first year of life. As Frier has shown, however, a higher rate of infant mortality is quite consistent with a stable population. His own model includes a mortality rate of 35.8 per cent in the first year.[154] An infant mortality rate as

[146] *Inst.* VI.20.20; cf. V.9.15.

[147] On Jewish disapproval see, e.g., B. Schöpf, *Das Tötungsrecht bei den frühchristlichen Schriftstellern* (1958), 120–3.

[148] See nn. 55, 83. See also *Apocal. Petri* 8 (Ethiopic, translated in E. Hennecke (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*[2] (1924), 322); *Epist. ad Diognetum* 5.6; Athenagoras, *Supplicatio* 35.6; Clem. Alex., *Strom.* II.18, 92–3, V.14 (*Eclog. proph.* 41 explains how the exposed will be saved); Orig., *Contra Celsum* VIII.55; Min. Fel., *Oct.* 30.2; *Orac. Sib.* II.282. Cf. Schöpf, op. cit. (n. 147), 124–42. G. T. T. Kikillus, *De Invloed van het Christendom op de Romeinsche wetgeving ten opzichte van de zorg voor het kind* (1924), contributed very little.

[149] Christians prior to Constantine's time may sometimes have exposed infants, but (*pace* Boswell, op. cit. (n. 5), 3) there seems to be no evidence that they did.

[150] Parkin, op. cit. (n. 5), 84, with the comments by B. W. Frier, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 3 (1992), 385.

[151] This applies even to nineteenth-century western Europe: S. C. Watkins, 'Demographic nationalism in western Europe, 1870–1960', in J. R. Gillis *et al.* (eds), *The European Experience of Declining Fertility* (1992), 272–6.

[152] See n. 96, and also Bresson, op. cit. (n. 21), 7–34, Parkin, op. cit. (n. 5), 95. → M. Golden, 'Demography and the exposure of girls at Athens', *Phoenix* 35 (1981), 316–31.

[153] Parkin, op. cit. (n. 5), 147.

[154] B. W. Frier, 'Roman life expectancy: Ulpian's evidence', *HSCPh* 86 (1982), 245, adapted in Parkin, op. cit. (n. 5), 144.

high as this, or nearly so, should be hypothesized to accommodate the level of child-exposure, more often than not fatal, that the evidence reviewed here would lead one to expect.

The main question at this point in the history of Roman demography is whether such high infant mortality levels could be sustained by a society which was also limiting its fertility more or less in the ways in which Riddle has described. Let us assume for the sake of discussion that the population of the area comprised by the Empire in A.D. 14 was stable over the next century and a half.[155] There has to have been a Gross Reproduction Rate (GRR) high enough to allow such levels of mortality, this rate being 'the average number of daughters that a woman in a hypothetical cohort would give birth to if she survived throughout her reproductive life course'.[156] For example — and purely for the sake of example —, if average expectation of life at birth was twenty-five years, a static population (Net Reproduction Rate = 1) would require a GRR of 2.543.[157] The low age of Roman girls at first marriage favoured a high GRR, while the use of artificial means of controlling fertility worked in the other direction. It is important to realize how powerful the first of these factors must have been.[158] We seldom have adequate statistical information about any society in which even the median female age at marriage was lower than twenty — let alone lower than sixteen. When we do, the GRR is, predictably, higher than 2.543.[159] These brief comments should be enough to confirm that a demographic model can readily be constructed that has room for the amount of commonly fatal child-exposure envisaged in this paper.

A fallacious demographic argument has been employed in an attempt to show that child-exposure was practised on no more than a minimal scale.[160] This is to the effect that the 'rate of natural increase' cannot have been large enough to leave room for the fatalities that widespread child-exposure would have brought about.[161] It is implied that infanticidal mortality on the level of 2.5 per thousand of the population would be 'minimal', even though this would mean that some 6 to 8 per cent of live births resulted in death by exposure. Since the scholar in question finds in two historical contexts (mediaeval and Renaissance Europe and Ming China) long-term rates of natural increase no higher than 2.5 per 1000 per annum, he concludes that the Roman Empire cannot have known any higher rate for any prolonged period. This is a spectacular misuse of comparative history, which attempts to establish a general law on the basis of two (poorly known) instances. In reality higher levels of nuptiality, lower female ages at marriage, or better medical care, or some combination of these factors,[162] may very well have made the population of the Roman Empire more fertile than the population of mediaeval Europe. About the demographic history of China I shall not dare to speak.

V. CHILD EXPOSURE AND SLAVERY

Exposure was well integrated into the Roman economy, for it contributed on a substantial scale to the supply of slaves.[163] In the first century A.D. the demand for slaves was enormous, probably of the order of half a million or more, on average, every year. Other sources — principally slaves born to slaves, importation across the frontiers, and warfare — are unlikely to have met the demand adequately after Augustus' time;[164] yet there is no sign of a shortage. The deficit is likely to have been made up by enslaved foundlings. This will sometimes have

[155] But some constituent populations of the Empire, Greeks for instance, may not have reproduced themselves.

[156] Parkin, op. cit. (n. 5), 86.

[157] See Parkin, op. cit. (n. 5), fig. 10 (p.160), which derives from the concept employed by E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871* (1981), in their fig. 7.10 (p. 239).

[158] In colonial New England, with female age at marriage about twenty-one, average completed family sizes between 7.32 and 9.3 children are quoted: P. Marcy, 'Factors affecting the fecundity and fertility of historical populations', *Journ. of Family History* 6 (1981), 310.

[159] The U.N. Statistical Office's *Demographic Yearbook* 17 (1965) gives figures for two countries with a median female age at marriage lower than twenty for which it also provides a GRR of the same or virtually the same date (in the 1960s): Jordan, GRR 3.4, and Tunisia, GRR 3.1. In both countries the average age at marriage was far higher than in the Roman Empire. In both countries it can be assumed that there was a certain amount of fertility limitation.

[160] Engels, op. cit. (n. 4).

[161] The rate of natural increase is the birth-rate minus the death-rate.

[162] These are not the only possibilities. Child-exposure is quite likely to have increased fertility by curtailing lactation.

[163] See above.

[164] cf. K. R. Bradley, 'On the Roman slave supply and slavebreeding', *Slavery and Abolition* 8 (1987), 42–64, who, however, scarcely deals with child-exposure.

happened when rescuers wished for slaves for themselves, but more often (presumably) when slave-dealers or their agents were at work.[165]

All this is largely a matter of inference, but the inference seems fairly secure. We know not only that most foundlings became slaves, but that very many Roman slaves came from regions in Asia Minor where child-exposure is likely to have been common. Furthermore we possess nursing contracts from Egypt in which it is plain that the slave-owner contracting with the wet-nurse has a supply of slave infants at his disposal. Some of the children who were the subjects of these documents are explicitly said to have been foundlings, and all or most of the others may have been too. Only a small proportion of the children are said to be free.[166] It is clear that most of these infants, if they survived to the age of five or so, passed into the slave market. We also have good reason to suppose that the exposed were a common source of slave prostitutes.[167]

Slaves were normally in adequate supply, but to provide the right kind in the right place required an organized supply network, and slave-dealers used foundlings in order to meet this need.

It has been objected that infants would not have been exposed in great numbers if they were valuable as potential recruits to the slave market; they would have been sold.[168] Sometimes in fact they were. But at times demand must have been weak or non-existent. However even when children did possess some commercial value, there was a powerful inhibition in the way of selling a child of citizen parents. That was precisely what could not be allowed to happen to a member of the citizen community. At least some Greeks felt that the selling of children was more abhorrent than exposing them.[169]

VI. CHANGING ATTITUDES, 193–374

According to the standard account it was Christian emperors who, in response to their religious concerns, first took steps to prevent child-exposure. They may also have been worried about depopulation.[170] And it is apparently true that the actual penalization of exposure came in 374 from Valentinian.

However some fragments of evidence from the time of the Severi suggest that pagan disapproval had already reached considerable proportions. This was part of a long and slow development, the earlier stages of which we have already examined. It may have been a strictly personal opinion when Claudius Aelianus of Praeneste expressed his approval of the Theban law against child-exposure, which he described in the present tense. Rather more significant is the speech about population that Cassius Dio composed for Augustus to deliver to the childless knights of Rome: it makes him blame them fiercely for 'destroying the greatest of the *anathemata* of the gods, human nature' (LVI.5.2); this may also refer to contraception and abortion, but certainly includes exposure.

The most intriguing piece of possibly Severan evidence, however, is the statement in Paul's *Sententiae* (*Dig.* XXV.3.4) quoted earlier, which equates the exposure of an infant with killing. The authenticity of this text has frequently been questioned,[171] probably with

[165] No need to discuss here how much of the trade in slaves was in the hands of specialists. We can count as a slave-dealer anyone who acquires slaves with the intention of selling them, whatever other occupation he may have.

[166] M. Manca Masciadri and O. Montevecchi, have shown ('Contratti di baliatico e vendite fiduciarie a Tebtynis', *Aegyptus* 62 (1982), 148–61; *I contratti di baliatico* (1984), 14–16) that the nursing contracts from Tebtunis are probably disguised loan contracts, but those from more Hellenized places — in the surviving evidence this means mainly Alexandria and Oxyrhynchus — are agreed to be genuine nursing contracts.

[167] cf. Glotz, op. cit. (n. 2), 935; Ter., *Heaut.* 640.

[168] Engels, op. cit. (n. 4), 391, 393. On the economics of raising slaves in this fashion see Manca Masciadri and Montevecchi, op. cit. (n. 166, 1984), 19, who, however, take too little account of the inevitably heavy mortality of the children who were contracted out.

[169] See the Delphic inscription published in *BCH* 1893, 383 No. 80 (first century B.C.); Aelian II.7.

[170] Bianchi Fossati Vanzetti, op. cit. (n. 48), 187, 199.

[171] It is enough to cite Weiss in *RE* s.v. Kinderaussetzung (1921), col. 467, M. A. de Dominicis, 'Satura critica sulle fonti postclassiche', in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra* (1971), I, 540, Kaser, op. cit. (n. 5), II.204 n. 17, T. Mayer-Maly in *KP* s.v. Kinderaussetzung (1969), 214, Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 31, Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 69. Authentic: A. Mau in *RE* s.v. Aussetzung (1896), col. 2589, M. Radin, 'The exposure of infants in Roman law and practice', *CJ* 20 (1924–1925), 339–40.

sufficient reason,[172] since the *Sententiae* suffered heavily from interpolation[173] and since in this case there has to be some suspicion that the law had changed between Paul's own time and the construction of the *Digest*.[174] If the quotation were authentic, it would mean that exposers who did not possess *patria potestas* now became criminals, and it would suggest that child-exposure as such was undergoing doubt and scrutiny.

By 312 emperors had taken measures to encourage the bringing up of children, but had not yet criminalized exposure. What happened when the heir of a tradition entirely hostile to child-exposure came to power? The earliest relevant measure known to us is an edict of 322, *C.Th.* XI.27.2, addressed to a certain Menander whose office is not stated, but who was above the provincial governors of Africa. It provided imperial aid to indigent parents in the African provinces, with the stated aim of inducing them not to sell or pledge their children, and with the presumable aim of discouraging exposure. *C.Th.* XI.27.1, which is apparently later (329?), extends similar aid to poor parents in Italy, and explicitly refers to exposure.[175] In other words, Constantine as part of his imitation of Trajan[176] attempted to revive the imperial *alimenta* in a new form. The earlier of the two measures is more explicit about how the financing of these grants would take place,[177] but in neither version is the measure backed up by any permanent system,[178] and the effects are likely to have been no more than very short-lived.

The evidence about Constantine seems in one respect quite puzzling: in *C.Th.* XI.27.1 he appears to treat child-exposure by parents as a form of *parricidium*, but in *C.Th.* V.10.1 he allows the father to reclaim an exposed child if, in effect, he pays for it.[179] Thus an exposing father is not yet, as such, a criminal. (Both provisions apply to Italy.) This problem can be tidily resolved, however, if we recognize that the preamble to the first of these edicts, and in particular the phrase 'to keep parents' hands from parricide and change their prayers for the better',[180] is apocryphal.[181] The stated purpose of this edict in its transmitted form was to discourage *parricidium*, or rather one form of *parricidium*, the killing of new-born children by their parents, almost all of which had been done by exposure. But child-exposure was not yet legally *parricidium* and this expression was added to XI.27.1 later. The edict appears in the Theodosian Code under the heading 'De alimentis quae inopes parentes de publico petere debent' (On the subsistence that indigent parents should request from the state), and that was its original subject.

C.Th. V.10.1 still allowed a father to reclaim an exposed child, but at a price. One effect of this edict will obviously have been to make it even less likely that free-born foundlings would regain their freedom. Trajan would not have approved. Two years later, in 331, Constantine issued a still harsher edict to the praetorian prefect in the East. This is *C.Th.* V.9.1, to the effect that those who brought up foundlings could decide the free or slave status of the latter in

[172] The absence of this sentiment from our other sources for the *Sententiae* is of no consequence since they are so brief. The more commonly invoked argument is simply that the text contradicts what we know about the law concerning exposure in Severan times. I leave aside here the related problem raised by *Sent.* III.4[B].2.

[173] cf. E. Volterra, 'Sull'uso delle *Sententiae* di Paolo', in *Atti del Congresso internazionale di diritto romano, Bologna* I (1934), 162–5.

[174] In particular it is almost impossible to think that *Dig.* XXV.3.4 can have been written before the Constantinian edict contained in *C.Th.* V.10.1 (which is discussed later on in the text).

[175] The MS date is 13 May 315. O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste* (1919), 54, moved it to 329, and since it has subsequently emerged → T. D. Barnes, 'Lactantius and Constantine', *JRS* 63 (1973), 36, based on numismatic work by P. Bruun) that in 315 Constantine did not yet control Naissus, where the edict is supposed to have been issued, the case for 329 is still stronger. 'IMP. CONSTANTINUS A. AD ABLAVIUM. Aereis tabulis vel cerussatis aut linteis mappis scribta per omnes civitates Italiae proponatur lex, quae parentum manus a parricidio arceat votumque vertat in melius. Officiumque tuum haec cura perstringat, ut, si quis parens adferat subolem, quam pro paupertate educare non possit, nec in alimentis nec in veste inpertienda tardetur . . .'.

[176] On this see J. A. Evans-Grubb, *'Munita coniugia': the Emperor Constantine's Legislation on Marriage and the Family* (unpub. diss., Stanford, 1987), 183–4.

[177] But still quite vague: 'et universis, quos adverterint in egestate miserabili constitutos, stipem necessariam largiantur atque ex horreis substantiam protinus tribuant competentem'.

[178] It is evident that there were no imperial foundations of the old kind: Evans-Grubb, op. cit. (n. 176), 185, and in J. Harries and I. Wood (eds), *The Theodosian Code. Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* (1993), 135. Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 61, has this wrong, and in support of his view quotes an imaginary inscription from the Arch of Constantine.

[179] The MS date of the latter is 18 August 329. Seeck, op. cit. (n. 175), 65, wished to move it to 319 or 320, but this remains speculative. The arguments of Vanzetti, op. cit. (n. 48), 197–8, for supposing that this did not refer to child-exposure are trivial. See Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 62–4.

[180] cf. above n. 175.

[181] It could also be resolved by dating *C.Th.* V.10.1 before XI.27.1 (as Seeck, op. cit. (n. 175), 65 does for other reasons) and supposing that in the interval the emperor had decided to treat child-exposure as *parricidium*. But this seems much less likely, not least because *C.Th.* V.9.1 of 331, though it nullifies the rights of exposing fathers, shows no sign of regarding them as *parricidae*.

perpetuity; the fathers of enslaved foundlings could never assert claims to their freedom. Thus Constantine sacrificed the long tradition of safeguarding the freedom of the free-born to the interests of slave-owners. His motives he does not spell out, and scholars have freely supplied them. But it is a serious distortion to say that this was the beginning of the penalization of child-exposure, or the beginning of its gradual repression.[182] The edict will have had the effect of discouraging some parents from exposing infants, since they could now no longer hope they might eventually recover their children. But the great majority of exposing parents in this period probably felt that they were acting under duress, and had few illusions even before 331 about recovering their children. On the other hand, the emperor is likely to have hoped that as a result of his edict more slaves would be reared. If this was a new morality,[183] it was certainly double-edged.

It is true, however, that events were leading in the direction of penalizing child-exposure. The traditional *vitae ac necis potestas* was effectively dead by the first years of Constantine's reign, as *C.Th.* IX.15.1 of the year 318 demonstrates.[184] More important still, Lactantius had not long before branded exposing parents as parricides (*Inst.* VI.20.24: the book was dedicated to the emperor), which suggests that powerful voices would soon want it to be made into a crime. Why this apparently did not happen until 374 we cannot explain with certainty;[185] the most likely conjecture is that emperors were too sensible to suppose that such a deeply-rooted practice could be effectively controlled by legal enactment.

Between 312 and 374 an important change had taken place which had helped the supply of slaves, and probably somewhat reduced the incidence of exposure. Beginning in 313, Constantine legalized the selling of free children into slavery.[186] Such sales were not unknown in the High Empire, but they were illegal, and being quite risky for the purchaser were probably not numerous. The ruling Constantine gave to a certain Flavia Aprilla in 313, in which he told her that if she had bought an infant from its parents 'we hold that you possess *ius dominii* [over it]' destroyed a fundamental principle of the ancient city-state. 'No price can be set on the head of a free person', so Paul had written (*Sent.* V.1.1), and under Diocletian this rule was still respected.[187] The apparent hesitations in Constantine's legislation on this subject no doubt resulted from some awareness in his circle that a basic principle was at stake.

To support the view that the incidence of exposure increased in the fourth century[188] there is nothing except a picture of general economic decline. However it certainly remained common. In Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis*, the astrological handbook written in the last years of the reign of Constantine, probably in Sicily, one of the longer sections (VII.2) is devoted to the exposure of infant children. It was evidently a fate that awaited a far from trivial number of Firmicus' contemporaries; it was an ordinary part of existence.

Nearly forty years after Constantine's death, on 5 March 374, Valentinian and his fellow Augusti, Valens and Gratian, issued their edict:[189]

> Unusquisque subolem suam nutriat. quod si exponendam putaverit, animadversioni quae constituta est subiacebit. sed nec dominis vel patronis repetendi aditum relinquimus, si ab ipsis expositos quodammodo ad mortem voluntas misericordiae amica collegerit: nec enim dicere suum poterit, quem pereuntem contempsit.
>
> Let everyone give nourishment to his own progeny. If, however, anyone thinks of exposing it, he will be subject to the statutory punishment. But we leave no opportunity open to masters and patrons (sc. to reclaim children), if a decision based on pity collects those whom they have exposed

[182] Vanzetti, op. cit. (n. 48), 200 and Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 67 respectively. Vanzetti, 202, 211, must be alone in thinking that there was no significant change in the law regarding child-exposure between 331 and 529.

[183] Vanzetti, op. cit. (n. 48), 199–201.

[184] Harris, op. cit. (n. 16), 92.

[185] It was Iustus Lispius who realized, and Gerard Noodt who first argued at length, that there was such a long delay: see G. C. J. J. van den Bergh, *The Life and Work of Gerard Noodt (1647–1725)* (1988), esp. 207–13.

[186] The earliest evidence is *Frag. Vat.* 34 (*FIRA* II, p.469) and *C.Th.* V.10.1. See W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery* (1908), 420–1, M. Humbert, 'Enfants à louer ou à vendre: Augustin et l'autorité parentale (Ep.10* et 24*)', in *Les lettres de Saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak* (1983), 189–204, esp. 195–6 (not convincing on all points, however), Evans-Grubb, op. cit. (n. 176), 192–202 (also in Harries and Wood, op. cit. (n. 177), 134).

[187] See *C.J.* IV.43.1 (A.D.294).

[188] L. Cracco Ruggini, *Economia e società nell'"Italia annonaria"* (1961), 72, Boswell, op. cit. (n. 1), 428 (after A.D.250).

[189] *C.J.* VIII.51.2. It was addressed to Probus, PPO in command of Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. Note that after 374 *patroni* and *domini* were still allowed to expose: Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 70–1 (they were, however, denied the right to recover the victims).

(as it were) to death: he will not be able to call his own a being whom he held in contempt when it was at the point of death.

The words 'quae constituta est' seem to show that parents who exposed were *already* liable to punishment. The reference is probably but not certainly to the edict issued shortly before, on 7 February, *C.Th.* IX.14.1, which made it a capital offence to kill an infant.[190] It should not surprise anyone who considers the history of punishment in the fourth century that the penalty for exposure was capital.[191] As for what dictated Valentinian's legislation on exposure, the texts give only slight hints. The word *piaculum*, 'an act that requires expiation', in the edict of 7 February suggests that moral indignation was to the fore, but it is very possible that more material considerations about population also carried weight. The latter notion is supported by the fact that the emperor had already been in power for ten years and might therefore have dealt earlier with any matter over which he had strong feelings.

The criminalization of child-exposure, with its potentially considerable repercussions in the spheres of marriage and sexuality, can easily be seen as an attempt on the part of Christian emperors to assert ideological control in the reproductive lives of their subjects.[192] They made many other incursions into this territory.[193] But both the chronology and the apparent ineffectiveness of the edict of 374 suggest that the reality is still more complicated and included a good deal of puzzlement about how to proceed.

There is, of course, no way of knowing whether under the influence of imperial edicts and Christian doctrine child-exposure decreased in the period before or after 374. In any case it presumably fluctuated in response to local economic conditions. It clearly continued on quite a large scale. Ambrose, for example, seems to take it for granted (*Hexaemer.* V.18) that the *pauperiores* in Italy were exposing many of their infant children. There can be no attempt in this paper to describe the fifth- and sixth-century history of child-exposure in detail. The relevant legislation, which has often been described,[194] is interesting partly because some of it shows a renewed interest in saving the *expositus* from slavery.[195] But a number of other topics deserve examination or re-examination, such as the increasing role of the church and churches in dealing with *expositi* (by Augustine's time some of them were being collected by 'sacred virgins', *Epist.* 98.6), the changing requirements of the labour market, and the relative importance in new conditions of the various reasons for exposing infants that had operated in earlier centuries.

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[190] 'IMPPP. VALENTINIANUS VALENS ET GRATIANUS AAA. AD PROBUM PPO. Si quis necandi infantis piaculum adgressus adgressave sit, erit capitale istud malum . . .'. Cf. Eyben, op. cit. (n. 2), 31. There is admittedly a slight gap in the story (discussed by Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 69–70), since the edict of 5 March seems to take for granted, rather than plainly asserting, that exposure counted as *necatio*, the point supposedly made by Paulus (*Dig.* XXV.3.4).

[191] Vanzetti, op. cit. (n. 48), 214, cannot believe that child-exposure was a capital offence as early as 374 or indeed until Justinian. E. Herrmann-Otto, 'Die Reproduktion der Sklaverei auf dem Wege der natürlichen Aufzucht', in O. Kraus (ed.), *Regulation, Manipulation und Explosion der Bevölkerungsdichte* (1986), 95 n. 44, claims that exposure as such was still *straflos* after 374. As for Valentinian, Ammianus says of him 'nec enim usquam reperitur miti coercitione contentus', XXX.8.3.

[192] But the silence of the Canons of Elvira about child-exposure presumably means that those present at the council were not greatly concerned about it.

[193] See in brief R. MacMullen, 'What difference did Christianity make?', *Historia* 35 (1986), at 326–30.

[194] See recently Vanzetti, op. cit. (n. 48), 202–23, Memmer, op. cit. (n. 3), 67–82.

[195] *C.J.* VIII.51.3 (529). Cf. *N.Val.* 33 of 451.





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Review Essay

Active/Passive, Acts/Passions: Greek and Roman Sexualities

RUTH MAZO KARRAS

GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY once impinged on the consciousness of modern historians for the models they provided of democracy and empire, political theory and military strategy. Today, if modern historians think about ancient Greece and Rome, they are quite likely to do so in the context of the history of sexuality. One reason for the relatively high visibility of the ancient world in this subdiscipline is the apparent Greek acceptance of (some) male same-sex relations, which makes such an apparent contrast with the contemporary situation. Since 1978, when Kenneth Dover broke the taboo on discussion of ancient same-sex relations in polite scholarly circles with *Greek Homosexuality*, scholarly works have followed one another fast and furiously.[1] The level of discourse in this discussion has been both extremely scholarly—whole theories often turning on the interpretation of certain words or individual passages in fairly arcane documents—and extremely vehement, revealing that these are issues about which scholars care even more than most historians usually care about their subjects.[2] The reasons are not far to seek: scholars' approaches to issues of gender and sexuality often have real-world political antecedents or ramifications, which they see no reason to hide.

Recent scholarship on ancient sexualities (or the lack of ancient sexualities, since some scholars deny the applicability of "sexuality" to the period) has reached consensus, if not complete agreement, on two main points: the social construction of sexuality (that "sexuality" is not a *thing* that can be found in all cultures but is created by the various discourses of particular societies), and the active/passive dichotomy (that the ancient world, both Greek and Roman, categorized sexual behaviors or identities not by the gender of the participants but by the sexual role each played). These ideas are still relatively novel, especially to nonspecialists, and

I wish to thank Christie Balka, Martha Davis, Ralph Hexter, Chris Karras, Janice Siegel, and Dan Tompkins, as well as three anonymous readers for the *AHR*, for their thoughtful readings of earlier versions of this article. All opinions, of course, are my own.

[1] Kenneth J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, 1978).

[2] As an example of the latter, see David Halperin's attack on Amy Richlin in "Forgetting Foucault: Acts, Identities, and the History of Sexuality," *Representations* 63 (1998): 91–120, esp. 104–05. Slightly less vitriolic but similarly reflecting a heavy personal involvement in the argument is Richlin's "Zeus and Metis: Foucault, Feminism, Classics," *Helios* 18 (1991): 160–80. Marilyn B. Skinner, "Zeus and Leda: The Sexuality Wars in Contemporary Classical Scholarship," *Thamyris* 3, no. 1 (1996): 103–23, also available on the World Wide Web at http://www.uky.edu/ArtsSciences/Classics/skinzeus.html, provides an overview of the controversy.

some of the works discussed here are concerned with establishing them; other works, however, take these two points as the new orthodoxy to be demolished.

The concept "the ancient world" is problematic in itself, implying as it does that cultures from archaic Greece to imperial Rome may be lumped together. These cultures do seem to share some fundamental features with regard to sexuality, notably a focus on activity versus passivity. These features, however, characterize many other pre-modern and modern Mediterranean (and other) cultures as well. Other differences—a greater acceptance of pederasty by Athenians, a lower valuation of moderation among Romans—depend a great deal on what sort of texts one reads. The books under review all speak to particular historical moments and groups of texts, and most do not make claims about ancient culture generally. Because my purpose is largely to identify trends in classical scholarship that may interest historians of other periods, I have not attempted to build on these individual studies a broad, comparative overview of Greek and Roman sexualities. After discussing some of the theoretical issues that currently exercise the field, I will move roughly chronologically, dealing first with two books on Greece, then two on the Hellenistic/Roman world.

ALTHOUGH THE THEORETICAL POSITION that sexuality is socially constructed has become dogma in the field, much scholarly writing still presents it as a new and radical idea. This is in part because it is counterintuitive and has had little effect on attitudes outside the academy. Fundamentally, social constructionism argues that the categories in which we think about sexuality—like homosexuality and heterosexuality—are not universal but are a creation of our culture.[3] Its opposite, called by social constructionists "essentialism," argues that there are fundamentally different kinds of people, that in every culture there are those with homosexual, heterosexual, and various other orientations—although of course different societies may think about them and treat them quite differently. The popular lists of "famous gays in history" are essentialist in conception. Although humanities scholarship in the 1990s has almost universally rejected this view,[4] such essentialism is implicit in the contemporary search for genetic markers or biological corollaries of a predisposition to homosexuality. It is also congenial to many gay activists who believe that society will be more tolerant if it understands homosexuality as something inborn, not chosen. Social construction does not imply that individuals choose their own identities—it is the discourses of the broader culture, for example medical, legal, or religious systems, that construct systems of sexual identities—but

[3] Edward Stein, ed., *Forms of Desire: Sexual Orientation and the Social Constructionist Controversy* (New York, 1990), unites some of the early texts in this discussion.

[4] Practically no one claims to be an essentialist. Eva Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1992), by its title and continuing use of the terms "homosexuality," "heterosexuality," and "bisexuality," would seem to fall into the essentialist camp, but Cantarella seems to be using "homosexuality" as synonymous with "homosexual behavior" and rarely writes of people as being "homosexuals" or "bisexuals." When she does do so, in the case of "passive homosexuals" (p. 113), the context indicates that she means those engaged in homosexual practices, rather than orientation: she is discussing a law that punished people for their actions.

nevertheless it is often misunderstood as implying that these identities are not "real."

It is helpful to distinguish two versions of the social constructionist argument.[5] The more moderate of the two states that the meanings that people put on sex acts or desires are different in different cultures, that we cannot assume that the categories in other times and cultures are the same as ours (that a man who has sex with both men and women is "bisexual," for example), and that as historians we must examine the attitudes and mentalities of any given society to see how that particular society constructed sexual identities. It may be the case that we find roles (active or passive) more important than object choices, but the opposite may also be true. It may be the case that we find no deeply felt personal identity based on sexual preference, but the opposite may also be true. While we cannot assume congruence with modern categories, neither can we assume dissonance with them.

The stronger version of social constructionism, relying on the insights of Michel Foucault, states that not only the particular categories familiar to us but also the very notion of a sexual orientation are creations of bourgeois capitalism.[6] Only in nineteenth-century Europe and North America did people come to view their sexual preferences as part of what constituted them as individuals. People in other societies may have had preferences for a particular type of partner, role, or act, but these preferences did not define them as a type of person. An "identity" based on sexuality was a categorization of convenience in earlier eras but was not psychically deep. The founding exponents of this school of thought include Jeffrey Weeks for the nineteenth century and David Halperin for ancient Greece.

It may be impossible to delve far enough into the psyches of ancient people to understand what sexual subjectivities they may or may not have had. This is true for many other aspects of their lives and mentalities besides the sexual. When Halperin argues that the very concept of "a sexuality" was unknown to ancient Greeks, he understands "sexuality" as a system of discourse. If we define "sexuality" as a creation of nineteenth-century medical discourse, we can all agree that the Greeks did not have such a concept, but it is an open question whether they may not have had something else that could also be called "sexuality" by someone using a less restricted definition. Halperin is careful in his recent work to note that he is not denying the existence of sexual identities before the modern period but of sexual orientations, which are quite different.[7] Other scholars, however, have used

→ John Thorp, "The Social Construction of Homosexuality," *Phoenix* 46 (1992): 54–61, calls these the "weak" and "strong" forms of social constructionism.

[6] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: *An Introduction*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1990).

[7] See, for example, Jeffrey Weeks, *Against Nature: Essays in History, Sexuality, and Identity* (London, 1991), 92: "these social identities and intimacies based on sex are relatively new. They have not, could not have existed throughout the mists of time, because the conditions that gave rise to them just did not exist"; and David Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York, 1990), 27: "Before the scientific construction of 'sexuality' as a supposedly positive, distinct, and constitutive feature of individual human beings—an autonomous system within the physiological and psychological economy of the human organism—certain kinds of sexual *acts* could be individually evaluated and categorized, and so could certain tastes or inclinations, but there was no conceptual apparatus available for identifying a person's fixed and determinate sexual *orientation*, much less for assessing and classifying it." Besides Foucault, Mary McIntosh's article originally published in 1968 was also influential on Weeks: McIntosh, "The Homosexual Role," in *The Making of the Modern Homosexual*, Kenneth

Foucault's ideas without the careful reading that characterizes Halperin's work, and have used it simply to say that sexuality is not worth studying before the modern era.

Most modern scholars who draw on Foucault rely mainly on the first, introductory volume in his *History of Sexuality*. He further discussed the ancient world in the second and third volumes, *The Uses of Pleasure* and *The Care of the Self*, dealing with fifth-century Athenian culture and Hellenistic culture respectively.[8] In these latter volumes, he attempted to apply the analytical program he had laid out in the first, using what amounts to a quite traditional historical method. He cited selected, mainly canonical texts, in support of the argument that, in classical Greece, the regulation of the *aphrodisia* (a term that, he notes, means something like "sensual pleasures," but cannot be translated precisely)[9] was a matter of the health of the body and mind rather than a matter of morality. In the Roman world, the link between power over the self and power over others became attenuated, and a sense of danger and imperfection came to characterize the ethics of sexual activity.

The volumes of *The History of Sexuality* focusing specifically on the ancient world met with mixed reviews. Many historians and other classical scholars have long been critical of Foucault on specifics, arguing that he was no historian. Others have responded that the power of the ideas is such that they are far more important than the details.[10] It is of course true that one can be wrong about the sources and still present ideas of such force that they are very fruitful in the hands of those more prepared to deal accurately with the sources. But classicists have other grounds, too, to criticize Foucault.[11]

In *Rethinking Sexuality: Foucault and Classical Antiquity*, edited by David H. J. Larmour, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter (1998), a group of classicists, theoreticians, and philosophers discuss Foucault's views on classical antiquity. Several of these articles are primarily concerned with the place of *The History of Sexuality* in, and its contribution to the understanding of, Foucault's oeuvre. Others, however, comment more directly on Foucault's contribution to the study of classical antiquity.

The most sustained critique of Foucault has come from feminist scholars, but they have not all critiqued him in the same way. Three feminist essays in this book, by Page duBois, Amy Richlin, and Lin Foxhall, illustrate the range of views. DuBois points out that, by beginning a history of sexuality with the Greeks, Foucault assumed "the inevitable primacy of masculine subject-formation, of women's subjection and submission."[12] He accepted the interpretation of Greek culture that made the history of the self the history of the male self, with women always

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Plummer, ed. (Totowa, N.J., 1980). Halperin's more recent formulation is in "Forgetting Foucault," 101–04, 108–10.

[8] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 2: *The Uses of Pleasure*, Vol. 3: *The Care of the Self*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1985–86).

[9] Foucault, *Uses of Pleasure*, 35.

[10] David Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography* (New York, 1995), 5–6. On 189–90 n. 9, Halperin lists some of the scholars he thinks have been inappropriately hostile to Foucault.

[11] See especially Richlin, "Zeus and Metis," for a feminist critique of Foucault.

[12] Page duBois, "The Subject in Antiquity after Foucault," in *Rethinking Sexuality: Foucault and Classical Antiquity*, David H. J. Larmour, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 85–103, quotation at 86.

subordinated. By focusing only on classical Athenian culture, rather than the lyric culture of Sappho, he wrote women out of the history of sexuality. And yet duBois' essay is far from an attack on Foucault. She draws from his work the revelation of the defamiliarization of the past, the notion that the ancient world was radically different, which allows a fresh view of Sappho, among other figures. The discipline of classics, she claims, is fundamentally ahistorical, because "one employs the philological method not to uncover the strangeness of antiquity but rather to dwell in a culture assimilated to our own."[13] Foucault gives it back that strangeness.

An emphasis on the strangeness and otherness of the past is important to a historian, who should not assume that people have always thought the same way as she does. But she should not assume, either, that they thought differently. DuBois critiques the position that would say of the ancient Greeks, "If, for example, we are homophobic, so must they have been."[14] But it would be equally wrong to say, "We are different from them, so if, for example, we are homophobic, they must not have been." A healthy respect for the alterity of the past need not make us deny all similarity or continuity.[15] Yes, the context in which women existed in antiquity was quite different from that in late capitalist postmodernism, but this does not mean that we must deny continuity when the evidence points to it and we have carefully queried whether our own preconceptions cause us to interpret it that way.

Amy Richlin treats Foucault as a historian much more directly than duBois does. For duBois, it is the theoretical force of his historicist stance that is important, not his particular interpretations of the ancient world. For Richlin, it is what he has to say about that world: not the details of particular texts but his historical method. She notes that Foucault's antiquity lacks not only women but also Jews, Africans, Egyptians, Semites, Northern Europeans, children, babies, poor people, and slaves. The absence of women is dictated by his choice of genres and authors, "so that the text replicates the omissions of the history it documents."[16] Richlin makes a great deal of the use of "the Greeks" to mean specifically male (and elite) Greeks. DuBois comments on this, too: both note that the "experience" discussed in Foucault's "four great axes of experience" of the "person" include "the relation to one's wife," although not all persons may have wives.[17] But for duBois, this does not invalidate Foucault's important insights; for Richlin, it does. Foucault is dangerous because he is such an icon and perpetuates such a traditional misogyny. This may seem to be throwing out the baby with the bathwater. Certainly, feminist historians have used the tactic, "I am only discussing here the experience of white middle-class women, because that is the only group for which there is evidence." Why should Foucault not do the same, as long as he notes that he is focusing on the experience of men? Richlin points out that he often fails to note it; his disclaimers are not sufficient to balance out the naturalization of the upper-class masculine. Discussing

[13] DuBois, "Subject in Antiquity after Foucault," 93.

[14] DuBois, "Subject in Antiquity after Foucault," 94.

[15] Thus, when duBois criticizes Amy Richlin for seeing a continuity of misogyny, calling this ahistorical and an erasure of historical difference due to a failure to question the category "women" (89), she is tilting the balance too far in the direction of alterity.

[16] Amy Richlin, "Foucault's *History of Sexuality*: A Useful Theory for Women?" in Larmour, Miller, and Platter, *Rethinking Sexuality*, 138–70, quotation at 139.

[17] Richlin, "Foucault's *History of Sexuality*," 143; duBois, "Subject in Antiquity after Foucault," 187.

women only as wives, discussing only male-male love under the rubric of "Erotics," and then packaging the whole as authoritative replicates a historical imbalance.

Richlin presents a number of useful directions for a history of ancient sexuality that includes women. Lin Foxhall takes up a part of this agenda. She stresses the different way in which women and men in ancient Greece experienced time and the fact that women controlled men's access to "the three-generation time scale which framed most of everyday life."[18] She also discusses the importance to social reproduction of women's ritual activity in which they displayed their sexuality to each other in the absence of men. By dominating the *oikos* (household), men attempted to monopolize civic life, but women controlled not just physical but also social reproduction into the next generation. Further, she argues, women were not just seen as passive sexually; although *moikheia* (adultery) was an offense against the man who controlled the woman involved, the implication is that the woman had taken control of her own sexuality, subverting her husband's control. By ignoring the household context of feminine sexuality, Foxhall shows, Foucault has ignored a big part of the picture. A number of the articles in *Roman Sexualities*, discussed below, also work to place women at the center of a history of ancient sexuality.

Scholars of Greece, in particular, have tended to accept Foucault's theoretical insights, if not his research on Athenian society. The prominent 1990 collection of essays on the ancient Greek world, *Before Sexuality*, recognized the stronger and weaker forms of social constructionism: the title, the editors explain, could mean "before *our* sexuality," suggesting merely that "sexual meanings and practices in the ancient Greek world were constituted differently from our own," or it could "suggest that the very category 'sexuality' is a specifically modern construction."[19] One of the editors, John J. Winkler, went on elsewhere to stake out a moderate social constructionist position, for example in a discussion of the *kinaidos* (Latin *cinaedus*), often interpreted as a "passive homosexual": "The *kinaidos*, to be sure, is not a 'homosexual' but neither is he just an ordinary guy who now and then decided to commit a kinaidic act. The conception of a *kinaidos* was of a man socially deviant in his entire being."[20] It is, however, the view that sexuality and sexual identity did not exist in the ancient (or medieval, or early modern, or non-Western) world that has gained currency among non-classicists.[21]

Both moderate and strong social constructionists have tended to agree that gender roles—masculine or feminine, active or passive—were more important than object choice in the ancient world, although they disagree on whether this means that the Greeks and Romans had sexualities very different from ours or that their classifications were based on gender roles *rather than* (not as a part of) sexuality. Key to the distinction of gender roles was the concept that men are active and women passive, or that men are penetrators and women penetrated.[22] Thus anyone

[18] Lin Foxhall, "Pandora Unbound: A Feminist Critique of Foucault's *History of Sexuality*," in Larmour, Miller, and Platter, *Rethinking Sexuality*, 122–37, quotation at 126.

[19] "Introduction," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma Zeitlin, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 5.

[20] John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1990), 45. See now Halperin's discussion of the *kinaidos* in "Forgetting Foucault," 100–04.

[21] See, for example, Martha Nussbaum, "Therapeutic Arguments and Structures of Desire," *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 2 (1990): 46–66, esp. 49.

[22] Eva Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), is a

who is penetrated (or is in other ways passive) is gendered feminine, and anyone who penetrates is masculine. For the Romans, to penetrate other men could be a sign of masculinity (hence Valerius Asiaticus's taunt, "Question your sons, Suillius, they'll say that I'm a man," whereas a modern taunter might be more likely to say, "Ask your mother").[23] Women who penetrate (with dildos or large clitorises) and men who are penetrated are seen not primarily as sexual deviants but as gender transgressors. The primary example of such a deviant man is the *kinaidos* or *cinaedus*, but the exact meaning of these terms and the exact way in which such a person deviated from accepted gender roles is the subject of some dispute.

This way of understanding sex as something someone does to someone else seems fairly common in ancient Mediterranean culture.[24] Although this is a long way from modern understandings of homosexuality as related to the gender of object choice, not the gender of act performed, the idea that it is only the passive man or active woman who is perverted, not the man who penetrates another man or the woman who is penetrated by another woman, certainly survived well into this century.[25] This governing paradigm of ancient sexuality may be very different from the scholarly construction of sexuality today but not so far from a view widely held among the North American public, that gay men are effeminate and lesbians masculine.

The fact that there is more than one way of understanding homosexual behavior in contemporary culture should remind us that the ancients did not have a unitary view of it, either. Attitudes varied from archaic to classical Greece to Rome, and varied, too, within a given polis, as David Cohen stresses for Athens, with its internally contradictory expressions.[26] T. K. Hubbard has argued recently, as Kenneth Dover did in 1978, that same-sex relations were far more acceptable among elites than among the mass of the Athenian people and that the latter

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strong, perhaps too strong, statement of the centrality of this phallic view not only to ancient sexuality but to all of Athenian culture.

[23] Tacitus, *Annales* 11: 2, John Jackson, ed., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 250.

[24] Halperin recently complained that Bernadette Brooten, in the book under review here, *Love between Women*, failed to attribute the idea to him, Winkler, or Foucault; she, however, replied that she had made this argument earlier. "The GLQ Forum: Lesbian Historiography before the Name?" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 4 (1998): 560 and 627 n. 1. This point is so pervasive in the literature that it would seem to be impossible to attribute it to a single author. Richlin, "Zeus and Metis," 172–73, also demonstrates that feminist scholars made this point before the publication of Halperin's and Winkler's major books in 1990.

[25] George Chauncey, Jr., *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York, 1994), 119, suggests that this idea that the active partner was "normal" was characteristic of working-class culture in the 1920s. See also Chauncey, "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War I Era," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr., eds. (New York, 1989), 294–317. The idea that the passive partner in a female same-sex relationship was not a lesbian was certainly characteristic of the relationships depicted in Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (New York, 1990); see Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York, 1993), 323–71, on the persistence of the "gender-inversion" model in working-class Buffalo in the 1940s and 1950s. Some fems considered only the butches to be lesbians.

[26] David Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1991), 171–202.

condemned both the active and the passive partner.[27] He argues that the Greeks did categorize by gender of object choice rather than role. Such a view is not incompatible with a moderate idea of the social construction of sexuality, since the argument is made on the basis of Greek texts and the categories that emerge from them, rather than on the imposition of modern categories.

The mainstream or majority view of a given culture, whether that of today or antiquity, is created in large part by a dominant masculine discourse. Did everyone in ancient Greece or Rome understand sex as something that a penetrator does to a penetrated, and if so, did those who were penetrated still see themselves as active participants? Answering these questions requires examining a wide range of texts, beyond the canonical, in innovative ways. In order to do so, a historian must understand something about how a given text helped construct the mental world of its contemporaries: who read it, and how did they understand it? Did it represent a dominant or subversive point of view?

BRUCE THORNTON'S *Eros: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality* (1997) is critical of much recent work on the history of sexuality, which he dismisses with terms like "fashionable." He renounces the attempt to answer these questions: "This book, then, is not about what the Greeks 'really' thought or felt or did about sex. It is about what the literary remains from 700–100 B.C. say about sex." Many historians, however, retain a belief that texts constitute, if only in an indirect way, evidence about the contexts that they were created by or helped to create. A narrow focus on the texts also risks losing sight of how those who did not write surviving texts might have felt and lived. Thornton, to judge from his dismissal of attempts to do so, does not think that studying the mentalities of non-elites through the use of "so-called nonprivileged data" is a worthwhile or possible project.[28] To dismiss the whole field of social history because everyday attitudes are not encapsulated in canonical texts is just as reductive as dismissing canonical texts because they were written by dead white European males.

Thornton positions his book as a brave and honest voice crying in the wilderness of cultural-theory cant. This rhetorical move allows him to ignore the questions that social constructionism raises. Thus he writes of Greek attitudes toward "homosexuality" without asking whether the behaviors and identities to which he refers are really the same or fundamentally different from modern "homosexuality." He notes that "a Greek would not categorize as 'homosexual' a man who has penetrated another," but then goes on to discuss Aristotle referring to "homosexuals," when in fact, as his own discussion shows, it is not a category based on object choice but the taking of pleasure in passivity that Aristotle criticizes.[29] Thornton does raise substantive questions about whether pederasty was relatively unproblematic to the Greeks, as Halperin, Winkler, and Dover would have it.[30] He argues that many texts

→ T. K. Hubbard, "Popular Perceptions of Elite Homosexuality in Classical Athens," *Arion*, 3d ser., 6 (1998): 48–78; Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 148–51.

[28] Bruce J. Thornton, *Eros: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality* (Boulder, Colo., 1997), xii.

[29] Thornton, *Eros*, 194.

[30] Thornton, *Eros*, 193–202; Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society*, 171–202.

speak of boys and women in the same ways, indicating that, for male citizens, sex with women was the norm, and pederasty followed a "heterosexual paradigm," but this could as easily be taken as evidence that gender roles (penetrator/penetrated), not object choice, were what mattered.[31] His discussion of the *kinaidos* is not in deep disagreement with Winkler's, at least in terms of who the Greeks thought the *kinaidos* was.[32] Indeed, he also shares with social constructionists the fundamental premise of the alterity of the Greeks: unlike our contemporaries, according to Thornton, the Greeks viewed eros as a volatile, chaotic, dangerous, and uncontrollable force, inextricably linked to violence. He suggests that we would do well to learn from the Greeks in this regard and follow the lead of Camille Paglia, who alone has recognized that it is just as dangerous a force today.[33]

James Davidson, in *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (1998), also contests the current orthodoxy about the active-passive dichotomy, in an engaged and engaging manner. He takes a moderate constructionist position, arguing that appetites exist in all societies; they are shaped by "historical, social, economic, cultural, intellectual, ideological, etc." contexts but are not created by them.[34] The book, as its title implies, is about more than sex; it is about the desires generally, or at least men's desire.[35] Based on his evidence, a case could be made that Greek men defined their identity not by sexual desires but by their eating habits.[36] He describes classical Athenian culture as one where the control of one's desires and the fight against passion were of crucial importance—a view that, despite Davidson's renunciation of Foucault, echoes the argument of the latter in *The Uses of Pleasure*. The passions on which he focuses are the love of fish and the love of men for courtesans. As in the study of same-sex desires among men, women's desires have only a minor role to play here, but in his discussion of distinctions among those women often lumped together as "prostitutes," he does provide a useful discussion of the nature of their experience and agency. He attempts to recover the highly cultured courtesan, the hetaera, as an independent and desiring woman, different from the *pornai* or common whores, and he challenges the view that women fell into only two categories, the secluded, private wife or the public prostitute.

Davidson's focus on passion leads him to attack the widely held view that it was

[31] Thornton, *Eros*, 194.

[32] John J. Winkler, "Laying Down the Law: The Oversight of Men's Sexual Behavior in Classical Athens," in Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality*, 171–209. This similarity comes despite his praise of Camille Paglia for her "brutal demolition" of Winkler. The first half of the article he cites, Paglia, "Junk Bonds and Corporate Raiders: Academe in the Hour of the Wolf," *Arion*, 3d ser., 1 (Spring 1991): 139–212, is indeed structured as a demolition of Halperin's and Winkler's work, though not all will share Thornton's view of its success; the second is an *ad hominem et feminam* diatribe against contemporary academia.

[33] Thornton, *Eros*, 218.

[34] James Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (New York, 1998), 312.

[35] When Davidson notes with disapproval (xxiii) that "Foucault's study of Greek sexuality has very little on women at all and gives the impression that the Greeks were very much more interested in boys," he clearly means women as partners for men, since it is Greek men who may or may not have been more interested in boys.

[36] Ironically, Halperin has used the counterfactual example of identities based on eating habits as an analogy to explain his view of social construction: "Sex before Sexuality: Pederasty, Politics, and Power in Classical Athens," in Duberman, Vicinus, and Chauncey, *Hidden from History*, 41–42.

passivity and effeminacy that made the *kinaidoi* (and the similar *katapugones*) such figures of opprobrium.[37] It was not, he argues, because they abdicated the masculine role of penetrator that they were considered shameful but rather because they were unrestrained in their desires. Indeed, he claims, the evidence rarely speaks of their being penetrated. Their status had nothing to do with physical integrity but was a function of self-control. Yet the *kinaidos/katapugon* clearly was understood as someone who enjoyed being anally penetrated, whether or not this was the core of his identity. Even if it were the immoderacy of his desire, rather than his passive role, that was important, he was still fundamentally a gender transgressor, feminine in that very immoderacy. The *kinaidos* comes in for far more censure than a man with an immoderate desire to penetrate, although the latter also can meet with disapproval.

Ultimately, Davidson does not undercut the characterization of the Athenian view of sex as something someone does to someone else, a hierarchical act, rather than something two people do together. He argues that those who support the "power-penetration" theory in which the *kinaidos* is dominated and emasculated by being penetrated are actually applying not a Greek but a Victorian view. Given these attitudes, which have developed over a long Western tradition, "It is small wonder that classicists have interpreted rear-entry penetration in the classical world in terms of aggression and power. But in classical Athens the penetrated were not seen as the inert objects of someone else's gratification. Women certainly did not lie back (or bend forwards) and wait for things to be done to them . . . Even passive sodomites are shown joining in at every level . . . The *kinaidos/katapugon* is not a sexual pathic, humiliated and made effeminate by repeated domination, he is a nymphomaniac, full of womanish desire, who dresses up to attract men and has sex at the drop of a hat."[38] Here, Davidson misinterprets the claim some scholars make when they speak of sexual passivity. The one who is penetrated does not have to be inert or apathetic in order for intercourse to be understood as one person doing something to someone else. Indeed, as Halperin has recently stressed, what distinguishes the *kinaidos* is not that he *is* penetrated but that he *desires* to be penetrated.[39] The passivity is anatomical rather than affective. To say that historians of sexuality have denied that women or *kinaidoi* took pleasure in sex is to misinterpret the use of the term "passive." Davidson's own formulation of the *kinaidos* as "full of womanish desire" acknowledges the nature of the gender transgression involved.

ALTHOUGH DAVIDSON CLAIMS THAT in classical Athens sexuality was not characterized by power and domination, he contrasts it with other societies where it was, including ancient Rome.[40] A volume edited by Judith Hallett and Marilyn Skinner,

[37] Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, 167–82. There is some dispute about the meaning of "katapugon"; Davison argues that it refers not just to a passive male but to a lascivious person.
[38] Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, 179.
[39] David Halperin, in "GLQ Forum: Lesbian Historiography before the Name?" 568.
[40] Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, 169.

Roman Sexualities (1997), certainly supports the Roman end of that contrast.[41] The articles in the book do not agree on all points, but several important themes emerge: the importance of the active/passive dichotomy in Roman culture; the critical importance of sexuality to Roman masculinity; and the existence of different discourses, including women's discourses about their own sexualities.

There is a tendency among historians to lump sexuality together with the study of women and gender; this is in part because of the way men in the historical periods in question treated women as controlled by their sexualities, but it has the pernicious effect of pushing us and our students to think of women as sexual beings (or sexual objects) first and foremost, to conflate the study of homosexuality with the study of women, and to erase male heterosexuality as a subject of study. A number of articles in this volume show the importance of sexuality to masculine identity regardless of what in the modern era would be called sexual orientation.

Holt Parker and Anthony Corbeill's articles both focus on the way the active/passive distinction affected ideas about masculinity. Parker constructs a chart to show how the Romans characterized various sexual acts, but his discussion of cunnilingus (equating it with a man's penetration by a woman) pushes the idea of a sexual "system" beyond the evidence.[42] He also omits the active woman from the grid intended to summarize the possibilities for sexualities as the Romans saw them. Parker's conclusion, "Tacitus in Ohio," contains a wonderfully lucid social constructionist explanation of the difference between Roman sexual categories and contemporary North American ones. Parker uses the conceit of imagining Tacitus's field work in the United States to point out how little we know of how those Romans vilified as *cinaedi* would have felt about it, or behaved.[43] One could, of course, say the same about women, whose sexuality is depicted mainly in hostile sources.

Most of what survives about *cinaedi* is the vilification, which shows us how intensely at least one segment of Roman society equated masculinity with penetrative sexual behavior. Corbeill's article is particularly enlightening on this point. Criticism of banquets as a Greek or Asian import was closely tied to the invective against submissive sexuality.[44] Some scholars have questioned whether the passive male or *cinaedus* actually existed as a recognized type, characterized by what Foucault called "a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphrodism of the soul" rather than as a literary construct based on men who merely engaged in specific acts.[45] Both Parker and Corbeill, following on important work by Maud Gleason and Amy Richlin, suggest that *cinaedi* did exist.[46] The question Parker raises, although

[41] So does Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*, rev. edn. (New York, 1992), which Davidson does not cite on this point.

[42] Holt Parker, "The Teratogenic Grid," in Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner, eds., *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 47–65, 51.

[43] Parker, "Teratogenic Grid," 62–63.

[44] Anthony Corbeill, "Dining Deviants in Roman Political Invective," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 99–128.

[45] Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 43.

[46] Maud Gleason, "The Semiotics of Gender: Physiognomy and Self-Fashioning in the Second Century C.E.," in Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality*, 399–415, now incorporated in Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 55–81; Amy Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the *Cinaedus* and the Roman Law against

Corbeill does not, is how the individual so identified felt about his own identity. Others may have seen inner characteristics expressed through outward behavior, but did the *cinaedi*? Did the availability of a literary type for use in self-fashioning mean that this was really a sexual identity? If the sources do not exist that could tell us about the subjectivity of the *cinaedus*, some modern historians would have us take this as evidence that there was no such subjectivity or sexual identity. Even leaving aside the vicissitudes of survival of source material, however, if people did not write about certain types of feelings in the Roman period as they do today—if it was a less confessional age—does that mean that they did not have those feelings? It would be a mistake to assume that because our contemporaries tend to identify themselves by their sexualities, the Romans did, too; but equally it would be a mistake to assume that the Romans could not have.

If we do not know how those labeled *cinaedi* viewed themselves, we know more about the mainstream Roman elite's fear of being so labeled. Marilyn Skinner, in an article originally published in 1993, points out that masculinity in ancient Rome was a very fragile condition but necessary for public manifestations of rank and authority.[47] It was not achieved simply by being born male and growing up; it required constant vigilance to avoid being feminized by a loss of social status, a loss of control over one's family and slaves, or inappropriate sexual behavior. Jonathan Walters discusses the importance of impenetrability to Roman concepts of manhood. Not all adult males were impenetrable, and not all were considered real men (*viri*). To be the passive partner in a sexual relation was *muliebria pati*, "to have a woman's experience," but to be penetrated was not just the experience of a woman but also that of a slave or freedman. He discusses why the corporal punishment of a slave, but not that of a free child or the penetration of a soldier by a sword, was equivalent to sexual penetration.[48]

Walters's argument raises a problem common to historians of gender who refer to biological females being constructed as masculine, and vice versa, or of gender being constituted by performance.[49] This, however, is a use of language not taken literally outside the academy, and perhaps too literally within it. Ask a hundred people off the street (either in ancient Rome, the modern United States, or anywhere else) to explain their concept of masculinity, and you will get a wide variety of answers. Ask them instead to define the term "man" and you will get a small range of variation. On one level, no matter how devoutly we believe that real men don't eat quiche, cry, or engage in violence against women, we still use the term "man" in common parlance to mean an adult male human. An adult male in ancient Rome who was penetrated might become an object of scorn, and might be castigated as unmanly or not really a man, but there would be no question that laws or medical texts that applied to *viri* applied to him. His gender transformation is

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Love between Men," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1993): 523–73; Parker, "Teratogenic Grid," 60–62; Corbeill, "Dining Deviants," 112–17.

[47] Marilyn B. Skinner, "*Ego mulier*: The Construction of Male Sexuality in Catullus," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 129–50.

[48] Jonathan Walters, "Invading the Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 29–43.

[49] On gender as performance, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990), 135–41.

metaphoric or symbolic, but no one thinks that having a woman's experience has "really" made him a woman.

About the sexual subjectivity of biological females, like that of feminized males, surviving texts reveal relatively little. Thus Catharine Edwards writes about prostitution without any consideration of how the prostitutes may have felt about their infamy.[50] Sandra Joshel, writing about a woman of the elite, Messalina, who is far better documented than women generally, still does not attempt to discover the "real" Messalina's experience; she is "concerned with the writing of history, not with history as a set of events."[51] Even the study of female homoeroticism focuses on men's constructions of women's sexuality. Pamela Gordon argues that Ovid's Sappho is masculinized and "simply acts out a charade of male sexuality." She suggests that we "imagine the masculinized lesbians of the Roman texts not as monsters or fools (as their creators intended), but as dauntless rebels."[52] The modern reader may, despite the hostility of these authors to women, be able to infer from them something of how the women may have seen themselves and their sexualities.

Amy Richlin draws on "a jumble of encyclopedias and agricultural handbooks" to more nearly approach women's sexual experience. Her title, "Pliny's Brassiere," refers to Pliny's use of a female undergarment tied around his head to relieve headaches; this brings her to the "medicinal uses of the female human body," which in turn tell us something about women's sexualities.[53] Women used various forms of herbal medicine and sympathetic magic to control (mainly to promote) their own fertility.

Judith Hallett's "Female Homoeroticism and the Denial of Roman Reality in Latin Literature," originally published in 1989 but still important enough to fully warrant its reprinting in the Hallett and Skinner volume, also attempts to disentangle women's actual sexual lives from masculine literary constructions of them. Hallett notes that Roman writers discuss *tribades* (women who engaged in sex with each other) as something from the remote Greek past, not as part of their own contemporary society, and also masculinize them, denying their resemblance to normal Roman women. They do so despite evidence in their own writings that they knew full well that women could give each other pleasure without penetration. "But for Roman males who wrote about tribadism, it was evidently easier to deny the actual and avow the unlikely than to abandon assumptions about how, according to biological nature and Roman culture, women ought to behave."[54]

Although Hallett argues that same-sex female erotic behavior existed and that Roman writers who did not acknowledge its existence except as a monstrosity were engaging in deliberate self-deception, she is not able in the space of an article to discuss in detail that experience. A major and important attempt to do so is

[50] Catharine Edwards, "Unspeakable Professions: Public Performance and Prostitution in Ancient Rome," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 66–95.

[51] Sandra Joshel, "Female Desire and the Discourse of Empire: Tacitus's Messalina," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 221–54, quotation at 222.

[52] Pamela Gordon, "The Lover's Voice in *Heroides* 15: Or, Why Is Sappho a Man?" in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 274–91, quotations at 283, 288.

[53] Amy Richlin, "Pliny's Brassiere," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 197–220, see 200.

[54] Judith P. Hallett, "Female Homoeroticism and the Denial of Reality in Latin Literature," in Hallett and Skinner, *Roman Sexualities*, 255–73, quotation at 268.

Bernadette Brooten's *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (1996). The second part of Brooten's book, and that which will be of most interest in the contemporary debate about the morality of homosexuality, focuses on a biblical text, Romans 1: 18–32. Brooten's discussion of this text will be disconcerting to many Christians: to members of the religious right, because she shows that Paul's homophobic attitudes were reflections of his time (and therefore, although she does not say this explicitly, not to be taken as eternal truths), and to those on the religious left who would like to explain or interpret away Paul's apparent homophobia, because she shows that he meant it. Historically speaking, however, her argument makes a great deal of sense: Paul was not particularly innovative in either a progressive or reactionary way but rather was part of a complex web of texts on homoeroticism that circulated in the Hellenistic Mediterranean.

While Brooten has made an extremely important contribution to the study of early Christian attitudes toward women's sexualities, our concern here is with the first half of the book, in which she sets the context for her exegesis of Paul. In meticulous detail, she gives the evidence for female homoerotic relationships in the Roman world and comes as close as is possible to how women themselves experienced those relationships. She notes that "[t]he sources bear witness to male constructions of female homoeroticism, rather than to lesbians' perceptions of themselves," but she goes as far as she can in reasoning from those constructions to the experience.[55] Like other scholars, she points to the importance of the active/passive distinction in Roman mentalities: men were supposed to be active, women passive, and to transgress these roles was unnatural. Yet there is evidence that women who loved other women did not necessarily accept these attitudes. Brooten also questions the strong social constructionist view that there can have been no sexual identities, orientations, or sexualities in the ancient world: "I present non-Christian material in this book for a category of persons viewed in antiquity as having a long-term or even lifelong homoerotic orientation," a category that included both men and women.[56]

Some of the evidence Brooten presents, though sketchy, casts doubt on the traditional Roman view described by Hallett that female homoerotic practices involved penetration in imitation of men. For example, a wall painting from Pompeii depicts, among other things, one woman performing cunnilingus on another, who fellates a man. Although this can hardly be taken as typical of Roman sexual practices, it is noteworthy that the female same-sex practice depicted is not phallic.[57]

The four chapters of the first section of the book focus on four types of sources. Greek erotic spells from Egypt actually state the names of women who commissioned the spells and the women they loved. Brooten cautions that "the individual

[55] Bernadette J. Brooten, *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago, 1996), 25.

[56] Brooten, *Love between Women*, 9. A number of scholars have questioned Brooten's conclusions on this point, charging that she applies a modern concept of egalitarian lesbian relationships that is not present in the ancient sources; for these and other critiques, and Brooten's response, see "GLQ Forum: Lesbian Historiography before the Name?"

[57] Brooten, *Love between Women*, 60.

women probably did not compose their own spells. Rather, these spells contain highly formulaic language that reveals more about cultural ideology than about individual women's lives."[58] Very true; but it still reveals more about individual women's lives than other sources do, namely that real, non-elite women, not literary fictions, did feel strongly enough about other women to commission these spells, and the cultural atmosphere was such that they were able to go public in doing so. That Brooten takes forty pages to present and analyze three brief spells indicates something about the level of detail in this book; she has taken pains to preempt the criticisms of specialists.

The chapter on astrological texts does not get as close to the lives of actual women, but it does present female homoeroticism as among the range of sexual possibilities the astrologers recognized, although they considered it an exception to the norm since it called for women to be active rather than passive. By explaining the astrological reasons for women's desire to have sex with other women (and also to have sex with many men), these texts show that it was a recognized part of everyday life, not just something literary authors wanted to present as an example of Greek perversion.

In her chapter on medical texts, Brooten suggests that Foucault's placing of the medicalization of homosexuality in the nineteenth century was about 1,700 years too late. "The patient suffering from such a disease [certain forms of same-sex desire] did have an identity, apparently a lifelong one, characterized by behavior considered unnatural (i.e., appropriate for the opposite sex), unless treatment effected a cure."[59] This treatment might include clitoridectomy, and Brooten raises the unanswered question of "at whose request such brutal surgery took place"—husband? brothel owner? The medical texts accept the view that female homoeroticism requires penetration.

Finally, the literature of dream interpretation tells us something of the generally accepted meanings of sexual activity. Artemidorus Daldianus (fl. second century CE) placed woman-woman intercourse in his category of dreams about unnatural sexual acts and distinguished between dreams of being the active and passive partner. Brooten suggests that these acts were perceived as unnatural because they failed to recreate patterns of social dominance; they perpetuated the penetrator/penetrated dichotomy, without that dichotomy corresponding to positions in the social hierarchy, as it was usually assumed to do.

THE MOVE BY FEMINIST AND OTHER SCHOLARS, Brooten among them, to recover people's experiences of what we might tendentiously call their own sexualities goes against Foucault's argument that what is important to study is sexuality, which is a discursive phenomenon, rather than sex, which is unreal and ahistorical. The important contribution of much of this recent work is that it does both: it attempts to reconstruct lived experience while recognizing the substantial methodological

[58] Brooten, *Love between Women*, 73.
[59] Brooten, *Love between Women*, 144.

and theoretical problems that stand in the way of that reconstruction. It analyzes both the discourse and its potential relation to practice.

The theoretical sophistication that the study of sexualities in ancient Greece and Rome has acquired makes a familiarity with this field necessary to anyone who studies or teaches the history of sexuality in other times or places. These new works teach us that it is possible to recover some aspects of women's sexualities even from male-dominated and male-documented cultures, that multiple and contradictory discourses can exist in one society, and that continuities as well as discontinuities are historical. They reveal some broad differences between Athenian and Roman sexual norms, but the differences and contradictions within each culture stand out more than the contrasts. We may never reach agreement on the exact meaning of figures like the *kinaidos/cinaedus* for ancient societies, but this should be no surprise. There is no agreement on the nature of gay and lesbian identities today, even among gay men and lesbians. When all we have are texts that were, after all, not composed in order to answer the questions we would like to ask, the discourse may seem more unified, but it is entirely possible that opinions among the ancient Greeks and Romans about sexuality were as varied and as vehement as the opinions of scholars today.

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Roman Attitudes to Greek Love
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ROMAN ATTITUDES TO GREEK LOVE

The easier parts of the story of Rome's Hellenization over the period from Plautus on have been often told: literary genres and philosophy were taken over and a mythology developed. Various arts were copied. Other parts are seldom surveyed. Some day, someone, writing the right book, will crack open the great eggshell still called "Roman civilization" and show us in full the Greco-Roman creature that we all know lies within; and we can then properly study the nature and origins of its hyphenation.

To illustrate the process of Hellenization, we have the younger Scipio's remarks on the novelties he had observed and reports on in 129 B. C. Speaking of the young in the city, he says:

> They learn shameful arts. Along with ballet-boys (*cinaedi*), and carrying their violins and saxophones (*sambuca psalterioque*), they attend the entertainers' schools; they learn singing – all these things that our ancestors wanted to be judged disgraceful, for freeborn persons. They attend, I repeat, the very dancing schools – unwed girls and freeborn lads among the ballet-boys. Though someone might have reported these doings to me, I could not have taken in the notion of noblemen instructing their own offspring in these things. Yet, when I was conducted to a dancing school, by Jove, there I saw more than fifty lads and maids in the school, one of them a boy (and this caused me the sharpest pain, on our state's behalf), a boy marked out as noble (*bullatum*), son of a candidate for public office, under twelve years of age, dancing to castanets such a dance as some shameless slave could not decently have performed.[1]

Some years earlier Scipio had also described P. Sulpicius Gallus, *homo delicatus*: "For one who daily perfumes himself and dresses before a mirror, whose eyebrows are trimmed, who walks abroad with beard plucked out and thighs made smooth, who at banquets, though a young man, has reclined in a long-sleeved tunic ["called 'chirodotae'", explains our source] on the inner side of the couch with a lover, who is fond not only of wine but of men – does anyone doubt that he does what ballet-boys commonly do?"[2]

Emphatic passages; reminders, however, that the state contained not only Scipio and those fellow-citizens he thought he was addressing, but a prominent and opposed group living a life in certain respects provocatively at odds with his own. It would be a great mistake, then, to say that 'Romans' had been gradually picking up the new ways. Some Romans had; some, angrily and bitterly, had not. In Scipio's day as in any other, society was divided into more or less encapsulated groups and strata, by no means approving of each other's behavior.

[1] Macrob. 3.14.7. (And here at the outset I thank G. Williams for helpful comments).

[2] Aul. Gell. 6.12.2 = *ORF*[3] 1.127, of 142 B. C.

Some of the questions that exercised him were still being debated two centuries later. Persius describes himself at a leisure moment, giving himself to some serious sun-bathing, when a total stranger attacks him. "And these are your habits indeed!" begins the man; and goes on (in a passage rarely translated, because so uncompromisingly anatomical) to castigate the poet for being so depilated: all the public shrubbery has been trimmed back, each hair on the buttocks has been grubbed out with tweezers. The vocabulary belongs entirely to farming. Evidently the critic of Persius' cosmetic practices is from the country, not up to date with all the fashions of the capital. He expresses his disapproval with ferocity (*inspuare* is the word used).[3]

There existed, then, two views on the matter; and, since they can be discovered not only in these scenes but in many another as well, there is no reason to doubt that they were really championed by real people. That much could not be denied even by scholars who see in some of the discussions or portrayals the presence of literary convention. It follows that no one should speak of *the* Roman attitude toward male homosexuality, in the singular, nor should anyone try to describe perceptions of that subject in the Roman world from a small range of texts.[4] The true picture must show all sorts of exceptions, contradictions, and tensions.

The origin of those tensions, if we should try to treat them historically, is not easily discerned. From analogies that it would be useless pedantry to cite, I simply assume that the early Roman population contained some minority of males that preferred sexual relations with other males, and a minority that enjoyed (or, given unchecked opportunity, would have enjoyed) relations with both sexes equally. I do not see any reason to think these proportions changed later, or differed from those among the Greeks themselves. What can it mean,

[3] Persius 4.33ff., of A. D. 62? Cf. [Quint.], *Decl.* 298 p. 176 Ritter, similar views attributed to the stereotypical *rusticus:quid turpius, quam luxuria*? – cf. p. 177, perfumes on a man are *perditae vitae signa.*

[4] Hence I disagree with various *obiter dicta* (the subject has been barely touched by classical scholars): M.-H.-E. Meier and L.-R. de Pogey-Castries, *Histoire de l'amour grec* (Paris 1930), p. 178, using only Polyb. 32.11 to show that "la débauche pédérastique était devenue ordinaire à Rome"; P. Veyne, e. g. using Horace, in *Annales* 1978, p. 51; Festugière, below, n. 51; also J. P. Sullivan, *The Satyricon of Petronius* (Bloomington 1968), p. 235, believing he can find one over-all "fairly standard ancient view"; and most of all with J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago 1980), e. g. p. 22 n. 42, "Romans were quite open about homosexual feelings and gay relationships were . . . generally accepted"; p. 49, "homosexual desire, which everyone apparently considered . . . entirely ordinary"; p. 58, "few classicists have doubted that homosexuality occupied a prominent and respected position in most Greek and Roman cities at all levels of society and among a substantial portion of the population"; p. 62 n. 4, "Roman sexuality was virtually untrammeled . . . The attitude . . . probably typical of Roman males . . .: 'Can it matter where or in whom you put it?'"; p. 72, "Nowhere is there any indication that such [homoerotic] passions or acts might be illegal or disapproved, until the time of Juvenal"; and p. 78 n. 84, "Homosexuality per se was not a subject of controversy"(!).

then, to say these preferences were Greek? Yet that is just what Ennius, Cicero, and later sources do say, or imply. Polybius, for one, speaking of Scipio's coevals, says "some gave themselves up to love affairs with youths, . . . having quickly adopted Greek laxity in this regard, during the war with Perseus."[5]

But further, there seems to be some confirmation of these statements suggested in three kinds of circumstantial evidence.

First, the vocabulary of homosexuality contains many Greek terms like *paedico, pathicus, catamitus,* and *cinaedus,* of which some had to be explained to contemporary readers as novelties.[6] By analogy with familiar modern borrowings from one people by another, these terms should indicate some sort of indebtedness. They blend in to a slightly larger body of loan-words not always transliterated by Latin authors, used in the realms of cosmetics and coquetry.[7] They suggest broad fashions of behavior. Around them lay a still larger matrix of terms for items of luxury: textiles, garments, dainties to eat. These Graecisms testify to a way of life imported as a package, and on occasion repudiated as such.[8] They designate articles only to be sought from the east or practices (or practitioners) with which Romans at home were not at ease and which they therefore wished to refer to within a notional setting that did more naturally accept them. Therefore their Roman users left them untranslated. For the same reason, a generation ago, people aware of prejudices against drinking would offer a *wee drap,* archly; or, being uncomfortable about some extra-

[5] Polyb. 31.25.3, εὐχέρεια and ἀκρασία. He goes on to show that he means only very rich circles. See also W. Kroll, *RE* s. v. "Knabenliebe" (1921) col. 905, "to the Romans, pederasty appeared a Greek custom"; and he cites Cic., *Tusc. Disp.* 5.58, the clearest passage, describing a young man surrounded by lovers *more Graeciae*; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London 1979), p. 225, citing the same work, 4.70, *mihi quidem in Graecorum gymnasiis nata consuetudo videtur,* where also Ennius is cited, *flagitii principium est nudare inter civis corpora*; and less explicit, Sall., *Cat.* 11.55ff. with 13.3. Besides, would Plato have written, *Symp.* 182B, that pederasty was generally held in dishonor in "barbarian" lands, if the opposite had been true in Italy of the time? For later texts, see below, n. 37.

[6] Others, too, e. g. *inberbi androgyni, barbati moechocinaedi,* Lucilius 30.1058 Marx; *concubitus . . . clinopalem vocabat* (Domitian), Suet., *Domit.* 22; *embasicoetas,* Petron. 24.1; *tunc primum ignota antea vocabula reperta sunt sellariorum et spintriarum,* Tac., *Ann.* 6.1, cf. Suet., *Tib.* 43; and *laecasim,* Petron. 42.5, cf. H. Jocelyn, *Proc. Cam. Philol. Assoc.* 206 (1980), p. 17.

[7] For words regarding coiffure and cosmetics, see O. Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein* (Leipzig 1882), pp. 187–192, ⇀ J. Griffin, *JRS* 66 (1976), p. 93 n. 94; also Hor., *Sat.* 1.2.94 (*depygis*); Lucr. 4.1160–69 (a string of euphemisms and arch periphrases); Lucilius 17.2 (540–546 Marx), Greek untransliterated as also at 8.1 (303–4 Marx), where the obscenity is thus veiled; Plaut., *Asinaria* 627 (3.3.37), *calamistratus*; Mart. 1.87.5, *diapasma*; Augustus calling Maecenas μάλαγμα *moecharum,* Macrob. 2.4.12; and a standard good summary in L. R. Palmer, *The Latin Language* (London 1954), p. 82.

[8] In Cato's pages even the word *elegans* indicates censure, and he explodes almost as violently against Pontiac caviar as against catamites. Cf. Aul. Gell. 11.2.1 and Polyb. 31.25.5. Note also Scipio's revulsion from dancing, cf. n. 24 below.

marital relationship, they referred to it as an *affaire*, *amour*, or *liaison*. The Scotch, as every Englishman knew, must be forgiven whisky – it was their national vice; the French, their adulteries; the Greeks – many things, all forbidden.

Second, during the period of the Republic the mentions of male homosexual connections that involve Romans also involve Greek-speaking regions in a significant proportion. Scandal touches Romans freshly returned from the east. Young Caesar in the court of the king of Bithynia comes to mind, the depraved youth corrupted by, or forcing his attentions on, his Oriental host.[9] A few years later in Rome, in a conversation that Cicero imagines (*de natura deorum* 79), C. Aurelius Cotta is put on the defensive, though very gently and among his own acquaintances, in recalling to them his recent visit to Athens and his survey there of the ephebes at their exercises. "But hardly a single finely formed one could be found," he says. "I see why you smile, but still, that was the case. And to us who, with the concurrence of the philosophers of old" – meaning, perhaps, Plato, Diogenes, and Zeno – "take our delight in youths, often their very defects are pleasing." He goes on to quote Alcaeus and then verses by Q. Catulus, who loved a youth *pulchrior . . . deo*. The points of reference for the scene and subject are all Greek. Later still, Cicero in his own voice, discrediting a hostile litigant, makes great play with the man's origins in Pergamon and virtual kidnaping of a handsome young Temnian. "I know his type, his habits, his desires," he says – all sinister and unmentionable, of course.[10] When he himself was in Laodicea, and the young Hortensius turned up, that lad propositioned him, as we would say – offered him sexual relations, to his absolute astonishment. He could hardly be sure that the invitation to meet in Athens (where Hortensius was going to visit) "so that we might go home together," meant what it seemed to mean.[11] Very shocking.

But we must remember that Romans had been taking Greeks home with them for centuries by then, as slaves especially, and by the hundreds of thousands, so that Rome in Cicero's day had turned into the largest Greek city in the world – at least tied with Alexandria for the honor, if by "Greek" we may mean "inhabited by people whose parents spoke Greek as their first language" (the definition is not an unreasonable one).[12] Markets there offered

[9] Suet., *Iulius* 2, the story elsewhere also; or Plut., *Cimon* 1.2ff. of the 70s B. C.

[10] *Pro Flacco* 21.51 and 29.70 (Pergamon).

[11] *Att.* 6.3.9, the whole behavior *flagitiose et turpiter*, cf. 10.4.6, the lad is corrupted by nature.

[12] As Glasgow was at one time the largest Irish city and at another time New York was the largest Jewish city, so Rome was Greek. My (quite unprovable) estimate draws ➞ L. R. Taylor, *AJP* 82 (1961), pp. 113, 118, and 125; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972), 1 p. 91 and 2 p. 172 n. 358; and P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* (Oxford 1971), p. 383. Dio 79.20.2 (A. D. 217) reports the Roman masses as still bilingual in the third century, with some confirmation in I. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies* . . . (1963), pp. 57ff.: names on dated Roman epitaphs even after 313 (to A. D. 410) are ca. 30% Greek (earlier, ca. 45%, Tables 13–14).

the buyer whatever he might conceivably desire, for purchase openly or discreetly. Many a rich Roman household took advantage of the opportunity to assemble a very full equipment of articles and agents for whatever might increase the master's pleasures in life.

The same sort of rich owner was likely to spend a good part of the year in another of his houses in the Bay-of-Naples area. The stubbornly Greek character of cities there, above all of Naples itself, was well known, even to the drinking of Aegean wines (Romans of Rome bought Italian or western). When Tiberius in his sixties and seventies retired to the area, hostile rumor surrounded the old man with schools of little boys like minnows ministering to his most exquisite lusts; and it was in the same area, naturally, that Nero later found it easiest to begin his own Graecizing publicly.[13] To return, then, to the time of the Republic, we should hardly expect the unregenerate differentness of the richer Romans' resort-area to have been itself very Roman, in that earlier age, or that it should not have continued those lessons in the good life that Romans were also receiving in their capital from their staffs of servants.

In the third place, the Greek origin of "Greek love" among the Romans is suggested by its appearance disproportionately in Greek dress in early Roman literature – meaning Plautus above all, who often refers to it, and does so ordinarily in the dramatic setting of Athens. He could say a great deal about foreign places, in the style of the later *Lettres Persanes* and *Rasselas*, that he could never say of "real life." The audience laughed as much at the outrageousness of what they saw as at its intrinsic comicality.[14] But there are other writers as well in whom homosexuality is prominent; and indeed a controversy is well known and of long standing over the question whether some Republican poets present homosexual preferences which are their own and their friends' or which enter their pages only through imitation of foreign literary models.[15] The very existence of the debate, whichever side one takes in regard to whichever poet, points to the foreignness of homosexuality talked about and actually practiced, or merely talked about, in Rome. Had open love of male by male been as much at home in Rome as in Greece, one would not expect the expression of it to be sought in such derivative terms.

[13] Livy 35.16.3; Tac., *Ann.* 15.33, and Griffin, pp. 92ff., excellent pages. On the wine-drinking, see C. Panella, *Dial. di arch.* 7 (1963), p. 344; and note the ratio of freed or slave to freeborn, in categories of Puteolan inscriptions: 16, 10, or 7 to 1 → J. P. D'Arms, *JRS* 64 (1974), p. 112 n. 7. On Tiberius in the Bay area, see Tac., *Ann.* 6.1, Suet., *Tib.* 43ff., Dio 58.22.1, and Balsdon, p. 227 (like other scholars, rightly dismissing the picture as fiction); on Nero, speaking Greek and applauded in the Greek manner, see Suet., *Nero* 20.2.

[14] E. Segal, *Roman Laughter* (Cambridge 1968), pp. 37–41.

[15] Plautine passages such as *Asinaria* 703, with others in Kroll, "Knabenliebe" cit. above at n. 5; Q. Lutatius Catulus in Aul. Gell. 19.9.14, → G. Williams, *JRS* 52 (1962), p. 40; the three *veteres poetae*, i. e. of the 2nd cent. B. C., in Aul. Gell. 19.9.10–14; and the controversy recently renewed by Griffin, pp. 87ff.

But once more (asking a second time what we only appear to have discussed): What can it mean to say these preferences are Greek? No one really supposes Roman men and boys had to read Greek sex manuals or receive coaching in the approved Spartan or Athenian positions. I think rather that sources mean little more than to point to a different *attitude* toward homosexuality, just as one might say today that public displays of grief are foreign (and we whose native language is English would not have to be *taught* to weep at the graves of our loved ones; only we pride ourselves on suppressing certain feelings).

What that Greek attitude was, is well known, and recently surveyed by Kenneth Dover. For its continuation into the period of my discussion, it is enough to recall Plutarch's account of a conversation in which his father took part, about the same time that Persius was being attacked by his puritanical countryman. Plutarch's scene gives us the full range of strong, even violent feelings for and against male homosexuality;[16] the same can be found again in the Pseudo-Lucianic (?third-century) dialogues on the same subject;[17] and both sources recall and extend the traditions of Plato's *Symposium.* What is evident in them, however, and marks them as belonging to a civilization different from Rome's, is the open, unashamed quality of the debate.

In contrast, our own sources assume that Romans in mid-Republican days would have thought it a disgrace to the community and an outrage on nature for an older man to press himself undesired on a younger man, even a slave.[18] It was almost as bad to solicit intercourse without violence; and offering it freely was beyond the pale, too.[19] In the second century, we have reference to a youth defamed as promiscuous;[20] we have another Roman, evidently acquainted with what the Greeks had to say in defense of Greek love, who still condemned at least its open practice. That was Cato, complicated and

[16] Plut., *Moral.* (*Amatorius*) 751B, παρὰ φύσιν contrasted with ἔρως τῇ φύσει; 751D, anal copulation is νόμῳ τετράποδος, παρὰ φύσιν, and ungraceful; it merely "pretends friendship . . ." (752A, Loeb trans.); or contrariwise, it is pronounced rather the best form of love (750C–E); Pisias' rejoinder, 752B.

[17] *Amores* 21, the debate ending at § 52.

[18] Livy 8.28 (326 B. C.), Val. Max. 6.1.9 adding that the senate defended Romans' *pudicitia* with a law and a jail sentence; similar and early, Dion. Hal. 16.4 (292/290 B. C.), an attempted seduction, then force attempted by an officer on a young *contubernalis.* The ἀκοσμία is seen as κοινὸν ἀδίκημα τῆς πόλεως and the ὕβρις offered παρὰ φύσιν is punished with death.

[19] Val. Max. 6.1.7 (later 3rd cent. B. C.), *quod filium suum de stupro appellasset;* also in Plut., *Marcellus* 2.3ff. Kroll (loc. cit. above, n. 5) defends the historicity of the tale. Its usefulness for my purposes is not tied to the true date or purport of the Lex. The same solicitation earlier (312 or 292/290 B. C.?) is described in the same words and meets equally sharp condemnation: *universae plebis sententia crimine impudicitiae damnatus,* Val. Max. 6.1.11.

[20] *Famosa,* in a woman's role, in ca. 170 B. C., see Cic., *De orat.* 2.277.

interesting man of his times.[21] And from Scipio the Younger we have already heard (above, p. 484). In a speech of 124 B. C., Gaius Gracchus prides himself that there had been "no very lovely boys standing about in his quaestor's headquarters" and that "your sons [that is, young Romans of all sorts] were treated with more decorum than in a general's tent . . . If any prostitute entered my home or anyone else's slave-boy was sought on my behalf, consider me the lowest and vilest of mankind."[22] The story does not quite confute Balsdon: "it is hard to believe that there was not a great deal of homosexuality in the army;" but it certainly indicates what values were acceptable.[23]

Arriving now on the edge of the last century of the era, and reviewing the various glimpses we have had of earlier scenes, we seem to see isolated but less and less uncommon instances of men of the officer-class and aristocracy being detected in or suspected of homosexual desires; and, while these desires are ordinarily vented on slaves, even so, if they are not to draw criticism, they must be kept private. Which leaves everyone else in this society opposed to homosexual practices of any sort. Had that not been the case, of course, critics would have had no audience to appeal to in their highly-colored attacks on homosexuality, using such words as "filthy", "vile", "vice", "incontinence", and so forth.

Across a full thirty years of partisan oratory, Cicero offered his listeners or readers many illustrations of these perceptions: enemies like Piso, that "beast", "filth", "the vilest of men", or Gabinius "who could not fend off the foulness of men from the most sacred parts of his body," or "the public prostitute" Clodius, not to mention Verres, Catiline, and Antony – Antony above all – were bound to be addicts of homosexuality.[24] It would be

[21] His saying that "the soul of the man who loves dwells in the soul of the man beloved" is a thought I cannot suppose arose in Cato's mind spontaneously (Plut., *Moral.* 759C; slightly differently in *Cato Maior* 9.5). It is pure Greek, cf. e. g. Plato, *Symp.* 183E. He is also recorded protesting against buying boy-slaves, Polyb. 31.25.5 – only on account of the extravagance? So A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford 1978), p. 173 n. 46, Veyne, p. 50, and Boswell, p. 72. But why then should his lieutenant *commit suicide* when discovered buying (on the battlefield, surely for pennies) three boy captives, παιδάρια (Plut., *Cato Maior* 10.5)? And why should Cato often reprobate L. Cornelius Scipio for (the mere possession of) a hired catamite, Livy 39.42.9? The same boy induced from his lover an act of barbarous cruelty (ibid. and Plut., *Flamininus* 18.3ff.), which many persons besides Cato reprobated.

[22] Aul. Gell. 15.12.2ff. = *ORF*[3] 1.181; see also Plut., *C. Gracchus* 4.4, he pours contempt on a man διαβεβλημένος for μαλακία, explained as intercourse with men; and capital punishment awaiting the young soldier who prostituted himself, Polyb. 6.37.9.

[23] Balsdon, p. 226, citing also Plut., *Marius* 14.3ff., the story of the young Marius also in Val. Max. 6.1.12 and Cic., *Pro Milone* 4.9. Notice also Cic., *Phil.* 3.31, and Tac., *Hist.* 3.33, pillaging troops carry off both girls and boys; and [Caes.], *Bell. Hisp.* 33, an officer with *concubinus* on campaign.

[24] *In Pisonem* 1.1, *belua*; 6.13, *caenum*; and 29.72, *homo turpissimus*, etc., consort of *illa saltatrix tonsa*, Gabinius 8.18, cf. 36.89, *tuis teneris saltatoribus*, consorting with certain *formosi*

extraordinary if so seasoned and successful a combatant as Cicero in the courts and senate should have routinely appealed to prejudices that simply did not exist; but, beyond common sense, there is some refutation of that possibility in Suetonius, biography of Caesar (§49), where we are told that "except for [Caesar's] lying with Nicomedes [the king of Bithynia], nothing hurt his repute for chastity – but that was a heavy and lasting reproach and exposed him to insult from everybody." It seems safe to conclude that "the man in the street," or at least the man in the forum and law courts who constituted the ordinary audience for political statements, could be assumed to be the foe of male homosexuality.

The last great release, or whipping up, of popular feelings about sexual conduct occurred during young Octavian's rise. Even his friends conceded his many acts of adultery, which offered a handle to attack by Antony in a more or less public and certainly very well publicized letter to him.[25]

But attack turned also to more tender areas. As Cicero says (this time defending a client), lovely lads must just expect some slander; and Octavian was a natural target by age, looks, and range of serious enemies. So for a while he was accused of submitting to his uncle, and of being the passive partner to other males too.[26] Such reports commonly punctuated those most ungentlemanly shouting-matches in which Roman competitors for office or for revenge engaged, partly because so much might be at stake, partly because explicit abuse of every kind was thought to be quite tolerable. That fact should not dull our ears. *Maledicta* that Octavian endured were not mere slights or insults. The word meant "foul abuse", and if you could think of nothing worse to call your enemy, surely it follows that whatever you did include in your *maledicta* were acts correspondingly abhorrent to your audience.

Evidently least so was the sexually active role with a boy-slave (slaves as instruments of pleasure being seen almost as non-beings, whether male or female); the same role with a free-born boy was in the second degree generally

fratres; *Post reditum in sen.* 5.11 (quoted, on Gabinius); *De domo sua* 19.49 and *Pro Milone* 55, on Clodius; Plut., *Cic.* 7.5, on Verres' son; Cic., *Cat.* 1.4.7, 2.2.4, 2.4.8, and 4.6.12; and, on Antony's homosexuality, many passages, e. g. *Phil.* 2.77 and 2.18.44ff. Even the wretched Rullus is pictured *cum suis formosis finitoribus* or succumbing to an *adulescens bene capillatus*, *Leg. agr.* 2.53 and 59. Lost verses by Gallus evidently presented Cicero himself as the lover of Tiro (Plin., *Ep.* 7.4.3 and 6) – possible, but see A. N. Sherwin-White, (Oxford 1966) ad loc.

[25] His adulteries *ne amici quidem negant*, Suet., *Aug.* 69, with the text of Antony's letters, *an refert ubi et in qua arrigas?* – "designed for publicity," says R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939), p. 276. Boswell, p. 62 n. 4 (above, n. 4) quite distorts the text.

[26] Cic., *Pro Caelio* 3.6, *maledicta pervulgata in omnes* (*scil. adulescentes*), cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 68, *stuprum* and *cinaedus*, and 71.1, *crimina* and *maledicta* aimed at (among other things) *infamia impudicitiae* – "the old themes," as Syme says, loc. cit., or "die stereotypen Vorwürfe", as W. Kroll says, *Die Kultur der ciceronischen Zeit* (Leipzig 1933), 2 p. 55, cf. 164 n. 63 for many examples, likewise in I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter* (Heidelberg 1965), pp. 155ff.

disapproved; in the third degree, the same role with a grown male, slave or free; in a passive role, as a youth, to an older freeborn man, fourth; for gain, or to a social inferior, fifth and sixth; and even lower, other homosexual acts besides anal copulation.[27] While there is no dispute about the prevalent condemnation of acts at the bad end of the scale, it has been fairly asked whether anyone objected to homosexual pleasure in itself, at the higher end of the scale. The answer is clearly Yes. The man who accepted or requested, even without coercing, submission to his sexual wishes was vulnerable to heavy reproach: Gaius Gracchus, if he had used slave-boys; Piso and Clodius with their hired catamites; Catiline's followers, corruptor and corrupted equally abhorrent; Cicero's adversary in court, above; and so to the poor prince Gaius whom the senate was willing to condemn to death for no other crime than his love-affairs with youths.[28] In many other scenes, for instance, of Tiberius' orgies (n. 13), someone who is plainly (but perhaps not in so many words) held up for detestation is ministered to by boy-slaves.

It is true that the opinion expected of contemporaries, whether witnesses or readers of accounts, is not specified by ancient authors. But why should it be? Authors then or today need not designate murder, incest, or cannibalism as reprehensible. In consequence, many hints or scenes of homosexual activity in our sources are presented to us without being clearly characterized, indeed in deliberately vague language, from which it is possible though in my view quite perverse to argue that the subject was held to be ethically neutral. I would rather infer that the subject was very gingerly addressed because it was a hot one, arousing strong feelings of condemnation, shame, and embarrassment[29] – arousing also fierce storms of scholarly debate that toss about the euphemisms, the intentional obscurities and double-entendres of the Latin or the Greek.

That it seemed no exaggeration to assign homosexual acts to the company of murder, incest, or cannibalism, can be shown not only from Aristotle's doing exactly that (*Nic. Ethics* 7.5.7) but from a further consideration: the middle range or degree of disapproval, discussed just above, was taken very seriously

[27] I offer here a mechanically schematized ranking drawn from a good deal of modern discussion, perhaps most clearly worked out by K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge 1978), chap. II. The ultimate in shame was *irrumatio*, that is, compelled *fellatio*, cf. e. g. Suet., *Nero* 35.4, or Catullus 16, and discussion, e. g. → A. Richlin, *CP* 76 (1981), p. 42, or by Jocelyn, art. cit. (above, n. 6), pp. 19ff.; but to be a *fellator* was very low also, clearly in an aggrieved soldier's gibe at Scipio, Lucilius 398ff. Marx, or in Cicero's description of Gabinius, above at n. 24, and later in Mart. 3.82.33 and Dio 62.13.4 and 64.5.2.

[28] See above, nn. 22, 24, and 11; Cic., *Cat.* 2.7 and 22f.; and Tac., *Ann.* 5.3ff., *amores iuvenum.*

[29] Passages at nn. 1–2 and elsewhere, above, or Aul. Gell. 9.10.1, *res operienda*; Athen. 11.506C, "what [Plato] said about Alcibiades in the *Symposium* ought not to be brought up in any discussion"; Quint. 1.3.17, *pudet dicere* the *probra* he is discussing; and the result, perplexity among the learned today, in certain of whose pages the authors are reduced to "silliness", as Jocelyn has the courage to s → *AJP* 101 (1980), p. 424.

indeed. Rather than undergo anal copulation unwillingly, even an ex-slave would die – still more, a free man;[30] or he might properly kill the person attempting force.[31] Where life itself was thus outweighed by fear of disgrace, that disgrace can only have reflected very strong condemnation at the bar of public opinion. It seems reasonable to attribute much strength, a little less or a little more, to the adjacent degrees of disapproval as well.

What of a last consideration? Homoeroticism that excluded physical acts, especially if it arose between social equals,[32] may have been quite all right; disapproval may have been saved for loveless acts. A possibility. But, first, no Roman (as opposed to lots of Greeks) makes the distinction now or later. In the second place, there are no declarations of homosexual love on stone (now or later, as opposed to lots that are heterosexual). Tibullus and Catullus could speak more freely because they could better define their audience. It has been called a "coterie dependent on the intimate acquaintance of individuals and [their poetry is] primarily addressed to them rather than to the world at large."[33] And in the third place, total silence about any pair of lovers in some casual episode, case at law, oration, essay, letter, or history of any period (as opposed to what is easily found in Greek literature) is not easily explained save by assuming that such love was given no chance to emerge before the public eye.

Such were the degrees and focus of disapproval during the Republic. What underlay that disapproval was loyalty to an entire cultural inheritance, explaining the not always rational rejection of Greek clothes as well,[34] which by Varro's day had also supplied a name for Plautus' plays, *palliatae*; the rejection of dancing (above, p. 484); also of caviar (n. 8). Greek gourmandizing was bad, not only in itself – it wasted money, and heavy drinking and vomiting were not pretty – but it also led on naturally to sexual promiscuity. The connection was a cliché, in scenes featuring "men who bathe in hot water, eat prepared delicacies, drink unmixed wine, anoint themselves with myrrh, lie on soft couches and sleep with boys for bedfellows – boys past their prime at

[30] Examples from the Empire: Dio 64.10.1 (Sporus), Quint. 4.2.69, and Tac., *Ann.* 13.17 (the death of Britannicus, *stupro pollutus*, was "none too soon, nor cruel"); earlier, above, n. 23, and most generally in *Dig.* 4.2.8.2 (Paulus), sexual defilement, *ne stuprum patiatur*, "good men must fear more than death."

[31] Above, n. 23; *Dig.* 48.8.1.4 (Hadrian).

[32] Worse, if it demeans the well-born, see e. g. Cic., *Att.* 1.16.5 and *Pro Rab. Post.* 10.26; Dio 58.22.1; and Tac., *Ann.* 13.25.

[33] G. Williams, *Figures of Thought in Roman Poetry* (New Haven 1980), p. 216.

[34] Cicero on cloaks and sandals, *Pro Rab. Post.* 10.26 and *Phil.* 2.76; Vergil deriding tunics, Aul. Gell. 6.26.6 on *Aen.* 9.616ff.; Augustus rebuking men who wear *lacernae*, Suet., *Aug.* 40.5; Tac., *Ann.* 14.21, and Suet., *Nero* 25.1, an emperor in the capital wearing a chlamys, horrors! – and again, *Domit.* 4.4.

that."[35] There was even some feeling against Romans speaking Greek, or at least against citizens not being at home in Latin;[36] and as late as the mid-first century A. D. thoughtful Romans could reflect on "ancestral customs radically subverted by imported indulgences," dissolving into *gymnasia et otia et turpes amores.* "Imported" of course meant "from Greece," and the connection between *gymnasia* and vile love affairs of course pointed to male homosexuality – even at that late date, not truly Roman.[37]

But disapproval singled out homosexuality as alien not only to inherited culture, but to an order above nations: to nature itself. So people would strike out at a man who "dressed and saw to the folds of his costume with great elegance, great care and art; and because his hands during his speech were too much in motion and waving about, he was tossed upon foul, reproachful and libelous talk." They would ridicule the man who stood out by reason of his "dress, his walk, his woman's jewelry."[38] A man should instead look and talk like other men! As to the man that "took a woman's part" (or the like phrase) in sexual intercourse, he was seen as an even harsher violation of nature – παρὰ φύσιν, a freak for public display, *monstrosus.*[39] Accordingly, Roman parents wished their boys untouched by the love of older males and took precautions

[35] Dio 62.6.4 (Loeb trans.), the more interesting because it is a description of Romans put into the mouth of a British queen. Compare a fuller scene in Philo, *De vita contemplativa* 50–53, or Mart. 3.82.8ff., and other passages in L. Malten, *Hermes* 53 (1918), pp. 165ff., esp. Cic., *De fin.* 2.53.

[36] Dio 57.15.2, the word *emblema* outlawed; 60.17.4, Claudius and citizenship.

[37] Tac., *Ann.* 14.20, cf. Tert., *Ad nat.* 1.16.15, *Graeco utere* = pederasty.

[38] Aul. Gell. 1.5.3, ridicule in a court scene in 62 B.C.; Tac., *Hist.* 1.30, ridicule aimed at Otho, implying he had risen in the world by serving as a catamite, cf. also *Ann.* 4.1 (Sejanus); and Musonius Rufus, *Discourses* 21 p. 128 Lutz, men γυναικώδεις in various respects. Kroll, *Kultur* cit., p. 58, cites other evidence that "it was thought, too, that *cinaedi* betrayed themselves by their feminine walk" (not to mention many reff. to excessive jewelry, perfume, etc.). Boswell, pp. 24, 67, and 339–341, still insists that "homosexuality was not associated with 'effeminacy'."

[39] The phrase παρὰ φύσιν in Plut. and Dion Hal., above, nn. 16 and 18; but see also Muson. Ruf., *Discourses* 12 p. 86 Lutz; Plut., *Moral.* 990D and F and 991A; Dio Chrysos, *Or.* 7.135 (heterosexual union is κατὰ φύσιν – cf. Max. Tyr., n. 51 below) and 7.149; Epict. 3.1.25, the man who wants to be a woman is to be advertised to the public for a show; Suet., *Caligula* 16.1 (*spintriae monstrosarum libidinum*); Mart. 9.7(8).6, boy prostitutes are *monstra*; Juv. 2.121ff., a priest is needed to exorcize homosexual 'nuptials', *monstra*, which may be compared to "a woman giving birth to a calf, or an ox to a lamb;" and female homoeroticism in Ov., *Met.* 9.727 and 736, *prodigiosa* and *monstra.* Veyne, op. cit. pp. 52 and 62 n. 6, denies the whole notion of "l'amour contre-nature" in antiquity; still more emphatically, Boswell, pp. 11–16, 21 n. 40 (having to translate ἄτοπος "unseemly", though it is applied to things like cannibalism!), 109–113 and elsewhere denying any perception of homosexuality as unnatural. He does not mention the probative words in the very lines he has cited for other purposes, e. g. pp. 58 (Plut.), 63 (Dion. Hal.), 66 and 82 (Juv.), 67 (Mart.), 77 (Epict.), and 152 (Ovid).

accordingly.[40] They also supported laws that protected boys against seduction and rape; and they protected decent citizens (as they would have called themselves) against finding a known homosexual sitting next to them in public gatherings.[41] This last measure we find in Caesar's model charter. It was meant for the use of Italian townships generally and must have responded to their preferences, thus affording us an almost unique glimpse of values outside of Rome. Its significance is confirmed and extended by the rule of law (*Dig.* 3.1.5) forbidding men who had "used their bodies in woman's fashion" to act as advocates in Roman courts, anywhere.

But inside the capital in the same period and on to the early second century, we have the series of Catullus, Tibullus, Persius, Martial, and Juvenal all referring openly to homosexual relations, sometimes relations that involved themselves, sometimes other named persons including the emperor Domitian. We have rife and open homosexuality in the *Satyricon.* Beyond doubt, then, in ways and on a scale familiar to everyone acquainted with Latin literature, the choicest circles of writers and readers shared a perfect tolerance of homoeroticism and themselves seem fully to have enjoyed relations with both sexes.

In court circles we have Sejanus playing favorite to a nobleman, we have Claudius' son-in-law dying while in bed with a boy favorite, Vespasian's right-hand man notorious for unchastity and his own son likewise.[42] But that is just a sampling. And we have an almost unbroken series of emperors bisexual in their preferences, including the egregious Nero who actually went through the full marriage ceremony with his favorite Sporus (surgically tinkered with to fit him for his duties).

[40] Nepos, *Praef.* 4ff., is typical (compare various passages above) in contrasting Roman and Greek views on the desirability of a boy having *amatores* (which are among things *infamia, humilia,* and *ab honestate remota*); cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1.6.81ff., guarded against both *obprobrium* and *turpe* at school; Quint. 1.2.2 and 4 and 1.3.17; and Plin., *Ep.* 3.3.4.

[41] The purport of the Lex Scantinia not clear in Cic., *Ad fam.* 8.12.3; Juv. 2.43ff.; and Suet., *Domit.* 8. For penalties inflicted on *stupratores* through private suits, see Quint. 4.2.69 and 7.4.41ff.; *Dig.* 47.10.9.4 (Ulpian); 47.11.1.2 (Paul); 48.5.6pr. (Papinian); 48.6.3.4 (Marcian); *Pauli Sent.* 2.27.12, against rape, and § 13, heavy fines for voluntary participation; compare *Tab. Heracl.* lines 122–3, *quei corpore quaestum fecit fecerit,* with 134 and 138ff., forbidding such men (evidently not slaves) even to sit in public side by side with town leaders; further, Kroll, *Kultur,* p. 57; and entirely obscure reff. to a νόμος (or an act παράνομος) in Muson. loc. cit. and Sext. Emp., *Pyrr. hyp.* 1.152. Mart. 9.5(6). and 9.7(8) show Domitian issuing decrees against prostituting boys below a fixed age, and against castration (which Hadrian legislated against also). Boswell, p. 69, taking Cic., *Pro Plancio* 12.30, to mean homosexuality "is not a crime," mis-translates "is no (mere) reproach, *crimen,* but a *maledictum*;" so the text reveals nothing about legality (though indeed something about current attitudes). For a sound view on the actual effect of such laws, see Griffin, art. cit. p. 100.

[42] Dio 57.19.5 (Sejanus); Suet., *Claud.* 29.2 (Gn. Pompeius); idem, *Vesp.* 13 (Licinius Mucianus, evidently *pathicus*); *Domit.* 1.1 (D. as a boy promises a nobleman a night); and other figures like Val. Asiaticus, Tac., *Ann.* 11.2.2, and L. Pedanius Secundus, *praef. urbi* A. D. 61, with a vast household, ibid. 14.42.

But we should recall our proper point of focus: *attitudes* toward homosexuality. Evaluation of them may allow us to gain some feel for Roman society as a whole, in order to explain Nero, rather than the other way around. For it is plain that, just as society could not tolerate on the throne a matricide nor an idol of the stage, so it could not bear the spouse of Sporus, and threw him off.[43] Far from representing what could be accepted, he represents what could not be. Similarly with the *Satyricon* and other works of literature: we cannot take them as representative – we cannot know what they represented – until we have gained some sense of their whole setting.

That sense may be gained from a passage in Seneca (*Ep.* 123.7ff.) in which he warns of the dangers of trying to keep up with other people. "Everyone," he grants, has chrystal goblets; "everyone" has other luxuries. "Everyone's retinue of slaves is carried along, their faces made up to keep their delicate skins from harm by sun or cold. It is something to be ashamed of if there is a slave in your following of boys whose healthy complexion needs no cosmetics" – else the more stylish folk around you may say in disbelief, "'Have you no girl-favorite, no boy to rouse her envy?'. . . These are the voices of 'everyone' that you must flee. These are the men who pass vice around and communicate it from one place to another."

We have Epictetus, too. He is accustomed to address an audience of all ages but generally of the aristocracy; and he reminds them that it is up to them whether they aim at popularity and the reputation of a good companion, or whether they respect themselves (4.2.7–10). One can go clear to the extreme, he says, joining the ballet-boys and adulterers and cheering the burlesque-dancers, or instead one can decently enjoy oneself – with both sexes.[44]

Finally, Quintilian saying (*Inst.* 1.2.8) that we corrupt our own children ourselves when they see "our girls, our boys," *nostras amicas, nostros concubinos.*

From these three commentators we gain a clear sense of various pressures to conform, and counter-pressures which obliged people to conceal a part of themselves from many of their acquaintance, even from their own children.

[43] Dio 63.22.4, for Nero's relationship with Sporus seen as a cause for revolution. The general reception of Nero's acts is evident across the record of his reign; but, as a sampling, notice Tac., *Ann.* 13.25, *foeda domi lascivia*, with men as well as women; 15.37.8ff., he marries *unus ex illo contaminatorum grege*; and Suet., *Nero* 29.1, "after defiling almost every part of his body, he went so far in violating his own chastity as to devise a new game," a second homosexual 'marriage'; Boswell's views (pp. 69 and 82ff.) on this and similar unions seem to me very strange.

[44] I count in Epictetus 18 passages suiting an entirely heterosexual society (1.6.8; 1.11.1–3; 1.11.17; 1.16.9–14; 2.8.15; 2.20.27; 2.20.37; 2.22.11; 2.22.32; 2.23.38; 3.2.8; 3.5.19; 3.12.12; 3.25.6; 4.1.22; 4.9.3; 4.9.5; and 4.9.6); nine passages fitting a bisexual society (2.1.28; 2.10.17; 2.16.29; 2.18.15; 3.3.12ff.; 3.3.14; 3.7.21; 4.1.15; and 4.1.35–6). He sees the boy participants as slaves (that is morally neutral, evidently) or κίναιδοι (who pay a heavy price, themselves – 2.10.17). Even a freed boy-slave who "earns a living by his body suffers terrible things," 4.1.35.

Their children must be brought up in other beliefs. Interesting glimpses: "value dissonance," in scientific parlance. We see quite plainly where the conflicts begin, in an upper class some of whose members made manifest a high degree of tolerance for homosexual relationships with slaves. Leaders in tolerance were men of fantastic wealth. Pedanius (n. 42), for example, had a household of four hundred, and Nero – who knows how many thousands? Among such masters it was *en vogue* to live *à la Grecque*; and to that civilization entire some gave themselves with taste and abandonment (like Maecenas), some with abandonment only, some with misgivings that required the ministrations of a Stoic chaplain (Greek, perhaps, and a slave – one could buy even one's conscience in Rome). He might, like Epictetus (2.10.17), let slip the opinion that the homosexual lover as well as the beloved was no man; he might (like Juvenal 2.82–126) warn against circles within circles "yet more foul", to which aspirants in debauch might be gradually admitted. There always remained, however, even in these elevated social strata (themselves, we should remember, not amounting to a fiftieth part of the city's whole society), a majority of the "old view", as we may call it: dead set against the passive role for any freeborn male, repelled by the parade of instruments for the active lover, and, at the least, upset by the sight of caresses bestowed by an older man on a younger.[45]

That the changes we see at work within the Roman upper class need not have touched all circles equally is easily believed, if we may trust analogy. For illustration: on May 15, 1776, two men could be seen standing together in a London house, guests toward the end of a dinner party. One "held a candle to show a fine print of a beautiful female figure which hung in the room, and pointed out the elegant contour of the bosom with the finger of an arch connoisseur." It is the notorious profligate John Wilkes instructing the adamant moralist Samuel Johnson, while James Boswell looks on delighted. No more than a scene, proving nothing – but every large city in every decade presents such pairs of men of more or less the same class, means, and pursuits or professions, even sharing many of the same haunts and friends and tastes, who yet live out lives utterly incompatible in certain keenly felt respects. That was what made the London scene so exquisitely piquant to Boswell; that was what enabled old-Roman and new-Greek to rub elbows in the forum and the senate, hardly sensing how different they were until reminded by some

[45] Censure of the *pathicus* is clear in, e. g. Tac., *Ann.* 11.2.2, and Suet., *Vitellius* 3.2; 4.1; and censure of flaunted expense on boy-slaves, in Sen., loc. cit.; of caresses in public, *Acta Alexandrinorum* p. 25 Musurillo, where a speech apparently in a court at Rome under Trajan blackens the accused (that is, takes for granted that the court will more readily find against the accused) for fondling an adolescent at semi-public banquets. See, for the setting, H. A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Oxford 1954), pp. 152ff. Boswell, p. 30, quite misreads the text, partly through mistaking the nature of the document, which he knows only as POxy. 471.

accident – by entering a new circle, perhaps, like some of Epictetus' or Juvenal's listeners, or by catching a glimpse of their neighbors' children in the latest finishing school, like Scipio.

There are of course also the grand divisions between rich and poor that affect sexual values. Kenneth Dover rightly notes that "the reader who turns from Plato to comedy is struck . . . by its [homosexuality's] displacement from the centre to the periphery of Athenian sexual life; for comedy is fundamentally heterosexual." The explanation he finds in the way of life natural, indeed inevitable, among the less well-to-do, to whom comedy spoke. Homosexuality was for the rich.[46] Differences in sexual customs according to wealth existed also in the city and period we are considering. "You rich," a not-rich litigant is imagined saying in a Roman court, "don't marry, you only have those toys of yours, those boy-slaves that play woman for you."[47] The rest of us, the litigant continues, get married and raise a family. Some of the circumstances that Dover uses to interpret the Athenian scene – a less cloistered day for girls and women and less money and leisure for pursuit of boys, among ordinary folk than could be found among the very wealthy – explain the Roman lawyer's statement just quoted. It would have been still more easily illustrated in the little-Hellenized sections of Italy and the west.

We cannot penetrate further into the customs of the ordinary nine-tenths or more of the population. There is no evidence whatsoever that I am aware of. I discount all sorts of crowd reactions to the likes of Sporus or Nero since our descriptions do not indicate exactly what is condemned and for what reason. I also discount the graffiti of Pompeii, in which too much has been read. Among them, intercourse of male with male and *cunnilinctus* are mentioned with about equal frequency, *fellatio* as often as heterosexual intercourse.[48] From these statistics I do not conclude that the common man in Pompeii most enjoyed the least attested (and, in other sources, the most sharply rejected) forms of sexual indulgence. Rather, I suppose that the graffiti, like their equivalent today, were inscribed for the pleasure they gave to the inscriber: the pleasure of speaking the unspeakable, of violating all the rules of decent (and irksome) society. I

[46] Dover, p. 148, with further discussion, pp. 61 and 149ff. Boswell, p. 49, misreads one of the more significant texts, Ar., *Clouds* 1075–82, through supposing that it is the playwright that speaks rather than "the immoralist Wrong" (Dover's phrase), and through not noticing the change in subject of the speech, from "pleasures" (including boys) to ἀναγκαί, "harsh necessities" (not "needs" in the sense of "desires").

[47] Ps. Quint., *Decl.* 337 p. 329 Ritter: *illa ministeria, illi imitati feminas pueri. Der Kleine Pauly* s. v. Quintilian hesitantly suggests a date in the time of Quintilian himself.

[48] See the index to *CIL* 4 s. v. *pedico* (4.2210, etc.) in 17 inscriptions, (*cunni-*)*lingit* in 14, *fello* (*fellare*) in 40, *futuo* in 40 (and 7 times showing sex of partner, female, hence always heterosexual, one may assume). Without going into details, Boswell, p. 57, sees in the graffiti proof of homosexuality being very common. For suggestive parallels, see the *tesserae lusoriae* in C. Huelsen, *RM* 11 (1918), pp. 227–37, esp. the lists. pp. 233ff.

would compare the ivory games-pieces found in Pompeii, Rome, and other cities. They have any one of a dozen or so words written on them: *cinaedus, ebriose, moice, inpudes.* The most popular are "bird" (*pernix*), "avaricious" (*arpax*), "idiot" (*fatue*), "drunk" (*ebriose* and *vinose*), "catamite" (*patice*), "greedy" (*gumia* and *gulo*). No one would look among them for a true profile of human types prevailing in the world. It was release and titillation that decided what people *wrote* on both these game-pieces and Pompeian walls. About what they *did*, this evidence tells us nothing.

In Hadrian's commemoration of the drowned Antinous by the founding of a new city in the youth's honor, we approach the end of the history of Roman homosexuality.[49] His two successors by their own example turned their faces against it. At the very summit of fashion, fashion thus changed. Still later homo- or bi-sexual emperors did little to enhance its repute. The worst in the series, Elagabalus, was the most fantastically addicted, whereas a good emperor would consider legislation against it, or actually ban male prostitution. It continued illegally. Of relevant Latin literature nothing has remained since Hadrian's day save the third-century Nemesianus, chirping in his fourth *Bucolic*, "O cruel boy!" (etc., etc.).

As a sort of epilogue, however, we should glance at 'Greek love' among the Greeks of the empire. We can only consider the aristocracy of eastern cities; but in them, youths who had many men hanging about them or who rejected brutal advances were equally honored.[50] Greek love poems like the hundreds

[49] Dio 69.11 and SHA *Had.* 14.5ff. are almost the only sources. Both hesitate about any homosexual connection between Hadrian and Antinous; but the modern consensus assumes it, no doubt rightly. For the next two emperors, see M. Aurel., *Medit.* 1.16.3 (Ant. Pius, see also Pius' *pudicitia* praised by Fronto, *Fer. Als.* 3.5, Loeb ed. 2 p. 8), 1.17.2, and 3.16; on Commodus, Dio 74.5.4 and SHA *Commod.* 10.1 and 8ff. and 19.2 (*impurior Nerone*); similar discredit, διαβολή, for Plautianus' various abhorred practices of bed and board, Dio 76.15.7; on male prostitution banned in the 240s (but not heterosexual), see A. Chastagnol, *Bonner-Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* 1964/1965 (1966) 55f., 76f.

[50] In speaking of "Epictetus' world," Veyne, p. 50, includes the evidence of *PTeb.* 104; but the text dates to 92 *B.C.*, not A. D. Moreover, in specifying that the husband shall not introduce μηδὲ παλλακὴν μηδὲ παιδικόν, the marriage contract may reflect special customs of the parties, both "Persians of the Succession" (the term mysterious to the editors of other documents; see Fraser, pp. 58ff.); and further, one should not assume prevailing bisexuality from the clause, any more than *tri*sexuality in the cult regulations against intercourse with women, dogs, or donkeys, seen in F. Sokolowsky, *Lois sacrées . . . Supplément* (Paris 1962), p. 160. On such a tabu in a new cult, see the prohibition against pederasty as ἀσεβές in Lucian, *Alex.* 41. As to seeing in Plut., *Moral.* 990Dff., proof that all classes shared the same practices (Boswell, p. 58), Plutarch actually contrasts the "no-accounts" only with figures of myth, the scene not being on the human level at all. For youths being sought after, see Dio Chrysos., *Or.* 36.8; defending their sexual honor or choice, Philostr., *Vita Apollon.* 7.42; hostility to prostitution of boys or to seduction or pursuit of them if they are "honorable", Lucian, *Alex.* 5 and 41, and Dio Chrysos., *Or.* 7.135, 139, and 149–151; respect for boys' repute and protecting them against διαβολή, Menander Rhetor p. 132 Russell-Wilson.

by Strato, Hadrian's contemporary, went on being composed by males to males just as they had been in Hellenistic times. Greek novels continued to be written and to include heroes alternately in love with lovely men and lovely women.[51] On the other hand (since as we have seen both extremes of view were openly, violently expressed), the Stoic teaching of Zeno that had once recommended sexual relations with boys on equal terms with the heterosexual was, by Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrr. hyp.* 3.245), dismissed as having nothing to do with real choices in the real world, no more than intercourse with one's mother. In the same decade or so as this author, Tatian, a Christian, declared with venomous humor that "pederasty . . . among the Romans merits special rights of pasturage, and they try to collect herds of boys like grazing horses." But he here uses against his preferred target, the Romans, a gibe originally aimed at *Greeks* and applied by his teacher to male prostitution in the empire everywhere.[52] His statement thus fits quite easily with those non-Christian passages known from Seneca or the accounts of Elagabalus, or from another Greek observer, Herodian (1.17.3). Herodian refers to the fashion among rich Roman fops or voluptuaries of having naked little boys idling about the rooms of their houses.

A century later, we gain a last look at the Greek world and its attitudes, afforded by a small handful of writers. Responding to the distress of the leading families in Antioch at the loss of their sons to a monastic life – "To whom, you ask, should you leave your fields, houses, slaves, and gold?" – John Chrysostom dilates on the rewards of that choice. One reward is the removal of the youths from homosexual temptation. It is, he says, "a hideous

[51] A. J. Festugière, *Antioche paienne et chrétienne* (Paris 1959), pp. 197–8, cites Xen. Ephes. and Achilles Tatius (and in addition only the *Amores* and Hor., *Serm.* 2.3.325) to support the view that "in the literature of the empire the two species of love are seen exactly on a level, one taken to be fully as normal as the other." Among Greek writers of the second century, no doubt more could be found, e.g. Ael. Arist., *Or.* 45 p. 146 Dindorf, pederasty casually mentioned on a par with heterosexuality, but cf. 33.20 p. 232 Keil (paired with various tasteless indulgences); and Max. Tyr., *Diss.* 24(8).2, 25(9).4ff., and 26(10).9, says very roundly, no physical contact between males, "change your pleasures to nature's," ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν.

[52] Tat., *Ad Graecos* 28ff., παιδεραστία . . . προνομίας . . . ἠξίωται, drawing on Just., I *Apol.* 27 (*PG* 6.369B); and behind *this* lies Aristides in his *Apol.* 13 p. 109 Harris-Robinson, specifying "Greeks". Justin addresses alternately the emperor, e. g. here and at § 12; inhabitants of Rome (§ 26); and people of the Hellenic tradition (§ 21–22). Boswell, p. 68, seems not to know where the gibe originated and to mis-read the Greek, thinking it shows "pederasty was held in preeminent esteem by the Romans." He also asserts, ibid., of another Christian source, "Minucius Felix says that homosexual relations were 'the Roman religion' (*Octavius* 28)," but I find no such statement in that author, nor does Minucius make mention of "ceremonial fellatio" (Boswell, p. 131). He does reject as lies the accusation against Christians of phallic worship accorded to priests (§ 28.9) and accuses pagans of *fellatio* – which of course he sees (§ 28.10) as thoroughly repulsive.

disease," so rife that "the female sex may even prove superfluous"(!).[53] His contemporary, Gregory of Nyssa, paints and condemns a trite scene of the very rich with their varied attendants, "dancers, . . . boys like girls with long hair, and licentious girls." On the pagan side, Julian cannot resist a swing at the monks for homosexual aggression,[54] but he also uses exactly the same vocabulary as Gregory on another target, the degenerate Antiochenes.[55] Libanius' *Twenty-fifth Oration* rather confirms Julian: in Antioch the older man hanging about his beloved boy and heaping him with presents, to his own humiliation (§ 26), is a familiar sight; but he is indulged by his friends since most of them, too, have felt the same desires (§ 27). And the *Fifty-third Oration* rather confirms Chrysostom, like Chrysostom speaking of homoeroticism as a disease (§ 10) and remarking on its prevalence "in these days." Only, Libanius has no intention of seeking its cure.

In rich Antiochene society (the rest being hidden from us), from the 360s to the 380s, the range of view and the distinctions drawn regarding the active and passive role display a familiar inconsistency. They differ not a whit from those discoverable three centuries earlier. Time has stood still – or one may say, the Greeks are still Greek. Elaborate all-male banquets go on, fathers worry about their sons at school, there is sharp censure aimed at tasteless, bought indulgence; and yet, and yet – the infatuation of a man for a boy, so embarrassing, is so common a thing and so overwhelming, too, that it must somehow be forgiven. Not by a Christian. *There* was a different attitude. It was to be imposed more sharply on Rome in A. D. 390 through the renewal, after nearly a century and a half, of the ban on male prostitution – this time, more decisively enforced.[56]

Over the course of five hundred years, a perception of homosexual urges and acts that was relatively very tolerant and open had appeared on the edges of Roman consciousness, where it touched the Greek, and that perception

[53] Joh. Chrysos., *Adv. oppugnatores vitae monasticae* 3.16 (*PG* 47.377). See elsewhere, e. g. 3.7 (47.360), on the wealth of the class in question; 3.9 (47.360) on the extreme delicacy and shamefulness of the subject, νόσημα χαλεπόν, etc.; notice at 3.8 (47.361) that it is the active role that is being discussed (exclusively? – ἄρρενες ἐν ἄρσεσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργάζονται), and "in the very midst of your cities" (cities, plu.); and, making use of the text on its prevalence, at 3.8 (47.361), Boswell (p. 55) paraphrases without reserve, "Chrysostom suggests very strongly that in fourth century Antioch heterosexual persons were in a small minority"(!). One further Antiochene, Ammianus (31.9.5), shows harsh prejudice against homosexuality. For condemnation of luxurious, licentious households, see Greg. Nyss., *PG* 46.468B, and, in the 370s A. D., Basil, *Ep.* 188 can. 7, and 217 can. 62–3, condemning copulation with males or animals. Homosexuality was also cause for διαβολή against a teacher in Constantinople, Eunap., *Vit. soph.* 495.

[54] *Or.* 7.224A, taking τοῖς ξύλοις *sensu obscaeno*, cf. Stephanus s.v., citing Euripides.

[55] *Misopog.* 346A and 350D.

[56] *Mos. et Rom. leg. coll.* 5.3 (*FIRA*^{2} 2.557), posted in A. D. 390, on which see O. Seeck, *Gesch. des Untergangs der antiken Welt* 5 (Stuttgart 1913), pp. 531ff.

gradually penetrated past the edges. The resistance it met tells us that all other parts of the citizen body, notably those who were neither rich nor lived elbow-to-elbow with neighbors of Greek descent, were little affected. Minucius Felix (28.10) offers a useful reminder: he accuses Romans of tolerating all sexual license as *urbanitas*. But of course "elegance" or "sophistication" was something that did not concern most people very much. It did concern those of wealth and leisure who felt themselves beyond the reach of common censure, who were caught up in the effort to be *en vogue*, to be imitated – and who enjoyed it (for no one supposes that the Romans at any time did not number any males among them who felt naturally drawn to other males). The story can then be traced in different social circles, all in the city of Rome. It ends obscurely, in the final rejection of 'Greek love' (meaning, to repeat, an attitude), with what rapidity, at what period, and in what circles, the sources do not allow us to say. The turning point seems to lie in the death of Hadrian.

But surely the most interesting yield of this story is the glimpse it affords of cultural transfer at work on various layers or sets in Roman high society. Perhaps other tests may allow us to gain a better picture of those sets, so as to say that the same people who wrote eclogues (or whatever) were also active in commerce (or whatever). So our knowledge of the Hellenizing process might be gradually refined.

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GREEK LOVE AT ROME

It has long been a commonly held belief among classicists that traditional Romans frowned upon male homosexuality and associated it with the influence of Greek culture.[1] There have always been exceptions to this belief,[2] but when Paul Veyne published the following remarks in his 1978 article 'La famille et l'amour sous le haut-empire romain', his views were quite heterodox:

> Il est faux que l'amour 'grec' soit, à Rome, d'origine grecque: comme plus d'une société méditerranéenne de nos jours encore, Rome n'a jamais opposé l'amour des femmes à celui des garçons: elle a opposé l'activité à la passivité; être actif, c'est être un mâle, quel que soit le sexe du partenaire passif.[3]

Four years later he expanded upon these points:

> Rome did not have to wait for hellenization to allow various forms of love between males. One of the earliest relics of Latin literature, the plays of Plautus, which pre-date the craze for things Greek, are full of homosexual allusions of a very native character... This is the world of heroic bravado, with a very Mediterranean flavour, where the important thing is to be the ravisher, never mind the sex of the victim. The same principles ruled in Greece; but, going one better, they tolerated, even admired a romantic habit that scandalized the Romans. This was the supposedly Platonic love of adults for *epheboi*, the free-born youths who frequented the gymnasium, where their admirers went to watch them exercising naked. In Rome the place of the free-born *ephebos* was taken by the favourite male slave.[4]

While an insistence on the central significance of the distinction between active and passive behaviour can be found in many discussions of Roman sexuality both before and after Veyne's articles appeared,[5] on the question of Greek influence Veyne's arguments appear not to have gained acceptance. Scholars continued to assert that for Romans 'homosexuality' or 'male same-sex love' was 'Greek'.[6]

[1] For illustrations of the argument, see below, n. 6. I here use the increasingly controversial word 'homosexuality' only by way of reproducing common scholarly assertions regarding ancient culture. Otherwise I avoid the abstract: apart from the essentialising implications of the term that I find problematic (see Section IV), the word has an unpleasant history of marginalising uses with resonances of clinical pathology.

[2] Cf. Wilhelm Kroll, 'Römische Erotik', in Andreas Karsten Siems, *Sexualität und Erotik in der Antike* (Darmstadt, 1988), p. 93: 'Bei einer Sitte, die sich so leicht von selbst einstellt, auf fremden Einfluß zu schließen, ist mißlich' (the article was originally published in *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft und Sexualpolitik* 17 [1930], 145–78); Richlin (1992), p. 223: 'While it cannot be denied that erotic epigram has a Hellenistic form, the Greek and Asiatic influence on Roman pederasty must be seen as an augmentation, not as the basis.'

[3] Veyne (1978), p. 50.

[4] Veyne (1985), pp. 28–9. I quote from the English translation published in the 1985 collection *Western Sexuality*. The original article, 'L'homosexualité à Rome', appeared in *Communications* 35 (1982), 26–33. Veyne oversimplifies the relationship between Plautus and Greek culture; see Gruen (1990), pp. 124–57, for a more detailed discussion.

[5] See, e.g., A. E. Housman, '*Praefanda*', *Hermes* 66 (1931), p. 408 n. 1; Gonfroy (1978); Boswell (1980), pp. 74–6; Lilja (1983); N. M. Kay, *Martial Book XI: A Commentary* (London, 1985), p. 127; T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and his World: A Reappraisal* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 10–11; Richlin (1992, 1993); Cantarella (1992).

[6] L. P. Wilkinson, *Classical Attitudes to Modern Issues* (London, 1978), p. 136: 'In the early Republic the Romans' attitude to homosexuality was that of most non-Greeks; it was a Greek idiosyncrasy which they despised...'; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London, 1979),

Perhaps this was partially due to the unfortunate paucity of supporting evidence in either of Veyne's articles. Eva Cantarella filled that gap in her 1988 book *Secondo natura: La bisessualità nel mondo antico*, arguing the point at greater length and providing reference to the ancient sources. Writing of a passage from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, Cantarella observes:

> Cicero, in his moralistic invectives, does not condemn homosexuality as such: he condemns only one particular form: pederasty, in the Greek sense of the term—making love to freeborn boys. And it is this misunderstanding—the absolutely mistaken idea that the Romans lumped homosexuality together with pederasty and condemned both—that has given rise to the myth that Roman manliness meant strict heterosexuality.[7]

Cantarella thus reasserts the distinction drawn by Veyne between male homosexual behaviour as a whole, which was never thought by Romans to be a Greek custom, and pederasty (in the specifically Greek meaning of romantic and sexual affairs with free-born youth),[8] which was. Yet the distinction still seems not to have taken hold, and the idea that for Romans 'homosexuality' was 'Greek love' obviously lingers among classicists.[9] Section I of this article attempts to explode that notion by providing support for Veyne's and Cantarella's contention that only pederasty, not male homosexual experience as a whole, is associated with Greece in the Roman sources. In Section II, taking the point further than either Veyne or Cantarella did, I consider the extent to which this association was actually made, offering a review of the sources that contradicts claims such as Cantarella's to the effect that 'for the Romans, pederasty was "the Greek vice"'.[10] I will demonstrate that Roman images of the Greeks—even the most negatively biased ones—failed to give prominence to the tradition of *paiderastia*. In Section III, I will further explore the central reason for the Roman identification of pederasty as an alien practice: not the younger partner's sex but his free-born status, because of which pederastic relationships constituted a traditionally disapproved behaviour often called *stuprum*. Others (Veyne and Cantarella included) have made this point, but I wish to highlight a fact that has not received adequate emphasis in the scholarship: pederasty was only one among several

p. 225: Cicero believed that 'homosexuality... could not have originated spontaneously in Rome; it must have been caught like an infection from abroad, from Greece'; Verstraete (1980), p. 227: 'The pervasive Hellenization of Roman society in the second and first centuries B.C. mitigated the traditional hostility towards homosexuality and homosexual relations'; MacMullen (1982), *passim*; H. D. Jocelyn, 'Concerning an American View of Latin Sexual Humour', *Echos du monde classique/Classical Views* 29 (n.s. 4) (1985), pp. 13–14: 'For the average upper-class Roman the reality [of "pederasty"] was something Greek and rather distasteful, even when the love object was a slave or a foreigner' (although Jocelyn uses the term 'pederasty', he clearly means male homosexual behaviour as a whole); Dalla (1987), p. 10: 'Il *mos Graecorum* diviene così sinonimo di omoerotismo e pederastia...'; J. P. Hallett, 'Roman Attitudes toward Sex', in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean* (New York, 1988), II.1274: '... Roman society of the second century B.C. thought of male homosexuality as a Greek custom'; Hallett (1989), p. 223: 'republican Roman references to male same-sex love as a Greek import'.

[7] Cantarella (1992), pp. 97–8. I quote from the English translation of her book, published four years after the original appeared.

[8] This is the sole referent of the term 'pederasty' in this article.

[9] For example, Edwards (1993), p. 94, writes of 'Roman claims that homosexuality was a Greek practice which was adopted in the later republic by some Romans'. In 1991 I delivered a paper that began by arguing in some detail the point made by Veyne and Cantarella, and the audience's responses suggested to me that the notion of 'Greek love' had not in fact been laid to rest.

[10] Cantarella (1992), p. 97.

varieties of *stuprum*, and the ancient sources consistently fail to single it out as being any more reprehensible than other forms of *stuprum*. In fact, I will provide evidence suggesting that pederasty was less problematic for Roman cultural traditions than was adultery. In Section IV I offer concluding remarks, attempting to explain these perhaps surprising facts.

I

As many scholars have demonstrated, Roman systems for representing and evaluating male sexual experience were organized not around the distinction between heterosexual and homosexual behaviour but around the distinction between the insertive and receptive role in penetrative acts, traditionally labeled the 'active' and 'passive' roles respectively.[11] Veyne's incisive phrase accurately summarizes the outlook regularly offered by Roman texts: 'To be active was to be male, whatever the sex of the compliant partner.'[12] All of the evidence supports, moreover, Veyne's and Cantarella's arguments that this attitude is a native characteristic of the Roman cultural tradition independent of Greek influence. There are numerous contemporary allusions to male homosexual activity in Republican Rome that testify to this outlook—in speeches by Cato the Censor, Scipio Aemilianus, and Gaius Gracchus;[13] in fragments of the poet Lucilius[14] and of such dramatists as Afranius,[15] Novius,[16] and Pomponius;[17] and in numerous Plautine jokes.[18] These last are especially revealing in their earthy and knowing tone. Although his plays are adaptations of Greek comedies, Plautus makes reference to the realities of sexual experience between males in so comfortable a manner as to suggest that those realities were a fact of life quite familiar to his audience, as familiarly Roman as the references to food, topography, military and political themes, and indeed heterosexual behaviour that are found throughout his plays. Rather than poking fun at bizarre foreign practices, Plautus' sexual jokes invite knowing chuckles.[19] Later writers, too, such as Livy and Valerius Maximus, clearly understand the coexistence of homosexual and heterosexual activity and, more importantly, a disinclination to assign evaluative

[11] See above, n. 5. While the terms 'active' and 'passive' do not necessarily reflect either the psychological or the physiological realities of penetrative acts, they do accurately reflect the usual ancient representations of those acts. See further Edwards (1993), pp. 72–3.

[12] Veyne (1985), p. 29; cf. above, n. 3.

[13] Cato fr. 212, 213, 222 Malcovati; Scipio fr. 17 Malcovati; Gracchus fr. 26–8 Malcovati.

[14] Definite allusions to male homoerotic desire or activity include (following Marx's numeration) fr. 23, 296–7, 895–6, 967, 1058, 1138–42, 1186; probable allusions include fr. 173, 276–7 (cf. Apul. *Apol.* 10), 418–20, 866–7; and possible allusions include fr. 72, 74, 278, 1267.

[15] Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.100) notes the following: 'togatis excellit Afranius; utinam non inquinasset argumenta puerorum foedis amoribus.' Afranius fr. 32 Ribbeck ('praeterea nunc corpus meum pilare primum coepit') is clearly in the voice of an adolescent youth, and in light of Quintilian's comment, which is not directly substantiated by any other of the surviving fragments of Afranius, the context of this fragment may well have been homoerotic. It deserves mention that the *togatae* were not based on Greek originals, instead bringing Roman and Italian life directly to the stage.

[16] Novius fr. 19, 20–21 Ribbeck.

[17] Pomponius fr. 75–6, 125–6 Ribbeck. It is noteworthy that Pomponius dedicated an entire Atellan farce (the *Prostibulum*) to a male prostitute who services male citizen customers (see especially fr. 148–9, 151, 153 Ribbeck).

[18] See, e.g., *Asinaria* 703–5, *Captivi* 867–8, *Casina* 437–514, 963–5, *Curculio* 33–8, 473–82, *Mostellaria* 722–3, *Pseudolus* 767–89, 1169–237, *Rudens* 1073–75.

[19] So too Verstraete (1980), p. 232; Veyne (1985), pp. 28–9 (cited above); and Cantarella (1992), pp. 99–100. MacMullen (1982), p. 488, argues for precisely the opposite view.

significance to the distinction between homosexual and heterosexual behaviour as such, to have characterized the Rome of the past that they so conspicuously venerated.[20]

Thus a Roman man was acting like a 'real man' as long as he played the active role, with males or females indiscriminately. But, as Veyne and Cantarella observe, doing so with free-born Romans, whether male or female, was prohibited by traditional standards of behaviour. What, then, were the acceptable outlets? Plutarch suggests in his *Roman Questions* that 'it was neither disreputable nor shameful for the men of old to love [male] slaves in the bloom of youth (as can be seen even today in comedies), but they absolutely refrained from free boys',[21] and all of the evidence points to the validity of the distinction.[22] Roman cultural traditions always accepted men's sexual use of male slaves and prostitutes as unexceptional and normal, indistinguishable on moral grounds from their use of female slaves and prostitutes.[23]

Yet there lingers among classicists a usually unspoken argument to the effect that this state of affairs can be causally linked to the sweeping transformations of the Roman cultural landscape that resulted from contact with Greece over the course of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. But the proposition that the acceptance of relations between masters and their male slaves was a borrowing from Greek culture contains two fatal weaknesses. In the first place it is liable to criticism in modern terms as ethnocentric and homophobic: why should we require 'proof' that another cultural tradition 'tolerates' homosexual behaviour as our own does not? Rather, as Veyne asserts, 'What needs explanation is not Roman tolerance but contemporary intolerance.'[24] Secondly, if we accept this proposition of Greek influence we must

[20] E.g. Livy 8.28 (on the *lex Poetelia de nexis*, which he dates to 326 B.C.; cf. Val. Max. 6.1.9); Val. Max. 6.1.6, 6.1.10, 8.1.abs.12, 8.1.damn.8.

[21] τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἰκετῶν μὲν ἐρᾶν ὥραν ἐχόντων οὐκ ἦν ἄδοξον οὐδ' αἰσχρόν, ὡς ἔτι νῦν αἱ κωμῳδίαι μαρτυροῦσιν· ἐλευθέρων δὲ παίδων ἰσχυρῶς ἀπείχοντο. (Plut. *Rom. Ques.* 101.288A).

[22] Cf. Cantarella (1992), p. 104: 'To sum up, homosexuality in itself was neither a crime nor a socially reproved form of behaviour. Carrying on with a slave (so long as he did not belong to somebody else) was accepted as normal behaviour, as was paying a male prostitute.' This attitude entailed the related assumption that the distribution of physical role was aligned with the power-differential between master and slave, the master playing the active role and the slave the passive role. Allusions to a reversal of roles include Sen. *Epist.* 47.7 (a characteristically scandalized description of a slave who is 'in cubiculo vir, in convivio puer') and Martial 3.71 (a characteristically teasing jab: 'mentula cum doleat puero, tibi, Naevole, culus, / non sum divinus, sed scio quid facias').

[23] It is worth noting that a common word meaning 'prostitute', *scortum*, is neuter and thus lacks specific reference to the gender of the person denoted; he or she is a thing to be used. (See Walde-Hofmann s.v. for the etymology of the noun, which originally denoted 'pelt' or 'hide'.) The key to acceptability in making use of prostitutes was to avoid the appearance of excess: see Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.31–5 and ps.-Acro *ad loc.* for a well-known anecdote regarding Cato the Elder. Another pertinent tradition concerning Cato involves his expulsion of L. Quinctius Flamininus from the Senate after a scandal involving a prostitute whom Livy identifies as a Carthaginian named Philippus (Livy 39.42–3; cf. Plutarch, *Cato Maior* 17, *Titus Flamininus* 18). But as Boswell (1980), pp. 68–9, Lilja (1983), p. 31 n. 71, and Cantarella (1992), pp. 101–102, have pointed out, Philippus' sex is an irrelevant detail. Indeed, Livy himself indicates that there is an alternative tradition according to which the prostitute was female (cf. Val. Max. 2.9.3, Sen. *Contr.* 9.2), and another testimonium to the incident fails to specify the prostitute's sex and simultaneously makes quite clear the issues most important to Cato: *libido* and *voluptas* (Cic. *Sen.* 42). Thus it is my argument that Cicero's comments on the use of *meretrices* at *Cael.* 48 ('quando enim hoc non factitatum est, quando reprehensum, quando non permissum, quando denique fuit ut quod licet non liceret?') could just as well apply to the use of male prostitutes.

[24] Veyne (1985), p. 28. He had made the point in his 1978 article as well: 'Ce qui est surprenant n'est pas la bisexualité, mais son interdiction' (Veyne [1978], p. 51).

imagine a pristine Roman culture that frowned upon all homosexual experience evolving over the course of only a few generations into one which simply assumed the concurrent presence of males and females as normal objects of men's desire.[25] The unlikeliness of so swift and sweeping a transformation is obvious.

Apart from the question of actual borrowings (either of behaviour or of attitudes), there remains the proposition that, whatever the historical realities, Romans themselves understood male homosexuality to be a Greek custom.[26] But the evidence that has been adducted in support of this proposition will not withstand scrutiny. This evidence falls into two classes, which I will examine in order: (i) Greek linguistic borrowings having to do with sexual experience between males, such as the nouns *cinaedus* and *pathicus*, referring to penetrated males, and the verb *pedicare*, meaning 'to penetrate anally'; (ii) the explicit testimonial of ancient sources that speak of 'Greek custom' (*mos Graeciae*, *mos Graecorum*, or similar phrases) in connection with male homoerotic behaviour.

Linguistic evidence

J. N. Adams makes the point in an especially forceful way:

> Forms of perversion... tend to be ascribed particularly to foreign peoples, and those perversions may be described by a word from the foreign language in question. Various words to do with homosexuality in Latin are of Greek origin... But the sexual organs and ordinary sexual behaviour did not attract loan-words.[27]

Apart from the fact that the identification of male homosexual behaviour as a 'perversion' in opposition to 'ordinary sexual behaviour' does not correspond to the views regularly offered by Roman texts, the specific implication of Adams' observation is unfounded. Latin contains so many Greek loan-words pertaining to so many different spheres of human activity that without further corroborating evidence, we cannot put much interpretive weight on any single linguistic borrowing or group of borrowings. Does the existence of *phallus* or *moechus*, for example, signal a Roman identification of the penis or adulterers with Greece? By themselves, loan-words like *cinaedus* and *pathicus* prove nothing with regard to Roman assumptions concerning male homoerotic experience.

Indeed, there are no indications that the Greek origin of these borrowings impinged upon the consciousness of speakers of Latin. On the contrary, in one of the *Priapea*

[25] By way of illustration of this assumption, it will suffice to cite a few items of evidence taken almost at random. A graffito from the Domus Aurea in Rome reads as follows: 'quisquis amat pueros, etiam sin(e) fine puellas, / rationem saccli non h(a)bet ille sui' (Heikki Solen, 'Un epigramma della Domus Aurea', *RF* 109 [1981], pp. 268–71; cf. Lilja [1983], p. 101). The close parallel with *CLE* 2153 from Rigomagus (Remagen) in Germany suggests that the notion expressed was something of a commonplace, and graffiti like these (as well as those scratched on the walls of Pompeii, for which see the selected list given at Boswell [1980], p. 57 n. 44) provide a glimpse at elements of society that were least likely to be phil-hellenising. Two widely different but equally Roman poets will serve to illustrate the prevalence of such assumptions in the literary sources. In the course of his vigorous attempt to make Epicurean philosophy meaningful and appealing to Roman readers, Lucretius represents those who are most likely to arouse sexual passion among men as being either boys or women (Lucretius 4.1052–7, 'sive puer... seu mulier'), and in his programmatic introductory poem, Ovid describes the proper subject matter of Roman love elegy as 'aut puer aut longas compta puella comas' (*Amores* 1.1.20). For extended discussions see Boswell (1980), pp. 61–87; Lilja (1983); Richlin (1992); and Cantarella (1992).

[26] So Edwards (1993), p. 94.

[27] Adams (1982), p. 228. Cf. ibid., p. 123, and similar arguments offered by MacMullen (1982), p. 486, Hallett (1989), p. 223, and Edwards (1993), p. 94.

(3.9–10) the use of the verb *pedicare* is represented as an instance of 'speaking plain Latin' (*Latine dicere*),[28] an idiom referring to the use of direct, non-euphemistic speech (as speakers of English apologise for using 'Anglo-Saxon words').[29] Thus, even though the verb *pedicare* has its origins in Greek, by the time of the *Priapea* it could be understood as a thoroughly, indeed excessively, 'Latin' word. Nowhere in the sources, moreover, do we find a hint that *cinaedus*, *pathicus*, or *pedicare* were perceived by native Latin speakers as being foreign terms needing explanation.[30] In short, when a Roman spoke or wrote of a *cinaedus*, he would no more have thought of Greece than a twentieth-century American thinks of France when she opens the door to her *garage*,[31] and the verb *pedicare* no more suggested 'Greek' practices than did the native Latin verbs *fellare* and *irrumare*.[32]

Set against these Greek borrowings, moreover, is a tradition of native Latin colloquialism regarding male homosexual behaviour. The verb *cevere* denotes the movements of a male who is the receptive partner in anal intercourse,[33] and although its etymology has not been firmly established, it is certainly not a Greek borrowing.[34] Also noteworthy are various Latin metaphors, not deriving from Greek, whose very existence suggests a general familiarity with the realities of sexual experience between males: these include the use of *caedere*, *percidere*, or *subigere* for *pedicare*[35] and of the noun *pullus* ('young animal, chick') to refer to a youth loved by a man. The latter usage dates back to Republican times,[36] and Festus relates an amusing anecdote by

[28] 'simplicius multo est "da pedicare" Latine / dicere' (*Priap.* 3.9–10).

[29] For the phrase *Latine dicere* or *Latine loqui* see *OLD* s.v *Latine* (2.b). (Its application is not limited to sexual language: see, for example, Cic. *Phil.* 7.17.7–8.)

[30] MacMullen (1982), p. 486, claims that such borrowings as *pedico*, *pathicus*, *catamitus*, and *cinaedus* 'had to be explained to contemporary readers as novelties', but gives no evidence on these words, merely listing in a note further Greek words that in fact fail to support his argument. A concept that evidently did require explanation was *philosophia*: that the word itself needed to be glossed may be inferred from Cic. *Tusc.* 1.1 ('studio sapientiae, quae philosophia dicitur') and Sen. *Epist.* 89.4 ('philosophia sapientiae amor est et adfectatio'), and the entire enterprise of *philosophia* is often associated with Greece (see Petrochilos [1974], pp. 186–96).

[31] See further Boswell (1980), p. 28 n. 52, where he aptly compares *fiancé*.

[32] It is worth noting that *pedicare* is not even restricted to homosexual anal intercourse. Martial three times applies the verb *pedicare* to the anal penetration of a woman (11.78.5–6, 11.99.1–2, 11.104.17), as do a frankly detailed graffito found at Capua (*CIL* 10.4483 = Diehl 508) and (albeit obliquely) *Priap.* 3.7–8. For *irrumare* and *fellare*, also used in both heterosexual and homosexual contexts, see Werner Krenkel, '*Fellatio* and *irrumatio*', *WZR* 29 (1980), pp. 77– ➡ Amy Richlin, 'The Meaning of *irrumare* in Catullus and Martial', *CPh* 76 (1981), pp. 40–46; and Adams (1982), pp. 125–34.

[33] One might have expected to find *cevere* being used to describe the motions of an anally receptive female or male equally, since the verb's original meaning is simply 'to move the buttocks' (cf. the grammarian Probus' testimony: 'cevere est clunes movere, ut in canibus videre est, qui clunes agitando blandiuntur', *GLK* 4.37.8). Yet *cevere* is in fact only attested of males (see Adams [1982], pp. 136–7), but this may well be a result of the incomplete nature of our sources. One intriguing graffito from Pompeii reads 'Quintio(s) hic futuit ceventes' (*CIL* 4.4977). Commentators assume that the *ceventes* are male and that *futuere* stands for *pedicare* (cf. Adams [1982], p. 119), but I see no reason to reject the possibility that the *ceventes* are women being penetrated *a tergo*, either vaginally or anally.

[34] See Ernout-Meillet and Walde-Hofmann s.v. There is in fact no Greek verb comparable in meaning to *cevere*.

[35] Adams (1982), pp. 145–9. For further examples see the discussion at Richlin (1992), p. 288.

[36] See the sources cited at *OLD* s.v. *pullus*. This colloquial usage is remarkably close to the modern gay slang 'chicken', and a man whom Ausonius calls *feles pullaria* (*Epigr.* 77, pp. 340–41 Peiper) could today be called a 'chicken hawk'. (For a possible parallel, cf. *pullarius* at Petr. *Sat.* 43.8, although the word is a conjectural emendation of the MS reading *puellarius*).

way of illustration that is simultaneously amusing and revealing. Q. Fabius Maximus, consul in 116 B.C. and censor in 108 B.C., was given the cognomen Eburnus ('Ivory') because of his fair complexion, but after suffering the misfortune of being struck by lightning on his buttocks, he was further nicknamed 'Jupiter's chick' (*pullus Iovis*), as if having been anally raped by the king of the gods.[37] The dry, one might almost say campy, humour implied by this nickname bespeaks a comfortable, home-grown familiarity with the facts of male homosexual behaviour among Fabius' contemporaries much like that which obviously characterised Plautus' audiences.

Explicit ancient testimonia

As Veyne and Cantarella have insisted, those Roman texts that explicitly identify certain sexual practices as 'Greek', simultaneously implying disapproval,[38] refer not to male homosexual behaviour as a whole but specifically to the Greek tradition of *paiderastia* or pederasty: romantic and sexual relations with free-born young men that came equipped with an entire array of expectations and conventions, including an educational and sometimes specifically philosophical overlay.[39] But neither scholar provides support for this contention by means of a comprehensive review of those sources that point to 'Greek custom' in this regard, and I here offer such a review in order to demonstrate the validity of their thesis.

Among the Greek customs that Cornelius Nepos enumerates in his preface is the fact that 'it is considered a matter of praise in Greece for young men to have had as many lovers as possible' ('laudi in Graecia ducitur adulescentulis quam plurimos habuisse amatores', pr. 4),[40] and the same writer elsewhere reports that in his youth Alcibiades was 'loved by many, in the custom of the Greeks' ('ineunte adulescentia amatus est a multis more Graecorum', *Alc.* 2.2). In the fifth book of his *Tusculan*

[37] 'pullus Iovis dicebatur Q. Fabius, cui Eburno cognomen erat propter candorem, quod eius natis fulmine icta erat. antiqui autem puerum, quem quis amabat, pullum eius dicebant' (Festus 245.23–7). For details concerning this Fabius, see *RE* 111. Richlin (1992), p. 289, suggests that he was not literally struck by lightning but possessed some sort of birthmark on his buttocks.

[38] As Cantarella (1992), p. 102, observes, passages such as Polybius 31.25.2–5 bear on attitudes toward extravagance and luxury rather than 'homosexuality' (*pace* Edwards [1993], p. 95 n. 104, although at pp. 176–8 she casts her discussion in terms of 'luxury'). Other ancient sources describing the incident (for which see also Diod. 31.24 and Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 4.4) clearly specify the object of Cato's displeasure: cf. Plut. *Cato Maior* 8.2, *κατηγορῶν δὲ τῆς πολυτελείας*; Diodorus 37.3.6, *κατηγορῶν τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τρυφῆς*; Athenaeus 6.109 (274F-275A), *ἐδυσχέραινε καὶ ἐκεκράγει, ὅτι τινὲς τὰς ξενικὰς τρυφὰς εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην*. To use Athenaeus' terms, what Cato saw as foreign (*ξενική*) was not homosexuality but precisely the luxury (*τρυφή*) exemplified by indulgence in expensive caviar, boy prostitutes, female prostitutes, etc. (Diodorus 37.3.5 adds costly wine and skilled chefs to the list.)

[39] See especially Dover (1978) and Halperin (1990) for the traditions and conventions of *paiderastia*.

[40] Valkenaer's emendation of the MS reading *Graecia* to *Creta* has been adopted by Nipperdey (Berlin, 1879), Malcovati (Turin, 1944), and Marshall (Leipzig, 1977), but it is a needless conjecture. Nepos' statement is applicable not just to Crete but to classical Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and other Greek city-states. The Loeb translator, J. C. Rolfe, prints *Creta* and offers a translation that obscures Nepos' point: 'In Crete it is thought praiseworthy for young men to have had the greatest possible number of love affairs.' On Cretan pederasty, see Dover (1978), pp. 185–96; Jan Bremmer, 'An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty', *Arethusa* 13 (1980), p. 287 (where Nepos is said to make an observation on the custom in 'Crete', with no indication that *Creta* is a conjectural reading found in no manuscript); Bernard Sergent, *Homosexuality in Greek Myth* (translated by Arthur Goldhammer, Boston 1986), pp. 7–39; a➞ R. B. Koehl, 'The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage', *JHS* 106 (1986), pp. 99–110.

Disputations, Cicero presents Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, as an example of a man who was profoundly unhappy because unable to trust any of those whom he loved, even though he was lucky enough to have enjoyed many friends and 'had, in the custom of Greece, certain young men joined to him in love' ('haberet etiam more Graeciae quosdam adulescentis amore coniunctos', *Tusc.* 5.58).[41] In a fragment of the fourth book of Cicero's *Republic* we find the observation that 'it was a matter of reproach for young men if they did not have lovers' ('opprobrio fuisse adulescentibus, si amatores non haberent', Cic. *Rep.* 4.3),[42] and the next continuous piece of text presents the words of Scipio, associating the Greek gymnasia with sexual encounters involving young men.[43] Cicero establishes a connection with Greek gymnasia once again at *Tusc.* 4.70, where he speaks of relationships to which he gives the curious label *amor amicitiae*: 'This practice seems to me to have its origin in the gymnasia of the Greeks, where such love-affairs are freely allowed' ('mihi quidem haec in Graecorum gymnasiis nata consuetudo videtur, in quibus isti liberi et concessi sunt amores', *Tusc.* 4.70).[44]

In each of these passages we encounter a distancing gesture: these love-affairs occur *more Graeciae* or *more Graecorum*; they are freely permitted in Greek gymnasia. The implication is clear. However urbanely and dispassionately Cicero and Nepos may write, this kind of relationship was subject to some sort of disapproval at Rome. Indeed, Nepos explicitly observes that the Greek practices he cites are accounted notorious, undignified, or dishonourable among Romans[45] and Tacitus reports Roman objections to Nero's institution of games on the Greek model that include a condemnation of love-affairs associated with the gymnasia:

> Ancestral customs, gradually abandoned, were being thoroughly overturned by an imported licentiousness, so that whatever was capable of being corrupted and of corrupting was visible in the city, and young men were becoming degenerate with foreign pursuits, indulging in the gymnasia and idleness and disgraceful love-affairs.[46]

[41] The tone with which Cicero writes of Dionysius and his love affairs is important. He takes this kind of sexual behaviour for granted, indeed appropriating the 'Greek custom' for his own purposes with no hint of disapproval. The fact that Dionysius was involved in erotic affairs with these young men functions merely as a further support for Cicero's argument: even though he loved them, he did not trust them. A telling parallel is to be found at *Off.* 2.25. Here he illustrates Dionysius' suspicious nature by means of a different example (due to his fear of knives, he had his hair singed rather than cut), but he adds the further instance of Alexander of Pheres, who did not trust his wife. Cicero treats Dionysius' love for his *adulescentes* no differently from Alexander's love for his wife, apart from the observation that the former is in conformance with *mos Graeciae*.

[42] The line is preserved by Servius *ad Aen.* 10.325. Servius understands the words to apply to Greece in general, but the Loeb editor (Clinton Walker Keyes, 1928) suggests that this pertains specifically to Sparta, given what follows. On Spartan 'licence' in this regard, see also Martial 4.55.6–7 ('aut libidinosae / Ledaeas Lacedaemonos palaestras').

[43] 'iuventutis vero exercitatio quam absurda in gymnasiis! quam levis epheborum illa militia! quam contrectationes et amores soluti et liberi! mitto Eleos et Thebanos, apud quos in amore ingenuorum libido etiam permissam habet et solutam licentiam' (*Republic* 4.4).

[44] *Amor amicitiae* refers to male friendships with philosophical airs but clearly they can include a sexual element, for Cicero later drily asks why no one ever loves an ugly youth (*deformem adulescentem*) or a beautiful old man, and points out that everyone knows what the poets mean when they speak of Jupiter and Ganymede or of Laius and Chrysippus (4.71).

[45] 'quae omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur' (pr. 5).

[46] 'ceterum abolitos paulatim patrios mores funditus everti per accitam lasciviam, ut quod usquam corrumpi et corrumpere queat in urbe visatur, degeneretque studiis externis iuventus, gymnasia et otia et turpes amores exercendo...' (Tac. *Ann.* 14.20). For a similar prejudicial view of Greek gymnasia as being associated with pederastic pursuits, cf. Plut. *Rom. Ques.* 40.274D,

But, following Veyne and Cantarella, I am arguing that Tacitus' 'disgraceful love-affairs' (*turpes amores*) associated with Greek gymnasia were specifically pederastic and that they were disgraceful only because the younger partner was free-born, not because he was male.[47] In fact, each of the sources cited above demonstrably concerns relations with free-born young men. On the question of age, all of them explicitly refer to *iuventus*, *adulescentes*, *adulescentuli*, or *adulescentia*. As for the issue of status, Alcibiades was of course free-born, and in the passage from the *Republic* Scipio makes explicit reference to *ingenui* ('mitto Eleos et Thebanos, apud quos in amore ingenuorum libido etiam permissam habet et solutam licentiam', *Rep.* 4.4). Cicero's discussion of *amor amicitiae* in the *Tusculans* (4.70) incorporates an approving citation of a line of Ennius that is specifically concerned with the behaviour of citizens: 'Nudity amongst citizens is the beginning of disgrace' ('flagiti principium est nudare inter civis corpora')[48]—*inter civis*, the poet writes, not *inter mares*. The remaining passages (Nepos' preface, Cicero's reference to Dionysius' love-affairs with *quidam adulescentes*, and Tacitus' discussion of young Romans corrupted by foreign influence) do not explicitly designate that the younger partners are free-born, but there is good reason to believe that Roman readers would have made that assumption. Firstly and most importantly, it has already been argued that a Roman writer would have no cause to represent sexual relations between men and male slaves as a Greek custom since such activity was an undisputed fact of Roman life from the earliest times. Secondly, the Greek tradition to which Nepos refers in his preface (commending *adulescentuli* who have had numerous lovers) is without a doubt the same *mos Graecorum* that he mentions in his life of Alcibiades (2.2), according to which he was courted by a number of *erastai*, and these lovers were as free-born as was Alcibiades himself.[49] Similarly the *consuetudo* whose origin Cicero locates in Greek gymnasia (*Tusc.* 4.70) is precisely the *mos Graeciae* to which he refers later in the same treatise (*Tusc.* 5.58) in his discussion of Dionysius of Syracuse. Finally, the gymnasia to which both Cicero and Tacitus make pointed reference were patronised by free men and not by slaves.

In sum: no ancient source ever claims that indulgence in or approval of male homoerotic desires or activities was learned, borrowed, or imported by Romans from Greece. The only practice that was associated with Greece was the peculiarly Hellenic tradition of pederastic relations with free-born youth: Cicero's *consuetudo*, born in the Greek gymnasia, is not homosexuality but pederasty. The distinction is crucial, although often blurred or simply disregarded in modern scholarship.[50] If the Greek

quoted below, n. 71; and probably Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 14.134–8: 'ite, gregem metite imbellem ac succidite ferro... / pigro luctandi studio certamen in umbra / molle pati docta et gaudens splendescere olivo / stat, mediocre decus vincentum, ignava iuventus.'

[47] It is worth noting that the collocution *turpis amor* is elsewhere used of a relationship with a female prostitute (Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.111–112) and of the passion that might induce a woman to poison a man (*Rhet. Herenn.* 4.23).

[48] On the Roman resistance to nudity amongst male citizens, see also Cic. *Off.* 1.129, *De Orat.* 2.223–224; Plut. *Cat. Maior* 20, *Rom. Ques.* 40.274A–B.

[49] Aeschines (1.138–9) attributes to Solon Athenian traditions that prohibited slaves from being the lovers of free boys. Cf. Plutarch, *Amatorius* 751B.

[50] For example, Lilja (1983), p. 112, at first appears to make the point argued here, but then inconsistently writes that Cicero's discussion in the *Tusculans* represents his 'opinions on the origin of and different traits in homosexuality' (p. 123; cf. also pp. 50, 107). So too Edwards (1993), p. 94 n. 99, citing Lilja, asserts that Cic. *Tusc.* 4.70–1 is 'on homosexual relations as a peculiarly Greek practice'. Cf. ibid., p. 96: 'A taste for homosexual relations might be associated with the "Greek" literary life.' I would argue that only a taste for pederastic relations might be so associated.

cultural heritage had included, for example, a tradition of publicly courting other men's wives, and if Romans had displayed an awareness of, or had been influenced by, that tradition, it would be meaningless to speak of a Roman association between Greece and 'heterosexuality'. Equally groundless is the assumption that Romans understood 'homosexuality' to be 'Greek love'.

II

The distinctively Hellenic tradition of pederasty could, however, be identified as a Greek cultural artefact alien to Roman traditions. But to what extent, and with what tone, was this identification actually made? Paul Veyne writes that Greek pederasty 'scandalized' Romans,[51] and Eva Cantarella asserts that 'for the Romans, pederasty was "the Greek vice"',[52] yet neither scholar supports the claim with ancient evidence. What, in fact, is the tone of Roman allusions to pederasty as a 'Greek custom'? Do Roman references to 'the Greek way' or 'Greek custom' inevitably denote pederasty?[53] Conversely, do explicit Roman references to pederasty regularly represent the practice as 'the Greek way' or, more polemically, as 'the Greek vice'? To what extent was pederasty appropriated by those Roman texts that contribute to the production and reproduction of anti-Greek sentiment? In short, what is the evidence that pederasty was 'Greek love' for Romans?

Cicero and Nepos, as we have seen, point to pederasty as a Greek custom. Could pederasty thus be coded as 'the Greek way'? A review of the extant occurrences of such phrases as *more Graeciae* or *more Graecorum* provides a clear answer: no. A wide variety of Greek customs other than pederasty are identified with the phrases. Cicero speaks of drinking at parties 'in the Greek way' and of a universal Greek practice regarding statues of honoured men,[54] and elsewhere points out to his Roman jury that it is 'the custom of the Greeks' for witnesses in trials to swear before an altar that their written testimony is true.[55] Other practices that Cicero identifies with labels like *mos Graecorum* are the use of oratory for the purposes of entertainment or praise; the tradition of *scholae* or expositions by a teacher; the carrying of water by women; the dedication of silver tables to the *ἀγαθοὶ θεοί*; the erection of a *tropaeum* as a sign of victory for the moment only, and not for a perpetual memorial; and the exclusion of honourable women from men's dinner parties.[56] Livy similarly writes of the role of the herald at Greek assemblies as well as of the Greek customs of giving palm

[51] I quote from the published translation (Veyne [1985], p. 29). Veyne himself wrote 'que les Latins avaient en horreur' (Veyne [1982], p. 28). [52] Cantarella (1992), p. 97.

[53] Cf. Dalla (1987), p. 10, cited in n. 6 above.

[54] *Verr.* 2.1.66, 'fit sermo inter eos et invitatio ut Graeco more biberetur' (this refers to the Greek practice of *προπίνειν*); *Verr.* 2.2.158, '...apud omnis Graecos hic mos est, ut honorem hominibus habitum in monumentis eius modi nonnulla religione deorum consecrari arbitrentur.'

[55] *Balb.* 12, 'cum quidam apud eos [sc., Athenienses] qui sancte graviterque vixisset testimonium publice dixisset et, ut mos Graecorum est, iurandi causa ad aras accederet...'

[56] *De orat.* 2.341, 'ornandi causa Graecorum more'; *Tusc.* 1.7, '...ut iam etiam scholas Graecorum more habere auderemus'; *Tusc.* 5.103, 'aquam ferentis mulierculae, ut mos in Graecia est'; *N.D.* 3.84, 'in quibus quod more veteris Graeciae inscriptum esset "bonorum deorum" (cf. Val. Max. 1.1.ext.3, 'in his more Graeciae scriptum erat bonorum deorum eas esse'); *Inv.* 2.69, 'cum Thebani Lacedaemonios bello superavissent et fere mos esset Graiis, cum inter se bellum gessissent, ut ii qui vicissent tropaeum aliquod in finibus statuerent victoriae modo in praesentiam declarandae causa, non ut in perpetuum belli memoria maneret, aeneum statuerunt tropaeum'; *Verr.* 2.1.66, 'negavit moris esse Graecorum ut in convivio virorum accumberent mulieres' (cf. Nepos, pr. 6–7).

branches to athletic victors and using olive branches in the context of supplication.[57] Sallust has Caesar observe that while at one time the Romans had adopted 'the Greek custom' (*Graeciae morem*) of punishing citizens who had committed capital offences with beating and death, the later *lex Porcia* forbade such punishment.[58] Other sources identify as 'the Greek way' the holding of deliberations in theatres; a type of ephebes' exercise; aspects of the cult of Ceres at Rome and of Juno among the Faliscans; certain types of tombs, torture devices, and games; and even stylistic and orthographical conventions such as the use of double negatives or writing double consonants.[59]

In sum, there were many *mores Graecorum*; pederasty was but one, hardly singled out or coded as 'the Greek way'. It deserves mention, too, that nearly all of the sources just surveyed offer an ethnographic observation of Greek custom, not a xenophobic sneer. When Nepos and Cicero identify pederasty as *mos Graecorum* or *mos Graeciae* they too are simply making objective ethnographic comments,[60] and there is no reason to believe that their Roman readership would have detected any moralising nuances in the phrases.

Furthermore, Cicero and Nepos are describing pederasty in its native cultural context. It is significant that when Roman writers allude to pederastic relationships in a *Roman* milieu—even when they adopt a heavily moralising tone—they generally fail to point fingers in the direction of Greece,[61] although they could count on a considerable amount of anti-Greek sentiment to be present in their readership.[62] This is true of allusions both to romantic affairs and to mere physical encounters, which one might expect nonetheless to evoke some comparison to the Greek tradition. Some illustrations follow.

[57] Livy 32.20.1, 'sicut Graecis mos est'; 10.47.3, 'translato e Graeco more'; 29.16.6, 'ut Graecis mos est' (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 11.251, 'antiquis Graeciae in supplicando mentum attingere mos erat'); cf. 36.28.4–5, also on suppliants: 'quae moris Graecorum non sint'.

[58] 'sed eodem illo tempore Graeciae morem imitati verberibus animadvortebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant' (Sall. *Cat.* 51.39).

[59] Front. *Strat.* 3.2.6, 'in theatro, ubi ex more Graecorum locus consultationi praebebatur' (cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.80); Festus 262.57, 'rutrum tenentis iuvenis est effigies in Capitolio ephebi more Graecorum harenam ruentis exercitationis gratia'; Val. Max. 1.1.1, 'Cererique, quam more Graeco venerari instituerent, sacerdotem a Velia...peterent' (cf. Festus 237.11); Ov. *Am.* 3.13.27–28, 'more patrum Graio velatae vestibus albis / tradita supposito vertice sacra ferunt'; Petr. *Sat.* 111.2, 'positum in hypogaeo Graeco more corpus'; Apul. *Met.* 10.10, 'nec rota vel eculeus more Graecorum tormentis eius apparata iam deerant'; Suet. *Nero* 12.3, 'instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae more Graeco triplex, musicum gymnicum equestre, quod appellavit Neronia' (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.20, 'quinquennale ludicrum Romae institutum est ad morem Graeci certaminis' and Stat. *Theb.* 6.5–7, 'Graium ex more decus: primus Pisaea per arva / hunc pius Alcides Pelopi certavit honorem / pulvereumque fera crinem detersit oliva'); Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.247, 'licet Terentius Graeco more dixerit "agrum in his regionibus meliorem neque pretii maioris nemo habet"'; 3.691, 'epitheton ad inplendum versum positum more Graeco'; 11.213, 'more Graeco epitheton incongruum loco posuit'; Festus 293.33, 'quam consuetudinem Ennius mutavisse fertur, utpote Graecus Graeco more usus, quod illi aeque scribentes ac legentes duplicabant mutas...'

[60] The gesture is thus intrinsically no different from Valerius Maximus' reference to προσκύνησις as *mos Persarum* (4.7.ext.2) or from Sallust's allusion to Numidian customs in physical exercise as *mos gentis illius* (*Jug.* 6.1).

[61] The reaction reported by Tacitus (above, n. 46) does not exactly constitute an exception, for it is directed at the importation of practices that are distanced as foreign (cf. *accitam lasciviam* and *studiis externis*).

[62] It is well known that Roman attitudes toward Greece were complex, ranging from lively distrust to outright scorn but generally coupled with a grudging admission of the great cultural achievements of the Greece of old. See, e.g., Petrochilos (1974), Gruen (1990), Gruen (1992), and Edwards (1993), pp. 92–7.

In his second Catilinarian, delivered to an assembly of the Roman people, Cicero condemns Catiline as a lover of free-born youth:

> Has there ever been so great an enticement of young men as there is in him? He himself loved some of them most disgracefully (*turpissime*); served the love of others most shamefully; promised to others the fulfillment of their lusts and to others their parents' death—not only encouraging them but also assisting them.[63]

While the orator's words are laden with shock and disparagement, he does not point a finger at *mos Graecorum*. The moral condemnation of pederastic relationships that is conveyed by Cicero's adverb *turpissime* can also be detected in Valerius Maximus' narrative of incidents illustrating the value placed by Roman traditions on the sexual integrity (*pudicitia*) of the free-born of both sexes. Valerius relates several stories of sexual relations between men and free-born youth (e.g. 6.1.7, 6.1.10), but nowhere mentions 'Greek ways'. Likewise when Livy writes of the Bacchanalian scandal of 186 B.C. (39.8–19) he portrays Roman anxiety concerning the initiation of young men under twenty years of age by means of sexual penetration; and xenophobia contributes a great deal to the outrage and anxiety that Livy describes. But the historian establishes no link between the two factors. The anti-Greek sentiment in his account is directed not toward the sexual initiation of young men but toward the importation of foreign religious rites.[64] The sexual exploitation of young male initiates is never singled out as an aspect of the foreignness of the cult, nor indeed is the same exploitation of female initiates. All of it is illicit and disgraceful behaviour (*stuprum*), none of it particularly Greek.[65] Similarly, various Roman allusions to the war-time rape of free-born boys, girls, and women make no attempt to single out the rape of young men as bearing any special relationship to *mores Graecorum*.[66]

Throughout late Republican and Augustan love poetry, no specific association is made between the love of boys and Greek traditions. Aulus Gellius (19.9) preserves poems composed by Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, and Q. Lutatius Catulus (all of whom were active in the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C.), and these poems are addressed to both female and male partners with Greek names: Aedituus writes to a Pamphila (19.9.11) and Catulus addresses verses to a Theotimus (19.9.14). But the object of Licinus' poetic attention is of unspecified gender (19.9.13), and the imprecision is revealing. All of this neoteric love poetry is inspired by Greek models, and all of it has a Greek feel, whether the beloved is male or female. The homosexual, and most likely pederastic, love-affair of Catulus' poem is not singled out as being more indebted to Greek traditions than the others. Similarly, Catullus' poetry presents its readers with two relationships disapproved by traditional Roman standards: one with the free-born youth Juventius, the other with the married woman

[63] '... quae tanta umquam in ullo iuventutis inlecebra fuit quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amori flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo verum etiam adiuvando pollicebatur' (Cic. *Cat.* 2.8).

[64] The consul Postumius opens his address to the assembled citizenry on a note of fearful warning with regard to foreign gods (39.15.2–3; he returns to the theme at 39.16.8). For other indications of Roman feeling against foreign religious practices, consider the incidents summarized in Val. Max. 1.3 ('De Superstitionibus') as well as one of the laws proposed by Cicero in his *De Legibus*: 'separatim nemo habessit deos neve novos neve advenas nisi publice adscitos' (2.19; cf. 2.25–6).

[65] Consider the phrase 'stupra promiscua ingenuorum feminarumque' (39.8.7; cf. 39.8.5–6, 39.13.10, 39.15.12). It is telling that Livy writes 'ingenuorum feminarumque' rather than, for example, 'adulescentium feminarumque'. This underscores what is so disgraceful in the entire affair: not the initiates' gender but their free-born status. See Section III for further discussion of *stuprum*.

[66] See below, n. 84, and cf. the texts quoted in nn. 85–6.

whom he calls Lesbia.[67] The relationship with Juventius is on the model of Greek *paiderastia*, yet Catullus does not capitalise on that fact by endowing the Juventius poems with more of a 'Greek' colouring than he gives the Lesbia poems.[68] Virgil's second *Eclogue* (on Corydon's love for Alexis) is neither more nor less Greek in feel than his tenth (on Gallus' love for Lycoris). Propertius compares his love for Cynthia to Jupiter's passion for Semele and Io but also for Ganymede (Prop. 2.30.29–30). And in Roman texts that compare the love of *pueri* with the love of women or *puellae*,[69] there is never a hint that the former owes more to Greek traditions than does the latter.

We have thus seen that, when writing about Greek culture and Greek historical personages, such authors as Nepos and Cicero make the same observation that modern scholars have made (with an objectivity that many scholars ought to have emulated): pederasty, but not male homosexual behaviour as a whole, was a specifically Greek institution. But we have also seen that Roman texts represent pederasty as only one among many Greek customs, and that descriptions of pederasty in a Roman context consistently fail to point to the corrupting influence of Greek culture. What of Roman representations of the Greek tradition in its native context? How quintessentially 'Greek' was pederasty? Cantarella claims that Romans considered pederasty 'the Greek vice', but no such phrase has survived from the ancient sources.[70] Significantly and perhaps surprisingly, when Roman writers indulge in invidious comparisons of their ancestral traditions with those of Greece, they very rarely cite pederasty—which would be a powerful weapon in a modern cultural conflict—in the list of the shortcomings and vices attributed to that culture.[71]

[67] There is no reason to doubt that Juventius is free-born: cf. Chester Louis Neudling, *A Prosopography to Catullus* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 94–6. In contrast with Catullus' liberties stands the fate of a certain Valerius Valentinus, who had been condemned by public opinion for having written a poem on his relationships with a free-born boy (*puer praetextatus*) and a free-born girl (*ingenua virgo*) (Val. Max. 8.1.abs.8; cf. *RE* 372, where the incident is dated to ca. 111 B.C.). Valerius Maximus offers no hint to the effect that the relationship with the *puer* was thought to be more 'Greek' than the relationship with the *virgo*.

[68] Indeed, it could be argued that of the two relationships it is the heterosexual one that is endowed with more of a Greek colouring: not only does he give Clodia, and not Juventius, a Greek pseudonym, but he appropriates a Greek lyric poem to represent what appears to be his first encounter with her (Catullus 51).

[69] Plaut. *Truc.* 149–57; Prop. 2.4.17–22; Ovid, *Ars* 2.683–4; Juvenal 6.33–7.

[70] When Cantarella writes 'the Greek vice' ('il vizio greco') in inverted commas, one receives the impression that she is translating a Latin phrase. But a search of the PHI disk for *viti-* in conjunction with *Graec-* turns up no such phrase. And when *vitium* is indirectly attributed to Greeks, we read not of pederasty but of stylistic flaws (Cic. *De Orat.* 2.18, 'hoc vitio cumulata est eruditissima illa Graecorum natio'; Sen. Rhet. *Contr.* 1.2.22, 'hoc autem vitium aiebat Scaurus a Graecis declamatoribus tractum, qui nihil non et permiserint sibi et impetraverint') or of the unnecessary and luxurious uses to which that decadent nation has put the gifts of nature (Plin. *N.H.* 15.19 on olive oil: 'usum eius ad luxuriam vertere Graeci, vitiorum omnium genitores, in gymnasiis publicando').

[71] One exception has already been cited, Tac. *Ann.* 14.20: 'degeneretque studiis externis iuventus, gymnasia et otia et turpes amores exercendo.' In the same vein, according to Plutarch (*Rom. Ques.* 40.274D), the Romans thought the gymnasia and palaestrae to be the most important factor in the 'enslavement and softness' (δουλεία and μαλακία) of the Greeks, since they gave rise to 'much ennui and idleness, mischief, pederasty, and the ruin of young men's bodies by sleep, strolling about, rhythmic exercises, and strict diets' (πολὺν ἄλυν καὶ σχολὴν ἐντεκούσας ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κακοσχολίαν καὶ τὸ παιδεραστεῖν καὶ τὸ διαφθείρειν τὰ σώματα τῶν νέων ὕπνοις καὶ περιπάτοις καὶ κινήσεσιν εὐρύθμοις καὶ διαίταις ἀκριβέσιν). But it is worth noting that in both texts the primary emphasis is not so much on sexual issues *per se* as on questions of discipline (note Plutarch's μαλακία and Tacitus' *otia*; and Plutarch adds that the pursuits of the gymnasia and palaestrae were thought to induce young men to turn from the life

Perhaps the closest equivalent to the phrase 'Greek vice' is found in verbs like *graecari* and *pergraecari*, 'to act like a Greek', but these words suggest a hedonistic indulgence in food, drink, and love (often in the company of female prostitutes) without a hint of pederasty.[72] Indeed, in the overwhelming majority of Roman condemnations of Greek decadence we hear not of pederasty but of *levitas*, untrustworthiness, softness, or luxuriousness.[73] Likewise the disdainful allusions to shifty, frivolous, pleasure-loving *Graeculi* scattered throughout Roman texts never specify or even imply pederastic inclinations as a characteristic trait of Greeks.[74] Of Roman writers who describe the influx of luxury from the East in the 2nd century B.C., some make no reference to sexual issues,[75] but even those who do so fail to focus on pederasty. Sallust, for example, writes of *stuprum* in general and two particularly outrageous embodiments of the offence: men playing the passive role in intercourse, and women being free with their favours.[76] Juvenal's third satire is an especially prodigious monument to Roman bigotry with regard to Greeks, but even here pederasty is not singled out as a Greek vice. Rather, we read of their suspect versatility (3.73–80, a passage including the celebrated dictum 'omnia novit / Graeculus esuriens'), their talents for flattery, acting, and toadying (3.86–108), and their selfish monopoly of patrons to the detriment of native Romans (3.119–125). In the midst of this catalogue Juvenal does write of Greeks' sexual behaviour (3.109–112), yet the outstanding characteristic of the *Graeculus* is not his interest in young men but rather his uncontrolled sexual appetite. He will pounce on matron and maiden, bridegroom and son, or, failing these outlets, even his patron's grandmother.[77]

Nepos' treatment of Greek pederastic traditions is especially illustrative. Far from passing over *paiderastia* in a shocked or censorious silence, he includes it in his prefatory discussion of Greek customs (pr. 4, discussed above) and then makes

of military discipline: ὑφ' ὧν ἔλαθον ἐκρυέντες τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀγαπήσαντες ἀνθ' ὁπλιτῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἀγαθῶν εὐτράπελοι καὶ παλαιστρῖται καὶ καλοὶ λέγεσθαι.) Also significant is the unemphatic position of the reference to pederasty in each passage; it is represented as one among several associations of the gymnasium and palaestra.

[72] Plaut. *Bacch.* 742–3 ('atque id pollicetur se daturum aurum mihi / quod dem scortis quodque in lustris comedim, congraecem'), 812–13 ('propterea hoc facio, ut suadeas gnato meo / ut pergraecetur tecum, tervenefice'), *Most.* 22–4 ('dies noctesque bibite, pergraecamini, / amicas emite liberate, pascite / parasitos, obsonate pollucibiliter'), 64–5 ('bibite, pergraecamini, / este, ecfercite vos, saginam caedite'), 959–61 ('triduom unum est haud intermissum hic esse et bibi, / scorta duci, pergraecari, fidicinas tibicinas / ducere'), *Poen.* 602–603 ('liberum ut commostraremus tibi locum et voluptarium, / ubi ames, potes, pergraecere'), *Truc.* 86–7 ('peperisse simulat sese, ut me extrudat foras / atque ut cum solo pergraecetur milite'); Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.10–11 ('si Romana fatigat / militia adsuetum graecari') with Porphyrio *ad loc.* ('aut luxuriari aut Graeco more ludere').

[73] For *levitas* see, e.g., the sources cited in Petrochilos (1974), pp. 40–45 (a striking example is Cicero's defence of Flaccus, throughout which the orator draws on the prejudicial sentiment that Greeks are characterized by *levitas*). For Greek frivolity, hedonism, and self-indulgence see also Cic. *Pis.* 22, 42, 67, *Prov. Cons.* 14, *Verr.* 2.2.7; Plut, *Cic.* 5.2. For luxury see, e.g., Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.93–102, and Edwards (1993), pp. 92–7.

[74] For more or less disparaging references to *Graeculi*, none of which contain any allusion to pederasty, see (for example) Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.72, 2.4.127, *Red. Sen.* 14, *Sest.* 110, *Pis.* 70, *Scaur.* 4, *Mil.* 55, *Phil.* 5.14, 13.33, *De Orat.* 1.47, 1.102, 1.221, *Tusc.* 1.86; Petr. *Sat* 88.10; Plin. *Epist.* 10.40.2, *Pan.* 13.5; Sen. *Apocol.* 5.4; Sen. Rhet. *Suas.* 1.6.16; Suet, *Tib.* 11.1, 56.1, *Claud.* 15.4; Tac. *Dial.* 3.4, 29.1.

[75] E.g., Livy 39.6.7–9, Pliny, *N.H.* 34.14.

[76] Sall. *Cat.* 13.3, 'sed lubido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incesserat; viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere...'

[77] Juv. 3.109–12, 'praeterea sanctum nihil †aut† ab inguine tutum, / non matrona laris, non filia virgo, nec ipse / sponsus levis adhuc, non filius ante pudicus. / horum si nihil est, aviam resupinat amici.'

passing reference to the practice in his biographies of Pausanias and Alcibiades.[78] Nepos' casual treatment of this Greek custom stands in marked contrast to his discussion of music and dancing. The first sentence of his preface anticipates that some of his Roman readers will look down upon his work precisely because it mentions Epaminondas' music teacher and includes among the Greek general's virtues his abilities at singing and dancing; Nepos' justification is that in so doing he is merely conforming with the cultural heritage (*mores*) of his subjects.[79] He rather insistently reasserts this commitment to the notion of cultural relativism in the first sentence of his biography of Epaminondas, adopting a preachy tone that never characterizes his allusions to pederastic relationships.[80] Clearly he expected his Roman readership to be more troubled by Greek *mores* concerning the role of music and dance in the education of the upper classes than by the Hellenic traditions of pederasty.

'The Greek way' did not mean 'pederasty' and a reference to pederasty did not automatically evoke 'Greek ways'. Nor did *paiderastia* play a prominent role in the agonal relationship between Roman and Greek cultural traditions; no Roman sources condemn 'the Greek vice'. Even the more neutral phrase 'Greek love' has no attested equivalent in classical Latin.[81] These are eloquent silences, directly reflecting a lack of preoccupation with pederasty as a Greek practice.

III

Although the gesture of labelling pederasty as an alien practice was surprisingly rare, and 'Greek love' turns out not to be an ancient phrase, the fact remains that pederastic relationships at Rome were liable to disapproval. Why was this? Others have provided an answer: these relationships violated a traditional code regulating the sexual behaviour of Roman men that marked free-born Romans of either sex as off-limits, designating sexual relations with such persons as illicit behaviour, or *stuprum*.[82] Thus, as Veyne and Cantarella suggest, pederasty was problematised not

[78] *Paus.* 4.1, 'Argilius quidam adulescentulus, quem puerum Pausanias amore venerio dilexerat'; *Alc.* 2.2, 'ineunte adulescentia amatus est a multis more Graecorum'.

[79] Pr. 1–3, 'Non dubito fore plerosque, Attice, qui hoc genus scripturae leve et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis iudicent, cum relatum legent, quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam, aut in eius virtutibus commemorari, saltasse eum commode scienterque tibiis cantasse... non admirabuntur nos in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis mores eorum secutos.'

[80] *Epam.* 1.1, 'de hoc priusquam scribimus, haec praecipienda videntur lectoribus, ne alienos mores ad suos referant, neve ea, quae ipsis leviora sunt, pari modo apud ceteros fuisse arbitrentur.'

[81] See the Appendix for discussion of a manuscript variant (*amore Graecorum*) that would constitute an exception if it were the correct reading; I argue that it is not. One manuscript (Guelferbytanus 294) containing Cicero's discussion of Dionysius cited above ('haberet etiam more Graeciae quosdam adulescentes amore coniunctos', *Tusc.* 5.58) reads *amore Graeciae* instead of *more Graeciae*. But this is obviously a scribal error; the *a* was struck by the hand of a later corrector of the manuscript, and every other manuscript reads *more*, which is universally adopted by modern editors. Nonetheless, while having no ancient models, the phrase 'Greek love' is alive and well in modern scholarship. Consider, for example, the following titles: M. H. E. Meier and L. R. de Pogey-Castries, *Histoire de l'amour grec dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1930); Louis Crompton, *Byron and Greek Love: Homophobia in 19th-Century England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985); Ramsay MacMullen, 'Roman Attitudes to Greek Love', *Historia* 31 (1982): 484–502.

[82] The word originally denoted any shameful behaviour, without specific reference to sexual behaviour (Festus 418.8–18), but the term came to narrow its focus, designating the specific disgrace of violating the sexual integrity (*pudicitia*) of free-born Romans. The notion thus reflects and reconfirms the ideal of the inviolability of the free Roman citizen (whether male or

because it involved boys but because those boys were free-born. The implications of that statement deserve to be explored further. Pederasty was indeed a subset of *stuprum*; but was it represented as being somehow distinct from other instances of that offence because of its homosexual nature?

A striking indifference to the gender of the passive partner informs nearly all of the ancient texts that allude to *stuprum*. Valerius Maximus, recounting various tales of free-born Romans who were the victims or intended victims of *stuprum*, intermingles narratives of male and female victims with never a hint of any significant difference between the two; indeed, in his opening invocation he describes *pudicitia* (the sexual integrity of free-born Romans that is violated by *stuprum*) as 'the pre-eminent mainstay of men and women equally' ('virorum pariter ac feminarum praecipuum firmamentum', 6.1.pr.).[83] In a number of texts we encounter expressions of a fear that victorious armies or generals will rape both males and females among the vanquished free-born, and no meaningful distinction is drawn between what we would label the homosexual and heterosexual incidents.[84] In a similar vein, Cicero expresses outrage over the type of bribery alleged to have been used during the trial of P. Clodius Pulcher in 62 B.C.:

> What is more (ye gods, what a thoroughly depraved affair!), nights with certain women and introductions to young noblemen served as additional pay for some of the jurors.[85]

The dismayed exclamation precedes his reference to the sexual use of both matrons and well-born young men, and it casts its shadow of disapproval over each of the two categories equally. Finally, the phrase *coniuges liberique* appears as a stereotyped expression in conjunction with the vocabulary of *stuprum*: the sources often speak of the *pudicitia* of 'our wives and children' or of *stuprum* committed against them.[86] The fact that Roman writers refer to the chastity of their 'wives and children' rather than their 'wives and daughters, and even sons' strongly suggests that by Roman

female) that sets him or her apart from non-citizens and from slaves. Recent discussions of *stuprum* include Dalla (1987), pp. 71–99; Fantham (1991); and Richlin (1992), pp. 224–5.

[83] Fantham, by contrast, argues that 'for our purposes it is useful to separate his heterosexual episodes from the homosexual, and to take them out of order so as to illustrate common elements in the handling of both categories of sexuality' (Fantham [1991], p. 277).

[84] See, e.g., Cic. *Phil.* 3.31, 'matres familiae, virgines, pueri ingenui abripiuntur, militibus traduntur'; *Verr.* 2.4.116, 'adhibitam vim ingenuis, matres familias violatas' (cf. *Verr.* 2.1.62 [*stupra*]); *Fam.* 5.10a.1, 'qui tot ingenuos, matresfamilias, cives Romanos occidit, arripuit, disperdidit'; Livy 26.13.15, 'nec dirui incendique patriam videbo, nec rapi ad stuprum matres Campanas virginesque et ingenuos pueros'; *Rhet. Herenn.* 4.12, 'matribusfamilias et ingenuis sub hostilem libidinem subiectis'; Sall. *Cat.* 51.9, 'rapi virgines, pueros... matres familiarum pati quae victoribus conlubuissent'. Also relevant are expressions of alarm at the prostitution of the free-born that make no distinction between the two sexes. See, e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 2.105, 'ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matresfamilias versabantur'; Val. Max. 9.1.8, 'lupanari enim domi suae instituto Muniam et Flaviam, cum a patre tum a viro utramque inclitam, et nobilem puerum Saturninum in eo prostituit.'

[85] Cic. *Att.* 1.16.5, 'iam vero (o di boni, rem perditam!) etiam noctes certarum mulierum atque adulescentulorum nobilium introductiones nonnullis iudicibus pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt.' On this trial, see also Cic. *Att.* 1.18.3, *Mil.* 87; Val. Max. 9.1.7 ('noctes matronarum et adulescentium nobilium magna summa emptae mercedis loco iudicibus erogatae sunt'); Sen. *Epist.* 97.2 ('atqui dati iudicibus nummi sunt et, quod hac etiamnunc pactione turpius est, stupra insuper matronarum et adulescentulorum nobilium exacta sunt'); Dio 37.45–6.

[86] See, for example, Cic. *Cat.* 3.1, 3.23, 4.2, 4.3, 4.24, *Leg. Man.* 66, *Mil.* 76, *Phil.* 14.9, 14.10, *Verr.* 1.14; Horace, *Odes* 4.9.23–4; Livy 39.15.14. The phrase makes an appeal not only to the ideally inviolable category 'free-born' but also to the marker 'dependent', ultimately bolstering the proprietary claims of the *paterfamilias*. It is not coincidental that this phrase makes reference to *liberi*, a word whose origin reveals the division of the *familia* into the slave and free dependants of the *pater*, the *famuli* and *liberi* respectively. See also Treggiari (1991), pp. 309–11.

standards pederasty was a subset of *stuprum* and thus not substantially different from relations with free-born maidens or women. It is clear in any case that the crucial category in all of the allusions to *stuprum* just cited is 'free-born' as opposed to 'slave' and that the opposition between heterosexual and homosexual behaviour is not invoked as a significant analytic tool.[87] *Stuprum* was *stuprum*, whether committed with male or female partners.[88]

Related to this inclination not to represent pederasty as essentially different from any other type of *stuprum* is a tendency in the ancient sources that seems to have passed unnoticed in the scholarship. There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that adultery provoked greater anxiety in Roman men's cultural traditions than did pederasty. For example, when Roman writers inveigh against contemporary decadence and corruption, the sexual offence that they regularly cite as an embodiment of moral decline is not pederasty but adultery.[89] Whenever Cicero catalogues instances of license or immorality in his philosophical works, adultery inevitably makes an appearance in the list, but pederasty never does.[90] So too the champion of chastity most frequently cited in ancient sources is Lucretia.[91] In the sixth book of the *Aeneid* we encounter a list of sinners subject to eternal punishment

[87] It is significant that many of the texts referring to *stuprum* with males emphasise the free-born status, and not the gender, of the passive partner: note the frequency of such qualifiers as *ingenuus* or *nobilis* in the texts cited in nn. 84–5 above. Treggiari (1991), p. 264, accurately notes that 'the Augustan law defined all sexual intercourse with people of either sex who fell under the law [i.e., the free-born] as *stuprum*', but proceeds to make the imprecise claim that the word was 'in general use for any irregular or promiscuous sexual acts, especially rape or homosexuality'. Similarly the *RE* article on *stuprum* (*RE* 2.7 [1931], p. 423) imprecisely claims that the term denotes relations with free women on the one hand and all male homosexual acts on the other: 'S[tuprum] ist demnach der unzüchtige Geschlechtsverkehr mit einer freien, anständigen unverheirateten Frau oder von Personen männlichen Geschlechts untereinander...'

[88] I do not mean to overlook an obvious and crucial difference between *stuprum* with maidens and *stuprum* with young men: the latter infringed upon gender definitions in that it placed those who would one day be Roman citizens in the passive role associated with women. This kind of concern surfaces, for example, in the comments of Postumius, the consul of 186 B.C., as reported by Livy: 'si quibus aetatibus initientur mares sciatis, non misereat vos eorum solum, sed etiam pudet. hoc sacramento initiatos iuvenes milites faciendos censetis, Quirites? his ex obsceno sacrario eductis arma committenda?' (39.15.13). So too Quintilian observes that *stuprum* is especially embarrassing to speak of in the courtroom when it is committed against males (*Inst.* 11.1.84, 'illic maior aestus ubi quis pudenda queritur, ut stuprum, praecipue in maribus, aut os profanatum'). What is noteworthy, though, is that such expressions of concern over the forced feminisation of Roman men by means of *stuprum* occur so infrequently. Much more common is the representation—as in Cicero's letter to Atticus—of all *stuprum*, whether with maidens, boys, or women, as an undifferentiated offence.

[89] See, e.g., Hor. *C.* 3.6.17–32, Petr. *Sat.* 55.6.10–11, Juv. 3.45–6, Tac. *Hist.* 1.2. Edwards (1993), pp. 34–62, provides a useful discussion.

[90] E.g., *Fin.* 2.27, *Leg.* 1.43, *Off.* 1.128.

[91] Valerius Maximus begins his catalogue with Lucretia, bestowing on her the not insignificant praise 'dux Romanae pudicitiae' (6.1.1). In Hyginus' list of 'quae castissimae fuerunt' (256), Penelope is the first of several Greek examples, Lucretia the one and only Roman example. Martial uses Lucretia as a figure for the extreme of sexual purity on three occasions (1.90, 11.16, 11.104). And, quite strikingly, the author of the *Declamationes Maiores* attributed to Quintilian has the famous *miles Marianus* (who killed his superior after being propositioned by him) defend his action by citing Lucretia rather than, say, the young Marcellus who was propositioned by Scantinius (Val. Max. 6.1.7), as an example of the value placed by his Roman ancestors on chastity ([Quint.] *Decl. Maiores* 3.11; cf. Calp. Flacc. 3). Petronius provides a boisterously humorous invocation of Lucretia that is likewise in an exclusively male context. When Ascyltus comes at night to make a sexual advance on Giton, Encolpius' boyfriend, he draws his sword with the words, 'If you are Lucretia, you've found your Tarquinius!' ('si Lucretia es, Tarquinium invenisti', *Sat.* 9.5).

in the underworld, and in the company of men who beat their fathers, cheated their clients, or refused to share their wealth, as well as slaves who impiously rebelled against their masters, we find adulterers who had been killed in the act.[92] While the text may well reflect the specifically Augustan campaign against adultery, it remains a striking fact that in a morally weighty scene in the central book of the great Roman epic we find adulterers—not everyone who commits any kind of *stuprum*, and certainly not pederasts in particular—singled out among those who will be punished in the underworld. Moreover, the tragedy of Dido's relationship with Aeneas is closely related to the Roman ideal of the *univira*, and according to the standards of behaviour implied by that term the affair constitutes a significant moral offence (*culpa*, 4.172), close to adultery.[93]

The deeply problematic status of adultery in the *Aeneid* stands in sharp contrast with the comfortable presence of pederastic relationships in the same poem. The erotic experiences of the Italian warrior Cydon correspond neatly to the Greek model of *paiderastia*[94] and thus would be liable to the Roman label *stuprum*, for his boyfriends are surely free-born, yet his experiences are marked neither as unusual nor as liable to reproach. On the contrary, the Roman poet appropriates them so as to heighten the pathetic contrast between Cydon's normally delightful experiences and his miserable situation now.[95] Likewise the pair of Trojan warriors Nisus and Euryalus are cast in the roles of *erastês* and *erômenos*, yet this Hellenised couple is ultimately transformed into a pair of Roman *viri* whose valorous deed inspires a famous eulogy ('fortunati ambo!' 9.446–449).[96] Whether this enthusiastic praise is centered on their brave deeds alone or on their good fortune in dying together as lovers,[97] what is important for our purposes is that at a climactic moment of his epic, the poet expresses his hopes that Nisus and Euryalus will live in human memory 'for as long as the house of Aeneas inhabits the immovable rock of the Capitol and the Roman father holds sway'.[98] One can hardly imagine a Roman poet inserting such stirring praise of an adulterous couple into his epic.

[92] *Aen.* 6.608–14, 'hic, quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat, / pulsatusve parens et fraus innexa clienti, / aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis / nec partem posuere suis (quae maxima turba est), / quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti / impia nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras, / inclusi poenam exspectant'.

[93] It is clear from Cicero's defence of Caelius that the prosecution capitalised on similar feelings concerning Caelius' affair with the widowed Clodia. On *univira*, → Gordon Williams, 'Some Aspects of Roman Marriage Ceremonies and Ideals', *JRS* 48 (1958), pp. 16–29.

[94] *Aen.* 10.324–7, 'tu quoque, flaventem prima lanugine malas / dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia, Cydon, / Dardania stratus dextra, securus amorum / qui iuvenum tibi semper erant, miserande iaceres...'

[95] We might recall Cicero's similar treatment of Dionysius' love affairs, *more Graeciae*, with *adulescentes* (*Tusc.* 5.58; see above, n. 41).

→ John F. Makowski, 'Nisus and Euryalus: A Platonic Relationship', *CJ* 85 (1989), pp. 1–15, stresses the representation of the pair as *erastês* and *erômenos* on the Greek model. I would add that the valorising distinctions inherent in the usual Athenian construct of *paiderastia* fade slightly with the Roman poet's remark that the two rushed into war side by side ('pariterque in bella ruebant', 9.182), and practically disappear when the aged and dignified Aletes addresses the two as *viri* (9.252). In other words, although Euryalus is the junior partner in this relationship, not yet endowed with a full beard and capable of being labelled the *puer* (9.181), his actions prove him to be, in the end, as much of a *vir*—as capable of displaying *virtus*—as is his older lover Nisus.

[97] See Gordon Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid* (New Haven, 1983), pp. 205–7, 226–31.

[98] *Aen.* 9.446–449, 'fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt, / nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo, / dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum / accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.'

A similar pattern is evident in works of a greatly different nature, the *Controversiae* of the elder Seneca and the declamations attributed to Quintilian and Calpurnius Flaccus. Although the historicity of the legal provisions contained within them is doubtful at best, these texts nonetheless provide an indication of what topics held interest for Roman orators, and they reveal a greater preoccupation with adultery than with pederasty.[99] The actual provisions of Roman law confirm the distinction. The Augustan legislation on adultery (the *lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis*) stipulated penalties that ranged from banishment with confiscation of property to death,[100] whereas legal sanctions against pederastic relations appear to have been much less harsh. The elusive *lex Scantinia*, passed some time before the 1st century B.C., seems to have penalised pederastic relationships as acts of *stuprum*, but the penalty was probably a fine.[101] There is, moreover, a significant contrast between the amount of jurisprudential ink spilled on the subject of the *lex Julia* (Digest 48.5) and the scattered and vague references to the *lex Scantinia*. Indeed, certainty about the *lex Scantinia* has proven impossible, and I would argue that this fact is as eloquent as the absence of the phrases 'Greek vice' and 'Greek love' in the ancient sources.

IV

I hope to have shown that, in contrast to the smugly knowing reference by a Cambridge dean in E. M. Forster's *Maurice* to 'the unspeakable vice of the Greeks',[102] Roman men's images of the Greeks—even the most negatively biased ones—failed to a surprising degree to give prominence to the tradition of *paiderastia* as 'the Greek way', 'the Greek vice', or even 'Greek love'. Furthermore, I have suggested that pederastic relations, while certainly liable to disapproval by traditional Roman standards of behaviour, may have aroused less anxiety generally than did adultery. These conclusions cause a significant gap to open between the systems for representing male sexual experience that were dominant in Roman culture and those of the modern societies that claim to be the descendants of precisely that culture, and they deserve an attempt at explanation.

One reason for Roman concern with adultery immediately suggests itself: adultery gave rise to questions over paternity, and, more generally, the greater prob-

[99] Cases involving adultery: Sen. *Contr.* 1.4, 1.7, 2.7, 6.6, 7.5, 8.3, 9.1; Calp. Flacc. 2, 31, 40, 48, 49; [Quint.] *Declam. Minor.* 244, 249, 273, 275, 277, 279, 284, 286, 291, 300, 310, 319, 330, 335, 347, 355, 357. Cases involving *stuprum* with young men: Sen. *Contr.* 3.8, 5.6; Calp. Flacc. 3, 20; [Quint.] *Declam. Minor.* 279, 292.

[100] See especially Amy Richlin, 'Approaches to the Sources on Adultery at Rome', in Helene B. Foley (ed.), *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York, 1981), pp. 379–404; Jane F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1986), pp. 127–32; Richlin (1992), pp. 215–19; Cantarella (1992), pp. 142–5; Edwards (1993), pp. 37–42.

[101] On this notoriously shadowy law, see Boswell (1980), pp. 65–9; Lilja (1983), pp. 112–21; Fantham (1991), pp. 285–7; Cantarella (1992), pp. 106–19; and Richlin (1993), pp. 569–71. It is possible that the Augustan *lex Julia* applied not only to adultery but to *stuprum* as a whole and thus included pederasty in its purview, thereby reinforcing the *lex Scantinia* (so, for example, Richlin [1992], p. 224; cf. Digest 48.5.13, 'ne quis posthac stuprum adulteriumve facito sciens dolo malo' and Digest 48.5.35, 'adulterium in nupta admittitur; stuprum in vidua vel virgine vel puero committitur'). But, although those later sources that do mention the *lex Scantinia* are maddeningly unclear as to its specific bearing, they obviously assume that it and the *lex Julia*, while penalising related offences, are distinct and that the *lex Scantinia* is still alive, albeit dormant (see, e.g., Suet. *Domit.* 8, Juvenal 2.36–44).

[102] E. M. Forster, *Maurice* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1971), p. 51. Vivid confirmation of a similar association in French popular belief is provided by colloquial insults of the type *va te faire voir chez les Grecs*, wishing anal penetration on their recipients.

lematisation of adulterous relationships than of pederastic relationships obviously stems from an impulse on the part of Roman male culture to exercise control over women's sexual experience.[103] As for the apparent lack of preoccupation with pederasty as 'Greek', the nature of the Roman concept of *stuprum*, focusing as it does on the question of status rather than gender, suggests an explanation. The categorical distinctions implicit in that cultural code encouraged an understanding of all *stuprum*, whether committed with male or female partners, as a single phenomenon and thus discouraged the identification of pederasty as qualitatively distinct or as meriting particular marginalisation.

This aspect of *stuprum* in turn relates to a central point raised at the beginning of this essay. The cultural patrimony inherited and bequeathed by Roman men discouraged them from drawing meaningful distinctions between heterosexual and homosexual behaviour *per se* in public representations of male sexual experience, and from condemning the latter in and of itself.[104] Rather, as was noted earlier, the crucial distinction was drawn between 'active' behaviour, which was normative for men, and 'passive' behaviour, which was not. On the one hand, as long as men maintained the active role expected of them, it made no difference whether they engaged in homosexual or heterosexual acts. They were, after all, demonstrating desire in the way that 'men' were supposed to experience desire, namely as active (penetrating) subjects. On the other hand, passive men were subject to ridicule, reproach, or worse, but it can be shown that they were not conceptualised as deviant because homosexual,[105] but rather deviant because feminised; and that they were feminised not because they were men who desired men, but because they were men who demonstrated desire in the way that 'women' were supposed to experience desire, namely as passive (penetrated) objects.[106] Roman traditions did not encourage the

[103] On this immense question see, for example, Richlin (1992) *passim* and Edwards (1993), pp. 47–58.

[104] This complicated issue is receiving an increasing amount of attention in studies of sexual experience in classical antiquity. Important contributions to the debate include Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (especially Volume 2, *The Use of Pleasure* [New York, 1985] and Volume 3, *The Care of the Self* [New York, 1986]), Halperin (1990), Boswell (1990), and Richlin (1993). Here I offer a summary of my views; I will discuss the question in greater detail in a revised form of my dissertation, which I am currently preparing for publication. It should be noted that scholars have detected a gradual, deeply-rooted transformation in the realm of sexual morality over the course of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.: see Veyne (1978); Boswell (1980), pp. 119–36; Aline Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity* (trans. Felicia Pheasant, Oxford 1988); Michel Foucault, *The Care of the Self* (trans. Robert Hurley, New York 1986); Boswell (1990), pp. 73–5; Cantarella (1992), pp. 187–210. This new movement, that ultimately meshed with Judaeo-Christian holiness codes to produce a radically different sexual ethic that came to dominate western Europe, emphasized an ascetic approach to the body and thus to sexual behaviour, and reached its logical conclusion in the problematisation of all sexual activity that did not lead to procreation and concomitantly the organisation of homosexual behaviour as a discrete and disapproved realm within the larger area of sexual experience. But this mode of conceptualising sexual experience stands in marked and illustrative contrast with the traditional ethic that was inherited by the audiences and readerships of Plautus, Catullus, and Cicero, with which this essay is concerned.

[105] Hence, as Richlin has noted (Richlin [1992], pp. 91–3, 139; Richlin [1993], pp. 533, 549 with n. 61), we encounter a number of allusions in ancient sources to the possibility that *cinaedi* might also be womanizers or adulterers. It seems to me (*pace* Richlin) that the tone of these references is casual and provides no hint that a womanizing *cinaedus* was thought to be an anomaly. See further Edwards (1993), pp. 63–97.

[106] Cf. Veyne (1985), p. 30, for a similar view. Richlin (1993) argues to the contrary: countering the claim that 'homosexuality' is 'so much a modern production that nothing like it can be found in classical antiquity', she sets out to demonstrate that '"homosexual" in fact describes, in Roman terms, the male penetrated by choice' (Richlin [1993], p. 526; cf. ibid., p.

conceptualisation of 'men who desire men' as a discrete grouping that included both active and passive partners, nor is there any evidence in the ancient sources for the creation of any significant parallel between male and female homoerotic experience.[107]

All of this amounts to arguing that, while there existed in antiquity individual men who, if they lived today, would be called 'heterosexual' or 'homosexual',[108] neither those labels nor the conceptual apparatus that gives them meaning today appear in the ancient sources. Consequently there was little incentive for Roman writers to represent pederasty, simply because it was homosexual, either as outlandish or as essentially distinct from any other kind of *stuprum*. 'Greek love' is a modern invention.

APPENDIX

The only possible exception to the assertion that no phrase similar to 'Greek love' is attested in classical Latin consists of a textual variant in the manuscript tradition of Nepos. In the biographer's description of Alcibiades' youth ('ineunte adulescentia amatus est a multis more Graecorum, in eis Socrate, de quo mentionem facit Plato in Symposio', 7.2.2), the manuscript tradition is divided between *more* and *amore*.[109] Did Nepos write that Alcibiades was loved by many 'according to the custom of the Greeks' or 'according to the love of the Greeks'? There are several arguments to be made for reading *more* rather than *amore*, but before considering those arguments, it

530: 'I aim to show, first, that men identified as homosexuals really existed at Rome and, second, that their existence was marked both by homophobia within the culture and by social and civil restrictions.') As an initial response, I would register the logical difficulty I find in attributing 'homophobia' to a cultural tradition that (as Richlin herself emphasizes throughout her work) simply assumed as part of human nature the fact that men desire and engage in penetrative acts with boys. To be sure, the ancient sources bespeak an antipathy against *cinaedi*, who are represented as desiring to be penetrated by men; but to describe this as 'homophobic' or as a problematisation of 'homosexuality' is as unhelpful as it would be to describe ancient criticism of female prostitutes or adulteresses as 'heterophobic' or in some way problematising 'heterosexuality'.

[107] For Roman representations of female homoerotic experience, see Hallett (1989). Occasionally an ancient author draws a parallel between male-male and female-female sexual behaviour: at Juvenal 2.49–50, for example, Laronia notes that no woman performs cunnilinctus on another, whereas countless men fellate and are penetrated by other men. But I would note the typical Roman emphasis on activities in this passage and the concomitant problematisation of passive males only, and not their active partners. Laronia's statement, I would argue, is significantly different from a twentieth-century claim that 'There are many gay men, but no gay women'. Furthermore, I find it telling that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* presents its Roman readers with a tortured rejection of female homoerotic desire in the course of the tale of Iphis (9.731–4) yet simply assumes the normalcy of male homoerotic desires (e.g., in the tales of Apollo and Hyacinth [10.162–219] and Echo and Narcissus [3.339–510]). The same poet elsewhere observes in passing that he personally prefers women on practical and admittedly altruistic grounds, but his phrasing is significant: 'odi concubitus qui non utrumque resolvunt; / hoc est cur pueri tangar amore minus' (*Ars* 2.683–4). He does not feel it necessary to disclaim all interest in boys ('minus') and certainly does not attempt any general problematisation of homosexual eros.

[108] Cf. Suet. *Claud.* 33, Mart. 11.87.

[109] Guillemin (Paris, 1923), Malcovati (Turin, 1944) and Marshall (Leipzig, 1977) print *more*; Nipperdey (Berlin, 1879) and Winstedt (OCT, 1904) print *amore*. John C. Rolfe (*The Lives of Cornelius Nepos*, 3rd ed., Boston, 1894) simply omits this and the following sentence. Petrochilos (1974), p. 181, quotes Nepos' text with *amore*, but gives no indication of the textual problem; and he imprecisely frames the question in terms of 'homosexual love'. Likewise the *OLD* s.v. *Graecus* simply quotes this passage with *amore*. For scribal confusion of *more* and *amore* we might compare Pl. *Mil.* 1377 ('⟨a⟩mores meos') and Cic. *Att.* 6.1.12 ('in ⟨a⟩moribus est'), although in these cases the more likely reading is *amor*.

is important to note that even if Nepos wrote *amore Graecorum*, what he meant by 'Greek love' was precisely the distinctively Hellenic institution of *paiderastia* in its native cultural context, and not male homosexual behaviour as a whole. The following considerations, however, lead me to believe that Nepos wrote not of 'Greek love' but of 'Greek custom'.

First, a palaeographical argument: one can more easily conceive of a scribe's inadvertently changing *more* to *amore* under the influence of the preceding sequence of letters and sounds ('*am*atus est *a m*ultis *am*ore Graecorum') than of the alternative scenario (a change from 'a multis amore Graecorum' to 'a multis more Graecorum'). In this sense *more* is a *lectio difficilior*. Second, we have noted that the phrase *mos Graecorum* and related expressions are to be found in great number throughout the sources,[110] but *amor Graecorum* is nowhere else attested. And third, a reference here to *mos Graecorum* would neatly reproduce a structural pattern found elsewhere in Nepos' work. In the biography of Cimon, he notes a particularly un-Roman marriage arrangement: 'habebat autem in matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore quam more ductus: namque Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere' (*Cim.* 1.2). The *mos* that, combined with love, led Cimon to marry Elpinice is precisely one of the customs that Nepos had singled out in his preface as being contrary to Roman traditions: 'neque enim Cimoni fuit turpe ... sororem germanam habere in matrimonio, quippe cum cives eius eodem uterentur instituto' (pr. 4). Likewise in his life of Epaminondas the biographer enumerates the Theban's musical abilities, adding this observation: 'atque haec ad nostram consuetudinem sunt levia et potius contemnenda; at in Graecia, utique olim, magnae laudi erant' (*Epam.* 2.3). Again he is repeating points he had made in his preface: '... cum relatum legent, quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam, aut in eius virtutibus commemorari, saltasse eum commode scienterque tibiis cantasse ...' (pr. 1); 'quae omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur' (pr. 5). In each of these instances, there are clear similarities in diction between Nepos' reference to a Greek custom in his preface and the example that he provides in the individual biography. It is most likely that he similarly wrote *more Graecorum* in his description of Alcibiades' youth, the phrase serving to point the reader back to the preface's observation concerning the value placed by Greek traditions on pederastic relationships ('laudi in Graecia ducitur adulescentulis quam plurimos habuisse amatores,' pr. 4) in the same way that his reference to Athenian custom (*mos*) in the passage concerning Cimon (1.2) refers the reader back to the practice (*institutum*) mentioned in the preface (pr. 4), and in the same way that his description of Epaminondas' musical abilities as 'ad nostram consuetudinem ... levia et potius contemnenda' (2.3) reminds readers of the preface's discussion of Greek traditions that are 'apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota' (pr. 5). To paraphrase Nepos' point in the *Alcibiades* passage: Alcibiades was loved by many in accordance with the Greek custom that was mentioned in the preface, to which the reader is now referred.[111]

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[110] Marshall in the apparatus to his 1977 Teubner edition adduces *Conon* 3.2, 'ex more Persarum', as a parallel from within Nepos' text.

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Two Pathic Subcultures in Ancient Rome

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SINCE K. J. DOVER'S pathbreaking study of Greek homosexuality in 1978, students of antiquity have slowly but surely recognized that the Roman world, though owing much to Greece, has its own distinct sexual history.[1] In the Roman sources we see a social model of male homoeroticism clash head-on with the perpetual Roman fantasy of ancestral virtue, while amid this turmoil a homosexual subculture of immeasurable influence, resiliency, and complexity develops in the city of Rome. Roman culture is a more dynamic source of information than the Athens, Sparta, or Crete of historical record, because it witnesses—and to some extent, records—a fundamental change in its sexual identity. To combat this alarming emergence in its own body politic, Rome's dominant culture

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[1] K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA, 1978). For bibliographies on the subject, unfortunately now quite dated, see Beert Verstraete, *Homosexuality in Ancient Greek and Roman Civilization: A Critical Biography with Supplement* (Toronto, 1982); and Wayne Dynes, *Homosexuality: A Research Guide* (New York, 1987). For a review of recent literature, see Mark Golden, "Thirteen Years of Homosexuality (and Other Recent Work on Sex, Gender and the Body in Ancient Greece)," *Classical Views/Échos du monde classique* 35, n.s. 10 (1991): 327–40. Other important secondary sources will be cited in context. Abbreviated citations of primary sources are those listed at the beginning of the 2d ed. of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1970). When the author's name is given but no title, only one extant work or collection is attributed to that author. Most of these sources are available in parallel Latin-English editions from Harvard's Loeb Classical Library. More obscure authors and sources are given their full conventional name or title, either in English or in Latin. All translations from Greek and Latin are my own unless otherwise indicated.

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invoked a savage moralism targeting the New Pathic, a once harmless (if detested) character now marked as an obnoxious threat. Behind the paranoia lies a case study for the development of homosexual subcultures in the face of adversity.

Although four extensive treatments of Roman male homosexuality—by John Boswell, Saara Lilja, Eva Cantarella, and Amy Richlin—exist in book form, only Lilja's is exclusively devoted to this topic and hers alone takes adequate stock of the change in attitudes and behavior during the early period of Roman hegemony in the Mediterranean. The best and most comprehensive treatment of the topic is Craig Williams's 1992 dissertation, "Homosexuality and the Roman Man," which, however, denies any substantive change in the Roman sexual identity during the historical period.[2] All these works emphasize societal attitudes toward sexual behavior. But Richlin has recently opened up a new dimension of the study of ancient sexuality, the Roman homosexual subculture, in the pages of this journal.[3] The present article builds on Richlin's recent work; it seeks to characterize not just the attitudes of the dominant culture but the behavior of the subculture as well. What was it like on the inside of same-sex adult male relationships in Rome? Time and again, a full answer to this question is frustrated by the unfriendly bias of the sources. Of all the surviving literature from the Roman period, only Petronius's *Satyricon* offers a sympathetic view of homosexual relationships between coevals.[4] Even Richlin's admirable article, which aspires to "flesh out the

[2] John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago, 1980); Saara Lilja, *Homosexuality in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Helsinki, 1982); Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New Haven, CT, 1983); Craig A. Williams, "Homosexuality and the Roman Man: A Study in the Cultural Construction of Sexuality" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1992); and Eva Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, trans. C. O'Cuilleanáin (New Haven, CT, and London, 1992). See also Robin Scroggs, *The New Testament and Homosexuality* (Philadelphia, PA, 1983). Another study, Françoise Gonfroy, "Un fait de civilisation méconnu: L'homosexualité masculine à Rome" (diss., Poitiers, 1972), remains unpublished. Since Boswell claims that Roman society condoned homosexual activity from the very beginning of its recorded history, he is naturally troubled by what he sees as the sudden onset of homophobia in the early Christian period (pp. 61–87, 91). Cantarella adopts Paul Veyne's view (see n. 15 below) that the period of the Empire witnessed a slow but profound change from aggressive male bisexual libertinism to an ethic of heterosexual fidelity. But although she devotes a chapter of her book to the metamorphoses of sexual ethics in the Greco-Roman world, in that chapter she deals only with the late empire and the onset of Christianity.

→ Amy Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the *Cinaedus* and the Roman Law against Love between Men," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1993): 523–73.

[4] Williams, pp. 341–49; T. Wade Richardson, "Homosexuality in the *Satyricon*," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 35 (1984): 105–27.

material circumstances of such men, to imagine their lives," falls short of this goal, focusing rather on the attitudes and institutions of the "outside."[5] It is strange that Richlin rarely mentions the *Satyricon,* surely the best Roman record of homosexuality from the "inside." Still, she has given us a fine beginning; the fact that one side of the moon is but dimly lit by the literary record should no longer dissuade us of its great substance and extent.

It is not my intent here to advance a theory of "sexuality." This word, with or without its array of prefixes, has fallen out of fashion in discussions of premodern societies among the disciples of Foucault, who allege it to be a retrojection of a modern cultural construct into an alien context. Foucaultians such as David Halperin and the late John Winkler prefer to see ancient sexual experience not in terms of object preference—what we might call "sexual orientation"—but in terms of the relation of subject to object, that is, the gender and power roles of penetration and pathic compliance. Richlin and others have identified some of the weaknesses of this position.[6] This study will try, in part, to restore the importance of recognizing object preference and to establish it as a phenomenon quite distinct from (though not independent of) dominant sexual attitudes.

Halperin astutely notes that "concepts in the human sciences . . . do not merely describe reality but, at least partly, constitute it."[7] But where he wishes to emphasize the main propositions of this principle, I must take "at least partly" as a serious qualifier. There is plenty of ethnographic and anthropological evidence that actual behavior (the "reality") and the way it is socially characterized (the "concepts") are often radically at odds. While Halperin may be right that ancient sexual typologies were predicated upon power roles rather than object preference,[8] there is good reason to dispute the notion that actual behavior rigidly, or even remotely, conformed to these paradigms. Behavior often subverts dominant attitudes even as it shapes them, creating a sort of nature-nurture tension. An awareness of the very real strife between act and representa-

[5] Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality," p. 530.

[6] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction,* trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1978); John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York and London, 1990); David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (New York and London, 1990). For criticism, see Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality," pp. 523–28, and the reviews cited in her n. 3; see also Ralph Hexter, "Scholars and Their Pals," *Helios* 18 (1991): 147–59.

[7] Halperin, p. 29.

[8] Ibid., p. 25.

tion, between intent and signification, must necessarily modify our ideas about what Romans really felt when they engaged in sexual activity.

This said, like Williams and Richlin, I use the term "homosexuality" with little satisfaction. Williams writes, "We cannot understand Roman attitudes toward 'homosexuality' or 'homosexual acts' any more than we can profitably speak of 'heterosexuality' or 'heterosexual acts.' Instead, the fundamental organizing issues concern physical role (penetrating as opposed to being penetrated), aesthetic stigma (the defilement of the mouth and tongue by contact with male and female genitalia), and socially responsible behavior (respecting the integrity of free persons, and in particular the dependents of the *paterfamilias*)."[9] Ancient Mediterraneans would doubtless regard the aggregate of behaviors categorized as "homosexual" to be somewhat arbitrary. They would justifiably see little in common, for example, between a habitual pederast and a transvestite pathic. But even if Winkler and Halperin are right that ancient society perceived sex primarily as an instrument of status or shame, sexual orientation in the Roman world was not trivial. Behind the phenomenon of the New Pathic lies the reality that some males acted according to their object preference for grown men or for teenage boys who could take the insertive role.

Like Richlin, when I refer to homosexuals or homosexuality, I am referring specifically to men who found primary fulfillment in same-sex unions that at times involved the assumption of the passive role. But although these men were "pathics" in the eyes of society, we should by no means impute to them a preference for the passive role, though this character trait, *pars pro toto,* was the inevitable burden of repute they had to bear. As we shall see below, there is abundant literary evidence that males of the "pathic" stamp were known, and even expected, to take the insertive role as well. Even this group is far from homogeneous. Many males within it had a subordinate interest in the opposite sex; some found age limits important in their object preference, but many others did not. The Greek ethos strictly relating age to sex role had limited bearing on Roman society.

When a man's sexual nature conflicted with his social persona, it may have led him to seek refuge in a subculture. This institution developed in Rome, I will argue, in much the same way as the one in England at the cusp of the Early Modern period, which, according to Alan Bray, "was not mediated by existing social forms, of class or otherwise: it was set alongside them, a social institution in its own right. But most of all what gave it its independence in society was its elaboration of its own distinctive conventions: ways of dressing, of talking, distinctive gestures

[9]Williams, p. 320; see Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality," pp. 525–30.

and distinctive acts with an understood meaning, its own jargon."[10] The subculture created its own ethics and semiotics because society at large excluded homosexual men; but it also acknowledged the dominant culture and, thereby, allowed some men to shuttle between the two as convenience dictated. This paradigm is a far cry from Halperin's, which in my opinion does not successfully explain the existence of or the need for sexual subcultures in the premodern world.

The corpus of ancient literature contains thousands of scattered references to homosexual activity. The dominance of a certain point of view in the sources does not obscure the reality of vastly different worldviews and lifestyles within the Roman world. John Boswell, one of the first serious modern interpreters of Roman homosexuality, extracted his materials from a multiplicity of quarries; one cannot fail to be suspicious of the gleaming, monochromatic edifice he built with them.[11] The richest sources—graffiti, invective, epigram, satire—all make liberal use of hyperbole, irony, and ambiguity. And in the "straighter" genres such as history, treatises, and epistolary literature, too often an author's word or opinion is taken for granted, and we forget that the opposing attitudes he attacks or suppresses are equally real. The author's biases naturally carry over to his narrative of events. Technical treatises are another important genre supporting the sexual attitudes of the dominant culture, as Halperin, Maud Gleason, and Winkler have recently revealed.[12] These are the works of a professional elite who shared the broad values of their literary colleagues. The limitations of the available sources thus render certain investigative biases unavoidable. The age, class, status, and occupation of many persons, though all-important in defining their accepted sex roles (which we must carefully distinguish from their actual or preferred roles), can sometimes only be guessed, yet the scholar who ignores the vast gulf in sex-role expectations between slaves and freeborn Romans, or between boys and men, risks going down with Boswell's ship.[13]

[10] Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London, 1982), p. 86. On the semiotics of subcultures, see Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London 1979).

[11] For a recent summary of Boswell's views (n. 2 above), see Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality," pp. 528–30.

[12] Maud Gleason, "The Semiotics of Gender: Physiognomy and Self-Fashioning in the Second Century C.E.," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World,* ed. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma M. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ, 1990), pp. 389–415; Winkler; Halperin, pp. 21–24.

[13] Boswell repeatedly cites the Romans' well-known tolerance for penetrative exploitation of social inferiors as evidence that there were no taboos against homosexual behavior in general. In fact, homosexual behavior in which freeborn boys or men played the passive role was socially condemned and legally prohibited. This did not, of course, prevent such boys from being sexually exploited; see inter alia Petronius 85–87; Pliny *Ep.* 3.3.3–4, 7.24;

A FEW REMARKS ABOUT MALE HOMOSEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Richlin asks the question, Were there men in the Roman world who liked to be sexually penetrated by other men?[14] Her answer is a resounding affirmative. But was that class of men, as many scholars suppose, satisfied with an exclusively pathic role in intercourse? Modern anthropological and ethnographic studies suggest that in most cultures where same-sex erotic behavior enjoys some legitimacy, sexual reciprocity is downplayed or discouraged, as it apparently was in Rome. But they also show that behavior is often quite contrary to the perceived norm. Even in Roman literature, one occasionally encounters such unexpected characters as a rich man's male concubine who is compelled to shave his body and dress like a woman, yet "plays the man [i.e., takes the active role] in the bedroom" ("in cubiculo vir est"; Seneca *Ep.* 47.7). Is the Roman "pathic" simply an encoded image of the homosexual or bisexual man who engages in reciprocal intercourse with others of his kind? A brief analysis of the usages of the terms ***mollis*** and ***cinaedus,*** which I undertake later in this study, suggests that this is at least partly true. Many of the characters we meet in Roman literature ought to be regarded as men who assume and enjoy both roles, even if they are not portrayed as such. But others seem to have been pathic both in act and in inclination.

The prevailing attitude in Rome as in Greece recognized women, girls, boys, slaves, and noncitizens, to a greater or lesser extent, as potential pathic partners of free men.[15] But among males, effeminates alone were thought to be inherently pathic. In literature such men are treated

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and especially Valerius Maximus 6.1.6–12, which illustrates the continuing exploitation of freeborn boys throughout the Republic as well as the moral outrage and legal penalties incurred by such acts. Martial and Juvenal are also rich sources for this kind of evidence. See Williams (n. 2 above), pp. 157–205; and Danilo Dalla, *"Ubi Venus mutatur": Omosessualità e diritto nel mondo romano* (Milan, 1987), a useful book-length study of Roman law and homosexuality.

[14] Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality" (n. 3 above), p. 524.

[15] Ibid., pp. 532–40; Williams, pp. 87–119, 157–205; Françoise Gonfroy, "Homosexualité et idéologie esclavagiste chez Cicéron," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 4 (1978): 219–63, at 227; Beert Verstraete, "Slavery and the Social Dynamics of Male Homosexual Relations in Ancient Rome," *Journal of Homosexuality* 5 (1980): 227–36. Several other articles have tried, with varying success, to characterize Roman homosexuality as a historical phenomenon. Ramsay MacMullen, "Roman Attitudes to Greek Love," *Historia* 31 (1982): 484–502, which is also published in *Homosexuality in the Ancient World,* ed. Wayne Dynes and Stephen Donaldson (New York and London, 1992), pp. 340–58, attributes the increased visibility of homosexuality in this period to Roman adoption of Greek attitudes and ideals. Paul Veyne, "Homosexuality in Ancient Rome," in *Western Sexuality: Practice and Precept in Past and Present Times,* ed. Philippe Ariès and André Béjin, trans. A. Forster (Oxford, 1985), pp. 26–35, emphasizes the differences between Greek and Roman atti-

with contempt and ridicule; they are seen as having neither the strength nor the will to lead the life of a healthy male, while at the same time possessing a feverish sexual energy. In the dominant culture, only the active role in sexual intercourse was considered normative for an adult male, whether (within legal limits) the partner be a boy, a subordinate man, or a woman; Roman men were expected to be attracted to these "natural" objects of desire.[16] Obversely, it was deemed unnatural for a grown man, slave or free, to be the passive partner in the sex act, particularly if he desired it. A combination of law, taboo, and opinion rendered certain types of sexual behavior "unnatural" in the case where a person's age, sex, or class were not suited to such behavior. Cicero (*Tusc.* 4.71) argues that pederasty is less natural than sex between a man and a woman. Pliny the Elder condemns pathic behaviors as "perversions of sex" ("deverticula veneris") achieved "by crime against nature" ("scelere naturae"; *HN* 10.63 (83).172), while Seneca levels the same criticism at transvestism (*Ep.* 122.7). Some saw in pathic behavior an inherent character imbalance, or congenital malaise; others saw a cultural incursion, a creeping epidemic.[17] What we lack, of course, are the opinions of the condemned.

The scholar who views Roman male homosexual behavior within the

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tudes and downplays Greek influence. Several sources deal in detail with homosexual relations between master and slave in the context of a single author's work: Maria Antonietta Cerverella, "Omosessualità e ideologia schiavistica in Petronio," *Index* (Naples) 11 (1982): 221–34; Marguerite Garrido-Hory, "La vision du dépendant chez Martial à travers les relations sexuelles," *Index* (Naples) 10 (1981): 298–315, and *Martial et l'esclavage* (Besançon, 1981); René Martin, "La vie sexuelle des esclaves d'après les *Dialogues rustiques* de Varron," in *Varron, grammaire antique et stylistique latine: Recueil offert à Jean Collart* (Paris, 1978), pp. 113–26.

[16] Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus* (n. 2 above), p. 225. See Petronius 105, where Giton's looks disarm not only Tryphaena and her ladies but all the male sailors as well. Modern Mediterranean cultures are little different. A homosexual sojourner in various Arab cities in the 1950s described to Alfred Kinsey how men of the dominant culture desire to have effeminate men for pathic partners and yet violently deny taking the pathic role themselves (see Martin B. Duberman, *About Time: Exploring the Gay Past* [New York, 1986], pp. 173–83).

[17] See Williams, pp. 91–92. All this evidence severely compromises Cantarella's claim (n. 2 above) that, before Christianity became generally accepted in the fourth century, the Romans "had not . . . invented the theory of sexuality against nature" (p. 188). Also see Epictetus (Arr. *Epict. Diss.* 3.1.27–31) and Dio Chrysostom 33.52–60. For the possible origins of this notion in Stoic thought, see Elaine Fantham, "*Stuprum:* Public Attitudes and Penalties for Sexual Offences in Republican Rome," *Classical Views/Échos du monde classique* 35, n.s. 10 (1991): 267–91, at 289, n. 60. For an analysis of the widespread notions of inherent and cultivated effeminacy in physiognomy, see Gleason. Walter Stevenson ("The Rise of Eunuchs in Greco-Roman Antiquity," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5 [1995]: 495–511) evokes the "strong Roman sense of nature" in the context of emascula-

context of the anthropological evidence is unlikely to ascribe to it a purely Greek origin.[18] Greece and Rome are only two among many cultures that attach shame and disenfranchisement to the passive role. Richlin's image of the socially marginal, "stained" pathic of Roman literature—a grown man who degrades himself by oral-genital contact and by accommodating the penises of men[19]—is endemic to many societies, as is the tension between the desire to play the passive role and the social pressure not to acknowledge it. The result, as we see through the admittedly biased harangues of Martial, Juvenal, and the phallic poems of the *Priapea,* as well as the equally distorted lens of Cicero and Seneca, is that some men openly flaunt their homosexuality, while others fearfully hide it. A good deal of discussion has recently surrounded the Warren Cup, an Augustan relief goblet featuring (in one of its two tableaux) two males, apparently of equal age, nestled in anal coitus as a man or boy in a tunic looks on from behind a partly opened door.[20] To my mind, the scene is the visual equivalent of a Martial epigram or Juvenal's second satire: the two protagonists, of a Hellenized, heroic cast, face exposure of their "crime"—intercourse between freeborn males—by a voyeur who is meant to represent you and me. Both partners have something to hide here: the passive partner is tainted by his pathic act, and the penetrator is encouraging his corruption. The Apollonian features of the scene, the elder partner's laurel crown and a lyre resting nearby, suggest a satirization of the family of Augustus, which often adopted this imagery in its official art.[21]

Literary sources such as Juvenal and Martial give liberal evidence that some "butch" men took the pathic role in private. In many societies,

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tion. At least two classical sources suggest this is true: the elder Seneca asserts that castrating young boys for prostitution is *contra naturam* (*Controv.* 1.4.17), and on the same topic, Petronius says, "nature seeks herself and findeth naught" (119.1.24).

[18] Williams, pp. 11–119; Cantarella; Lilja (n. 2 above), pp. 82, 123–24. Verstraete's argument that Rome had undergone centuries of Greek influence through the Etruscans and Magna Graecia is well taken ("Slavery and the Social Dynamics of Male Homosexual Relations in Ancient Rome," p. 230). But given the paucity of early evidence, his claim that "we see from the late third century B.C. onwards an increasing acceptance of alternative sexual behaviors of almost every coloring and variety" (p. 230) is tenuous and is plainly wrong if he means that the dominant culture, as opposed to the subculture, accepted any of these behaviors.

[19] Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus,* pp. 26–31; see also Williams, pp. 206–80.

→ John Clarke, "The Warren Cup and the Contexts for Representations of Male-to-Male Lovemaking in Augustan and Early Julio-Claudian Art," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 275–93. In *The Houses of Roman Italy: Ritual, Space, and Decoration* (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 323–24), Clarke suggests that the scene represents a homosexual brothel, but there is no reason why it could not be a private house.

[21] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1988).

this role inversion is perceived as a transgression of a person's social identity and is sometimes associated with witchcraft.[22] Rome's literary moralists thought it a terrible thing for a free adult male to be an open pathic, and it was even worse if he hid it. Juvenal writes, "I blame the Fates for those who parade their pox with glance and gesture. Their wretched candor, their frenzy itself begs forgiveness. Worse are those who attack such things with Herculean words, and fresh from these manly harangues set their hindquarters humming."[23]

But men who were thought to prefer the passive role were never as thoroughly institutionalized in Rome as have been, for example, the modern *pasivos* in Latin America or the *bayot* in the Philippines.[24] In Roman urban society, even a "pathic" who by all appearances kept in his place probably had little satisfaction in that fact. The thing that made life tolerable for men of this sort, as for the men who were less forthright in confessing their homosexual inclination, was the existence of a subculture—an institution that could hide a man's proclivities or selectively advertise them, according to his wishes. This provided psychological support and confirmation of his sexuality and allowed him to assume sexual roles and relationships unacceptable to society at large. It is such an institution to which Juvenal's Laronia refers when she says, "First watch and scrutinize men, for their ways are many. But their numbers protect them, like phalanxes joined at the nub. Great is the concord among pathics."[25]

The view from the inside is best presented in the *Satyricon*. Craig Williams's reading of the novel reveals an environment where freeborn men have genuine relationships in which they trade active and passive roles without shame:

> We are far removed indeed from the nearly universal preoccupation with penetrative role discussed in the preceding chapters. In Encolpius' warm recollection of his encounters with Giton and Endymion, it seems crassly out of place to ask who is penetrating whom. The texts simply do not invite their readers to make such an inquiry. . . . The difference in their ages alone would have suggested to Petronius' readership a clear assignment of roles: Encol-

→ Randolph Trumbach, "London's Sodomites: Homosexual Behavior and Western Culture in the 18th Century," *Journal of Social History* 11 (1977): 1–33, at 5.

[23] "Hunc ego fatis / inputo, qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur. / horum simplicitas miserabilis, his furor ipse / dat veniam; sed peiiores, qui talia verbis / Herculis invadunt et de virtute locuti / clunem agitant" (Juv. 2.16–21).

[24] Frederick Whitam and Robin Mathy, *Male Homosexuality in Four Societies* (New York, 1986), pp. 133–53.

[25] "Respice primum / et scrutare viros, faciunt nam plura; sed illos / defendit numerus iunctaeque umbone phalanges. / magna inter molles concordia" (Juv. 2.44–47).

> pius as active, Giton as passive. But the language they use of each other, particularly Encolpius' descriptions of their behavior in love and in danger, encourages readers to understand them not as a phallocentric configuration of active *amator* and passive *puer* but as a loving couple who share erotic pleasure. . . . the *Satyricon* offers its readers a glimpse at fuller three-dimensional relationships between male sexual partners that stand in vivid contrast with the normal "insert tab A into slot B" model. When these characters, or indeed any Roman men, speak of a male sexual partner as a *frater,* the active/passive polarity so typical of their culture's representation of erotic relationships is, for once, not the central consideration.[26]

In the Roman world, this kind of relationship could only have existed in a subculture. A public life is out of the question for the protagonists, and the fugitive status of Encolpius and Giton seems appropriate. They and their colleagues move from one anonymous situation to the next, usually in large population centers of the Roman empire, while the threat of being recognized is always palpable. They trade juicy stories, like Eumolpus's account of his secretive seduction of a freeborn boy in Pergamum (85–87), as they could never do in a more open context. Just as "brother" and "sister" are common terms of affection within the American homosexual subculture, so *frater* and *soror* are the terms in which the members of the *Satyricon*'s subculture identify their current love interest. In this environment of solidarity, the expression of power and control is of secondary importance; but significantly, as soon as lovers' quarrels arise, the mainstream attitudes spring forth in their full brutality. These men must wrestle with cultural tensions and paradoxes of quite a different order from the tidy moralities of Cicero or Seneca, the surface-dwellers.

The world of ancient Rome seems to have had at least two identifiable subcultures of homosexuality. The first is a group of mendicant religious cults and extends well beyond the bounds of urban areas. The second is in Rome itself, a shadowy and ill-defined institution that one may nevertheless glimpse from behind the door of a hostile literature.

A RELIGIOUS SUBCULTURE

It is useful to view some Roman religious cults as subcultures in their own right. Greek and Roman mystery cults often disregarded social and gender boundaries, could be highly institutionalized, and served both as

[26] Williams (n. 2 above), pp. 342, 344–45, 348–49.

outlets and as shields for socially taboo behaviors—behaviors that could occasionally be seen as such a threat that the cults were banned and their adherents persecuted.[27] The most famous instance is the persecution of the Italian cult of Dionysus in 186 B.C.E., recorded in book 39 of Livy's Roman history. Among the accusations leveled at the participants was an orgy of homosexual activity among both sexes. The cult involved more than seven thousand men and women, many of them plebeians; its leaders were of that class. The Roman state arrested and executed a majority of the participants and virtually eradicated the cult (39.13–18).

As an instance of the fear and loathing generated by eastern cults we have a very curious poem in the *Appendix Vergiliana* (Vergil *Catal.* 13) that some have attributed to Horace and may refer to Antony, whom Cicero had branded a *cinaedus* ("effeminate") in the *Philippics.*[28] The poem's addressee is "Lucienus," now a grown man, who has lived a debauched and improvident life since his youth, "when the boy's dinner parties were spent with men, / and his buns stayed wet through the night" (13–14).[29] In his adulthood he has become a transvestite priest of Cotytto, the goddess of a Thracian mystery cult:

> Why do you blanch, you woman? Do my jests pain you? Or do you see what you have done? During the rites of lovely Cotytto you won't invite me for the long unused phallic charms, nor at that time will I see you move your loins inside your woman's dress as you hold the altar tight, or as you call to men reeking sailor-stench by the yellow Tiber, where the harbored ships stand in the shallows, stuck [*retentae* = grown limp[30]] in the fetid mire, and struggle in the meager waters; nor even on the oily Compitalia will you lead me to the kitchen with its paltry dinner fare when, overflowing with dinner and with drool, you return to your hungry wife and handily purge your burning bowels, and to her disgust you pucker and you lick. Now strike back [*laede* = bang away], now provoke [*lacesse* =

[27] For more on Greek and Roman mystery cults, see Clara Gallini, *Protesta e integrazione nella Roma antica* (Bari, 1970), pp. 30–44; Sarah Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1975), pp. 205–26; and J. A. North, "Religious Toleration in Republican Rome," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society,* n.s., 25 (1979): 85–103, at 94–95.

[28] See H. Rushton Fairclough, trans., *Virgil,* Loeb Classical Library (1934), 2.505.

[29] "Vel acta puero cum viris convivia / udaeque per somnum nates" (Verg. *Catal.* 13–14). This seems to be an instance of sexual patronage. The act is deemed perverse in light of the Roman custom of not allowing boys to recline at meals with adults until they assumed the *toga virilis;* see Alan Booth, "The Age for Reclining and Its Attendant Perils," in *Dining in a Classical Context,* ed. William J. Slater (Ann Arbor, MI, 1991), pp. 105–20.

[30] This is the perfect passive participle of either *retineo,* "hold back," or *retendo,* "release from tension."

> arouse] me, if your strength allows! I'll even let out your name: *cinaedus* Lucienus, your strength is flagging, your molars grind with hunger. I *will* see you when you have nothing left but your lolling brothers [*fratres* = male lovers],[31] an angry Jupiter, a split belly [*ventrem* = loins] and the hunger-swollen feet of a herniated uncle![32]

The welter of double entendres and stinging insults in this breathless diatribe associates the *cinaedus* with the transvestism and pathic sexual behavior of an urban subculture of sailors and *fratres.* In the secrecy of the orgiastic rites of the Cotytia, Lucienus and his kind dress as women; their *membra virilia* hang unused (hence the unused *fascini,* apotropaic phallic charms worn by Roman boys, acquire a reverse symbolism), but they are driven to exhaustion offering themselves up as partners to sailors (until the latter "grow limp" in the "fetid mire"?).[33] During the Compitalia festival, Lucienus's secret "dinner fare" is more of the same. He goes home and purges;[34] he simply cannot be aroused by his wife and resorts to cunnilingus.[35] The supposed rewards for the lifestyle of the *cinaedus* are split loins (rather like the "gay bowel syndrome" of modern homophobic tracts), angry gods, and neglected dependents.

The real story of transvestite cultic activity is of course much more complicated. The first of the two homosexual subcultures in our discussion is embedded in a ritual framework that ironically emphasizes chastity. It is a group of Hellenized Anatolian fertility cults that became fashionable in Rome during the late Republic. The two largest individual cults in this group, those of *magna mater* (Cybele) and of the *dea Syria*

[31] As examples of this usage, Gaston Vorberg, *Glossarium Eroticum* (Rome, 1965), s.v. *frater,* cites Tibullus 3.1.23; Mart. 2.4.3; 10.65.15; Petron. 9. See also Williams, pp. 342–49.

[32] "Quid palluisti, femina? an ioci dolent? / an facta cognoscis tua? / non me vocabis pulchra per Cotytia / ad feriatos fascinos, / nec deinde te movere lumbos in stola / prensis videbo altaribus / flavumque propter Thybrim olentis nauticum / vocare, ubi adpulsae rates / stant in vadis caeno retentae sordido / macraque luctantes aqua; / neque in culinam et uncta compitalia / dapesque duces sordidas, / quibus repletus et salivosis aquis, / obesam ad uxorem redis / et aestuantes docte solvis pantices, / osusque lambis saviis. / nunc laede, nunc lacesse, si quicquam vales! / et nomen adscribo tuum. / cinaede Luciene, liquerunt opes / fameque genuini crepant. / videbo habentem praeter ignavos nihil / fratres et iratum Iovem / scissumque ventrem et herniosi patrui / pedes inedia turgidos" (Verg. *Catal.* 13.17–40).

[33] For more direct imagery, see Priapea 68.8; Juv. 9.44; *CIL* X.4483.

[34] For the laxative effect of anal penetration, see Priapea 17; Martial 11.88 and 13.26.

[35] Lucienus's wife seems nothing more than a lugubrious concession to the dominant culture. Compare Ausonius's epigram 78 and the wife of a long string of *cinaedi* in Martial 7.58.3–5: "Then, having tested their loins and dongs like wet thongs uncoaxed to a stand by your long-laboring hand, you desert weaponless bed and effeminate husband alike."

(Atargatis), left a vivid impression on Roman authors because their priests—known as the Galli and Metragyrtai, respectively—were self-castrated, transvestic, and—if we believe the sources—pathically oriented.[36] Following the satirist Lucian, the great antique authority on the Syrian cult, I will use the single term "Galli" for both priestly groups, which were almost indistinguishable in antiquity (*Syr. D.* 15).

"What is a woman's crevasse to you, Baeticus, you Gallus?" sneers Martial. "That tongue ought to be licking men's midriffs. Why was your dick cut off by a sherd of Samos if cunt was so appealing to you, Baeticus?"[37] Martial's jape offers the interesting, and apparently authoritative, information that the Galli amputated not only the testicles, but the penis as well.[38] Not surprisingly, the term "Gallus" became a convenient term of abuse for anyone suspected of pathic behavior. Octavian, who reputedly played the pathic in his youth, was once equated with a Gallus on a Roman stage (Suetonius *Aug.* 68).

Lucian's *Asinus* and its literary filiation, Apuleius's *Metamorphoses,* make fun of the pathic inclinations of a band of Syrian Galli. Their uncastrated flutist is exhausted from the constant sexual service that he must provide to his employers (*Met.* 8.26). These Galli are so avid for passive sex that even bestiality is not beyond them. When the band's leader brings home Lucius the ass from the market, the following scene ensues:

> "Girls," he cried, "Get a load of the cute little slave-boy I [feminine][39] bought for you." But those "girls" were a chorus of pathics who at once leaped up in joy and raised a cacophonous clamor with their cracked, raw, effeminate voices, thinking, no doubt, that some slave-boy really was standing ready to serve them. But when they saw that it was no doe standing in for an Iphigenia, but an ass for a man, with wrinkled noses they mocked their master: obvi-

[36] For a convenient presentation of the source material on the Cybele cult, see Maarten J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult* (London, 1977), esp. pp. 96–144.

[37] "Quid cum femineo tibi, Baetice Galle, barathro? / haec debet medios lambere lingua viros. / abscissa est quare Samia tibi mentula testa, / si tibi tam gratus, Baetice, cunnus erat?" (Mart. 3.81.1–4). See also Mart. 2.45.

[38] N. M. Kay, *Martial Book XI: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1985), p. 225. On castration practices, see Theodor Hopfner, *Das Sexualleben der Griechen und Römer* (Prague, 1938), pp. 387–88; Charles Humana, *The Keeper of the Bed: The Story of the Eunuch* (London, 1973), p. 14; and Peter Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven und Freigelassene in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Stuttgart, 1980), p. 48.

[39] Catullus 63 often refers to the castrated Attis (Cybele's consort) with feminine adjectives and imagery.

ously he had brought it not as a slave, but as a husband for himself. "Hey!" they said. "Don't you eat up this pretty little yearling by yourself, but share it with your dovies from time to time."[40]

This seems a hopelessly paradoxical picture: frantic sexual urges among men who lacked their sexual organs altogether. We might be tempted to dismiss the image as a gross misunderstanding on the part of unsympathetic observers, if not for the existence of a modern anthropological parallel whose analogies to the ancient cults are little short of astonishing. The *hijras* (*hijaras, hijadas*) of India so closely resemble the priests of antiquity that the question arises whether their two cults could be distant filiations of a single group of west Asiatic fertility cults.[41]

Both the *hijras* and the Galli are servitors of a female fertility goddess. Throughout India, this goddess is the center of a series of rural village cults and is called by a number of names. Like Cybele and many other fertility goddesses, she is often paired with a lesser male god.[42] The roots of her cult are pre-Aryan; it was probably brought into the peninsula by the Dravidians in the third millennium B.C.E. These may have come from Mesopotamia, and their culture and language were related to those in Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean. One authority places the origin of the Phrygian and Syrian cults in the same region, specifically near Carchemish along the Euphrates.[43] It is quite possible, then, that many of the ritual elements in the Indian cults are related to those of the ancient Phrygian and Syrian cults. Although the circumstances of the two cult groups' rituals may differ significantly, the rituals themselves at

[40] "'Puellae, servum vobis pulchellum en ecce mercata perduxi.' Sed illae puellae chorus erat cinaedorum, quae statim exsultantes in gaudium fracta et rauca et effeminata voce clamores absonos intollunt, rati scilicet vere quempiam hominem servulum ministerio suo paratum. Sed postquam non cervam pro virgine, sed asinum pro homine succidaneum videre, nare detorta magistrum suum varie cavillantur: non enim servum, sed maritum illum scilicet sibi perduxisse. Et 'Heus,' aiunt, 'cave ne solus exedas tam bellum scilicet pullulum, sed nobis quoque tuis palumbulis nonnumquam impertias'" (Apul. *Met.* 8.26). Compare Lucian *Asinus* 36.

[41] Apparently the only scholar who has explored this link is Sumant Mehta, "Eunuchs, Pavaiyas and Hijadas," *Gujarat Sahitya Sabha,* Amdavad, Karyavahi, Ahmedabad, pt. 2 (1945–46): 3–75. I have not had access to this article, → A. M. Shah, "A Note on the Hijadas of Gujarat," *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961): 1325–30, reports that Mehta "traced analogous institutions in other parts of India and also in other parts of the world in modern as well as ancient times" (p. 1325).

[42] For anthropological parallels, see Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion,* pt. 4: *Adonis Attis Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion,* 3d ed., 2 vols. (London and Basingstoke, 1980).

[43] E. O. James, *The Cult of the Mother-Goddess: An Archaeological and Documentary Study* (London, 1959), pp. 100, 113–20, 123; Vermaseren, p. 17.

points are strikingly similar.[44] The *hijras* studied by modern anthropologists belong to the cult of Bahuchara Mata, one of the mother-goddesses of the cultic network in rural India. Like the Galli, they practice emasculation—in fact, the complete removal of penis and testicles—as a means of spiritual purification and identification with the goddess and are characterized by effeminacy of manner and dress, even to the point of caricature.[45] There are numerous other parallels,[46] including certain elements of their respective castration rituals.

[44] "During their spring festival of the Cybele/Attis cult in Rome, the Galli would throw themselves into a frenzy, lacerating their arms and scourging one another to the accompaniment of drums, cymbals, and pipes. The arch-priest sacrificed a bull to Attis on the Ides. Several days after the vernal equinox, the *lavatio* took place. The image of Cybele—the Anatolian meteorite that was thought to contain the goddess—was brought outside the *pomerium* [the religious boundary of the city] in a wagon procession and ritually washed" (James, pp. 172–74; see Frazer, 1: 273 and n. 4). The image of the Mother Goddess in southern India is often just a plain stone standing upright outside the boundaries of the village. During periods of illness or epidemic the image is bathed and sheep or water buffalo are sacrificed "amid wild dancing, drumming and horn-blowing. . . . Food is then poured out before Ankamma [the local name of the goddess] and the festival closes with the usual procession of carts round the temple" (James, p. 117).

[45] Serena Nanda, "The Hijras of India: A Preliminary Report," *Medicine and Law* 3 (1984): 59–75 (hereafter referred to as "A Preliminary Report"), "The Hijras of India: Cultural and Individual Dimensions of an Institutionalized Third Gender Role," *Journal of Homosexuality* 11 (1985): 35–54 (hereafter referred to as "Cultural and Individual Dimensions"), and *Neither Man nor Woman: The Hijras of India* (Belmont, CA, 1990). The newly castrated Gallus "was called 'κύβηβος' and, as the male counterpart of the Goddess, by sacrificing his virility he assimilated himself to her so completely that he shared in her life-giving power. Henceforth he adopted female attire, having consecrated himself to her service even at the cost of his manhood" (James, p. 168). Similarly, the emasculated *hijra* initiate "becomes one of Bahuchara Mata's favorites, serving as a vehicle of her power through [his] symbolic rebirth . . . emasculation certainly brings the hijra devotee into a closer identification with the female object of devotion" (Nanda, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," p. 40).

[46] According to Vermaseren (n. 36 above), p. 96, the Galli, whose name can be translated as "cocks" as well as "Galatians," took the rooster as their symbol; the most popular image of the *hijras'* goddess, Bahuchara Mata, depicts her riding a cock (Nanda, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," p. 40). Both cults are associated with the emasculation of male mythological figures; in the Cybele cult, it is Attis (Catull. 63); in the Mata cult, it is Arjuna (Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 72, and *Neither Man nor Woman,* pp. 30–31), Shiva (Nanda, *Neither Man nor Woman,* pp. 24, 29–30), and Bahuchara (Nanda, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," p. 39). Both cults feature icons of the mother goddess (Apul. *Met.* 8.25, 27; Shah, p. 1326; Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 72). Members of both cults are mendicant and live off the charity of others (Cic. *Leg.* 2.22.40; Apul. *Met.* 8.24, 28; Shah, pp. 1326–27; Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 69, and "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," p. 41); both share earnings among themselves (Apul. *Met.* 8.28; Shah, p. 1328; Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 69). They are itinerant (Apul. *Met.* 8, passim; Shah, pp. 1326–27; Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 67) and are especially active during

In his description of the bloodletting rites during the spring festival of the Cybele cult, James Frazer writes,

> We may conjecture, though we are not expressly told, that it was on the same Day of Blood and for the same purpose that the novices sacrificed their virility. Wrought up to the highest pitch of religious excitement they dashed the severed portions of themselves against the image of the cruel goddess. These broken instruments of fertility were afterwards reverently wrapt up and buried in the earth or in subterranean chambers sacred to Cybele, where, like the offering of blood, they may have been deemed instrumental in recalling Attis [Cybele's consort] to life and hastening the general resurrection of nature, which was then bursting into leaf and blossom in the vernal sunshine.

On the Day of Blood the new Galli cast aside their masculine clothing forever.[47] In the equivalent ritual for the *dea Syria,* as Lucian tells it, the initiate castrated himself with a sword and then ran through town with genitals in hand. He would then toss them into a house chosen at random, whose residents would be obligated to dress him in female attire (*Syr. D.* 51).

Serena Nanda says of the ritual of the *hijras,* "Emasculation is the *dharm* (caste duty) of the hijras, and the chief source of their uniqueness. The hijras carry it out in a ritual context, in which the client sits in front of a picture of the goddess Bahuchara and repeats her name while the operation is being performed." Nanda describes the operation as follows:

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festivals (Apul. *Met.* 8.29; Shah, p. 1327; see Frazer, 1: 266–7 → Morris E. Opler, "The Hijara (Hermaphrodites) of India and Indian National Character: A Rejoinder," *American Anthropologist* 62 (1960): 505–11, witnessed a ceremony and dance where the hijras took up a collection afterward in the folds of their dresses (p. 506), just as the Galli do in Apuleius *Met.* 8.28. Both groups sing, play music, and dance using drums and cymbals (Apul. *Met.* 8.24, 26–27; Catull. 63.21; Suet. *Aug.* 68; Lucian *Syr. D.* 50; Opler, p. 506; Shah, p. 1327; Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," pp. 66, 68); both are expected to be lewd and sexually suggestive (Apul. *Met.* 8.26; Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 68, and "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," p. 38); both are capable of issuing curses in the name of their goddesses (Apul. *Met.* 8.25; Shah, pp. 1327–28; Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 60). Both groups think of themselves as primarily female or "not-men" (Apul. *Met.* 8.26; Shah, p. 1328; Nanda, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," pp. 38, 44, and *Neither Man nor Woman,* pp. 15–17, 114–16) and engage in ridiculous public behavior or are ridiculed by the public (Apul. *Met.* 8.25; Nanda, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," p. 38; Shah, p. 1328). Many parallels to the citations in Apuleius can be found in Pseudo-Lucian's *Asinus,* upon which Apuleius's story is based.

[47] Frazer, 1:268–70; Vermaseren, p. 97.

> There is no anaesthetic. The operator then ties a black string around the penis and testicles so that she [= he, a senior eunuch] can get a clean cut. . . . When the cut is made blood gushes out, which is claimed to be necessary to remove all the male parts. . . . After 40 days, a puja (ritual act of devotion) is performed for the Mata [the goddess], the patient takes a small amount of milk, and goes with friends and other members of the local hijra community in a procession to a nearby lake. . . . The removed genitals are either put in a pot and buried under a living tree, or thrown into the water. In the procession the patient, now healed, is dressed up "like a bride," painted with mendi and adorned with jewelry and new clothes.[48]

After the Day of Blood the Galli initiates fasted from bread; *hijra* initiates have a similarly restrictive diet.[49] All things considered, then, the rites are strikingly akin to each other: in both, an image of the goddess is present; and there are similar practices of ritual burial of the generative organs, abstinence from certain foods, and ritual adoption of feminine status through clothing and adornment.

The ancient and modern cults also share a tradition that probably has nothing to do with ritual: homosexual behavior.[50] As we have seen, Roman authors associate the Galli with promiscuous homosexual activity. This attitude has its parallel in Hindu myth, where "the notion of the false ascetic (those who pretend to be ascetics in order to satisfy their lust) abounds."[51] To some extent, it is undoubtedly a misunderstanding of the effeminate habits of the priests, many of whom are abstinent; but many more, perhaps a majority, of the *hijras* today willingly engage in pathic sexual behavior, even prostitution. If the *hijras* indeed serve as a modern-day model for the behavior of ancient Galli, then the Anatolian

[48] Nanda, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," pp. 39–40, and "A Preliminary Report," pp. 73–74. For more detail on the ritual, see Nanda, *Neither Man nor Woman*, pp. 24–37.

[49] Frazer, 1:272; Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 34.

[50] While there is good evidence for ritual pederastic behavior in some Greek settings (Jan Bremmer, "An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty," *Arethusa* 13 [1980]: 279–98) and a few Greek cults adopted by the Romans, such as the cult of Demeter, featured ritual intercourse of some kind, there is no indication that the Anatolian cults discussed here practiced homosexual behavior in the context of ritual. As with the *hijras*, their castration seems to have been a physical confirmation of sworn chastity. This would explicitly put the priests' homosexual behavior outside the sphere of their religious duties and beliefs and may help to explain the aura of fraud and hypocrisy that surrounds the Galli, especially in Lucian and Apuleius. For an update on the burgeoning scholarship dealing with Greek or Indo-European pederasty rites, see Golden (n. 1 above), p. 330.

[51] Nanda, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," p. 48.

cult may also have offered a haven for inherently effeminate men, many of whom had exclusively pathic inclinations.

The preferred method of recruiting *hijras* is to find individuals who are clinically hermaphroditic by birth or males who are impotent.[52] But many of the recruits are classic transgender men with a pronounced pathic orientation who became aware of their cross-gender tendencies early in life. Many *hijras* have described their effeminate inclinations in childhood despite strong discouragement from their parents. Half of them have had positive homosexual experiences in adolescence that confirmed their orientation and sexual role preference. This is a common and widespread developmental pattern for a class of homosexual males.[53] Often in their adolescent years *hijras* join the cult because it is sympathetic to transgender tendencies, including the passive sex act, in spite of the cult's vows of abstinence. The result is that many members either "marry" men or openly practice passive prostitution, or both.[54]

The cult provides a context for a subculture of pathic homosexuality. Like brothels or bathhouses, it offers some structure and legitimacy to a lifestyle that is not condoned by society at large. The Galli, like their Indian counterparts, benefited from an aura of religious authority, even honor, that persisted in spite of social distaste for their lifestyle. Although Apuleius can describe them as "the vulgar dregs of the masses" ("trivialis popularium faex"; *Met.* 8.24) and regard them as nothing better than shameless fakes, he must also acknowledge that many people have enough respect for their religious function as guarantors of fertility to give them money, food, and lodging for their ritual services (*Met.* 8.28–30). Centuries later, Saint Augustine demonstrates the same loathing for the rituals of the Galli, of which he admittedly has no knowledge. Yet he too confesses that the priests retain a reputation for sanctity (*De civ. D.* 6.7.3). At the same time they are ridiculed and detested, especially by the sophisticated urban elite, for their pathic lifestyle.

Werner Krenkel presents evidence that a tax was levied on Galli as

[52] Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 73, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," pp. 38–43, and *Neither Man nor Woman,* pp. 15–16. Compare Mart. 2.45: "That dick that wouldn't stand tall for you has been cut off, Glyptus. Fool, what need for the knife? You were a Gallus before." ("Quae non stabat praecisa est mentula, Glypte. / demens, cum ferro quid tibi? Gallus eras.")

[53] Nanda, "A Preliminary Report," p. 65, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions," p. 44, and *Neither Man nor Woman,* pp. 57–59; Whitam and Mathy (n. 24 above), pp. 32–67. Marcel Saghir and Eli Robbins, *Male and Female Homosexuality* (Baltimore, 1973), find that two-thirds of their sample of homosexual males recall exhibiting cross-gender behavior as young children.

[54] Nanda, "Cultural and Individual Dimensions" (n. 45 above), pp. 44, 71, and *Neither Man nor Woman* (n. 45 above), pp. 12, 16, 61–65, 73–79, 122–25.

male prostitutes. The criterion for being taxed was one's status as a *pathicus,* that is, a pathic prostitute.[55] Although Caligula imposed a tax on prostitutes, scholars have been reluctant to conclude that males were included in this law. However, a passage in Justin Martyr (*Apologia 1* 1.27) implies that at least in the late Empire such a tax was being levied.[56] The evidence concerning the Galli suggests that an assessment on male prostitutes was in place earlier, perhaps before Caligula's decree.

Within a society that condemns the pathic, the cults just described have their attractions as an environment where men can exercise their minority sexual preference—if not with outright approval, at least with less ostracism than in the lonelier and more dangerous context of society at large. That they sacrifice their genitals is remarkable evidence of the lengths to which some homosexually oriented men will go to seek acceptance of and outlet for their sexuality.

Homosexually active *hijras* and their ancient counterparts exemplify the "natural" pathic. Physiologically, they have real sexual desires and derive genuine pleasure from their sexual activities despite their emasculation. But the satisfactions achieved in joining the cult encompass much more than pure sexual need; they establish a personal social identity that legitimates the initiate's lifestyle. In the case of the ancient cults, we can only glimpse this sense of belonging through the sneers of a few Greek and Roman authors. That the authorities considered the cult dangerously seductive to Romans is likely: Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports that "by senatorial decree and consent, there are no native Roman Galli clad in pied mantles piping and parading through the city or going into a Phrygian frenzy for the goddess."[57] At the end of the Republic and the outset of the Principate, foreign cults were subject to mistrust, surveillance, and governmental control—partly, perhaps, for the reasons Dionysius gives: Roman decorum and aversion to "empty" ritual (τῦφον), but also undoubtedly through fear of the allure of the religious subculture. Hanging like a pall over all these cults was the specter of the events of 186 B.C.E., when the consuls of Rome brutally crushed the Italian cult of Bacchus for its alleged promotion of debauchery and unnatural acts.

[55] Werner A. Krenkel, *"Pueri meritorii," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität* (Rostock) 28 (1979): 179–89, at 187. Also in Dynes and Donaldson, eds. (n. 15 above), pp. 269–79.

[56] Thomas A. J. McGinn, "The Taxation of Roman Prostitutes," *Helios* 16 (1989): 79–110, at 86–87.

[57] "Ρωμαίων δὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν οὔτε μητραγυρτῶν τις οὔτε καταυλόμενος πορεύεται διὰ τῆς πόλεως ποικίλην ἐνδεδυκὼς στολὴν οὔτε ὀργιάζει τὴν θεὸν τοῖς Φρυγίοις ὀργιασμοῖς κατὰ νόμον καὶ ψήφισμα βουλῆς" (2.19.5).

AN URBAN SUBCULTURE

A second, and much larger, Roman subculture consisted of a minority of men in Rome who sought pathic or reciprocal homosexual relationships and were thus, like the Galli, labeled *cinaedi,* "effeminates," or *molles viri,* "soft men." This subculture, which apparently revolved around certain bathhouses, brothels, and private homes, was similar to the "Molly-house" network that emerged in London in the early eighteenth century. There is evidence that such an institution existed in Rome, and perhaps in other cities of the Roman Empire as well.[58] Makeup, depilation, perfume, elaborately coiffed hair, and bright clothing were the sartorial labels of pathic males.[59] Juvenal's second satire rails at the dissipated lifestyles of foppish men, from philosophers to emperors. Martial's quip that Maternus's habits are "bright green" (*galbinos,* 1.96.9) is good evidence that in the minds of many Romans, clothing makes the man. When a young man who is overly fastidious in hair and clothing comes to Epictetus, he is subjected to a storm of indignation against sexual deviance (Arrian *Epict. Diss.* 3.1–2). Such is the standard Stoic fare in Roman literature from the second century B.C.E. up until late antiquity—a distorting mirror, but the only one we have.

Surely such observations are not entirely fabrications from the "outside." Subcultures of male homosexuality (modern-day Barcelona's, e.g.) have a way of claiming transvestism for their own, even though they also encompass a population of overtly masculine homosexual men as well as

[58] MacMullen (n. 15 above), p. 498, wrongly claims that homosexual behavior in Greco-Roman society was confined to the rich and their minions; for Greece, see Halperin (n. 6 above), pp. 88–112. Petronius, Apuleius, and more fragmentary sources display a broad social base in Roman society. There is little doubt that a homosexual clique existed among the upper class; but as historians of the early modern period have argued, upper-class or court networks and cross-class subcultures can exist separately and simultaneously (Trumbach, "London's Sodomites" [n. 22 above], esp. p. 23; M. Rey, "Police et sodomie à Paris au XVIIIe siècle: Du péché au désordre," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 29 [1982]: 113–24). Martial 9.59 even implies that there were two classes of male prostitutes in Rome: one for the ordinary citizen and another, much more discreet, for the wealthy and discriminating.

[59] Lucilius enumerates effeminate characteristics as follows: "I'm scraped, underplucked, scaled, pumiced, adorned, polished, and painted" ("rador subvellor desquamor pumicor ornor expolior pingor" [in E. H. Warmington, ed., *Remains of Old Latin,* Loeb Classical Library [1938], 3: 90, lines 296–97). See Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality" (n. 3 above), pp. 542–43; Valerie A. Tracy, "Roman Dandies and Transvestites," *Classical Views/Échos du monde classique* 20 (1976): 60–63; Emiel Eyben, *De jonge Romein volgens de leteraire bronnen der periode ca. 200 v. Chr. tot ca. 500 n. Chr.* (Brussels, 1977), pp. 180–92; and Krenkel, p. 186. For Cicero's insults, see Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus* (n. 2 above), p. 98; Lilja (n. 2 above), pp. 88–94; and, esp., Gonfroy, "Homosexualité et idéologie esclavagiste chez Cicéron" (n. 15 above).

bisexual men—and despite the fact that transvestism is a complex phenomenon that in many societies, including our own, has little bearing on sexual orientation. Perhaps they do so as a mechanism of maximizing self-expression and heightening the image that they are different from the culture of the majority. The same development seems to have taken place in Rome, eliciting a predictably hostile reaction; effeminate men are accused of invading even the Senate, and dressing provocatively in court (Cic. *Phil.* 3.12; Juv. 2.65–68). Richlin has fully documented the received attitude toward such behavior.[60] A hostile Senatorial reaction to effeminacy in public might take the shape of *Controversiae* 5.6, where the elder Seneca describes a hypothetical case in which a young man is prohibited by a chastity law from speaking in court because he once dressed like a woman and consequently had been gang raped.[61] The argument against him is that he willfully invited rape simply by dressing as he did: the act and thereby the actor are inherently unchaste. Although the prosecutor feigns outrage and surprise at the young man's behavior, he hints that it is perfectly in character with the man and his loose generation.

The prevalence of high-pitched, effeminate voices and womanly gait and gestures is also well in evidence among this group. Seneca suggests that such habits betray whorishness in men (*QNat.* 7.31.2); Juvenal's Oxford fragment includes these features in his catalog of the quintessential "queen" (6.O19–24). Mannerisms of speech, dress, and movement were so important for identifying a person's true nature that professional physiognomists made a living defining and identifying them.[62] Feminine mannerisms were consolidated by the late Republic into an image that served both as grounds for derision by detractors and as a vehicle of self-definition for homosexual men. The stereotype of the womanish man may actually have strengthened the solidarity of men in the subculture by lending a sense of uniformity to their nonconformity.

Because of the nature of the literature, we have little surviving evidence of an argot among the Roman subculture, but the various physical mannerisms served as a sort of rudimentary sign language misunderstood by outsiders. The curious habit of scratching one's head with a single finger, attested in several sources, appears to have been a code gesture among homosexual or bisexual men, perhaps for soliciting sex.[63]

[60] Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality."

[61] Similar laws are invoked in the *Tabula Heracleensis* and Ulpian's commentaries in Justinian's *Digest*. See Dalla (n. 13 above), pp. 51–53; Williams (n. 2 above), pp. 59–61; Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality," pp. 559–61.

[62] Gleason (n. 12 above), pp. 406–11.

[63] On scratching one's head with a single finger, see Juv. 9.133; Calvus fragment, in Carolus Buechner, ed., *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1982), p. 112; Lucian

Thus Seneca says that "the lecher is revealed by gait and the movement of his hand, at times by a single answer, or by putting his finger to his head or casting a glance."[64] Maud Gleason sees such mannerisms as part of the culturally established physiognomy of effeminate men, over which they were thought to have no control. But she acknowledges that Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 33.52) called such mannerisms *symbola* "because masculine deportment and grooming habits constituted a system of social communication."[65] To this behavior might be added another indicator of a subculture of homosexuality: imitation of heterosexual family behavior. Just as the *hijras* of India or the American Indian *berdache* "married" men and played female kinship roles such as mother, daughter, and sister with each other, men of the great European urban centers of the eighteenth century performed same-sex weddings and even mimicked childbirth.[66] In light of this behavior, Juvenal's vitriolic description of an all-male marriage (2.126–43), although substantially embellished, seems believable. Martial 1.24 and 12.42 also attest to such marriages, but none of this material lends itself to useful evaluation, any more than the alleged same-sex marriages of Nero and Elagabalus can be introduced as evidence for broader behavior within a subculture.[67]

Rhetorum Praeceptor 11; Plut. *Pomp.* 48.7, *Caes.* 4. Ovid *Ars Am.* 1.137–38 attests that courtesans used similar sign language to communicate with potential clients.

[64] "Inpudicum et incessus ostendit et manus mota et unum interdum responsum et relatus ad caput digitus et flexus oculorum" (Sen. *Ep.* 52.12). Coded messages in a question-answer format are a common method of solicitation today, as they were in eighteenth-century London and Amsterdam. More common in Holland were purely visual two-way codes, such as putting one's hands on one's hips and responding in the same way or mutual nudges. See Theo van der Meer, "The Persecutions of Sodomites in Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam: Changing Perceptions of Sodomy," in *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, ed. Kent Gerard and Gert Hekma (New York, 1989), pp. 263–310, at p. 288; see also Trumbach, "London's Sodomites," p. 15.

[65] Gleason, pp. 399–400.

[66] Nanda, "A Preliminary Report" (n. 45 above), p. 66; Trumbach, "London's Sodomites," pp. 15, 17; P. Howell, *A Commentary on Book I of the Epigrams of Martial* (London, 1980), epigram 25.

[67] For Nero, see Tac. *Ann.* 15.37; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 5.5; Suet. *Nero* 28–29. For Elagabalus, see *S.H.A. Heliogab.* 10.5, 11.7. See also Dalla, pp. 63–69; Williams, pp. 322–31. Jean Colin, "Juvénal et le mariage mystique de Gracchus," *Atti della Accademia delle scienze di Torino* 90 (1955–56): 114–216, offers the interesting but unconvincing hypothesis that all these weddings were not homosexual unions but mystical marriages of an extraordinary man to the goddess Cybele or Bellona, in which the other male partner (sometimes an "archgallus," sometimes a flute-player for the cult) served as the goddess's surrogate during the ceremony and nothing more. Yet Juv. 2.126–43 emphasizes that both partners are in it for the long run: he imagines aloud their hilarious efforts at conceiving children. Whether or not there is a pattern of religious ritual behind these scenes, neither the authors nor their intended readers understood this as the motive for the marriages.

We know little about how or where the men of this subculture congregated. Urban baths seem to have served as cruising grounds, as we shall see below. The evidence of Petronius and other sources further suggests that brothels and wharves were fairly comfortable environments for homosexual fraternizing and soliciting.[68] The Roman theater was reputed to be a hotbed of pathic activity and seems to have been a favorite hangout for prostitutes, both male and female. Plautus (*Poen.* 17–18) issues an injunction for adult male prostitutes, *scorta exoleta,* not to sit on the proscenium once the show starts. This would imply that they posted themselves before the crowd to advertise their charms to the crowd of potential customers. The *lex Roscia* of 67 B.C.E., which reserved the orchestra for the senatorial class and the first fourteen rows of seats for equestrians, probably put an end to this practice—but not to cruising in the theater. In Petronius 126, the maid of "Circe" claims that her mistress looks for willing sex partners who sit behind the first fourteen rows among the plebs. It is possible that after the *lex Roscia* was passed some overtly effeminate men among the aristocratic orders were compelled to sit with the plebs (cf. Mart. 5.41), perhaps because effeminacy was associated with aggressive prostitution. Caesar's model town charter, the *lex Iulia municipalis* (*Tabula Heracleensis* 123, 134, and 138), forbids men who sell their bodies from sitting beside town leaders in public places.[69]

What can we glean about the development of the urban subculture in Rome? Perhaps the most important observation is that it was not a timeless institution. Saara Lilja and Jane Cody have made the surprising discovery that there are no effeminate males portrayed in the plays of Terence and Plautus, which date from the early second century B.C.E. and constitute the earliest substantial body of literature in the Roman record.[70] This is not out of ignorance of the type: Greek Old and Middle Comedy feature effeminate men, and transvestic dancers and mimes do appear on the fringes of Plautus's plays.[71] This paucity may be due to a

[68] For brothels, see A. Varone, *Erotica Pompeiana: Iscrizioni d'amore sui muri di Pompei* (Rome, 1993). The House of Jupiter and Ganymede in Ostia seems to have been a brothel specializing in same-sex services to males, but some women left their names on the walls as well. See Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy* (n. 20 above), pp. 323–24. For wharves, see Verg. *Catal.* 13 and *S.H.A. Heliogab.* 8.7.

[69] MacMullen (n. 15 above), p. 495.

[70] Lilja (n. 2 above), p. 39; Jane M. Cody, "The *senex amator* in Plautus' *Casina*," *Hermes* 104 (1976): 453–76, at 473–76. Cody correctly distances the transvestic elements in *Casina* and Atellan farce from homosexuality. Cross-dressing is simply a natural device for producing comic situations with rich potential for sexual misadventure. The possible exceptions are the male dancers called *cinaedi,* who apparently wore women's clothes (see Plaut. *Men.* 513–14), and other stage types such as depilated actors (*Asin.* 402). But these are a marginal group in Plautus, and they never play significant roles in his plays.

[71] Regarding effeminate men in Greek Comedy, see Cody, p. 474.

corresponding lack of effeminates or any sort of homosexual relationship in Greek New Comedy, which provided the models for the plays of Terence and Plautus. Still, one would expect a character type with such abundant comic potential to make an appearance in Plautus if in fact it had currency in society at large; but it simply does not seem to have resonated with Roman audiences of the time. The only kind of same-sex behavior overtly presented in extant Roman comedy of this period has the master penetrating the slave.[72]

A typically uncomplicated Plautine pathic is Dordalus, who in *Persa* 804 is presented as a *cinaedus novus* ("new pansy") and is promptly subjected to unspecified physical abuse from Toxilius, to which he responds, "Ow! He's ripping my buns apart!" ("Ei, natis pervellit"; 846). Then there is the potential pathic, on his way to becoming a new pansy: always a man in an inferior social position who goes unwillingly (at first) to his fate. In *Asinaria* 418–27, we have the case of a *cinaedus* in the making, the cook Congrio. Euclio, the free man, has tried with some success to humiliate him through metaphorical (or actual) penetration:

> EUCLIO: Why did you threaten me [with a knife]?
>
> CONGRIO: Shabby of me, I admit. I should have shoved it in your ribs [*latus* = loins]!
>
> EUCLIO: There's no greater villain alive than you—and believe me, no one I would do in more happily.
>
> CONGRIO: That's damned obvious without a word from you: my condition is testimony [*testis* = testicle] to that. Thanks to your rammings [*fustibus*], I'm far softer [*mollior* = more pathic] than any *cinaedus*. Why, how dare you touch me, you bum!
>
> EUCLIO: What's that? Still asking for it? Perhaps I did less than you deserved!
>
> CONGRIO: Back off, or it'll go badly for you, so long as this head [*caput* = penis] is functioning.
>
> EUCLIO: I wouldn't bet on the future, but your head sure is functioning now![73]

[72] Lilja, p. 39. The rare cases when a master is threatened with the same (Plaut. *Asin.* 703–5, *Rudens* 1073–75) only happen if he was once a pathic slave himself; see Williams (n. 1 above), pp. 43–44.

[73] "EUCLIO: Quid comminatu's / mihi? CONGRIO: Istud male factum arbitror, quia non latus fodi. / EUCLIO: Homo nullust te scelestior qui vivat hodie, / neque quoi ego de industria amplius male plus libens faxim. / CONGRIO: Pol etsi taceas, palam id quidem est: res ipsa testist; / ita fustibus sum mollior magis quam ullus cinaedus. / sed quid tibi nos tactiost, mendice homo? EUCLIO: Quae res? / etiam rogitas? an quia minus quam aequom erat feci? CONGRIO: Sine, at hercle cum magno malo tuo, si hoc caput sentit. / EUCLIO: Pol ego haud scio quid post fuat: tuom nunc caput sentit."

Congrio has been beaten "softer than any *cinaedus,*" but refuses to yield his poised weapon—or his manhood—to the old man's attacks. Although the social tension of Congrio's resistance is palpable, this does not imply that he will ever make a pathic of his social superior. He is simply trying to maintain his virility in the dispiriting context of his own social role as a potential pathic. Euclio's final line seems to be a veiled threat of castration, or simply the observation that Congrio's resolve is flagging (a great opportunity for a visual gag). The slave's condition, "mollior magis quam ullus cinaedus" carries the secondary (and more meaningful) meaning "far less virile than a *cinaedus*"—that is, he is deprived of the active role or the impulse to initiate sexual relations. The pathic disposition is seen as a debilitating and progressive disease that will eventually conquer its host if he repeatedly yields to penetration. What is notable here is that Congrio is not a *cinaedus,* at least not yet; he is fighting the impulse that would deny him his sexual vigor. A Plautine *cinaedus* is not really a sexual animal at all, and poses no threat to society.

Libertinism in Roman comedy follows an equally simple formula. For example, Lysidamus in Plautus's *Casina* engages in bisexual behavior out of an excess of lust, and the masters of *pueri delicati* (pathic minions) invariably do the same. These men are never seen as effeminates or pathics. The idea of a passive libertine simply does not exist in Plautus, whereas it is a commonplace in later Roman literature.[74] Later, sexual debauchees are labeled primarily and often exclusively as pathics (nota bene the Galli), whereas in Plautus they are exclusively active and virile in their sex roles.[75]

This is not to say that other sexual activity between free males was latent in this period, awaiting the onset of the second-century craze for everything Greek. At this point in Roman history the urban subculture so visible later, and undoubtedly augmented by the Greek influx, simply had not yet emerged in Rome. Homosexual activity among freeborn men was likely to be diffuse and anonymous, perhaps because of the militaristic sentiment of the age or because a law prohibiting pathic activity

[74] Lilja, pp. 29, 39; Cody, p. 474. Pathic behavior in Plautus is never regarded as a matter of choice, except possibly in the case of Dordalus, who is accused of being a *cinaedus* (*Persa* 804) and of depilating his buttocks (847–48). But Dordalus is a low-life pimp and probably of freed status; he is simply bowing to his duty as defined later by the elder Seneca's friend Haterius: "Unchastity is grounds for incrimination in the freeborn man, a necessity for the slave, and a freedman's duty to his patron" ("inpudicitia in ingenuo crimen est, in servo necessitas, in liberto officium"; Sen. *Controv.* 4.pr.10). There is no indication that he seeks out men for sexual pleasure.

[75] Therefore I cannot agree with Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus* (n. 2 above), pp. 91–92, that effeminate men throughout Roman literature are given to indiscriminate bisexual lust.

by freeborn males was being enforced.[76] But Roman comedy may also reflect the values and necessities of the largely agrarian and family-dominated society of preimperial Rome, which also prevail in John D'Emilio's vision of the preindustrial West in modern times.[77] The development of Rome's public, military, and commercial institutions and the increase in enslavement and patronage after the Second Punic War created a situation that devalued the Roman nuclear family, especially among the freeborn, and allowed many men (although perhaps very few women) to pursue sexualities outside of the family context.

Here we turn our discussion to early modern London, which reveals some interesting parallels with Rome in the late Republic and early Empire. Prior to the emergence of the subculture in London, sodomy was not associated with men of exclusively homosexual bent, but with general debauchees who were prone to drunkenness, gluttony, idleness, and indiscriminate bisexual lechery. Randolph Trumbach goes so far as to define a perceived type, the Elizabethan or Jacobean London libertine "with his mistress on one arm and his catamite on the other."[78] It is easy to see the parallels here to the character type in Roman comedy.

Trumbach suggests that London's rapid growth in population in the eighteenth century, paralleled in other European cities, enabled the subculture to emerge in full only when the population reached about 500,000.[79] Although "sodomitical" networks had existed in London

[76] The seduction of young freeborn males was considered a crime punishable by death. Valerius Maximus (6.1) records several early instances. In 226 B.C.E., a certain Capitolinus was condemned in a case of *pudicitiae quaestio* (trial of chastity) for seducing a freeborn boy (6.1.7). Similarly, in the early third century B.C.E., M. Laetorius Mergus committed suicide when he was accused of trying to seduce a subordinate but was condemned posthumously (6.1.11). These and the other cases that Valerius cites have been explained as matters of rape or assault rather than of sexual behavior per se. But a freeborn boy's loss of his chastity was a deadly serious matter, regardless of how it came about. In 108 B.C.E., Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus killed his own son, whom he claimed was "of questionable chastity" (*dubiae castitatis;* 6.1.5), meaning he had probably submitted to seduction. This is not a matter of assault but of personal defilement; the son's misstep was to manifest his weakness of character by assuming the sexual role of a slave. See Michael Gray-Fow, "Pederasty, the Scantinian Law, and the Roman Army," *Journal of Psychohistory* 13 (1986): 449–60. For a comprehensive evaluation of the legal dimension of such activity, see Fantham (n. 17 above).

[77] John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University,* ed. John D'Emilio (New York, 1992), pp. 3–16.

[78] Bray (n. 10 above), p. 16; Randolph Trumbach, "Sodomitical Subcultures, Sodomitical Roles, and the Gender Revolution of the Eighteenth Century: The Recent Historiography," in *'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment,* ed. Robert P. Maccubbin (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 109–21, at p. 116.

[79] Randolph Trumbach, "Sodomitical Assaults, Gender Role, and Sexual Development in Eighteenth-Century London," in Gerard and Hekma, eds. (n. 64 above), pp. 407–32, at p. 408. The first full European homosexual subculture arose in Venice in the fifteenth

and in smaller towns throughout Europe for centuries, these rather loose social structures bore little resemblance to a full-blown subculture; they went virtually unnoticed by the greater population and lent little sense of identity to their members.[80] The anonymity of a large city and the newly perceived strength of numbers among homosexual men seem to have encouraged the rise of Molly-houses, establishments that combined the social functions of modern gay bars and gay bathhouses.

The apparent rise of Rome's subculture was likewise attendant upon a rapid increase in population, which took place during and after the eastern conquests of the second century B.C.E. and rendered the city comparable in size to eighteenth-century London by the first century B.C.E.[81] The homosexual subculture of urban society came into existence not by conscious selection but by a trickle-down effect from the population at large, which needed to reach a certain size before the networks of homosexual men could come together in a gradual realization of their numbers and unique cultural properties. The combination of tremendous urban growth and the influx of a more sexually self-aware Greek population augmented social activity among "pathic" men in the city of Rome. Such men as the elder Cato and even the Hellenophile younger Scipio observed these developments with displeasure.[82] The huge increase in the slave population also played its part; through ownership or prostitution, "slavery afforded wide possibilities for satisfaction of every free male's needs or predilections."[83]

The mainstream notion of homosexual males as rapacious pathics and effeminates appears to have arrived with the Roman subculture, as it did to a lesser extent with London's.[84] Aristocratic and domestic effeminates in the Greek style begin appearing in Rome during or shortly after Plautus's time, as we know from various fragments attributed to the elder Cato.[85] Cato opposes the erection of statues of certain men because they

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century (see Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* [New York, 1985]). Fantham draws many interesting parallels between Rome's sexual climate and that of Venice.

[80] Trumbach, "Sodomitical Subcultures, Sodomitical Roles, and the Gender Revolution of the Eighteenth Century," p. 116.

[81] Pierre Salmon, *Population et dépopulation dans l'Empire romain* (Brussels, 1974), p. 15.

[82] Fantham, p. 288; Williams (n. 2 above), p. 221.

[83] Verstraete, "Slavery and the Social Dynamics of Male Homosexual Relations in Ancient Rome" (n. 15 above), p. 231.

[84] Trumbach, "Sodomitical Assaults, Gender Role, and Sexual Development in Eighteenth-Century London," p. 408. The earliest datable occurrences of the word *pathicus* are in Catull. 16.2, 57.2, and 112.2.

[85] Collected in Fantham, p. 288.

are *effeminati;* he notes with disapproval that young aristocrats learn to dance and sing and wear Greek outfits to parties; and he accuses certain politicians of dancing, lewd singing, and prostitution at banquets. The first undoubtedly pathic libertine in the Latin record seems to be Sulpicius Galus, described by Scipio Africanus the Younger, "who walks about with plucked beard and plucked thighs: who, when he was younger, reclined in a Greek sleeved tunic with his lover [*amator,* a word that implies the active role] at parties, who is not only wine-mad, but man-mad too—will anyone doubt that he does what pathics always do?"[86] Subsequent Roman literature is heavily peopled with such characters, who sometimes have a taste for both active and passive sex, whether the partner be male or female.[87] According to Suetonius, for example, Domitian expelled an ex-quaestor from the Senate for acting and dancing and in the same vein of censoriousness condemned many Roman senators and equestrians under the *lex Scantinia,* which may have outlawed sexual activity between freeborn males.[88] But the emphasis is always on the pathic nature of effeminate men, even if pathic activity cannot be directly imputed to them. Seneca the Elder recounts a speech in which wealthy libertines are criticized for castrating male slaves to prolong their terms of sexual submission. But these masters, though the penetrators, are not the virile studs of Plautus; rather, they unman youths "because they are ashamed of being men themselves" ("quia ipsos pudent viros esse"; Sen. *Controv.* 10.4.17).

By the first century B.C.E., pederasty had long been practiced and tolerated by certain elements in Roman society and would continue to be practiced for the duration of the Empire.[89] But habitual sexual behavior among adult males seemed a dangerous new development to the moralists. The theme of the aggressive adult pathic began to appear frequently in the theater and in literature. From Pomponius's lost play *Prostibulum* (*The Male Prostitute,* ca. 100–85 B.C.E.) have been preserved the lines

[86] "Qui barba vulsa feminibusque subvulsis ambulet, qui in conviviis adulescentulus cum amatore cum chiridota tunica inferior accubuerit, qui non modo vinosus, sed virosus quoque sit, eumne quisquam dubitet, quin idem fecerit, quod cinaedi facere solent?" (Henrica Malcovati, ed., *Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta liberae rei publicae* [Paravia, 1953], 1: 127, entry number 21.17).

[87] Williams, pp. 206–80.

[88] Suet. *Dom.* 8.3. On the *lex Scantinia,* see Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality" (n. 3 above), pp. 569–71; Williams, pp. 187–91; Lilja (n. 2 above), pp. 112–21; Fantham (n. 17 above), pp. 285–90; Dalla (n. 13 above), pp. 82–99; Derrick S. Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London, 1955), pp. 64–65; Boswell (n. 2 above), pp. 65–69; and Johann F. Christ, *Historia legis Scatiniae: Antiquorum codicum testimoniis emendandis illustrandis passim distincta* (Magdeburg, 1727).

[89] Regarding tolerance of pederasty in Rome in the first century B.C.E., see Williams, pp. 11–22; Veyne (n. 15 above), pp. 28–29; Booth (n. 29 above), pp. 105–20.

"how I buggered no citizen by guile, but only if he himself begged to bend over."[90] Lucilius's roughly contemporary term ***barbati moechocinaedi*** combines the elements of bearded adulthood (***barbati***), sexual passivity (***cinaedi***), and intent to seduce (***moecho-***).[91] This admixture of character traits is alien to Terence and Plautus, whereas Cicero repeatedly invokes the image with scornful relish.[92] In Plautus the only suggestions of men habitually dressing like women are with reference to the theater, but by the time of Catullus, Cicero, and the *Priapea,* many men were dressing effeminately (if only rarely in full travesty) and depilating their bodies.[93] It is likely that the clause in the early Augustan law entitled ***lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*** forbidding ***stuprum*** ("sex offense") was aimed in part at pathic behavior by freeborn males.[94] By the high

[90] "Ut nullum civem pedicavi per dolum / nisi ipsus orans ultro qui ocquinisceret" (in Paulus Frassinetti, ed., ***Fabularum Atellanarum fragmenta*** [Paravia, 1955], p. 38, lines 154–55).

[91] Warmington, ed. (n. 59 above), 3:340, line 1048. The term ***barbati,*** bearded, may carry the additional implication that these are men of a philosophical cast, since ordinary Romans of the late Republic rarely grew beards. For other pathic philosophers, see below.

[92] For example, Cic. *Planc.* 12.30 describes such activity as a ***maledictum.*** In Cicero, see also *Att.* 1.14.5, *Cat.* 2.8, *Dom.* 139, *Fam.* 16.27.1, *Har. Resp.* 42, and *Verr.* 2.2.192. According to Plutarch, Cicero himself accused Caesar of scratching his head with one finger (Plut. *Caes.* 4), and the Roman populace accused Pompey of the same, explicitly attaching the gesture to pathic desire (Plut. *Pomp.* 48.7). Licinius Calvus's famous couplet accusing Caesar of being Nicomedes' catamite in Bithynia (Suet. *Iul.* 49) dates from roughly the same period.

[93] Chalinus's cross-dressing escapade in ***Casina*** is not habitual and has nothing to do with effeminacy, as Cody (n. 70 above), pp. 473–76, demonstrates.

[94] Dalla, p. 53. Jérôme Bernay-Vilbert, "La repression de l'homosexualité dans la Rome antique," *Arcadie* 250 (1974): 443–55, however, goes too far when he claims that, in the case of mutual consent, only the passive partner is condemned (p. 447). While some juristic statements might support this conclusion (e.g., *Dig.* 3.1.1.6), the ***lex Iulia*** probably targets the penetrator as the offender in both consensual and violent sex acts. The juristic commentaries usually impute ***stuprum*** only to the penetrator (Dalla, pp. 101–31). Fantham argues that ***stuprum,*** at least in Republican times, encompassed illicit acts of both homosexual and heterosexual nature; it was "either a form of corruption or violation of the passive partner by the penetrator, or (where the passive partner is held up for reproach) of self-corruption" (p. 270). For example, see Quintilian 11.1.84. According to Williams (n. 2 above), pp. 157–205, a man may be accused of ***stuprum*** if he penetrates any person other than his own wife, slaves, or freedmen. Roman jurists commenting on the ***lex Iulia*** often interpreted the term ***stuprum*** to include homosexual behavior. Bailey suggests that these interpretations were aimed specifically at protecting freeborn boys from the advances of men (pp. 68–69). But some interpretations of ***stuprum*** in the context of the ***lex Iulia***—"sex offense with a male" ("stuprum cum masculo"; *Dig.* 48.5.8) or "unspeakable lust with males" ("cum masculis infandam libidinem"; *Inst.* 4.18.4)—seem deliberately vague and all-encompassing. Lilja finds striking referential relations between the ***lex Iulia*** and the ***lex Scantinia,*** leading her to conclude that the former included some sort of provision against homosexual activity or prostitution (pp. 119–21). Dalla argues that it did not but simply was a refinement of the ***lex Scantinia*** (p. 109). Cantarella's conclusion (n. 2 above) that the

Empire, "those who tampered with the most visible variables of masculinity in their self-presentation provoked vehement moral criticism because they were rightly suspected of undermining the symbolic language in which male privilege was written."[95] The second-century C.E. physician Soranus's treatise *On Acute and Chronic Diseases* characterizes the condition of μαλθακοί, translated into Latin as "soft men, that is, pathics" (Caelius Aurelianus, *De morbis acutis et chronicis* 4.9.131), as a frenetic behavioral dysfunction, indeed "the passion of a wicked and utterly debased mind" ("malignae ac foedissimae mentis passio"; 4.9.132). Such usage may ultimately spring from deep-seated cultural anxiety about the fragility of manhood, the "flickering heat" articulated by Galen and others, but it should not be divorced from cruder notions about lechery.[96] The image of the New Pathic—along with ancillary associations of pallor, disease, exhaustion, and sexual overindulgence—are all combined into one imprecise character stereotype. The most important ingredient of this persona, however, is that he is exclusively or primarily interested in adult males or mature teenagers; and this is usually translated, rightly or wrongly, into the desire to be penetrated.

Eighteenth-century Europeans associated the rise of "sodomitical" subcultures with evil omen and foreign influence. The Dutch blamed it on the French; its omens included stock-market woes, fevers, storms, plagues, and worms gnawing at the dikes. The British blamed it on Italian Catholics; their mythology embraced werewolves, basilisks, sorcerers, and popery. In Paris, men could be arrested simply for being in notorious places at certain times or for conversing with known sodomites; a man's taste for company and his social habits became a measure of his sexuality. The Romans blamed "unnatural" homosexual acts on Greece or the barbarians, and Juvenal deemed it a *monstrum,* as if "a woman bore a calf, or a cow a lamb" (2.123). All seem to have arrived at this pitch of hysteria because of the gradual recognition of male homosexuality as an institution and lifestyle rather than simply an aberrant

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late juristic reconstructions of the *lex Iulia* are spurious leads her—rather precipitously—to dissociate the law entirely from homosexual behavior (pp. 142–45). On *stuprum,* see also Krenkel (n. 55 above), pp. 181–82.

[95] Gleason (n. 12 above), p. 401.

[96] On *viri molles,* see Dalla, pp. 33–35; P. H. Schrijvers, *Eine medizinische Erklärung der männlichen Homosexualität aus der Antike (Caelius Aurelianus DE MORIBUS CHRONICIS IV 9)* (Amsterdam, 1985); Dr. Schramm, "Viri Molles: Geistesstörung im Altertum," *Archiv, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Psychiatrie und gerichtliche Psychologie* 17 (1870): 19–37. An excellent study of gender paradigms in ancient literature, particularly in treatises on medicine and nature, may be found in Gleason. On the ancient physiology of manhood, see Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), esp. pp. 10–19.

act.[97] No change had occurred in the received opinions or long-standing taboos about certain homosexual acts. What had changed was the visibility and apparent aggressiveness of those who engaged in such behavior. Hysteria peaked in London with the raids on Molly-houses in the 1720s. Alarmed Londoners became convinced that "even the adult man whose desires were (what they would have called) natural was subject to sodomitical assault because sodomites, in their universal passivity, were likely to seek an active sexual object."[98] The Roman manifestation of this mentality finds its locus classicus in Petronius 23, where the impotent Encolpius is ravished by a pathic who may even be a eunuch; the aggressive pathic has tipped the sexual balance of power. The image recurs later in Pseudo-Lucian's *Asinus* (38) and of course Apuleius; here the notorious Galli have gang pathic sex with a young man picked up at the baths (*Met.* 8.29).[99]

Reciprocal Relationships

Although pathic behavior was deemed the paradigm for Rome's subculture, forced acquaintance with the behavior of its members brought Roman society at large to the realization that many so-called pathics freely took both the active and passive sexual roles and were even committed to reciprocal homosexual relationships. While it is difficult to cite an instance in Latin literature of a sexual relationship between men of the same age other than Ascyltos and Encolpius of the *Satyricon*, there is ample evidence of the older partner, or the one in a superior social position, playing the pathic role. Philebus the Gallus, for example, has such relations with younger men, and it is clear that the youth Giton and his older "brother" Encolpius have reciprocal relationships.[100] As we shall see, Roman baths were often the venue where older, more established men could solicit males of lesser age or status to play the active role—

[97] L. J. Boon, "Those Damned Sodomites: Public Images of Sodomy in the Eighteenth Century Netherlands," in Gerard and Hekma, eds. (n. 64 above), pp. 237–48, at pp. 241–42; Bray (n. 10 above), pp. 19–21; Rey (n. 58 above), pp. 113–24. See also van der Meer (n. 64 above), pp. 263–310. For Roman blame of foreign cultures, see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London, 1979), pp. 225–26; MacMullen (n. 15 above), p. 494, n. 39. Ovid (*Met.* 9.727, 736) uses the word *monstrum* of female same-sex unions. For an equivalent sentiment in Greek writers, see Epictetus (Arr. *Epict. Diss.* 3.1.27–31); Dio Chrysostom 33.60.

[98] Trumbach, "Sodomitical Assaults, Gender Role, and Sexual Development in Eighteenth-Century London" (n. 79 above), p. 409.

[99] Niall W. Slater, *Reading Petronius* (Baltimore, 1990), p. 42; Vincenzo Ciaffi, *Petronio in Apuleio* (Turin, 1960), pp. 112–13.

[100] Williams, pp. 341–49.

or, more likely, to trade roles, though the dominant Roman culture only acknowledged the fact grudgingly and with little understanding.

The growing awareness of homosexual reciprocity within the subculture is visible in the very vocabulary of literary vituperation. It must be acknowledged up front, though, that the most common terms to describe men of "pathic" inclination, such as *mollis* (soft) and *cinaedus* (effeminate male) are sufficiently vague to suit the sweeping prejudices of Roman men.[101] Martial's use of *cinaedus* is liberal proof that we cannot reconstruct strict definitions of contemptuous terms. Only one of his poems, 2.28, expressly confines *cinaedi* to playing the passive role in homosexual intercourse. Two others (6.37, 12.16) emphasize the passive role. Verse 3.73 emphasizes active or reciprocal roles. In 7.58 and 10.40, *cinaedi* are impotent with women or uninterested in them; but in 6.39.12–13, a man's *cinaedus* concubine fathers one of his wife's children. In 9.2 they are the product of castration—specifically, they are Galli; in 6.16, the phallic god Priapus threatens *cinaedi* with the sickle, implying that they are genitally intact. In 6.39, 9.90.7, 10.40, and 12.16, they are slaves; in 6.90, 7.58, and 9.63, they are free.

As nouns, *mollis* and *cinaedus* are roughly interchangeable, although the latter is restricted to men who are past their teenage years. One of Publilius Syrus's preserved maxims says, "Age hides the *cinaedus,* age reveals him" ("aetas cinaedum celat, aetas indicat").[102] This apparently means that when a committed pathic passes into adulthood, he tries to hide his behavior from society; but the conventional signposts of adult pathics (pallor, depilation, etc.) reveal him for what he is. When *mollis* is a modifier, it can often be read simply as the adjectival form of *cinaedus*

[101] It is worth noticing that the British term "molly" refers to an effeminate man or a male prostitute. While most etymologists accept this as the diminutive of the name Mary, Latin in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in the theater, had a great influence on the language of the subculture. Thus in Elizabethan times a male prostitute or a male brothel is called "spintry" (from the rare Latin word *spintria,* an exotic male prostitute); see Wayne Dynes, *Homolexis: A Historical and Cultural Lexicon of Homosexuality* (New York, 1985), p. 23. For etymologies, see the entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary.* "Catamite" meaning "kept boy" (from *catamitus*) first appears in 1593. It is possible, then, that "molly" derives from *mollis* and likewise got its start in the Elizabethan, Jacobean, or Restoration theater cultures (it is not attested until the beginning of the eighteenth century), which were repositories of classical learning and, like theater cultures in many societies, havens for a "sodomitical" subculture (see Bray, pp. 54–55). Many derogatory terms for members of a subculture are invented or preserved by the members themselves, not by hostile outsiders.

[102] Gulielmus Meyer, ed., *Publilii Syri mimi sententiae* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 18, line 24. However, R. A. H. Bickford-Smith, ed., *Publilii Syri sententiae* (London, 1895), p. 2, line 24, reads *astus* and *aestus* in the places of *aetas.*

(which only rarely is used adjectivally). The words frequently appear together where they could be construed as synonymous or redundant.[103]

The behavioral and physiognomic association of the *cinaedus* with pathic behavior and its attendant moral inferiority have been well established by Richlin, Williams, and others. I hope to demonstrate that the term *cinaedus* in the late Republic and early Empire designated a grown man who took (and usually enjoyed) the passive role, but not exclusively. There is ample evidence in a variety of sources that the word came to reflect an acknowledgment (though not acceptance) of reciprocal roles in homosexual relationships as a Roman subculture of homosexuality became well established.

It is generally agreed that *cinaedus* in Latin originally meant "dancer," especially of the peculiarly lewd Greek type imported in the third century B.C.E.[104] But like so many words, it is not attested earlier than Plautus, who also uses the word to mean "pathic." The two usages spring full-blown into Latin from Greek, where the word's general association with lewdness and effeminacy extends far back into the literary record. "One and the same are the minds of the *kinaidos* and of the lowly whore," writes Archilochus in the seventh century B.C.E. ("ἴσος κιναίδου καὶ κακῆς πόρνης ὁ νοῦς," 328.1). Aristotle uses the word to mean effeminacy in both men and women.[105] His near-contemporary in the fourth century B.C.E., Aeschines, says of the effeminate Demosthenes, "It is by common rumor, not by his nurse, that he is called *Batalos* [Buns]. He earned the name by his unmanliness and *kinaidia*."[106] By imputing the same status of legal disenfranchisement to Demosthenes as to his opponent Timarchus, whom he accuses of pathic prostitution, Aeschines implies that Demosthenes is equally debased in his sexual pursuits (Aeschines *In Tim.* 181). Elsewhere he associates Demosthenes' *kinai-*

[103] See Catull. 16, 25; Mart. 3.73, 7.58; Petron. 23.3; Phaedrus 10.2–3, 18–20; Plaut. *Aul.* 422; Pliny *Ep.* 9.17.1.

[104] *PW*, s.v. "κίναιδος"; Williams (n. 2 above), pp. 214–17; J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore, 1982), p. 194; Lilja (n. 2 above), p. 22; Jean Granarolo, "L'heure de la vérité pour Tallus le cinède (Catulle XXV)," *Revue des études anciennes* 60 (1958): 290–306, at 292.

[105] Arist. *Phgn.* 808a.12, 810a.34, 813a.18, 813a.35. In the first citation, the word μαλακός appears in association with this word.

[106] οὐ κακῶς ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς τίτθης Βάταλος προσαγορεύεται, ἐξ ἀνανδρίας καὶ κιναιδίας ἐνεγκάμενος τοὔνομα" (Aeschin. *In Tim.* 131). Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* claims the origin of this nickname is Demosthenes' stutter. But the first- or second-century-B.C.E. lexicographer Harpocration explains that Eupolis, a fifth-century-B.C.E. comedian, calls the buttocks βάταλος and that with respect to Demosthenes, Aeschines is "quoting comedy [or mocking him] about his effeminacy" ("κεκωμῴδηται δὲ ἐπὶ μαλακίᾳ"; 72.4).

dia with "shameful acts" (αἰσχρουργία; *On the Embassy* 99) and calls him "a *kinaidos* impure in body, even whence his voice emanates" ("κίναιδον . . . μὴ καθαρεύοντα τῷ σώματι, μηδ' ὅθεν τὴν φωνὴν ἀφίησιν"; *On the Embassy* 88), a hint as much at fellatio as at slander. Here, as in Plautus, there is no hint of the active role in intercourse.

The first evidence in Latin literature of *cinaedi* who take the active role surfaces in Catullus.[107] Poem 29 describes an act of symbolic buggery, the greed of Mamurra, by a symbolic *cinaedus,* Rome itself: "Romulus, you *cinaedus!* Can you watch this and endure it? You are shameless, a compulsive gambler. Was it not in [Mamurra's] name, peerless ruler, that you went to the furthest western isle just so that fucked-out cock of yours could devour twenty or thirty million?" (Catull. 29.9–14).[108] This is a fine illustration of the simultaneous voracity and exhaustion that Romans of the late Republic imputed to *cinaedi.* But this *cinaedus* is no pathic; the instrumental part of his anatomy lies to the fore, and it is Britain and the Roman people who are forced to proffer their backsides to his onslaught. The passive participle *diffututa* ascribes Romulus's exhaustion to his active role in intercourse, not to any passive tendencies.[109] Mamurra appears again in poem 57, this time with Caesar as his bedmate: "What fine accord between two foul *cinaedi,* both Mamurra the pathic and his Caesar. No wonder: the stains on each—one Roman, the other Formian—hold fast, will never wash clean: A pair of twins, both equally diseased, both little scholars on a single bed, with vying appetites for adultery, rival playmates of little girls, no less. What fine accord between two foul *cinaedi.*"[110]

Mamurra is nominally the pathic in this relationship, but Caesar too is labeled a *cinaedus.* Caesar was widely believed to have played the pathic in his early manhood, and we are meant to suspect that he did so with Mamurra as well.[111] Whatever Catullus's intentions, the important thing to note is that both parties in a homosexual relationship are called

[107] Not all the instances of the word in Catullus are so flexible. Poems 16 and 25 both use the word to mean a simple pathic; but both poems are Priapic in nature and, thus, follow the old stereotypes that dominate the poems of the phallic god.

[108] "Cinaede Romule, haec videbis et feres? / es impudicus et vorax et aleo. / eone nomine, imperator unice, / fuisti in ultima occidentis insula, / ut ista vestra diffututa mentula / ducenties comesset et trecenties?"

[109] For another example of this, see *Priapea* 26.

[110] "Pulcre convenit improbis cinaedis, / Mamurrae pathicoque Caesarique. / Nec mirum: maculae pares utrisque, / urbana altera et illa Formiana, / impressae resident nec eluentur: / morbosi pariter, gemelli utrique, / uno in lecticulo erudituli ambo, / non hic quam ille magis vorax adulter, / rivales socii et puellularum. / Pulcre convenit improbis cinaedis."

[111] On Caesar's pathic role in early manhood, see Suet. *Iul.* 49; Plut. *Caes.* 1; Dio Cass. 43.20.2.

cinaedi. At the same time, both presumably take the active role in violating little girls. The earlier exclusivity of the word is starting to break down.

A semiliterate inscription in Pompeii of unknown date, but which might reasonably be placed in the Neronian period, is of interest. It reads, VESBINUS CINEDV S VITALIO PED[i]CAVIT ("The *cinaedus* Vesbinus screwed [with?] Vitalius"; *CIL* IV 2319b). Whether this is a boast or a taunt is impossible to tell, but it does apparently place the *cinaedus* in the active role—or an undefined homosexual role, if one wants to read the otherwise inexplicable ablative (?) form of "Vitalius" with an implicit *cum* (with).[112] Most likely we are dealing with a phonetic spelling of the accusative *vitaliom*.

All five instances of the term *cinaedus* in Petronius's *Satyricon* refer to some rather vividly drawn brothel dwellers. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the text and Petronius's oblique style leave great doubt about the nature of these characters.[113] The scene in chapters 23–24, however, limns the rather interesting image of an aggressive pathic attack. A *cinaedus* waltzes in upon the freshly awakened guests of Quartilla's brothel and cries, "Come one, come all, you wild *cinaedi* [*spatalocinaedi*], and hurry! Stretch those legs, make tracks, gather round, o supple of thigh, agile of butt, brazen of hand, pansies, ancients, handgelded Delians!" (Petron. 23.3).[114] He proceeds to mount Encolpius as the latter lies on his back, smother him with foul-breathed kisses (in Roman literature, a sure sign of a fellator), and grind about atop his groin (23.4). Neither the man's invocation to his cohorts nor his own acts betray any disposition to penile activity. The fact that at least some of his colleagues are eunuchs suggests that he is perhaps one himself, castrated in childhood like the slave prostitutes described in 119.1.20–27 and in Martial (9.6, 9.8).[115] This would make him a pathic by default and a prostitute by compulsion, perhaps incapable of any physical arousal. He would naturally never be expected to summon an erection in the daily prosecution of his duties, but would serve only clients interested in active intercourse with a male.

[112] It seems unlikely that the dative is meant instead of the ablative here, although "for Vitalius" is conceivable (if Vitalius is the pimp). The verb *futuo* (fuck) appears several times with *cum* + ablative. See *CIL* IV.2258, 2192, 2193.

→ Christopher Gill, "The Sexual Episodes in the Satyricon," *Classical Philology* 68 (1973): 172–85, at 177 and n. 16.

[114] "Huc huc cito convenite nunc, spatalocinaedi, / pede tendite, cursum addite, convolate planta / femoreque facili, clune agili et manu procaces, / molles, veteres, Deliaci manu recisi."

[115] The practice of castrating young boys for pathic prostitution would be outlawed, ineffectually, by Domitian and again by Hadrian.

But another *cinaedus* in Quartilla's stable is harder to place. He appears in chapter 21: "First he banged away at us, buns wrenched asunder, then befouled us with noxious kisses until Quartilla, holding her whalebone staff and tucking her skirts up, ordered that we poor souls be relieved."[116] One's first impulse is to assume that this is simply another instance of a pathic horseman with his stinking kisses, as some scholars believe.[117] But three things discourage such a conclusion in favor of active penetration. First, the verb *caedo* normally means to beat with a weapon and is well attested as a slang term for aggressive sexual penetration.[118] Thus we read *extortis clunibus* as an absolute (referring to the victims' buttocks), not an instrumental (referring to the assailant's buttocks as the "weapon"). Second, Quartilla apparently lifts her skirts as if to deflect the man's energies to herself and to allow him to finish on her what he had begun on Encolpius and Ascyltos. Third, after a lacuna, the two victims swear that they will never bring the shame of their acts to light (21.3). This would only make sense if they, freeborn men, had been penetrated by a lowly prostitute.

Petronius's understanding of the term *cinaedus* is therefore both broader and narrower than that of Catullus; he apparently includes men with different physical capacities and functions, who share the usual characteristic of being primarily or exclusively inclined to homosexual acts; yet his only usages of the word are in the context of the brothel. It is never used of free men.

Juvenal's second satire is a veritable rogues' gallery of "Socratic *cinaedi*" (2.10).[119] As usual, the author's attention rests on pathic behavior (2.10–13, 21, 55–57, 117–18). But Laronia's criticism of these men is telling: "Hispo mounts/slips under [*subit*] young men and pales with both illnesses" (2.50). The intentionally ambiguous meaning of the verb *subeo*, which can also mean "to enter" or "to assault" on the one hand, or "to submit to" on the other, suggests that Hispo's two illnesses are the compounded results of the active and passive roles. This is why Laronia can invoke the *lex Scantinia*, a law that Williams argues was directed at the active partner in illicit relationships with freeborn males. Unaware

[116] "Modo extortis nos clunibus cecidit, modo basiis olidissimis inquinavit, donec Quartilla ballaenaceam tenens virgam alteque succincta iussit infelicibus dari missionem" (Petron. 21.2).

[117] According to Richardson (n. 4 above) the *cinaedi* here are a "class who are capable of arousal and orgasm (as modern medicine confirms) although confined by surgery to active pursuit of passive postures" (p. 121).

[118] Adams (n. 104 above), pp. 145–46. This passage from Petronius is included in his citations.

[119] See Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality" (n. 3 above), pp. 543–54; Jérôme Bernay-Vilbert, "Folies romaines: Les homosexuels dans l'oeuvre de Juvénal," *Arcadie* 259–60 (1975): 356–64.

of the dual role of the *cinaedus* in Juvenal, Williams is forced to conclude either that Laronia is wrong or that she is invoking the law to punish the *cinaedus* indirectly, "because if the law penalizing *stuprum* with free-born males were to be enforced, his potential lovers might be deterred from becoming involved with him."[120] But Juvenal understands that *cinaedi* are not exclusive pathics; they are usually men who have chosen reciprocal relationships with other men. Let us recall Laronia's evaluation of the subculture. "First watch and scrutinize men, for their ways are many," she says. "But their numbers protect them, like phalanxes joined at the nub (*umbo*). Great is the concord among pathics."[121] *Umbo,* literally the boss on a Roman soldier's shield that limited the overlap in the *testudo* formation, may also mean any appendage or even the swelling on the front of a toga. The use of this word is clearly a sexual joke, implying that *cinaedi* are collegial participants in both offices of sexual union.

There is evidence of reciprocal relationships in other sources, most notably among the protagonists of the *Satyricon*.[122] Cato the Elder is reported to have said, "If you are unchaste both in front and in back" ("si tu et adversus et aversus impudicus es"; Cic. *De Or.* 2.256), an early reference not only to such libertines as Hostius Quadra, whose multiplicity of sex acts is described in prurient detail by Seneca (*QNat.* 1.16), but probably to men in ordinary reciprocal relationships. Cato's barb is not original. According to Aulus Gellius, "Plutarch says that the philosopher Arcesilaus used sharp words with respect to a rich man who had once been too effeminate, but who was said [now] to be incorruptible and free from debauchery. For when he saw him with his cracked voice, his artfully arranged hair, and his glances full of lewdness and voluptuous allure, he said, 'It makes no difference whether you are a *cinaedus* fore or aft.'"[123] While the figurative meaning of this maxim is what gives it pungency (i.e., "fore or aft" means "up front or in secret"), its interest for us lies in the explicit assumption that *cinaedi* were associated with

[120] Williams (n. 2 above), pp. 187–91. Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality," pp. 552 and 569–71, argues instead that the *lex Scantinia* is aimed at the passive partner. She concludes that the two "diseases" are performing fellatio and being anally penetrated, both exclusively the province of the pathic.

[121] "Respice primum / et scrutare viros, faciunt nam plura; sed illos / defendit numerus iunctaeque umbone phalanges. / magna inter molles concordia" (2.44–47).

[122] Williams, pp. 221–22, 341–49; Richardson, p. 113.

[123] "Plutarchus refert Arcesilaum philosophum vehementi verbo usum esse de quodam nimis delicato divite, qui incorruptus tamen et a stupro integer dicebatur. Nam cum vocem eius infractam capillumque arte compositum et oculos ludibundos atque inlecebrae voluptatisque plenos videret: 'nihil interest,' inquit 'quibus membris cinaedi citis, posterioribus an prioribus'" (Gell. *N.A.* 3.5). Plutarch actually does not relate the story but only the saying.

both the active and the passive role.[124] Of equal interest is the apparent existence of such an assumption in the Hellenistic east, long before it took hold in Rome.

The term *p(a)edico* ("to bugger," but used only in vulgar contexts) appears to undergo a change closely related to the broadening of *cinaedus*. Derived from Greek παιδικός, παιδικία,[125] the verb—and the agent nouns derived from it, *pedico* and *pedicator*—may have entered the Latin language with the importation of Greek customs into Rome in the second century B.C.E. All of its extant incidences from the Republic and the early Empire, from Pomponius of Bononia through Catullus and the *Priapea*, denote the active role in anal sex. The word's frequent appearance in Pompeian graffiti attests to its popularity in the common vernacular.[126]

But it appears to acquire some flexibility in Martial. Though this poet frequently uses the verb and noun in their traditional sexually penetrative sense, in 12.85 a certain Fabullus imputes to a *pedico* the suspicion of fellatio, which is invariably considered a pathic activity in Roman literature, by the smell of his breath: "You say the mouth of a *pedico* smells" ("pediconibus os olere dicis"; Mart. 12.85.1).[127] Then there are two epigrams that directly associate the word *pedicare* with passive behavior: "You ask why your ass is so wasted? You can pedicate with your ass, Sabellus" (3.98); "For many days now, Lupus, Charisianus has said he can't pedicate. When his buddies asked the reason just now, he said he had loose bowels" (11.88).[128] In his commentary on 11.88, N. M. Kay suggests that Martial is using the term *pedicare* ironically: Charisianus

[124] Plutarch uses the saying "fore or aft" figuratively to distinguish between open manipulation and secret subversion of a man's health (*Mor.* 126a–b) and spirit (*Mor.* 705e–f); i.e., one can be knowingly incited to "active" debauchery (not necessarily sexual) or unknowingly seduced by eastern luxuries into "passive" laxity.

[125] A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue latine* (Paris, 1932), s.v. *paedico*. See also M. Negri, "*Paedicare o pedicare*," *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, classe di lettere, scienze morali, e storiche* 112 (1978): 220–24.

[126] Two of the better examples are: "ACCENSVM QVI PEDICAT VRIT MENTVLAM" ("He who cornholes a squire [*accensum* = "burning one"] sets fire to his dick"; *CIL* IV 1882); "[amat qui scrib]ET PEDIC[a]TUR QVI LEG[et Qui] OBSCVLT[a]T PRVRIT [pathicus est qui pr]AETE[ri]T SCRIBIT PEDICATOR SEPTV[m]IVS" ("He who shall write is the bugger; he who shall read it gets buggered; he who kisses [?] itches; he who passes by is a pathic. Septimius the bugger writes this"; *CIL* IV 4008).

[127] For a different reading, see Williams, pp. 314–15.

[128] "Sit culus tibi quam macer, requiris? / pedicare potes, Sabelle, culo"; "Multis iam, Lupe, posse se diebus / pedicare negat Charisianus. / causam cum modo quarerent sodales, / ventrem dixit habere se solutum." This latter epigram has a simple medical explanation: taking the passive role in anal sex tends to relax the bowels. Charisianus, who is already suffering from diarrhea, does not wish to compound his problem by playing the pathic with his "buddies."

claims that he is only taking the active role, but in secret his so-called pedicating is quite the opposite.[129] Perhaps the same sort of sarcasm is at work in 3.98 as well. But it does not conform well with 12.85.1, which is almost sententious in ascribing to the *pedico* a pathic vice. Unless the fellow had a pungent whiff of the pathic about him, calling him a *pedico* simply would not meet the standards of Roman invective. Most likely, Martial is astutely acknowledging a generalizing trend in everyday usage of the verb and its nominalization, which at times he follows and at other times ridicules. "Well, Sabellus," 3.98 might be saying, "I see the rules have changed, and now the poked means the same as the poker. I guess that means you're poking with your backside." Since the new, broader meaning of the verb blurred the line between active and passive partner, it had to be intransitive and absolute, like Martial's usage of *futuo* in 11.7.13 ("whenever it pleases you [a woman] to go fuck").[130] Neither of the two instances of the verb cited above has a direct object, and it may be that they are meant to have this absolute sense.

Bathhouse Liaisons, Prostitution, and Patronage

The literary sources of the Empire consistently indicate that public baths were foci for the establishment of male sexual liaisons.[131] They are not forthright, however, about the nature of these contacts. Are the bathers looking for boys, or for grown men? Do they seek active, passive, or mutual intercourse? Are they simply johns, or is there a more complex relationship between solicitor and solicited?

There is no reason to conclude that fee-based prostitution is the standard structure of these relationships. The pattern of behavior, where it can be determined at all, seems rather to be one of patronage. However, as Krenkel notes, the line between sexual patronage and prostitution can be very thin.[132] The difficulty of assessing such situations is well illustrated by Achilles Tatius, who in his novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon* sets Greek and Roman values at odds in his portrayal of Thersander. An opponent suggests that Thersander's insatiable quest as a teenager for intel-

[129] Kay (n. 38 above), p. 249.

[130] "Quotiens placet ire fututum." *CIL* IV has several instances of the preposition *cum* with the verb *futuo*—a sure sign that the verb had acquired an intransitive meaning by the early Empire. The House of Jupiter and Ganymede in Ostia Antica includes a graffito employing the verb with *ad* + accusative (see Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy* [n. 20 above], p. 324). For evidence of the agent noun *fututrix*, see Adams (n. 104 above), p. 122.

[131] And, less frequently, male-female contacts; see, e.g., Ov. *Ars Am.* 3.639–40; Juv. 6.418–23.

[132] Krenkel (n. 55 above), p. 181.

lectual patronage and his fondness for developing his body in the palaestrae of baths were a thin facade for willful prostitution.[133] "By this," his accuser sneers, "he thought he was training his mind. But it was just a mask for his wickedness" (8.9.3). While allowing for the obvious malice of the rhetoric, we have a glimpse at an institution, part patronage and part prostitution, that was probably quite common in the late imperial Greek east, while perhaps no less so in imperial Rome.

There is no question that male prostitution existed in Rome in a number of forms. The most common Latin term for a prostitute is the neuter noun *scortum,* which may refer either to males or females. The reader frequently has no way of determining the gender of a *scortum,* but in a number of passages the person thus defined is unequivocally male.[134] With the exception of its ambiguous gender value, the term seems to correspond more or less to the Elizabethan or Jacobean usage of "whore"; that is, it can be pointedly pejorative, but also virtually neutral in some informal contexts.

Another common word designating a male prostitute is *ex(s)oletus* ("outgrown [male]"). This obviously has a more specific meaning than *scortum,* but usage is often imprecise. Curtius Rufus even uses the two terms interchangeably of the same man (6.7.33). Pseudo-Quintilian is equally random in his use of the two terms: "So is it thus . . . that your *scorta* earn their military pay, and that you bring *exoleti* under our banners?" ("Itane tandem . . . scorta tua stipendium merentur, et sub signis exoletos trahis?" *Declamationes Maiores* 3.12). Boswell's contention that *exoleti* are male prostitutes who play the active role exclusively for clients of both sexes cannot be supported.[135] The term simply does not admit of such precision. Only two things are constant: they are always slaves,

[133] "He looked pompous and feigned moderation, pretending to love learning, ever submitting and in every way prostrating himself to [= lying beneath] those who consorted with him for this purpose. Leaving his father's house, and renting for himself a paltry hole-in-the-wall [= a tight crack], he made that his home base, forever quoting Homer, welcoming and befriending everyone who served his desires" ("σεμνότητα ἔδρακε καὶ σωφροσύνην ὑπεκρίνατο, παιδείας προσποιούμενος ἐρᾶν καὶ τοῖς εἰς ταύτην αὐ τῷ χρωμένοις πάντα ὑποκύπτων καὶ ὑποκατακλινόμενος ἀεί. καταλιπὼν γὰρ τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, ὀλίγον ἑαυτῷ μισθωσάμενος στενωπεῖον, εἶχεν ἐνταῦθα τὸ οἴκημα, ὁμηρίζων μὲν τὰ πολλά, πάντας δὲ τοὺς χρησίμους πρὸς ἅπερ ἤθελε προσηταιρίζετο δεχόμενος"; 8.9.2–3).

[134] Cic. *Cat.* 2.24, *Dom.* 49, *Phil.* 2.44, and *Sest.* 39.6; Curtius Rufus *History of Alexander* 6.7.33, 6.10.16, 10.1.26–42; Livy 39.42.8–12; Petron. 9.7, 119.1.25; Plaut. *Capt.* 72–73; Pseudo-Quintilian *Declamationes Maiores* 3.3, 3.12.

[135] Boswell (n. 2 above), p. 79. Perhaps he has in mind the rich man's wine server described by Seneca who, "dressed like a woman, fights advancing age" ("in muliebrem modum ornatus cum aetate luctatur"), and "plays the man in the bedchamber, but the boy in the dining room" ("in cubiculo vir, in convivio puer est"; *Ep.* 47.7). While his sexual task is apparently to take the active role, he can hardly be termed a prostitute.

and they are always past their teenage years. In the five centuries after Plautus presented the first known usages of the word, *exoletus* is employed to refer to smooth, downy-cheeked young men (Sen. *Ep.* 95.24) and coarse, hairy men (Suet. *Galba* 22.1);[136] sexually functional men who enjoy ancillary relations with women (Mart. 12.91; Suet. *Calig.* 24.3) and eunuchs (Sen. *Controv.* 10.4.17; Sen. *Dial.* 1.3.13). Sometimes they are working prostitutes (Cic. *Mil.* 55.8; *S.H.A. Heliogab.* 27.7, 31.6), occasionally they are nondescript pathic lovers, as in the passage from Curtius Rufus; but more often they are simply presented as the sexual minions of wealthy and powerful men, often alongside young boys or eunuchs.[137] This latter understanding of the term is of greatest interest here.

Exoletus with its specialized meaning of "overage male sex-partner" seems to have originated as a modifier of *scortum*. The word appears only three times in Plautus, always as an adjective; once in a Plautine fragment it modifies *virgo* (virgin),[138] and twice *scortum* (*Curc.* 473; *Poenulus* 17). Both of the latter citations are in "Roman" passages that Plautus either radically adapted from his Greek model or invented wholesale. Lilja and others have suggested that these citations refer to males.[139] Two things support such a conclusion. First, the *scorta exoleta* mentioned in *Curculio* come in the midst of a long list of Roman types, all of them either male or of unspecified gender—including prostitutes of free status (482), who significantly are *homines* (people), not specifically women. Second, the later meaning of *exoletus* as an exclusively male prostitute or concubine suggests that Plautus is using the adjective to distinguish the sex of these types from all of his other *scorta*, who are almost always female.[140]

This is not to say that age plays no role in Plautus's use of the adjective *exoletus;* it obviously does with reference to the virgin, and it apparently designates diminishing desirability in *Curculio* 473, since the clientele

[136] Seneca is probably describing a eunuch, since an *exoletus* with normal hormonal levels, like the one in Suetonius, would have body and facial hair.

[137] Ampelius 11.4; Mart. 3.82.8, 12.91.2; *S.H.A. Comm.* 5.4; Sen. *Controv.* 10.4.17, *excerpta* 10.4.1, *Dial.* 10.12.5, and *Ep.* 12.8, 66.53, 95.24, 114.25; Suet. *Calig.* 24.3, *Galba* 22.1, *Iul.* 49.2, *Tib.* 43.1, and *Tit.* 7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 15.37.

[138] Heinrich Keil, ed., *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig, 1855–80), 2: 489.

[139] Lilja (n. 2 above), p. 30; Williams (n. 2 above), p. 36.

[140] The exception is Ergasilus in *Captivi,* whose nickname is "Scortum" because "at banquets my lover / is liable to invoke a *scortum,* a *scortum* I say, when he rolls the dice" ("scortum in convivio / sibi amator, talos quom iacit, scortum invocat"; 72–73). Most commentaries assume that the invoked prostitute is a mistress. A simpler explanation is that the winner of the dice game gets to have the prostitute of his choice. This would make sense of a passage in Petronius, where Ascyltos is described as a male prostitute "whose youth is available at the throw of a die" ("cuius anni ad tesseram venierunt"; 81.4).

of these prostitutes are men "who are accustomed to haggling" ("qui stipulari solent"). After all, *exoletus,* so often translated "fully grown" or the like, is the passive participle of the verb *exolesco,* which can mean "to decay" or "to decline." While it may refer to a man in his physical prime, it emphasizes his sexual obsolescence as a passive partner: he is beyond his teenage years, "has passed the terminus . . . of development" ("excessit . . . crescendi modum"; Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 5.13), and is no longer suitable for that role. That *exoleti* generally are perceived to be pathics has been amply demonstrated by Williams.[141]

We may conclude tentatively that in the minds of Plautus and most of his contemporaries an adult male prostitute is undesirable. The assumption underlying such an attitude is that appropriate male prostitutes are youthful, passive sexual partners—an assumption shared by many cultures, ancient and modern. In Plautus, such youths are simply called *pueri* or *pueri cauponii* ("tavern-boys," *Poenulus* 1298) and are often preferred over women or girls. The slave-girl Astaphium in *Truculentus* says on behalf of female slaves in general, "This field of ours isn't for plowing, it's for pasture. If you must have plow-land, you'd best approach the *pueri,* who are used to being plowed. We have public property, but they are the publicans."[142] We do not know the arrangements under which *pueri* were employed; there were probably many. In this passage the term *publicani,* "tax-farmers," suggests that the boys keep a portion of the asking price as a "collection fee" while their pimps or owners take the rest. The term for plowland, *aratio,* can refer to land farmed out for a tenth of the yield. Female slave prostitutes, on the other hand, are denied a share in their income, perhaps because they are less profitable; Astaphium characterizes them as public pasturage, inferior farmland that brings in less income. Lyco, the banker in *Curculio,* fancies buying a *puer* "who would be desirable enough to pay me a dividend" ("qui usurarius / nunc mihi quaeratur"; 382–83). Krenkel interprets this to mean that boys are leased out to one lover at a time.[143] He may well be right; we see no sign of them among the *scorta exoleta* and self-employed prostitutes in Plautus's catalogs of Rome's lowlifes.

This could explain why so many *pueri* in Latin sources, when they become *exoleti,* are found to be established figures in the retinues of wealthy men; their original masters may have sold them to clients who had lived with these slaves as boys, enabling the slaves to retire from

[141] Williams, pp. 130–42. Compare Boswell, p. 79 and n. 87.

[142] "Non arvos hic, sed pascuost ager: si arationes / habituru's, qui arari solent, ad pueros ire meliust. / hunc nos habemus publicum, illi alii sunt publicani" (Plaut. *Truculentus* 149–51).

[143] Krenkel (n. 55 above), p. 184.

prostitution into permanent or semipermanent concubinage. Or some may simply have earned a fixed stipend for their favors, a portion of which went into their *peculia* (slaves' private property) and a portion to their masters. One scholar's characterization of *exoleti* as "mercenary catamites," then, would be at least partly justified. Fourth-century-B.C.E. Athens had a similar class of slaves (ἀνδράποδα μισθοφοροῦντα) who lived apart from their masters and sent a portion of their wages to them.[144]

Not unexpectedly, *exoleti* could also be of freed status. Plautus's mention of *pueri exoleti* "who themselves sell themselves" ("qui ipsi sese venditant"; *Curc.* 482) implies that these one-time slaves are now going it alone as freelancers. Cicero even suggests that some freeborn men to their lasting shame chose the same career. After assuming the *toga virilis,* Cicero claims, Mark Antony was a prostitute until Curio extracted him "from that meretricious business" ("a meretricio quaestu") and established him "in steadfast matrimony" ("in matrimonio stabili"—that is, concubinage) with himself. The rules had changed, yet Antony continued to be paid for his services: "At the urging of lust and by need for compensation" ("hortante libidine, cogente mercede") he made nighttime visits to Curio in spite of the vehement disapproval of the latter's father (Cic. *Phil.* 2.44–45). The importance of Cicero's claims lies not in their historicity (the accusations are preposterous), but in the dichotomy they draw between prostitution and sexual patronage, as if one choice were forthright in its immorality, the other dark and insidious. Susan Treggiari has found a similar conceptual compartmentalization of Roman women's sexual roles.[145]

Why is Latin literature so rife with references to "overage" male partners, if not to reflect grudgingly that many men preferred enduring relations with other adult men? The patrons of *exoleti* clearly were not motivated by pedophilia, the dominant aesthetic of Roman literature, otherwise they would jettison their loves for younger blood. While one cannot suggest that the relation between a free man and his *exoletus* was equal, the sheer numbers of this type of relationship suggest the widespread existence of longtime reciprocal relationships between men who were bound to each other not by social structures, bodily lust, or financial contract but by enduring affection. Like Manlius Torquatus in Catullus 61, most young free men could readily leave their young men

[144] Bailey (n. 88 above), p. 66; Christopher Carey, "A Note on Torture in Athenian Homicide Cases," *Historia* 37 (1988): 241–45. See also Xen. *Ath.* 1.11; Aeschin. *In Tim.* 1.97; Theophr. *Char.* 30.15.

[145] Susan Treggiari, "Concubinae," *Papers of the British School at Rome,* n.s. 36 (1981): 59–81.

behind when they entered married life or when their companions grew up, but others, at great expense to their reputations, could not.

In the third century of our era, so many were the *exoleti* in Rome that they seem to have been publicly acknowledged as a class of prostitutes alongside female *meretrices* and were taxed for the privilege (*S.H.A. Alex. Sev.* 24.3–4). The emperor considered revoking their legal status but declined to do so "lest by prohibiting a public [i.e., officially recognized] disgrace he should convert it into private debauchery" ("ne prohibens publicum dedecus in privatas cupiditates converteret"). Any real difference between "public" and "private" relationships was probably illusory.

The term *exoletus* is as charged with disapprobation as *cinaedus*. Despite their apparent legality, relationships with adult catamites are cast in a sallow light by Roman authors; one's possession or lease of an *exoletus* inevitably casts suspicion on the strict partition of sexual roles in the relationship. This suspicion probably lurks behind Cicero's condemnation of the "steadfast matrimony" of Antony and Curio, which could exist so easily under the guise of friendship or patronage.

To maintain a measure of propriety, some men had to establish the arrangement in a socially acceptable but rather artificial guise, such as ownership or patronage (a tricky proposition, as patronage was supposed to be chaste). Ancient relationships between coevals are "expressions of an attachment that existed outside the erastes/eromenos [lover/beloved] relationship—an attachment largely if not totally of a sexual kind that found it convenient to seek sexual release in homosexual ways and with a degree of mutuality denied to the more formal affair."[146]

There does seem to have been some advantage to drawing a formal distinction between prostitution and patronage,[147] even if the distinction was artificial—probably because a legally recognized male prostitute was required to pay a prostitution tax, and patronage was more respectable anyway. Naevolus, the aging bedmate of the wealthy Virro in Juvenal's ninth satire, apparently was picked up in a bath; Virro solicited him when he saw him naked, and slavered over "the unimagined immensity of that giant prick" ("longi mensura incognita nervi"; Juv. 9.34; cf. 9.33–37). Although we are not told how Virro views the relationship, he does give Naevolus money; yet Naevolus goes so far as to call himself a client (9.59, 72) and enumerates the services he has rendered his "patron," all of which are sexual in nature. From Naevolus's perspective at least,

[146] Richardson (n. 4 above), p. 113.

[147] "Circe"'s maid in Petronius 126 offers Encolpius his choice of two agreements: "So if you sell us what I'm after, there is a buyer at hand, but if you do the more generous thing and oblige her for free, I will owe you a favor [*beneficium*]."

everything about this relationship bespeaks patronage: the relationship is long-standing; the client volunteers sexual services to the master's neglected wife in the (vain) hope that they will be rewarded (9.70–90); there are no fees for services;[148] the nature of the patron's gifts is unpredictable (9.27–31); to ask for adequate remuneration is considered impolite (9.63); the client expects long-term benefits and a comfortable retirement for his services (9.54–62, 139–46); and there is a whiff of legacy hunting (9.60–62).[149]

The theme of sexual services as a fundamental part of some patron-client relationships appears also in Martial.[150] Not surprisingly, the behavior is linked to greed, as it is in Juvenal as well,[151] and it is associated with the bathhouses of Rome: "Syriscus pulled in the full ten million showered on him by his patron recently, Maximus, just by hanging about on cantina barstools down around the four bathhouses. Oh, what a gorge to gobble down ten million! Yet how much greater a feat not even to recline [*accubare*] with him!" (5.70).[152]

The patron-client relationship—more specifically, legacy hunting—is front and center here, but the service that prompted such an enormous legacy is left to the reader's imagination. The most common meaning of *accubare* is "to recline at a meal," but the additional sense "to lie against" simmers behind Martial's feigned naïveté. What renders this whole relationship suspicious is the fact that Syriscus (not a freeborn man, judging by his name) is able to circumvent the usual client's duties such as dining with his patron. "How, then, did the fellow manage it? *You* figure it out," Martial snickers. "*I* certainly can't." By dismissing the more decorous mode of reclining, Martial nudges the reader to consider the other option: that is, just the kind of activity that gets a start "down around the

[148] The careful computations described in lines 38–42 are done purely at Virro's pleasure; the situation is not a strict fee-for-service arrangement. That Naevolus is not asking a price, that he is receiving nothing but an honorarium or a fixed wage, is implicit in line 38: "But what's more brutish than a tightwad fairy?" ("Quod tamen ulterius monstrum quam mollis avarus?") Naevolus's unenviable situation probably reflects his advancing age and consequent decline in marketability.

[149] On the various aspects of Roman patronage, see Richard P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge, 1982).

[150] Mart. 1.23, 6.50, and 9.63 may possibly involve sexual patronage, although the status of the relationships is not clear.

[151] For example, see Juv. 1.40–41: "Proculeius gets a mere twelfth, while Gillo gets eleven, each an heir according to the size of his cock" ("unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem, / partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres"). In this case the amorous patron is a woman.

[152] "Infusum sibi nuper a patrono / plenum, Maxime, centiens Syriscus / in sellariolis vagus popinis / circa balnea quattuor peregit. / o quanta est gula, centiens comesse! / quanto maior adhuc, nec accubare!"

four bathhouses." Syriscus too appears to be just the sort of "cymbal-crashing friend" ("cymbala pulsans . . . amicus"; Juv. 9.62, i.e., a Gallus)[153] who Juvenal's Naevolus so fears will steal his patron's heart—and Naevolus's legacy.

What can we say about the men who are the objects of bathhouse cruising? Clearly physical appeal was important, but can we believe Juvenal when he says that Naevolus was picked up primarily because of the size of his genitals? Naevolus's case is not an isolated one. In fact, the phenomenon of cruising men for their size constitutes a veritable literary convention; in Petronius 92, Martial 9.33 and 11.63, Juvenal 6.374–76 and 11.156–58, and Straton of Sardis (*Anth. Pal.* 12.207), young men who are particularly well endowed find themselves the object of wonder and admiration in the baths. In Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* Philebus's band of Galli brings home from the local bathhouse a rustic *iuvenis* (the term for a man roughly between the ages of twenty and forty-five) "well equipped with busy flanks and low-hanging loins" ("industria laterum atque imis ventris bene praeparatum"; 8.29) and offers him dinner as a prelude (and probable payment) for debauchery.

Naturally, not all the situations cited are alike. Petronius's Ascyltos falls into his misadventure by accident. The prodigy of Juvenal's sixth satire is an adult eunuch recently parted from his "two-pound weights" (*bilibres,* 6.372), prized for his ephemeral capacity to perform active intercourse without the danger of impregnating his mistress. Naevolus's behavior, and perhaps his orientation as well, is bisexual; we have no such information about other bathhouse favorites. But the similarities in these passages are equally striking. The universal admiration of genital size suggests that these men are selected at the baths for their perceived excellence in performing the active role in homosexual intercourse. At least three of them—Ascyltos, Naevolus, and the generic *puer* of Juvenal 11—the latter two because they habitually shave their bodies after the fashion of pathics—can be expected to be well versed in the passive role as well.[154] Moreover, most of these men are manifestly past their teenage years and are consequently at or beyond the terminus of desirability ad-

[153] "[Cymbals] like *tympana* belonged to the cult of Cybele with its eunuch priests" (Edward Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* [London, 1980], p. 434). The Galli in Apul. *Met.* 8 and 9 are also equipped with them.

[154] A passage in Petronius 9 makes Ascyltos's experience clear: "When I heard this I shook my fist in Ascyltos' face. 'What have you to say?' I cried, 'You! Worked on like a woman—a whore, whose very breath is unclean?' Ascyltos first pretended to be shocked, and then made a braver show of fight, and roared out much more loudly: 'Hold your tongue, you filthy prizefighter. . . . I was the same kind of brother to you in the garden, as this boy is now in the lodgings'" (Michael Hezeltine and E. H. Warmington, trans., *Petronius,* Loeb Classical Library [1969], pp. 15–17). For Naevolus, see Juv. 9.12–15.

vanced so inexorably in Greek and Roman amorous literature.[155] We must withhold judgment on the age of the generic *pueri* of Juvenal 11 and Martial 11.63. They may be either adolescents or fully grown slaves.

Even allowing for the obvious hyperbole of the satiric literature cited above, how could the solicitation of well-endowed, fully grown males take place openly in public or quasi-public spaces—especially given the inevitable suspicion that the solicitor sought to assume a passive role? We might well dismiss the entire phenomenon as a mere convention of satiric literature, and yet the same image seems to have struck a chord in readers of other genres. Of Hostius Quadra, Seneca says disapprovingly, "Indeed in every bathhouse he engaged in recruitment and selected grown men [*viri*] of obvious size" ("in omnibus quidem balneis agebat ille dilectum et aperta mensura legebat viros"; *QNat.* 1.16.3). Hostius enjoyed every conceivable act, both active and passive, with these men and with women (1.16.3–9). Dio Cassius reports that a certain Aurelius Zoticus, "greatly surpassing everyone in the size of his private parts" ("πολὺ δὲ δὴ πάντας τῷ τῶν αἰδοίων μεγέθει ὑπεραίπων"; 80.2), became a favorite of the emperor Elagabalus when he came before him in the bath (80.4–5). The theme also appears in the biography of Elagabalus in the *Historia Augusta,* which reports how the debauched emperor constructed a public bath in the palace and opened up another bath to the public "that by this he would have a broad choice of well-endowed men. And assurance was diligently made that the whole city and the docks were thoroughly scoured for *onobeli* [men "hung like donkeys"]. This is what they called those who seemed particularly virile."[156] The fact that this episode appears just after Elagabalus's connection with the Galli is an interesting, perhaps even suspicious, parallel to the scene in Lucian's *Asinus* and Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* where the priests enlist Lucius the ass as their sex-slave (*Met.* 8.26). Of course none of these accounts has any genuine claim to authenticity. Their importance lies in the consis-

[155] See Williams (n. 2 above), pp. 120–31; Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus;* → Herbert Moller, "The Accelerated Development of Youth: Beard Growth as a Biological Marker," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (1987): 748–62. Boswell (n. 2 above), pp. 74–75, tries to argue *ex silentio* that this formal terminus broke down in the early Empire. Martial is more savage to adult pathics than Boswell acknowledges, and Juvenal's Virro is quite forcefully condemned by Naevolus. Virro also appears in a negative light in Juv. 5. The term *iuvenis,* used of Ascyltos in Petronius and the young rustic in Apuleius, generally refers to a man who is between the age of the onset of beard growth and forty-five. Moller argues that young men from antiquity through the Renaissance acquired beards at a considerably later age than modern Western males—generally between age twenty and twenty-two.

[156] "Ut ex eo condiciones bene vastorum hominum colligeret. idque diligenter curatum est, ut ex tota penitus urbe atque ex nauticis onobeli quaererentur. sic eos apellabant qui viriliores videbantur" (*S.H.A. Heliogab.* 8.7).

tency of the reported behavioral pattern in the context of the bathhouse, a pattern that is well enough formulated to suggest a grounding in reality.

As a sort of corrective to this phenomenon of openly pathic behavior, many of the same literary sources harp on a tendency to keep such preferences and activities secret. This clash of overt and covert activity, of self-expression and social repression, reflects the complexities of real life—that some men pursued their passions openly, while others tried to do so in secret. Naevolus's speech in Juvenal 9.93–123 deals with the necessity of keeping quiet—and the inevitability of rumor. We have also seen the theme of silence in Petronius 21. Many of Martial's sexual epigrams are funny precisely because of the notion that effeminates and pathics hide their behavior under the guise of social decorum. Apuleius's effeminate priests—who are castrated, so it is supposed, to preserve chastity—suffer great shame and derision when they are caught *in flagrante delicto* (8.29–30).

Respectable men of the aristocracy apparently went to some lengths to avoid the stigma of disrepute in the baths (Cic. *Off.* 1.129), so a convenient front for them was the patronage system. The men who practiced pathic behavior more openly may have frequented bathhouses that were notorious for such activity.[157] The very presence of this notoriety, and the frequency with which Roman authors express their displeasure at dandification and bathhouse cruising, indicates that a significant number of men, both within Rome and without, engaged in this behavior.[158]

A particularly mysterious bathhouse character is the *draucus,* often described by scholars as an athlete but also as a popular sex partner for men. The word *draucus* appears for certain only five times in all of extant canonical Latin literature, and only in Martial.[159] It is not likely that so rare a word had more than one meaning. In English translations, the words "athlete," "sodomite," "pansy-boy," "eunuch," and "stud" have all been used. But it seems clear that *drauci* are a well-defined type call-

[157] See Mart. 3.20.15–16: "Does he bathe in the thermae of Titus or Agrippa, or in the bath of shameless Tigillinus?" ("Titine thermis an lavatur Agrippae / an inpudici balneo Tigillini?"). When a man is *inpudicus,* it usually means that he engages in passive sex acts (Williams, pp. 206–80). See also Mart. 7.34.9–10: "I prefer Nero's thermae to the baths of a pathic" ("Neronianas / thermas praefero balneis cinaedi"). In both cases, the large public baths are considered "safer" than the private ones.

[158] Gleason (n. 12 above) suggests that open effeminacy was designed "to translate the ideal of beardless ephebic beauty, via depilation and ingratiating mannerisms, into adult life." But this ideal could not be handled in literature "unless it first be sterilized by the brine of invective" (pp. 405–6).

[159] A. E. Housman correctly emends with *dracti* in Mart. 11.8.1 ("*Draucus* and Martial 11.8.1," *Classical Review* 44 [1930]: 114–16).

ing for no explanation from Martial.[160] One memorable characteristic of ***drauci*** is infibulation, the practice of pinning the foreskin with a metal fibula to discourage erections. The Romans thought that excessive penile stimulation would hasten maturity in teenage boys (Mart. 11.22; Celsus 7.25.3) and that general overindulgence in sex was unhealthy and enervating, but the practice of infibulation aimed principally at preventing the putative degradation of the voice in male singers and actors.[161] But it is as sexual playthings that the ***drauci*** are victimized by Martial's poison pen. It is surprising, then, that A. E. Housman classes them primarily as athletes and only incidentally as sex partners to men:

> *Draucus* is as innocent a word as *comoedus* [comic actor] and simply means one who performs feats of strength in public. In two passages no other interpretation is possible . . . [Martial 7.67.4–6; 14.48]. But partly because of the common though false opinion that muscular strength and sexual vigour go together, and partly because these men, being *infibulati* [i.e., having the foreskin pinned with a metal fibula] to prevent them from impairing their stamina, might be expected, when *refibulati* [unpinned—see 9.27.12], to exhibit ardour, they were also in request for another purpose and could now and then earn pocket-money in their spare time. This, nothing more, is signified by Martial 1.96.12; 9.27.19; 11.72.1.[162]

Three of Martial's ***drauci*** obviously possess the very same characteristics that set apart the bath favorites discussed above. In 11.72, the unidentified Natta has a ***draucus*** to himself: "Natta calls it his ***draucus***'s 'little weenie'; compared with him, Priapus is a Gallus" ("Drauci Natta sui vocat pipinnam, / conlatus cui Gallus est Priapus"). Another epigram introduces us to ***drauci*** in the context of the baths. Maternus acts and

[160] *Draucus* appears as a masculine proper name (Howell [n. 66 above], p. 308). An inscription from a brothel in Pompeii reads, "ARPHOCAS HIC CUM DRAUCA BENE FUTUIT DENARIO" ("Here Arphocas had a good fuck with [a?] *DRAUCA* for a denarius"; CIL IV 2193). Either this is the feminine form of the name *Draucus* or it is an actual word referring to some kind of female prostitute. Or perhaps it is both; it was a common practice for prostitutes to take or acquire suggestive names. See John K. Evans, *War, Women and Children in Ancient Rome* (New York, 1991), p. 138; H. Herter, "Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schrifttums," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 3 (1960): 70–111, at p. 77. The suggestion that ***draucus*** was a proper name before it became a descriptive noun is appealing. This would place it in the same etymological category as the English "john."

[161] Balsdon (n. 97 above), p. 229, assumes that infibulation involves only adolescent males; but the evidence is unclear about this point. For more detailed treatments, see E. J. Dingwell, *Male Infibulation* (London, 1925); *PW*, s.v. *infibulatio*.

[162] Housman, pp. 114–16.

dresses the part of a good Roman stoic, condemning the bright colors that effeminates wear. But beneath this facade, "his habits are bright green": "How comes it I suspect he's a fag? he'll ask. Well, we bathe together, and he never looks up, but checks out the *drauci* with devouring eyes, and with unresting lips he ogles their dicks. Who is he? you ask. I've dropped his name" (Mart. 1.96.9–14).[163]

What is it that Maternus wants, with his "devouring eyes" and "unresting lips"? The implication is that he longs to practice fellatio. This is made thoroughly clear in the case of Chrestus, a closet effeminate who disguises his "depilated balls" (*depilatos coleos*) and "cock like a vulture's neck" ("vulturino mentulam parem collo") under his philosopher's robes: "But if some *draucus* wanders in while you blather, now free of his overseer, whose tumescent prick has been unpinned by the smith—with a nod you call him and lead him away; and, Chrestus, I'm ashamed to say what you do with that Cato's tongue" (Mart. 9.27.10–14).[164]

Housman misses a fundamental point in his interpretation of this passage. This *draucus* has just been granted a lasting freedom, perhaps even manumission. Whether or not all *drauci* wear fibulae at some time, it is clear that this one has relinquished his for good. If, as Housman suggests, he could simply unpin himself whenever it was convenient, the fibula would be useless as a deterrent to lascivious acts. On the contrary, the task of removing the device is apparently tricky: it requires the services of a skilled craftsman, presumably the same sort who installs fibulae, and is quite expensive.[165] As further evidence of manumission, the *draucus* has left his *paedagogus*—not the sort of personal chaperon that freeborn boys had, but a foreman for troupes of slaves, especially—if we trust Martial—of the wanton, long-haired sort (perhaps actors).[166] In short, he is free to take an active sexual role, one that the "philosophers" are ever so glad to exploit.

Perhaps Housman too readily dismisses the possibility of sexual con-

[163] "Rogabit unde suspicer virum mollem. / una lavamur: aspicit nihil sursum, / sed spectat oculis devorantibus draucos / nec otiosis mentulas videt labris. / quaeris quis hic sit? excidit mihi nomen."

[164] "Occurrit aliquis inter ista si draucus, / iam paedagogo liberatus et cuius / refibulavit turgidum faber penem, / nutu vocatum ducis, et pudet fari / Catoniana, Chreste, quod facis lingua."

[165] Juvenal 6.73: "The comedian's fibula is loosed by them at great price" ("Solvitur his magno comoedi fibula"). Martial 14.215: "Tell me straight, Fibula, what do you guarantee to comedians and minstrels? 'That they'll fuck at a greater cost.'" ("Dic mihi simpliciter, comoedis et citharoedis, / fibula, quid praestas? 'Carius ut futuant.'")

[166] His exact function is uncertain, but he may be an urban equivalent of the *vilicus* (Mart. 3.58). We learn from this same poem that household slaves have access to wrestling masters (25). Linus, the addressee of 12.49, is a *paedagogus* of wanton boys and the wealthy favorite of his patroness.

tent in the other two instances of the word ***draucus*** as well; like several of Martial's epigrams on sporting themes, the poems in which these usages occur would appear to carry an undercurrent of innuendo. Poem 7.67 describes a woman of prodigious masculinity who not only penetrates boys and girls alike, but "with an easy arm twirls the dumbbells which to the ***drauci*** seem heavy" ("gravesque draucis / halteras facili rotat lacerto"; 5–6). Dumbbells possibly appear as a metaphor for male genitals in 14.49, where the poet asks, "Why do strong arms flag on the stupid dumbbell? Men are better employed on the ditch among the vines" ("Quid perunt stulto fortes haltere lacerti? / exercet melius vinea fossa viros"). The preceding epigram reads, "In the dust of Antaeus the swift ***draucus,*** who makes his neck huge with empty labor, snatches at these [scrimmage-balls]" ("Haec rapit Antaei velox in pulvere draucus, / grandia qui vano colla labore facit"; 14.48). Could "neck" imply "penis," as in the avian simile for Chrestus's member cited above, and the "empty labor" suggest masturbation, as in 14.49? If read on both levels at once the epigram reflects the image of a man who works on improving his physique in high hopes of a sexual encounter, but who is reduced to self-stimulation and aggressive sexual advances born of desperation.

What emerges from our examination is that the ***draucus*** is first and foremost associated with sexual services. There is simply not enough evidence that he is *ipso facto* "one who performs feats of strength in public." If we are to associate ***drauci*** with athletic behavior, it is only by virtue of their connection with bathhouses and their exercise grounds. As we know from Martial 12.82 and Juvenal 6.419–21, the athletic paraphernalia and activities described in the two athletic-***draucus*** passages are standard features of Roman baths and are available to all bathers for their recreation. That ***drauci*** exercise with this equipment says less about their inherent athleticism than about their frequent presence at the baths. Their primary reason for spending much time there is suggested by the combined information of the other three ***draucus*** passages. They appear to be freedmen or privileged slaves who have been released from former duties—perhaps as members of singing, mime, or acting troupes (nota bene the fibula) under the supervision of ***paedagogi***. Having relinquished the financial security of their former life, they develop and flaunt their physical charms in order to secure patronage relationships with free citizens through homosexual contact. Hence the ***draucus*** of Martial 11.72 is Natta's "own" (***suus***) in the sense that he is a kept favorite, rather like a younger version of Virro's Naevolus. Baths are the obvious place to carry out this scheme, because they are one of the few places where Roman men can be seen naked by other men without the immediate stigma of prostitution.

While the texts are generally silent about the sexual preferences of the

men solicited in baths (Ascyltos excepted), there is little question that their "hosts" are either homosexual or bisexual in inclination. The evidence from other cultures featuring similar behavior, such as the central Philippines, where heterosexual teenage "callboys" often sell sex—active or passive—to homosexually inclined men,[167] suggests that the younger partners are not exhibiting any sexual preference by this activity, but are simply employing themselves in a tenuous but traditional fashion before they move on to the stage of "responsible" married adulthood.

Patronage goes hand in hand with homosexuality in cultures around the world: in the modern West, where homosexual activity is generally condemned, young men seek older, more established partners for protection; for example, the evidence of the 1730 trials in Amsterdam in reaction to the emerging subculture "suggests that some sodomites who were good-looking but not very well-to-do sought the protection of rich, sometimes elderly men."[168] In more tolerant cultures, a boy's sexual apprenticeship with an older man is often an accepted or even required mode of entry into adulthood. But in the Roman world, as we have seen, some sexual protégés do not exclusively or even primarily play the passive role. Thus Cicero can claim that Catiline "loved some [of his followers] in the vilest way, and serviced the love of others in a shocking fashion."[169] Likewise, his favorites learned "to love and be loved" (*Cat.* 2.23)—a not-so-oblique allegation of reciprocal sex between the man and his beholden boyfriends.

CONCLUSION

Reciprocal homosexual behavior among males was a common feature of the fully developed Roman subculture. But it may have taken until the time of Petronius or Martial for this simple reality to make its way into the public consciousness and, thereby, into the common vocabulary. It is impossible to know for certain when these semantic changes took place, especially with respect to vulgar terms such as *pedico,* which come down

[167] "It is the heterosexual male willing to enter into a relationship with a *bayot* [pathic male] who is likely to capture the *bayot*'s heart, either for a few months or for a fleeting sexual relationship. Sexual relations between the callboy and the *bayot* are not characterized by the rigid activo-pasivo relations which tend to be found between homosexual and heterosexual in Latin America. While *bayot* report that callboys prefer the active role, they do not rigidly insist upon it, and the nature of the sexual contact largely depends upon the financial arrangement worked out by the partners" (Whitam and Mathy [n. 24 above], p. 150).

[168] Van der Meer (n. 64 above), p. 288.

[169] "Qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amori flagitiosissime serviebat" (*Cat.* 2.8). See Williams (n. 2 above), pp. 269–70.

to us in uneven chronological clusters in the works of a very few authors, or on a few surviving walls in Pompeii dating to the Julio-Claudian or Flavian periods. Still, the record is sufficiently intact to show that awareness of nonpederastic homosexual behaviors did develop during the early Empire, even if tolerance did not.

The two subcultures we have examined have a fundamental difference. The cult of the Galli, like that of the *hijras,* was a haven for a fairly small class of men who had strong transgender, even gynemimetic, tendencies. Some had sexual drives, others were asexual, but all belonged to a type of subculture that in modern times is sometimes called the Berdache Society.[170] These males had no inclination, and no means, to perform the active role in sexual intercourse. The urban subculture of Rome embraced a greater variety of tastes and persuasions, all of which prefigured vigorous or latent sexuality. Surprisingly, the phenomenon of sexual patronage, so well documented in Roman literature, has held little interest for scholars of the Roman patronage system. Alan Booth's article has started down this path of inquiry, but others have neglected it altogether.[171]

In literature, both the Galli and the urban subculture are tarred with the same brush. Barring anatomical distinctions, a *cinaedus* in Martial's lexicon is no different from a Gallus. As Gleason says, "The ancient *cinaedus* was defined not in terms of the gender of his sex partners, but by his own gender deviance, his departure from norms of 'correct' masculine deportment."[172] This simply describes how some men perceived other men. It does not even explain how effeminate or homosexually inclined men perceived themselves, much less explain their behavior. Yet behavior—in the context of the cult, the Senate, the home, the bathhouse, and the brothel—may often be gleaned from the literary sources. Never do these sources imply that sexuality was somehow contextually absent. Men were constrained by their identities and orientations then as now.

[170] Anne Bolin, "Transcending and Transgendering: Male-to-Female Transsexuals, Dichotomy and Diversity," in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History,* ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York, 1994), pp. 447–85.

[171] Booth (n. 29 above).

[172] Gleason (n. 12 above), p. 411.



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The Warren Cup and the Contexts for Representations of Male-to-Male Lovemaking in Augustan and Early Julio-Claudian Art

John R. Clarke

Despite growing scholarly interest in texts that shed light on the cultural construction of male-to-male sexual activity in ancient Rome, there is very little written about the visual representations of males making love to each other. Although it is true that the evidence in art is scarce and difficult to study for lack of adequate reproductions, art historians and classicists have shied away from serious, methodologically sophisticated analysis. For the most part, they have limited their comments to brief, businesslike descriptions of the objects and their sexual imagery. Because images like this have, until recently, belonged to the dark underside of ancient art history, research into the proper contexts for visual images of lovemaking from the ancient world is still at its beginning stages. Although philologists have made important advances in their research on sexual constructs in literature, law, and society, historians of Roman art have neglected the images of sexual activity that form such a large part of the visual record. Nowhere does one find satisfactory discussion of the broad contexts surrounding images of male-to-male lovemaking that would connect them with their social and cultural setting, the circumstances of their production, and the persons who would have paid for them and enjoyed looking at them.

The Warren Cup provides a unique opportunity to explore such questions of context because of its high quality and relatively secure date. It is of ovoid shape, made of silver, and measures about fifteen centimeters in height, including the foot.[1] Two scenes of two male couples making love constitute its principal relief decoration. The viewer can best understand the setting where the lovemaking takes place by examining the areas of the relief between the two scenes; here the artist has suggested interiors by constructing a background of cloth, furniture, and a door. On one side, two panels of drapery hang over their ties and fall in symmetrical folds (Fig. 1). A double flute hangs from a strap over the drapery on the left, while a lyre rests on top of a tall box or shelf on the right. On the other side, the artist has constructed a more complex background: on the left is a double-batten door with a wide frame, whereas on the right, piled-up clothing rests on a box-like piece of furniture in front of the drapery (Fig. 2). Beneath both pairs of lovers the artist has depicted heavily cushioned and draped beds, without including their wooden framework (a feature present in the Arretine vessels and wall paintings discussed below). The side framed by the lyre on the left and the doorway to the right (which I will call "side A") pictures two males on a bed (Fig. 3). The young man on top is easing himself onto his partner's penis while holding onto a strap. He is clean-shaven (Fig. 4). Flowing drapery conceals the arm that holds the strap, parting in a gentle curve to reveal his right hip and buttocks but concealing his legs and feet, which disappear at an oblique angle into the picture plane (Fig. 7). The man beneath him has a close-cropped, curly beard and wears a laurel wreath tied with a fillet at the back of his head (Fig. 6). The drapery that coyly conceals and reveals areas of his lover's body covers almost none of his; it falls in a scallop above his right knee, partially masks the awkward juncture where his left knee crosses over his right, and flows over his right foot. The couple is not alone. To the right a boy opens one of the battens of the door—either to peer in or to glance back while quietly exiting (Fig. 5). He has tightly curled ringlets and wears a simple tunic. Both the boy and the door are quite small in relation to the couple on the bed, whether because of the limited space available or because the artist wished to suggest their distance from the couple or their secondary roles in the scene.

On side B, in contrast to the couple on side A, the two males are clearly of unequal age (Fig. 8). The long locks of hair of the male in front—as well as his smaller size—indicate that he is a boy (Fig. 9). His beardless lover, who wears a laurel filet in his short hair, supports himself on his right knee while parting the boy's thighs with his right hand. His left leg extends beyond the edge of the mattress, his toes touching the bottom of the framing drapery (Fig. 2). The artist has represented one of the man's testicles directly behind the boy's, indicating that he is entering him. Rather than gazing at his partner, the man looks to the viewer's left, his head slightly lowered. Two details of the drapery in this

I dedicate this article to the memory of Charles M. Edwards.

I wish to thank Ann Kuttner, Amy Richlin, and Brian Rose for their excellent criticisms and suggestions; the anonymous reader's advice was also extremely helpful. The owner of the Warren Cup was also most cooperative in furthering my research. I am grateful to Professor Baldassare Conticello, Soprintendente Archeologico di Pompei, for granting permission to study and photograph paintings *in situ*, and to Dr. Stefano De Caro, Soprintendente alle Antichità di Napoli e Caserta, for granting permission to study and photograph the silver vessels from the House of the Menander. Finally I wish to thank Michael Larvey for his encouragement and his fine photographic work.

[1] For the shapes of silver drinking cups of the period, see D.E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate*, London, 1966, 134, fig. 27. The Warren Cup corresponds most closely to the "deep ovoid" type "b." The foot and liner of the Warren Cup are ancient. The cup does not stand fully perpendicular on its foot because one of the foot's sides has telescoped into the metal of the cup. A small wedge used in the current display corrects the problem. I wish to thank Richard Stone of the Department of Conservation, Metropolitan Museum of Art, for allowing me to consult him and examine the Warren Cup in April of 1992.



1 Warren Cup. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous Loan (photo: Museum)

scene take notably phallic forms: the folds ending in a drapery weight hanging from the mattress beneath the boy's left side and the similarly weighted drapery end curving over the furniture at upper left.

The first modern owner of the cup was the American collector Edward Perry Warren (1860–1928),[2] who acquired it sometime in the early twentieth century.[3] In 1921, Vorberg privately published a volume of 113 plates of erotic images in the minor arts, giving pride of place to the Warren Cup, albeit in its uncleaned state.[4] Warren lent the cup to the Martin von Wagner-Museum in Wurzburg sometime in the twenties.[5] After Warren's death, the cup seems to have passed to Asa Thomas through inheritance, and thence to a dealer. In the late fifties; the Warren Cup was searching for a home. No museum bought it, presumably because its subject matter was considered too obscene for public display. Nevertheless, C. Vermeule, Curator of Ancient Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, included it in a brief article.[6] The collector who eventually purchased the Warren Cup lent it for some time to the Basel Art Museum. In 1992, the cup went on display as an anonymous loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[7]

[2] O. Burdett and E.H. Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur,* London, 1941; K. Herbert, *Ancient Art in Bowdoin College: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Warren and Other Collections,* Cambridge, Mass., 1964, 4–8; A.L. Rowse, *Homosexuals in History: A Study of Ambivalence in Society, Literature and the Arts,* New York, 1977, 309–313, where Rowse gives the wrong death date (1936); D. Sox, *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren and the Lewes House Brotherhood,* London, 1992.

[3] Opinion is divided on the findspot of the Warren Cup. Although Warren kept meticulous records regarding all ancient objects that he either owned or sold, so far the records regarding the cup have not surfaced. There are two published opinions. Vorberg, 457, gives Syria as the findspot (without further explanation) in the caption beneath an image of the Warren Cup. Strong (as in n. 1), 137: "A cup with scenes of homosexual love recently on the London Market is said to have been found in Palestine together with coins of Claudius"; and 137, n. 6: "R.V.Nicholls informed me about its provenance." One expert who prefers to remain anonymous has good grounds for a provenance from Pompeii. If and when Warren's own notes on the cup are found, more precise information about its place of origin may be available.

[4] G. Vorberg, *Die Erotike der Antike in Kleinkunst und Keramik,* Munich, 1921, pls. 1–3.

[5] Both photographs in the archives of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome locate the cup in the Martin von Wagner-Museum in Wurzburg. One shows the cup without cleaning, as it appears in Vorberg (as in n. 4), and is dated 1929 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 3145, 1929, Index fiche 1990); the other, dated 1931 and also labeled "Martin von Wagner-Museum," pictures the cup after cleaning (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, 247, 1931, Index fiche 1990). In the following year, Vorberg republished the three plates of the cup used in his 1921 book, stating (erroneously) that it was presently located in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Vorberg, pls. on 355, 456, and 457.

[6] Vermeule, 39, pl. 14, 2 and 4.

[7] Metropolitan Museum of Art, L.1991.95.



2 Warren Cup (photo: Museum)

Warren was a friend of Sir John Beazley, who so admired the cup that Warren had a replica made for him. In 1966, this facsimile came to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford as part of the Beazley Gift. C. Johns's book of 1982, *Sex or Symbol?,* reproduced a large color plate of side A of the Ashmolean facsimile,[8] and it figured prominently in an exhibition at the museum in 1985.[9] Although photographs of the Warren Cup (either of the original or the facsimile) have appeared several times since Vorberg's publication, no scholar has given it the attention it merits. Above all because it is a precious object that is unique in its class, the Warren Cup challenges the modern viewer to consider a broad range of artistic, cultural, and social issues.

To build a proper context for the Warren Cup, one must explore three types of evidence. The first is that provided by objects similar to it in form and date. These objects allow us to see the range of subject matter, style, and quality in ancient Roman figured vessels of the period. The second type of evidence is that of wall painting and mosaics in Roman Italy that represent lovemaking: since many are still in their original architectural settings, they already have a context that we can interpret by looking at the kinds of spaces they decorate, spaces where the ancient Romans used vessels like the Warren Cup. The third kind of information providing context is that of ancient texts and their modern interpretations, together elucidating sexual practices in Augustan Rome. From these three kinds of information, I hope to put this somewhat unusual object into focus, in an attempt to see it with Roman, rather than with modern, eyes.

Publication of ancient erotic images has been problematic. Although the general trend, especially since the late sixties, has favored increasing use of Roman erotic material in widely diffused publications, the modern texts by and large ignore both the context and content of the individual objects.[10] For popular books, authors have exploited two sources, the so-called pornographic objects in the Secret Cabinet of the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, and erotic paintings still on site—but rarely seen by visitors—at Pompeii.[11]

[8] C. Johns, *Sex or Symbol?,* Austin, 1982, color pl. 25 (side A) and fig. 84 (side B).

[9] M. Vickers, O. Impey, and J. Allen, *From Silver to Ceramic. The Potter's Debt to Metalwork in the Graeco-Roman, Oriental and Islamic Worlds,* Oxford, 1986, unpag. Vickers compares the replica of the Warren Cup to an Arretine ware bowl decorated with groups of lovers, formerly in the collection of J.D. Beazley.

[10] The best modern treatment is Brendel, 3–107.

[11] A far from complete sample would include G. Marini, *Il gabinetto segreto del Museo Nazionale di Napoli,* Turin, 1971; M. Grant, *Eros in Pompeii,* New York, 1975; D. Mountfield, *Greek and Roman Erotica,* New York, 1982.



3 Warren Cup, Side A (photo: Museum)

With few exceptions these picture books, aimed at a broad audience, contain little new information. The texts invariably follow a by now predictable pattern: authors stitch together ancient texts referring to sexual activity without commenting directly on any of the images. In this way, even "modern" and "liberated" books end up doing no more than Vorberg[12] had done in the twenties or Marcadé in the early sixties.[13]

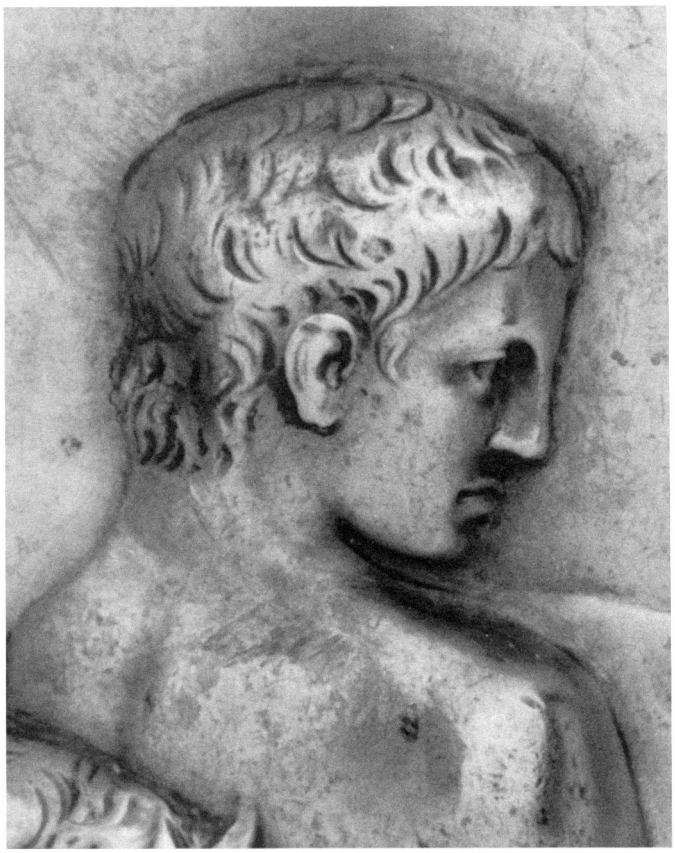
A survey of Roman silver vessels reveals a broad range of subject matter that sometimes includes the erotic.[14] Those closest in style to the Warren Cup date to the reign of Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14). In particular, two of the cups found at Pompeii in the silver hoard of the House of the Menander reveal that some Romans used vessels with scenes of lovemaking in their homes. Maiuri has identified both as picturing the loves of Venus and Mars.[15] Their elongated ovoid forms closely parallel that of the Warren Cup. Although the backgrounds, consisting of carefully wrought grapevines, set the scenes in garden bowers rather than in bedroom interiors, each cup presents a pair of male-female lovers on each of its sides. In both cases, side A pictures a semi-nude male on a couch entreating a modestly dressed female with a diadem who sits near him, fully clothed; she seems to resist. The other sides of both cups are much more erotic, picturing close physical contact. In particular, side B of Cup 6 clearly pictures a very intimate moment, when the nude female seems to be either rising from or sitting back in the nude male's lap (Fig. 10). His gesture, with left arm crooked over his head, conventionally denotes tiredness or even sleep, suggesting that the scene may represent the

[12] Vorberg continued to republish the plates appearing in *Die Erotike der Antike in Kleinkunst und Keramik* throughout the twenties: *Über das Geschlechtsleben im Altertum,* Stuttgart, 1925; *Ars erotica veterum. Ein Beitrag zum Geschlechtsleben der Altertums,* Stuttgart, 1926; *Glossarium eroticum,* Stuttgart, 1932; many of these images (although not the Warren Cup) also appear in H. Licht (pseud. of P. Brandt), *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands,* 3 vols., Dresden and Zurich, 1925–27; the English translation of Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece,* London, 1932, did not retain the volume of five hundred plates.

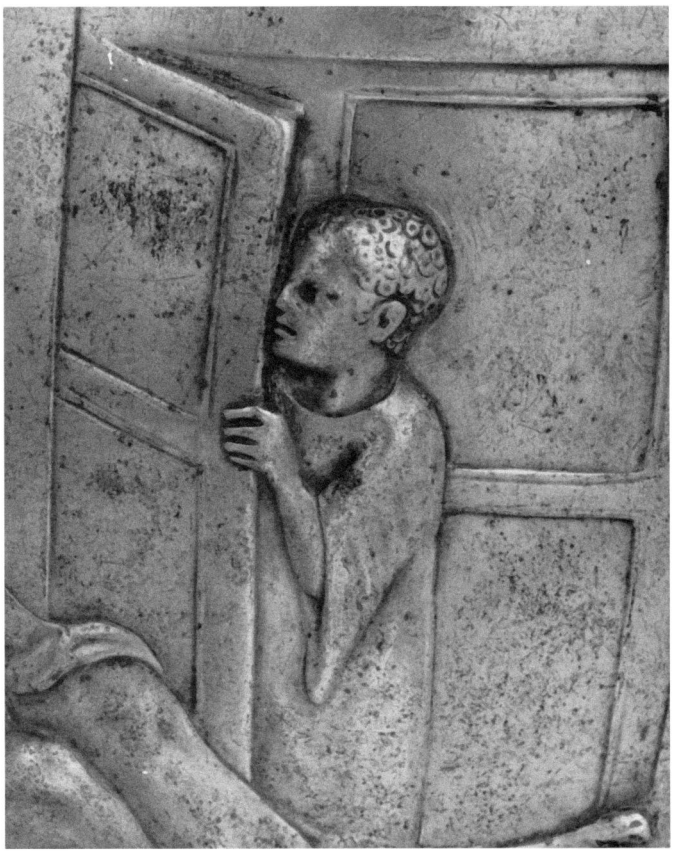
[13] J. Marcadé, *Roma amor: Essai sur les représentations érotiques dans l'art étrusque et romain,* Geneva, 1961; *Eros Kalos: Essay on Erotic Elements in Greek Art,* Geneva, 1962.

[14] For a recent review of the literature, see C. Johns, "Research on Roman Silver Plate," *Journal of Roman Archaeology,* III, 1990, 28–43; see also F. Baratte, ed., *Argenterie romaine et byzantine (Actes de la Table Ronde,* Paris, Oct. 11–13, 1983), Paris, 1988; F. Baratte and K. Painter, eds., *Trésors d'orfèvrerie gallo-romains,* exh. cat., Musée du Luxembourg, Paris, (Feb. 8–Apr. 23, 1989); Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-romaine, Lyons (May 16–Aug. 27, 1989), Paris, 1989; E. Simon, *Augustus. Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende,* Munich, 1986, bibl.

[15] Maiuri, I, 321–330, figs. 125 and 126; II, pls. 31–36.



4 Warren Cup, Side A, detail (photo: Museum)



5 Warren Cup, Side A, detail (photo: Museum)



6 Warren Cup, Side A, detail (photo: Museum)



7 Warren Cup, Side A, detail (photo: Museum)

denouement to actual lovemaking.[16] Although the ancient Roman would have understood the allusions to the erotic encounters of Mars and Venus in the female's diadem and in the cupids playing with weapons in the scenes under the cups' handles, the more intimate scenes seem far removed from mythology: they picture, like the erotic paintings found in bedrooms discussed below, real human beings like themselves enjoying lovemaking.

Although the Warren Cup depicts actual sexual contact, it is not far in spirit from the House of the Menander cups. In both cases, they are silver drinking vessels for the use of guests of both sexes, and in both cases they are meant to entertain the guests with their engaging imagery and fine craftsmanship. In particular, the secure archaeological con-

[16] This gesture seems first to appear in the Hellenistic images of the Barberini Faun: J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age,* Cambridge, 1986, 134, fig. 146 (3rd century B.C.); and in the Sleeping Ariadne type: M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age,* New York, 1961, fig. 624. It is taken over for representations of the sleeping Endymion on Roman sarcophagi beginning in the early 2nd century of our era: see A. McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* New York, 1978, 39–41.



8 Warren Cup, Side B (photo: Museum)

text of the cups from the House of the Menander—found intact as they had been left in the house of their owner, together with 116 other silver articles[17]—implies that such erotic silver vessels could belong quite usually with the serving ware of a wealthy household.[18]

Since the Warren Cup, unlike the many silver vessels found buried by Vesuvius, lacks an archaeological context, analysis of its style must provide its approximate date.[19] In addition to the analogies in subject matter, the two erotic cups from the House of the Menander share certain stylistic traits with the Warren Cup: the Augustan hairstyles and body types, the clear separation of figures from ground, and the taste for fine details and textures—most of them added by the artist after he formed the whole composition in the repoussé technique. The viewer can see such details, added by chasing, upon close examination: on the Warren Cup, details of hair, beards, and drapery; on the Menander cups, particulars in the embroidery of the coverlets and in the petals and leaves of the vegetal ornament. There are differences as well: figures on the Warren Cup are larger in relation to the whole pictorial field, which is crowded by the tendrils and leaves of the bower on the Menander cups. Furthermore, the artist of the two Menander cups employed higher relief for all the figures, so that in side view, a full three-fourths of the arms and limbs are visible. The proportions of the figures themselves also differ: whereas the artist of the Menander cups favors the elongated bodies with thin limbs and relatively small heads common in the late Hellenistic repertory, the artist of the Warren Cup constructs more solid, compact figures with Polycleitan proportions and high relief. The head of the reclining male figure on side B of Cup 6 (Fig. 10) is considerably smaller in relation to his torso and arms than that of the male on top on side A of the Warren Cup (Fig. 4). Whereas the same male on the Menander cup has relatively soft facial features and unarticulated hair, the precisely combed short locks of the men on the Warren Cup, coupled with profiles emphasizing the heavy jaw, straight nose, and union of nose and brow line, announce a typically Augustan, neo-Attic style. In fact, the Warren Cup heads all compare

[17] Maiuri, 245–251.

[18] On the class and social status of the last owners of the House of the Menander, see Clarke, 170–193.

[19] See Maiuri, 241–245, for a rapid overview of silver finds in the area of Vesuvius.



9 Warren Cup, Side B, detail (photo: Museum)

closely with the male heads from the south frieze of the Parthenon. Although it is true that the modeling is deeper and simpler in the Panathenaic frieze, there is a surprising correspondence of all the facial features, even down to the so-called Parthenon pout, the men's fleshy yet downturned little mouths.[20]

Closer to the Warren Cup's Polycleitan proportions are the figures on the Augustus Cup, one of 108 pieces found in 1895 in a villa near Pompeii at Boscoreale.[21] The common inspiration of both the Warren Cup and the Boscoreale Cup in Greek art of the fifth century B.C. is especially clear in the lictor in the foreground between Augustus and the suppliant barbarian on side B. Furthermore, the overlap of individual figures, rendered in differing degrees of relief, allows a sophisticated rendering of space on both cups—a characteristic largely absent from the Menander cups as well as from the two roughly contemporary cups found in a hoard at Hoby, in Denmark.[22] The Warren Cup's complex overlap is also similar to that of the upper register of the cameo known as the Gemma Augustea, particularly in the complexities of placement and drapery in the figures of Augustus and Roma.[23] A similar layering occurs by necessity in the image of lovemaking on side A, with the added problem of suggesting an architectural interior, with a strap, an opening door, and a lyre on a ledge.

The facial types and hairstyles of the males on the Warren Cup conform to the fashion established by Augustus at the beginning of his reign; he based his image on models from fifth-century Greece, for he wished to evoke the golden age of Classical art. His own portrait establishes the iconography of the entire Julio-Claudian dynasty that he founded.[24] Gone is the exaggerated realism of so-called "veristic" portraiture of the Republican period in favor of a youthful idealism. Although Augustus was a toothless old man in his seventies when he died, throughout his reign he appears as a youthful, Apollo-like deity with Polycleitan features and smooth skin. He has a strong jaw, a small mouth, deep-set eyes, and short ringlets combed forward over his unwrinkled brow; these features characterize the male heads on the Warren Cup, making it one of many examples of the success of Augustus's visual propaganda.

Both the precious metal of the Warren Cup and the care taken in its figural modeling indicate that it was a luxury item intended for the upper class.[25] Fortunately, the Arretine wares greatly enlarge the context for the Warren Cup's style and subject matter, providing abundant evidence that persons of slenderer means also enjoyed drinking from vessels adorned with erotic scenes. These glazed terracotta cups, bowls, and vases come from the Roman city of Aretinum—modern-day Arezzo. Because they imitate the forms and decoration of expensive vessels in silver and gold, appear in modest archaeological contexts, and were mass-produced, scholars see them as products meant for relatively poor consumers.[26] Potters used fired clay molds for the exteriors of the vessels. After turning the molds on the wheel, they used stamps or punches in relief to create the negatives of the figural and ornamental designs. The potter would then press wet clay into the mold to make the vessel itself, producing its smooth interior by turning the whole object on

[20] E. Richardson, *The Etruscans: Their Art and Civilization,* Chicago, 1964, 134.

[21] H. de Villefosse, "Le Trésor de Boscoreale," *Monuments Piot,* V, 1899, 1–290; Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, *Il tesoro di Boscoreale,* exh. cat., Pompeii, Casino dell'Aquila, Aug. 20–Sept. 30, 1988, Milan, 1988; F. Baratte, *Le Trésor d'orfèvrerie romain de Boscoreale,* Paris, 1986; A. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus. The Evidence of the Boscoreale Cups,* University of California Press, forthcoming.

[22] K.F. Johansen, "New Evidence about the Hoby Cups," *Acta archaeologica,* XXXI, 1960, 185–190; Vermeule, 33–46, pls. 12, 1–4; 13, 1–2.

[23] W.-R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus. Antiken Münzen und geschnittene Steine,* II, Berlin, 1987, 9–11, pls. 3, 4.

[24] A. Massner, *Bildnißangleichung: Untersuchungen zur Entstehungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte der Augustusporträts (43 v. Chr.–68 n. Chr.),* Berlin, 1982; K. Fittschen, "Die Bildniße des Augustus," *Saeculum Aureum,* III, 1991, 149–186.

[25] It is difficult to determine how expensive silver vessels were in terms of ancient Roman wealth. F. Baratte, "Arts précieux et propaganda impériale au début de l'empire romain. L'Example des deux coupes de Boscoreale," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France,* XLI, 1, 1991, 37, sees silver vessels as belonging to the minor arts, not really rising to the level of originality that one finds in imperial art. But the evidence for the mass production of silver vessels, such as exact repetition of motifs from molds, is lacking.

[26] Brown, xix: "It has long been recognized that a close relationship exists between Italian terra-sigillata and contemporary silverware, so much so that the potters' work is often described as 'poor man's silver.' . . . This correspondence is reflected not only in a community of vase shapes but also in the subject-matter of vase decoration." See also E. Ettlinger, "How was Arretine Ware Sold?" *Rei cretariae Romanae fautorum acta,* XXV–XXVI, 1987, 5–19; G. Pucci, "La ceramica aretina: 'Imagerie' e correnti artistiche," in X. Lafon and G. Sauron, eds., *L'Art décoratif à Rome à la fin de la république et au début du principat,* Rome, 1981, 101–121.

the wheel. When the molded clay bowl shrank in drying, the potter removed it and fired it.

The earliest description of Arretine wares comes from a thirteenth-century Tuscan chronicler, who marveled at the perfection of the human figures.[27] Figurative designs on Arretine pottery must have inspired generations of artists during the Renaissance, but it is not until the late nineteenth century that scholars or collectors took much notice of them. Although erotic types with male-male lovemaking had long been known, the first photographs of them appeared in the 1948 *Corpus vasorum antiquorum* of the Metropolitan Museum in New York,[28] followed by the publication in 1968 of the holdings of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[29] When the catalogue of the Arretine ware in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts was reprinted in 1975,[30] the editors illustrated the pieces with erotic scenes from the collection of E.P. Warren that had only been described—but not illustrated—in the earlier work. Although Porten Palange has recently questioned the authenticity of the molds with male-male lovemaking in New York and Oxford,[31] there is no doubt, on the basis of indisputably authentic fragments of actual vases and molds in Boston, Oxford, and Arezzo, that there were at least two such compositions available to the Roman buyer.

Both compositions alternate images of male-female lovemaking with male-male copulation. In the first composition, a statue of Eros standing on a fluted column separates the four scenes of lovemaking (Fig. 11).[32] The second composition is similar, but more complex and detailed: here herms sporting huge phalli hold garlands that festoon behind the couples (Fig. 12).[33] The artist who created this composition exerted great care in details of modeling, and has fashioned beds with *fulcra,* or bedsteads, ending in satyrs' heads. He enlivened the herms by representing them in contrapposto and by having them actively gaze at the couples making love while grasping their own buttocks with their right hands. They become active rather than passive spectators, ready, it seems, to leap out of their decorative roles and join the lovers. It is clear that this artist's originality rests in his depiction of the herms and the creative use of satyr protomes for the *fulcra,* for both sets of couples retain essentially the same poses as in the first composition.



10 Silver cup from the House of the Menander, Pompeii. Naples, National Archaeological Museum (photo: Michael Larvey)

The scene of male-female lovemaking in both compositions is the most graphic of such erotic types on Arretine ware, picturing the female about to squat on the male's erect penis. She wears a breast band, a feature of many scenes of male-female lovemaking. Although the positions of the male-male lovers are approximately the same in both compositions, two variants can be distinguished. In the first variant the two males, one an adult, the other a boy, gaze at each other on a bed (Fig. 13). The man prepares to enter the boy while supporting himself on his flexed right knee, which appears below and behind the boy's right knee. The boy's left arm rests on the edge of the bed, while his right hand touches the man's right arm near the elbow. In a modified version of this pose, the man seems more relaxed; rather than kneeling bolt upright, he inclines toward the boy, who reclines as if floating or swimming, all the while locked in his lover's gaze, and in one variant, kissing him (Fig. 14). These two variants of the male lovers can appear in either of the two compositions. A fragment of a vase in the Ashmolean Museum, discussed below, may represent yet another variant.

This whole class of erotic cups and bowls produced in Arezzo during the Augustan age establishes an artistic context for the Warren Cup, on a sort of "trickle-down"

[27] Chase, 4–5.

[28] C. Alexander, *Arretine Relief Ware (Corpus vasorum antiquorum), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,* I, *U.S.A.,* 9, Cambridge, Mass., 1943.

[29] Brown.

[30] Chase.

[31] F. Porten Palange, "Fälschungen in der arretinischen Reliefkeramik," *Archaeologisches Korrespondenzblatt,* XIX, 1989, 197–216. The author points out that the combination of maker stamp and workshop stamp ("EPOC + C.ANNI") on molds with scenes of alternating male-female and male-male lovemaking is highly unlikely, a fact noted earlier by H. Dragendorff and C. Watzinger, *Arretinische Reliefkeramik mit Beschreibung der Sammlung in Tübingen,* Reutlingen, 1948, 89. On this basis, Porten Palange rejects the following molds depicting male-male lovemaking: Alexander (as in n. 28), inv. no. 21.88.165 (pls. 34, 1 a–b; 38, 20), and Brown, inv. no. 1966.251, cat. no. 62 (pls. 15, 16, and 19; figs. 1 and 3).

[32] Brown, 28, pl. 18, has published two fragments of the mold for this composition, the one in the Ashmolean, Oxford, cat. no. 77, joining with another in the Archaeological Museum, Arezzo, no. 10734.

[33] A third composition, known, however, only through a dubious mold in the Ashmolean (Brown, 23, cat. no. 62, pls. 16 and 17), differs from this second composition only by virtue of the substitution of candelabra holding the garlands.



11 Arretine bowl fragment. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (photo: Museum)



12 Arretine mold fragment. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (photo: Museum)

model. Because Arretine ware was an affordable—and widely exported—substitute for silver and gold vessels, examples have been found as far away as London and northern India. Although erotic scenes form only a small part of the imagery, their sources must have been in the decoration of the expensive objects. After all, it was Arretine ware's ability to mimic the style and subject matter of aristocratic silver that made it so attractive to consumers. On the evidence of the style and erotic subject matter of both the Warren Cup and the cups from the House of the Menander, it must be assumed that wealthy Romans of the Augustan period had cultivated a taste for silver with erotic scenes. These vessels picturing explicit sexual activity were part of the artistic fashions of the time, along with the more usual scenes from classical mythology and the theater. And if the Warren Cup is a reminder of an aspect of upper-class taste, the erotic compositions on Arretine pottery show how the lower classes embraced that taste throughout the Empire.

The combination of male-male with male-female imagery in the two extant compositions seems to be a simplification of upper-class conceptions meant for the consumption of the less wealthy—who were nonetheless eager to keep abreast of current artistic and cultural fashions. For one thing, the artist has created a situation of absolute visual equivalence between the scenes of lovemaking that involve males and females and those showing male-male intercourse. He has used familiar and popular icons of sexual love, the winged Eros and the ithyphallic herm, both to separate and to frame the four scenes. Furthermore, the representations of lovemaking themselves are quite conventional and therefore easy for the neophyte to understand. By placing the female in a squatting position over the male's erect penis, the artist has left no doubt about the act. And for the representation of male-male intercourse, he has modified a type from the male-female repertoire that displays the greatest portion of the front of the female's body. By removing the female breasts, breast band, and by adding a penis, the artist telegraphs the boy's sex to the viewer in the most direct possible pose.[34] It seems that clear display is uppermost in the artist's mind. With the Warren Cup, meant for a more sophisticated audience, the artist could afford to be more inventive in his depiction of male-male sexual acts.

Although the scene on side A of the Warren Cup has no equivalents on the Arretine vessels, that of side B closely parallels the Arretine both in pose and in the pairing of an adult male with a boy (Fig. 8). The boy's position on the Warren Cup is closest to the fragment in Boston (Fig. 14), but here, as with the other Arretine vessels, the man and boy are locked in each other's gaze. The artist of the Warren Cup has created a much less intimate mood by turning the man's head sharply away from the boy's. The viewer who sees the man's elegant profile on the left and the boy's on the right could read detachment, disengagement, and distraction in these poses. Reinforcing this sense of isolation is the arrangement of the figures' arms. Whereas the boy turns to touch the man's arm as it crosses over his right leg—presumably to begin entry—on the Arretine vessels, on the Warren Cup the man's forearm passes under the boy's right thigh so that his hand is outlined against it. The boy, in turn, uses his right arm to prop up his torso on the cushions. The Warren Cup's artist has added a note of psychological estrangement and the strain of bodily torsion to the simple and easily legible versions of the pose on the Arretine cups.

Despite the differences in artistic quality and originality evident between the Warren Cup and the Arretine vessels, it is important to note that all of the artists present the act of lovemaking between males in a romantic, elevated manner. Dover's examination of Archaic and Classical vase painting has demonstrated that depictions of rear-entry intercourse between two males are quite rare in Greece. The Greek artists focus their romantic notions in scenes of courting; when they depict intercourse, it is almost invariably the act of the older male rubbing his penis between the boy's thighs, so-called intercrural coitus.[35] Not only are there no known examples of intercrural copulation in these Roman representations of male-to-male intercourse, the Roman artists have infused images of anal intercourse between males with the same tender intimacy that pervades the images of male-female lovemaking on the Arretine ware and the House of the Menander cups. The artists go to great pains to make the male who is in the receptive position as dignified and attractive as the insertive partner. Whereas representations of rear-entry penetration of boys and women by males on Greek vases emphasize the male's domination and power over his (unwilling) and often unattractive partner,[36] these Roman depictions make *both* males as attractive as possible and show them mutually attracted to each other, even though in most cases one is a man and the other a boy.

If Romans of all classes used vessels with erotic imagery, how pervasive was such imagery in the houses and buildings they lived in? Erotic wall paintings and mosaics still in their original settings at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome provide a second, valuable context for the Warren Cup. Particularly interesting is the wide variety of settings in which they occur, indicating that, as with the erotic vessels, interest in sexual imagery cut across class boundaries.

Both the quality of the erotic image and its location help guide us in interpreting its use and meaning in antiquity. For example, three images of male-female lovemaking decorate a room from the House of the Vettii at Pompeii (Fig. 15). Room x^1 is tucked away behind the kitchen, off a secondary

[34] Dragendorff and Watzinger (as in n. 31), 89: erotic types of the Perennius workshop: "Typus XIV 8. Das Mädchen, das eine Binde unter der Brust trägt, hat sich von dem Jüngling weg auf die linke Seite geworfen, so daß es dem Beschauer seine Vorderseite zukehrt. Es stützt sich dabei auf den linken Arm und faßt mit dem angestreckten rechten den Unterarm des Jünglings, der sich über es wirft und es herumzudrehen sucht, indern er es am Oberschenkel faßt. XIV 8a. Dieser Typus kommt dahin variiert vor, daß bei sonstiger genauer Übereinstimmung aus dem Mädchen ein Knabe gemacht ist. Die Brustbinde wird in diesem Falle natürlich fortgelassen."

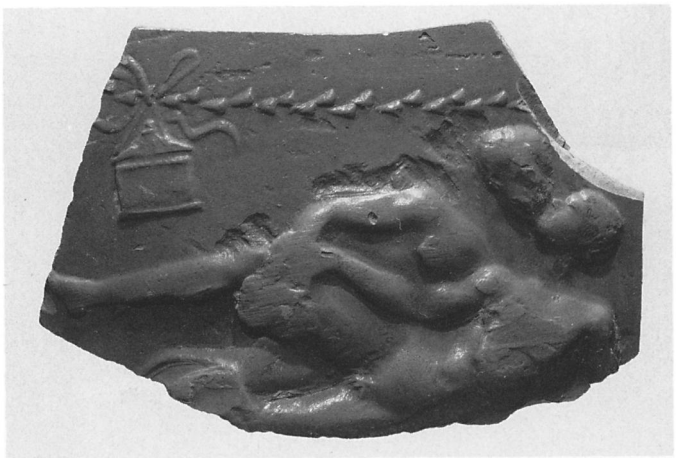
[35] K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, Cambridge, Mass., 1978, 91–100; see also H. Shapiro, "Eros in Love: Pederasty and Pornography in Greece," in Richlin, ed., 55–58; R. Sutton, Jr., "Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery," in *idem*, 14.

[36] Sutton (as in n. 35), 11–12, figs. 1.2 and 1.3. I wish to thank Amy Richlin for pointing out this difference between the Greek and Roman representations.



13 Arretine bowl fragment. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (photo: Museum)

peristyle that housed the servants' quarters.[37] Whereas the reception spaces of the house boast some of the finest frescoes in Pompeii in both their workmanship and their iconographic sophistication, this little room is painted in a slapdash fashion, employing only red paint on white walls. In addition to the three male-female lovemaking scenes in the center of each wall, each illustrating a different position, over the doorway appears an owl—probably to augur the occupant good luck in lovemaking. We know that the owners of the house were freedmen, former slaves who had made good. Could this room be for a favored slave, perhaps the cook, as a reward for his services? In style, its painting differs dramatically from the refined, intricate frescoes in the rest of the house, calculated to dazzle the visitor with their visual and iconographic intricacy. Yet the style of painting in Room x^1 is the same one used in the nearby *lupanar,* or whorehouse. Obviously, this room was never meant for the masters of the house or their guests. They would never frequent a bordello, since they could simply purchase slaves for their sexual



14 Arretine bowl fragment. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (photo: Museum)

entertainment. Bordellos, painted with images just like these, were for slaves and citizens too poor to afford a love slave.

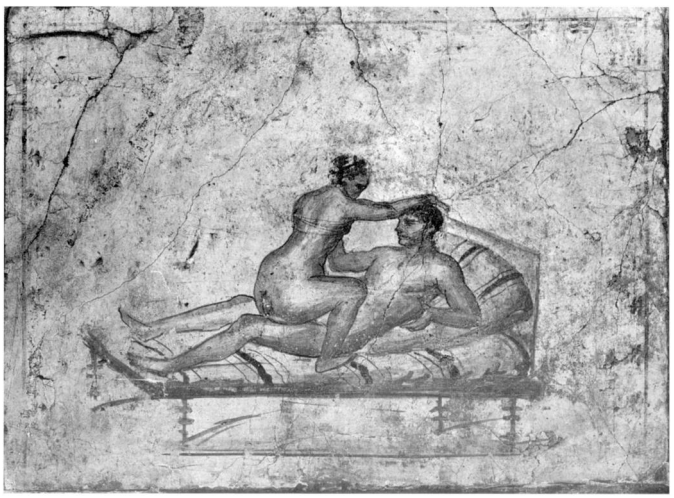
A very recent discovery at Pompeii provides a further context for scenes of lovemaking. Excavators of Suburban Baths, located just outside Pompeii's Marine Gate, found a dressing room, or *apodyterium,* its south wall decorated with a wide variety of scenes of lovemaking.[38] On the upper part of the wall appear cubicles in perspective, each of them num-

[37] Clarke, 220–221; Myerowitz, 131–132.

[38] L. Jacobelli, "Lo scavo delle Terme Suburbane. Notizie preliminari," *Rivista di studi Pompeiani,* I , 1987, 151–154; *idem,* "Terme Suburbane: Stato attuale di conoscenze," *Rivista di studi Pompeiani,* II, 1988, 202–208; plan, 203, fig. 51; *idem,* "Le pitture e gli stucchi delle terme suburbane di Pompei," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte,* XXIV (*4. Internationales Kolloquium zur römischen Wandmalerei*), 1991, 147–149, fig. 2.

bered (Fig. 16). *Above* the cubicles appear figures on beds, although the viewer is to imagine them as though the scenes were taking place within the privacy of the rooms pictured below. There is a great variety of sexual activity. Two scenes deviate significantly from the surviving wall paintings from Pompeii, which all depict only male-female lovemaking. Scene V pictures two males and a female. The female, to the right, rests her upper body on the bed while raising her rear to receive one of the two kneeling males; this man, in turn, is locked in anal intercourse with the male kneeling behind him. In Scene VI two males and two females are engaged in a lively foursome: a kneeling woman, right, fellates a reclining male who practices cunnilingus on a kneeling female while a kneeling male enters her from the rear. The artist seems to have wished to present a broad range of sexual possibilities; in another scene he represents cunnilingus, with the woman reclining on the bed while her male lover, clothed in a tunic, crouches at the foot of her bed with his head at her genitals. In particular, his inclusion of the two scenes that make male-male intercourse an integral part of the pleasure depicted breaks the stereotype of one-on-one, male-female intercourse that emerges from all the other published wall painting. One wonders if the excavators who uncovered erotic wall paintings in the past might have destroyed—through prudery—other evidence of male-male lovemaking. Also of particular interest is the fact that the artist of the Suburban Baths coupled his representations with numerals, suggesting a visual and/or literary source that numbered acts of lovemaking in a *Kama Sutra*-like series.[39] Recently H. Parker has discussed the ancient literary genre of sex manuals. Scattered sources, including a recently published papyrus fragment, give the names of nine female writers and suggest that in addition to detailing positions (like the paintings of the Suburban Baths), the sex manuals covered a full range of sexual activities, including seduction and kissing.[40]

The rough-and-ready style of the paintings in the Suburban Baths and in Room X^1 of the House of the Vettii is that of so-called "popular" painting, found throughout Pompeii. This genre, recently studied in depth by Fröhling, usually appears on the street façades of houses and shops and in public buildings.[41] Rather than being executed in true fresco technique, like the majority of decoration in people's houses, the artist applied his pigments over partially dried plaster, *a secco,* so that the colors did not incorporate or carbonate into the plaster. This rapid, cheap technique causes the paint to fall off very easily. The style, poor quality, and location of the images of lovemaking in both the cook's room and in the dressing room of the bath indicate that the artist created them for people with little money, probably slaves and freeborn tradespeople. Similar images of lovemaking seem



15 Pompeii, House of the Vettii, Room X^1, north wall (photo: Michael Larvey)

to have been ubiquitous in the ordinary Roman household and shop, appearing on bronze and terracotta lamps, and the so-called *spintria,* which may have been brothel tokens.[42]

What kind of paintings of lovemaking did the patrician class enjoy? Literary sources shed some light on aristocratic attitudes to erotic stimuli in their homes. Ovid (*Tr.* 2.521–528) claims that Augustus himself had a small painted picture that illustrated the various sexual positions:

> In your homes bodies glimmer, it's known:
> artists have painted great men of old
> and somewhere a small picture
> portrays the diversity of sex
> the calculus of Venus
> Telamonian Ajax sulks glowering ire
> barbarian Medea glares infanticide
> and nearby a damp Venus
> wrings her dripping hair dry
> barely covered by the waters that bore her.[43]

Even accepting the possibility that Ovid is saying "our" (*nostris*) rather than "your" houses (*vostris,* i.e., those of Augustus), he reveals that for the upper class it is the norm, rather than the exception, to possess and display little paintings that showed couples illustrating a variety of sexual positions (*figurae veneris*). This is good evidence for the "domestication of desire" that Myerowitz argues had oc-

[39] Brendel, 60–68.

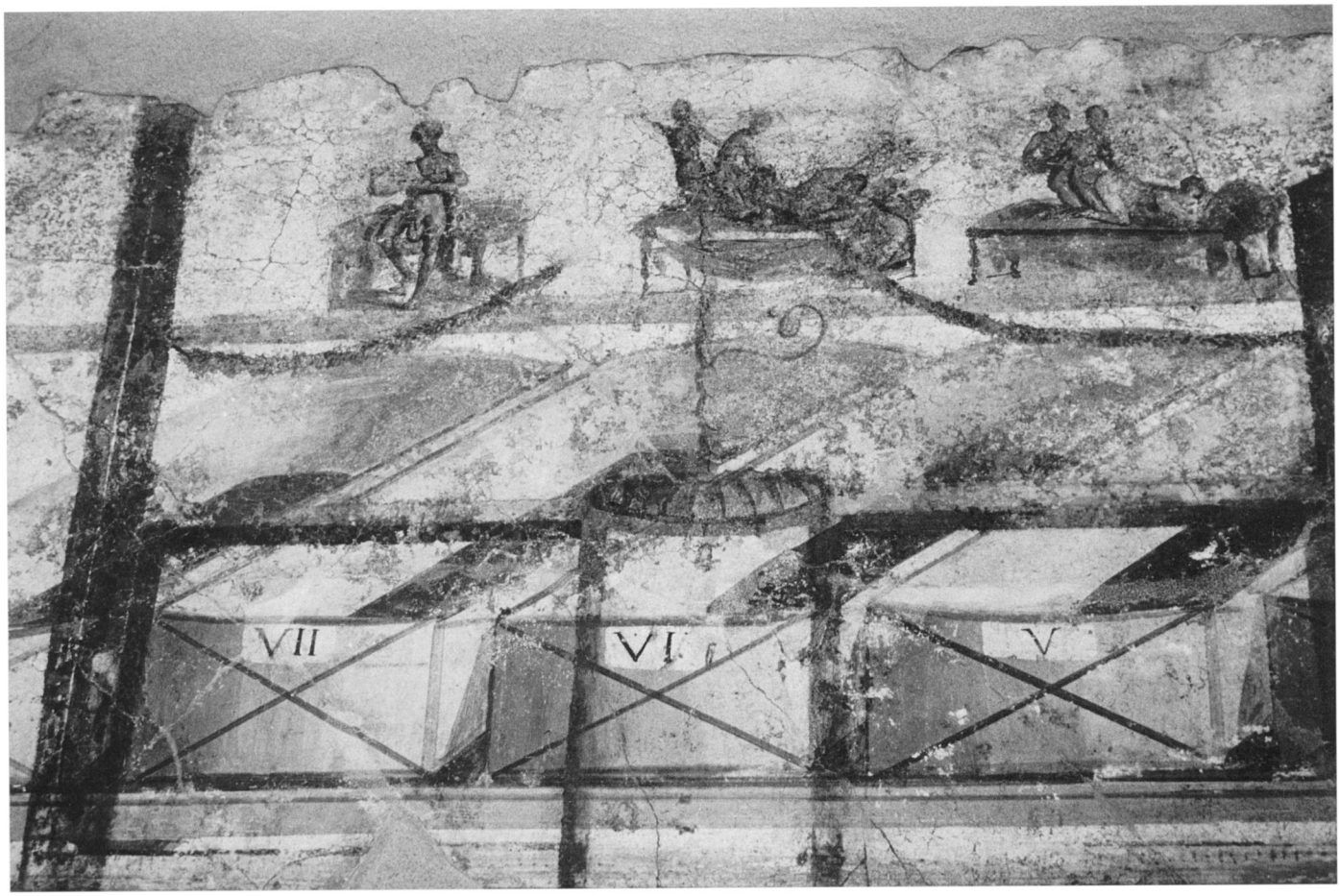
[40] H. Parker, "Love's Body Anatomized: The Ancient Erotic Handbooks and the Rhetoric of Sexuality," in Richlin, ed., 90–107.

[41] T. Fröhling, *Lararien- und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten: Untersuchungen zur "volkstümlichen" pompejanischen Malerei* (*Römische Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft,* XXXII), Mainz, 1991.

[42] Vorberg, 386–387.

[43] . . . Scilicet in domibus vostris [nostris] ut prisca virorum
artificis fulgent corpora picta manu
sic quae concubitus varios venerisque figuras
exprimat, et aliquo parva tabella loco.
utque sedet vultu fassus Telamonius iram,
inque oculis facinus barbara mater habet
sic madidos siccat digitis Venus uda capillos
et modo maternis tecta videtur aquis.

Ovid, Tristia, Ex Ponto, trans. A. Wheeler (*Loeb Classical Library*), rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1975; trans. Myerowitz, 132.



16 Pompeii, Suburban Baths, *apodyterium,* south wall (photo: Michael Larvey)

curred by the time of Augustus.[44] In the two places in his *Ars amatoria* where Ovid describes the *figurae,* he does so not without irony, emphasizing that women were quite adroit in inventing positions that both went far beyond the paintings (*Ars Am.* 2.679–680) and also showed off their best physical features while engaged in lovemaking (*Ars Am.* 3.771–788).[45] Suetonius, in his *Lives of the Poets* (*Poet. Vita Horati* 10) gives an account of Horace's mirrored bedroom that suggests that some wealthy Romans enjoyed seeing their own or others' sexual acts reflected in mirrors: "They say that he [Horace] was immoderately lustful, for it is recounted that in a room lined with mirrors he had whores so arranged that whichever way he looked, he saw a reflection of copulation."[46] A passage from Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars* (*Tib.,* 42–43) describes Tiberius's use of erotica. (It is still not available in English translation; the *Loeb Classical Series* leaves the offending text in Latin.) In addition to having his bedroom on Capri decorated with two expensive paintings by Parrhasios with obscene subject matter (one showing the *Archigallus* or eunuch high priest of Cybele in an indecent act, the other Meleager performing cunnilingus on Atalanta),[47] Tiberius had pictures illustrating sexual positions placed throughout rooms used for copulation: "He decorated rooms (*cubicula*) located in different places with images and statuettes reproducing the most lascivious paintings and sculpture, which he amplified according to the books of Elephantis, so that no position he might order would fail to be represented."[48] In addition to mentioning one of the famous sex manuals, this passage adds to the evidence that artists often illustrated the sexual positions detailed in them. Although none of these erotic paintings on wood panels has survived, many images painted directly on the walls of buildings excavated at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome—in contrast to the "popular" paintings already considered—fit the profile of the erotica meant for the upper classes. Just as we might expect from the literary sources, two dominant types emerge: one pictures mythologized lovemaking, the other realistic lovemaking, following, it seems, the models of the sex manuals.

The first kind of representation mythologizes sexual activ-

[44] Myerowitz, 151–155.

[45] Parker (as in n. 40), 95–97; Myerowitz, 135–136.

[46] "Ad res Venerias intemperantior traditur; nam speculato cubiculo scorta dicitur habuisse disposita, ut quocumque respexisset ibi ei imago coitus referretur," *Suetonius,* II, trans. J.C. Rolfe (*Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge, Mass., 1950; my trans.

[47] Myerowitz, 137, with further references in n. 6.

[48] "Cubicula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lascivissimarum picturarum et figurarum adornavit librisque Elephantidis instruxit, ne cui in opera edenda exemplar imperatae schemae deesset," *Suetonius,* I, trans. J.C. Rolfe (*Loeb Classical Library*), rev. ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1951, *Tiberius,* 43; my trans.

ity by substituting mythical creatures for human beings.[49] Already in the sixth century B.C., the Greeks had used satyrs and nymphs as mythological stand-ins for human beings. These and other mythological lovers inhabit both Greek art and Roman adaptations of Greek art. Myerowitz has recently listed famous male-female and male-male mythological paintings mentioned in the literature.[50] Although none of these has survived, both mosaics and wall paintings found in excavations show how such mythological trysts fit into the decoration of the Roman house. Portable mosaic insets, called *emblemata,* were expensive copies of paintings carried out with minute tesserae. In the wealthy House of the Faun, an erotic mosaic *emblema* adorned a bedroom;[51] a satyr—with his donkey ears—and a maenad prepare to engage in lovemaking. The seated satyr grasps the crouching maenad's left arm to draw her closer to him, while both gaze at his genital area. Another *emblema* with similar erotic features is still in place in a bedroom of the equally elegant House of the Menander.[52] Although badly ruined, the main elements are still legible. Whereas the mosaic in the House of the Faun implies that the maenad is about to comply with the satyr's sexual wishes, here the theme is assault. A nymph struggles with a satyr who surprises her from behind, while an onlooker with goat horns (Pan) watches from the upper right.[53]

Another mythological representation quite common in both statues and paintings at Pompeii is the hermaphrodite, a sexual curiosity who is both man and woman.[54] Two images of hermaphrodites appear in prominent places in the house of the wealthy Vettii brothers. Both appear at the doorways of the two most expensively and elaborately decorated reception spaces in their house.[55] Although there are variations on this oft-repeated theme of Hellenistic and Roman art, the narrative always concerns male attraction to the hermaphrodite's female beauty, followed by dismay at his/her male genitalia. Silenus approaches Hermaphrodite from behind to discover that despite his/her light-colored skin—a convention for the female—he/she is sporting an erection. There are many other less directly erotic mythological representations of sexual attraction and sexual activity, where gods, goddesses, and demigods do what human beings do. But these metaphorical representations remain just that. They give us little insight into how wealthy Pompeians thought of their own sexual activity.

More revelatory is the way the upper class represented lovemaking between real human beings in realistic settings. The degrees of intimacy cover a range from amorous dalliance—embracing and kissing—to outright sexual intercourse. The newly excavated House of Chaste Lovers got its name from the three pictures decorating the elegant black dining room.[56] Rather than depicting lovemaking per se, the room's three central pictures show couples drinking heavily and engaged in amorous dalliance. In one image, a male has even passed out, and in another there is a woman who has no mate and consoles herself with drink. Several of the couples kiss passionately. Although such scenes of drinking parties with heavy sexual overtones had been the stock-in-trade of artists in both the Greek and Hellenistic worlds for centuries, it is their appearance in the triclinium of a moderately wealthy house that is of interest. The owner who commissioned them for the best room of his house believed that these mildly erotic images were both appropriate and pleasing, suitably fitting the fashion of the time, which is the period of the Third Style of about A.D. 10–30. Admittedly, this is rather tame, or chaste, sexual activity.

But in the bedchambers of a few aristocratic houses are more explicit scenes of lovemaking, similar in tone and subject matter to sides B of the two silver cups from the House of the Menander discussed above. The painted walls of three cubicula in the villa found under the Farnesina in Rome include pictures showing the preliminaries to lovemaking (Fig. 17).[57] All the couples are on beds, and in most cases servants are present. Although these small pictures appear in secondary positions, to the sides of and above the large pictures that form the centers of each wall's decorative scheme, they nevertheless have an important function in the ensemble, that of introducing the theme of human lovemaking into an otherwise mythological iconography. Clearly, the patron and the painter knew (like Ovid) that the small erotic panels belonged in "proper"—and fashionable—bedroom decor. The owner of the Villa of the Farnesina was certainly a member of the aristocracy, even if, as some scholars have claimed, the villa did not actually belong to Augustus's own daughter and son-in-law.[58] The wall painting dates to the

[49] G. Hedreen, *Silenes in Attic Black-Figure Vase Paintings,* Ann Arbor, 1992.

[50] Myerowitz, 137–138.

[51] From Cubiculum 28, now in Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 27707; dated to the period 100–50 B.C. by E. Pernice, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji,* VI, *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken,* Berlin, 1938, 176–177, pls. 76–77.

[52] The *emblema* is in Cubiculum 21, and dates to the period of the room's original Second-Style decoration, about 40–30 B.C.; see Maiuri, 85–86, fig. 42.

[53] For the representation of onlookers in Pompeian wall painting, see D. Michel, "Bemerkungen über Zuschauerfiguren in pompejanischen sogenannten Tafelbildern," in *La regione sotterrata dal Vesuvio: Studi e prospettive (Atti del Convegno Internazionale,* Nov. 11–15, 1979), Naples, 1982, 537–598.

[54] A. Ajootian, "Hermaphroditos," *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae,* V, 1, Zurich and Munich, 1990, 268–285; Pollitt (as in n. 16), 131, 149.

[55] Clarke, 213–214, fig. 123.

[56] A. Varone, "Attività dell'Ufficio Scavi: 1987–1988," *Rivista di studi Pompeiani,* II, 1988, 147–148, fig. 8.

[57] All the erotic *pinakes* are discussed and illustrated in color in I. Bragantini and M. de Vos, *Le decorazioni della villa romana della Farnesina, Museo Nazionale Romano,* II, 1: *Le pitture,* Rome, 1982: Cubiculum B, p. 130, pl. 40, inv. 1128; Cubiculum B, p. 133, pl. 51, inv. 1117; Cubiculum B, p. 133, pl. 51, inv. 1117; Cubiculum D, p. 189, pl. 85, inv. 1188; Cubiculum D, p. 189, pl. 86, inv. 1188; Cubiculum D, pl. 96, p. 191, inv. 1187; Cubiculum E, p. 284, pl. 172, inv. 1174; Myerowitz, 138–139.

[58] H. Beyen, "Les *Domini* de la Villa de la Farnesine," *Studia varia Carolo Guilielmo Vollgraff a discipulis oblata,* Amsterdam, 1948, 3–21, attributes the villa to Agrippa and Julia, followed by P. von Blanckenhagen, *The Paintings from Boscotrecase (Römische Mitteilungen, Erganzungsheft,* VI), 1962, 60, but F. Bastet and M. de Vos, *Proposta per una classificazione del terzo stile pompeiano (Archeologische Studien van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome,* IV), The Hague, 1979, 8–9, question the date of the closely related Villa of Agrippa at Boscotrecase, and R. Lloyd, "The Aqua Virgo, Euripus, and Pons Agrippa," *American Journal of Archaeology,* LXXXIII, 1979, 193–204, attributes the villa under the Farnesina to A. Crisipinus Caepio.

period of the late Second Style, around 20 B.C., near the beginning of Augustus's long reign.

Later in Pompeii, in the House of the Centenary, the patron had two even more explicit scenes of male-female couples painted in one of his elegantly appointed bedrooms (Fig. 18).[59] Although the poses resemble those of the "popular style" painting in the House of the Vettii or the Marine Gate Baths, the artist's true fresco technique, his ample palette, and his concern for shading identify him with the refined, high-art tradition. The artist has taken care with the figures' proportions and details of the setting, such as the textiles on the bed.[60] Both their location in a private bedroom meant for the owners of the house, and the high quality of the representations, separate the erotic paintings in the House of the Centenary from the sloppily executed pictures in low-class or public contexts.

What does this rapid survey of scenes of lovemaking in painting and mosaic tell us about context? First, that high-quality representations appear in the important rooms of upper-class houses: the dining rooms or bedrooms of the owners. Second, that poor-quality—but often surprisingly inventive—images decorate spaces frequented by the underclass: public baths, public whorehouses, and, in one case, a servant's room in a private house. Third, although the upper classes often put mythological beings into scenes of lovemaking, in their own bedrooms they frequently preferred to see human beings like themselves engaging in sexual intercourse.

Whereas this examination of works of art establishes the likely range of contexts for scenes of lovemaking in the Augustan period, texts—both ancient and modern—might help to answer several remaining questions. What did Augustan society think of the male-to-male sexual contact pictured on the Warren Cup? What would this representation of same-sex lovemaking have meant for its owner and his or her social equals? Was it shameful, naughty, and taboo—or was it amusing, exciting, or even routine?

In the recent literature on homosexuality in the ancient world, there is considerable disagreement about using the word "homosexual" for same-sex relationships in antiquity (I have avoided using it in this article). Halperin has pointed out that the word "homosexuality" is only one hundred years old, and—like the word "sexuality" itself—it describes a culturally determined concept. Following Foucault,[61] he contends that the concepts of sexuality itself, and especially homo- and heterosexuality, are cultural constructions of recent Western, capitalist, bourgeois society.[62] Halperin and other so-called constructionists maintain that it is a person's society that determines what sexual acts he or she might perform, and indeed the sexual feelings one person might have toward another. Applying the concept of "homosexuality" to history is bound to force modern concepts of self and other onto the ancient world. Whereas there are plenty of words in Greek and Latin for what two people of the same sex might do in bed, and words to define the role a person might have in sexual activity and in a sexual relationship, there is no word to denote a *state* of being homosexual—or even a word corresponding to our modern term "sexuality."[63] Can we call the couples on the Warren Cup "homosexuals"? Using the language of Augustan Rome, we cannot. No Greek or Roman word corresponds to our modern concept of the "homosexual," and any attempt to fit the practices of twentieth-century homosexuals with male-male representations in ancient art or text is certain to be anachronistic.

The problem with such strict constructionist stances is that they make it very difficult to explain the positive signs of a homosexual culture in Roman society—signs that include not only the Warren Cup and the images of male-male lovemaking on Arretine ware but also the relatively large number of poems addressed by poets to their male lovers.[64] Richlin has convincingly argued that if ancient texts reveal Roman homophobia, they also reflect what could be called a homosexual subculture:

> What is to gain from a model that says there was no "homosexuality" in antiquity? Such a model allows us to stress the difference between ancient societies and our own, to explore what they did have in their own terms. This move, however, when it comes up against Greek and Roman invective against male-male love, emphasizes its political use, its quality of "bluff"; homophobia tends to disappear along with homosexuals. And this model makes it very hard to talk about real *cinaedi*. What, on the other hand, is the gain from a model that uses "homosexuality" as a category for analyzing ancient societies? A gay-history analysis . . . , which stresses continuity rather than difference, would emphasize what ancient invective has in common with homophobia, and would focus on real *cinaedi*, both on their oppression and their possible subculture.[65]

In the last half of the second century B.C. and in the first two-thirds of the first century B.C., much of the wealth of the

[59] Pompeii, IX, 8, 3, Casa del Centenario, Cubiculum 43: K. Schefold, *Die Wande Pompejis*, Berlin, 1957, 280; I. Bragantini, M. de Vos, and F. Parise Badoni, *Pitture e pavimenti di Pompei: Repertorio delle fotografie del Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale (Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione*-ICCD), III, Rome, 1986, 533–534. There are two erotic pictures: north wall, central picture, 59.5 × 54.5cm, photo ICCD 79 GFNN 49815; south wall, central picture, 60 × 54cm (here Fig. 18), ICCD 79 GFNN 49817; Myerowitz, 141–142.

[60] The small, much-faded squares above the beds in each picture probably represented erotic *tabellae* hanging in the bedchamber, as seen in the mirror of the Flavian period preserved in the Antiquarium Comunale, discussed in n. 89 below.

[61] M. Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality*, II, trans. R. Hurley, New York, 1985, 187–246.

[62] D. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*, New York, 1990, 8: "Homosexuality and heterosexuality, as we currently understand them, are modern, Western, bourgeois productions. Nothing resembling them can be found in classical antiquity." See also Foucault (as in n. 61), 187–246.

[63] A. Richlin, "The Meaning of *irrumare* in Catullus and Martial," *Classical Philology*, LXXVI, 1981, 40–46; Richlin, 1983, 26–30; J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London, 1982, *passim;* Vorberg, *passim.*

[64] Cantarella, 120–154.

[65] Richlin, 1993, 571.



17 Rome, Villa under the Farnesina, Cubiculum D, Museo Nazionale delle Terme (photo: DAI Rome)

ancient Mediterranean poured into Rome.[66] Along with the money came a passion among the rich to import Hellenistic Greek art, customs, and people into Rome. Thus it comes as no surprise that wealthy Roman gentlemen adopted the fashion of buying slaves to satisfy their sexual whims. Upper-class people took it for granted that the male aristocrat would have his *puer delicatus* or pretty boy to make love to. He would also probably have his female love toys—all under the same roof with his wife. Such sexual usages, rather shocking to modern bourgeois morality, were commonplace for the Roman aristocrat, since it was love between unequal partners, strictly speaking, between the owner of the property and his or her property. Rousselle sees sexual relationships between male master and slave in terms of power: ". . . the inferior, servile position of defeated Greeks in Roman households must have helped to impart an aspect of power to the sexual relationship obtained in a partnership involving two men, one of whom was master, the other slave."[67] Roman law did not forbid another kind of lovemaking between males, that provided by homosexual prostitution, since male prostitutes paid taxes on their earnings and celebrated their own holiday like female prostitutes.[68]

Modern authors have repeatedly pointed out the "phallic" construction of sexual activity in ancient Rome: all the texts that have come down to us frame sexual experience in terms of the freeborn, aristocratic male who inserts his penis into the body of another, whether that other be male or female.[69] One will look in vain for records of the feelings of the receptive partner of these phallic acts, whether male or female, of equal or lesser status. Texts tell us only of the desires of the aristocratic male and his fulfillment of those desires with the sex object. But one rule seemed universal for the Roman aristocratic male: he must not have sex with another freeborn male, whether a boy or an adult. It was easy to know the status of people in Roman times because of their dress: a freeborn boy or *ingenuus,* who was off-limits for sex, wore a golden amulet, or *bulla,* around his neck, and a special

[66] H. Jucker, *Vom Verhältnis der Römer zur bildenden Kunst der Griechen,* Frankfurt, 1950; M. Pape, *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom. Von der Eroberung von Syrakus bis in augusteische Zeit,* Hamburg, 1975.

[67] A. Rousselle, "Personal Status and Sexual Practice in the Roman Empire," *Zone,* v, 1989, 309.

[68] *Scriptores historiae Augustae,* Aelius Lampridius, *Alex. Sever.* 24.3–4: Alexander Severus decreed that the taxes on pimps, prostitutes, and male prostitutes (*exoleti*) should not go into the public coffers; *The Scriptores historiae Augustae,* trans. D. Magie (*Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge, Mass., 1924; Griffin, 25: "Boys employed in male prostitution had their own holiday, and this was duly recorded in the State calendar."

[69] See Halperin (as in n. 62), 165–166, n. 83, for the definition of phallus, and n. 67, pp. 164–165, for the distinction between phallus and penis.



18 Pompeii, IX, 8, 3, House of the Centenary, Cubiculum 43, south wall, central picture (photo: Michael Larvey)

toga, the *toga praetexta.*[70] It seems that the axiom voiced in the mid-second century B.C. by a slave in Plautus's *Curculio* still held in Augustan Rome: "Love whatever you want, as long as you stay away from married ladies, widows, virgins, young men, and free boys."[71]

In addition to prescribing the inferior status of the love object, the whole of Roman literature, from poetry to the law, makes it clear that the aristocratic male's role must only consist in inserting his penis into the love object. Words such as *pathicus* and *cinaedus,* denoting the male passive partner in insertive sex, carried great stigma. Whereas the "active" or insertive stance carried no blame, the Romans scorned and sometimes penalized freeborn men who voluntarily had sex in the "pathic" or receptive position; Richlin has recently detailed the range of these penalties as indicated in legal, rhetorical, and literary texts.[72] Although it is difficult to find evidence in ancient texts for socially established homosexual relationships between freeborn men of the same age,[73] this simply means that being a *cinaedus* (like being a woman in ancient Rome) was incompatible with the act of writing. Richlin concludes that with respect to the social status of the passive male homosexual, ". . . we need not be surprised to see that law and anecdote and literature gives us not only differing but conflicting views of reality."[74]

The art historian must ask whether works of art tell the same story as the literature. Although standard interpretations of Roman love poetry addressed to the beloved boy have flatly stated that the poets are simply imitating Greek fashions in lyric,[75] Griffin and others have argued that the Roman poets are articulating a social and sexual reality.[76] Part of the problem rests in determining the extent to which Romans of the late Republic and early Empire adopted the Greek institution of boy love, or pederasty.

Dover's *Greek Homosexuality* turns to both legal texts and images in vase painting to articulate the practice of pederasty among the Greeks of classical times.[77] The social institution of boy love expected adult aristocratic males to be attracted to, court, and engage in insertive intercourse with adolescent boys of the same class. For the aristocratic Greeks in some city-states, as in Thebes or Athens before the late Classical period, such love was institutionalized, as long as the "passive" partner was under eighteen. The only trouble came if the former *eromenos* grew to maturity and refused to take his new, socially prescribed role—if, rather than becoming the active partner (the *erastes*) and finding his own new beloved, he preferred so-called passive sex.

Scholars, basing their arguments on textual evidence, disagree on the extent to which Romans of the late Republic and early Empire espoused Greek boy love of any sort. Veyne believes that the Romans had an indigenous tradition of pederasty (and therefore no need of the Greeks to "teach" them its practices);[78] MacMullen, mostly on the evidence of the plays of Plautus, argues that most Romans abhorred homosexuality.[79] Lilja, carefully considering a larger body of evidence than does MacMullen, concludes that many socially approved forms of male-male sexual activity were present in the late Republic and early Empire.[80] Cantarella's somewhat uncritical overview argues for a pattern of increasing social acceptance of male-male love in the same period.[81]

[70] H. Gabelmann, "Römische Kinder in Toga Praetexta," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* C, 1985, 497–541; W. Gercke, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Kinderporträt,* Hamburg, 1968; Richlin, 1993, 537–539.

[71] "Dum ted apstineas nupta, vidua, virgine,/ iuventute et pueris liberis, ama quidlubet"; Plautus, *Curculio,* 35–38; *Plautus,* II, trans. P. Nixon (*Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge, Mass., 1917; my trans.

[72] Richlin, 1993, 554–571.

[73] Richlin, 1983, 226.

[74] Richlin, 1993, 572.

[75] G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry,* London, 1968, 551.

[76] Griffin, 22: "As for homosexual relationships in poetry and in life, one of the chief arguments used by those who regard the poems as 'unreal' is that at Rome such practices were 'the object of penal legislation.' I do not find this such an obstacle as do its proponents." See also J. Griffin, "Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury," *Journal of Roman Studies,* LXVI, 1976, 87–105; Cantarella, 120–156; Richlin, 1993, *passim.*

[77] Dover (as in n. 35).

[78] P. Veyne, "L'Homosexualité à Rome," *Communications,* XXXV, 1982, 27–28: "Should we really believe that Rome learned of this kind of love from the Greeks, who were its masters in so many other domains? If the answer is 'yes,' the inference must be that love between men is a perversion so rare that one people can only have learned of it from another who set a bad example. If, on the other hand, it would seem that pederasty was indigenous in Rome, the conclusion must be that it would be astonishing, not for a society to know of love between men, but for it not to. What calls for an explanation is not the tolerance of the Romans, but the intolerance of modern societies. The right answer is surely the second one."

[79] R. MacMullen, "Roman Attitudes to Greek Love," *Historia,* XXXI, 1982, 484–502.

[80] S. Lilja, *Homosexuality in Republican and Augustan Rome,* Helsinki, 1983.

[81] Cantarella, 97–186.

Although some Romans of the late Republic publicly decried the institution of pederasty among aristocratic Greek males and their equally aristocratic young lovers, they shared with the Greeks certain attitudes that shed light on the representations on the Warren Cup. The prime question in the ancient viewer's mind—whether Greek or Roman—would not be *what* the couples were doing but rather *what status* the individuals had. Given the overwhelming testimony in literary texts for social approval only of phallic, unequal love, the representation on side B remains unproblematic. Furthermore, as has been seen, the pose is quite standard—so standard, in fact, that it appears in Arretine vessels. The boy's long hair is a clear indication of his foreign and possibly servile status (Fig. 9), since freeborn males of the Augustan period consistently maintained short-cropped coiffures.[82] A fragment of an Arretine crater in the Ashmolean Museum pictures an adult male with a boy with similarly long hair, suggesting that the boy's hair length was part of the original composition.[83] His long locks separated him from the freeborn boys who were off-limits; long hair, because it was forbidden to aristocratic Roman boys, may have provided an extra sexual *frisson* for the Roman male.

The image on side A of the Warren Cup is much more problematic, for it seems to show love between men of equal age, with a curious reversal of the active and passive roles. It is difficult to see any great difference in age between the two partners, although the man on the bottom has a close-cropped beard. In addition to their similarity of age, the two men are about the same size. In fact, the sheer weight of the man on top keeps the viewer from seeing him in a typically passive role. He uses a strap to lower himself onto his lover's penis, yet his lover seems to be working hard not be crushed. Although this awkwardness may not be entirely intentional, there is no doubt that the artist strove to make the two as equal as possible in age, size, and activity. There are some artistic precedents in Greek vase painting for representing lover and beloved as near equals.

Some vase painters make it difficult to distinguish man from boy by depicting both *erastes* and *eromenos* as the same size and age. Huppertz has recently challenged the long-held assumption that black-figure vases always depict the "ritual" of pederasty between an older male and a boy. His many examples argue for the existence of a variety of sexual activities between males of the same age.[84] The red-figured psykter by Smikros in the J. Paul Getty Collection shows males courting and kissing.[85] For two of the couples, neither beard nor larger size nor degree of activity distinguishes one youth as older than the other. For these individuals, the painter portrays a relationship of equality. Is it possible that either patrons or artists deliberately desired such "non-standard" representations?

Although there are no other representations of male-male lovemaking in the exact pose found on side A of the Warren Cup, two of its features have clear ancient precedents. The lover's use of the strap in the lovemaking chamber seems to have had a long history, to judge by the red-figure cup by Onesimos, where a female spreads her legs in anticipation of titillation while grasping a strap with her left hand.[86] Furthermore, the act of one male lowering himself onto another's penis appears on a vase by the Dinos Painter, although he uses a staff, rather than the strap, as an aid.[87] Yet in both of these representations, the person in the receptive position is also of inferior status to the male whose penis he or she accepts. Nothing in the body size, facial type, or hairstyles (aside from the "active" lover's beard and laurel wreath) differentiates the two men on side A of the Warren Cup. If we did not know the overwhelming evidence adduced from the literature against the possibility of lovemaking between males of the same age and class, we would be inclined to read this image in terms of late twentieth-century definitions of reciprocal "gay" or "homosexual" lovemaking.

Who are these men with their unusually equal lovemaking activities? Vermeule, the only scholar to have attempted to identify them, believes that they are princes of Augustus's family. His thesis is that the cup is a degrading satire on the dynasty that Augustus founded. "On one side [side B] an elderly man with the features of the Pheidian Zeus is coupled with a Julio-Claudian prince. On the other side, the scene involves two princes, one older than the other, with faces like Tiberius and Drusus Jr. . . . Needless to say, this type of cup was produced for private viewings by a very limited, extremely sophisticated audience."[88] Although this is an interesting notion, the boy's long hair on side B disqualifies him as a Julio-Claudian prince. The likenesses that Vermeule proposes for the men on side A simply are not there. Rather than being Augustus's heirs to the throne, Drusus the Younger and Tiberius, these are generic Augustan males—in their faces, haircuts, and bodies.

Other features of the scene may provide clues to the lovers' identities. The meaning of the accessories in the room might be questioned once again. In the red-figure vase picturing the strap as a lovemaking accessory, the woman is clearly a

[82] The visual evidence for short hair: Gabelmann (as in n. 70); C. Rose, " 'Princes' and Barbarians on the Ara Pacis," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XCIV, 1990, 456, n. 11, for long-haired Bosporan princes; pp. 459–461 for barbarian princes from Gaul with long hair.

[83] Brown, 8, cat. no. 6, pl. 6, figs. 1 and 2: "The companion (sex uncertain) lies on the left side, twisted round with the head in profile; looking up at the youth, the right arm outstretched. A lock of hair, perhaps suggesting the figure could be a girl, falls onto the nape of the neck."

[84] C. Hupperts, "Greek Love: Homosexuality or Paederasty? Greek Love in Black Figure Vase-Painting," in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen, August 31–September 4, 1987*, ed. J. Christiansen and T. Melander, Copenhagen, 1988, 255–268.

[85] J. Frel, "Euphronios and His Fellows," in W. Moon, ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Madison, 1983, 147–151, figs. 10.2–10.6; Arezzo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, *Capolavori di Euphronios: Un pioniere della ceramografia attica*, exh. cat. (May 26–July 31, 1990), 192–193, cat. no. 43, attributed to Smikros by D. von Bothmer.

[86] Ill. in Brendel, fig. 19.

[87] E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*, New York, 1985, 293; Keuls's interpretation is not entirely convincing: see P. von Blanckenhagen, "Puerilia," in *In Memoriam Otto Brendel*, Mainz, 1976, 37–41; see also the representation of a female lowering herself onto a male seated on a chair, Brendel, figs. 25 and 26.

[88] Vermeule, 39.

prostitute. Other details on side A of the Warren Cup could indicate that this is a room specially outfitted for lovemaking. The lyre, instrument of the muse of love poetry, Erato, seems calculated to establish a refined, cultured atmosphere in the room. Had love songs been a prelude to the lovemaking pictured here? It is also useful to note what accessories commonly found in scenes of lovemaking are absent: there are no signs of the symposium, or drinking party, that so often constitutes the narrative framework of erotic imagery on Greek vases: there are no drinking vessels or tables. Nor has the artist pictured the erotic panel paintings, or *tabellae,* that sometimes appear above the couple's bed.[89]

The detail of the boy in a tunic entering the room is more difficult to interpret. He may fit into the broad category of the so-called onlooker.[90] Scholars have grappled with the ubiquitous onlookers who seem to intrude into mythological scenes in Pompeian painting; recently Michel has hypothesized that they are stand-ins for the viewer, placed there to make the event more theatrical.[91] Another possibility is that the scene takes place in a brothel, and that the entering boy is an attendant—or another possible partner for one of the men. One could also interpret the onlooker as the bridge figure in a narrative that circles the cup from side A to side B. In such a reading, side A would picture lovemaking between two adult males, one of whom then makes love to the entering boy on side B. I have also considered the possibility that this is a scene in a hotel for gay men, where two men of equal age and status have rented a room in an establishment that countenanced, and even encouraged, same-sex lovemaking.[92] Finally, it is possible that all the imagery on the cup is designed to evoke not the everyday world of the Roman aristocrats who looked at it, but rather a world of sexual fantasy. In that world, the individuals making love were not fixed in time, place, or social status—this in spite of the clearly contemporary, Augustan style of the figures.

As I remarked above, literary sources from the time of Augustus dealing with matters sexual provide a contradictory interpretative apparatus for the Warren Cup. Because Augustan Rome represents a chilly, somewhat reflective epilogue to the wholesale importation of Hellenistic luxuries in the late Republic, one would expect a rather sober tone in both art and poetry. On the one hand, Augustus heralded a new Golden Age, which was to renew the virtues of the old Republic. He revived antiquated Roman rituals that had gone out with the influx of glittering, sophisticated Hellenistic religions.[93] He tried to get aristocratic Roman women to bear children—a task they abhorred. Yet Augustan art belies moral rigor. Poets sing the praises of the boys they love, frequently alternating with love poems to their mistresses;[94] artists provide images of male-male lovemaking for the rich and for people of slender means (in mass production). It is also instructive that the visual artists who created these images of sexually explicit couplings of males employed the very neoclassical style that Augustus favored as the vehicle of his Golden Age propaganda, even though these portable objects meant for private use reflected personal, rather than official, standards. They responded to actual fashions of private behavior rather than the constructed moral probity of official public life.

The various contexts examined here allow us to say several things about the meaning of the scenes of lovemaking on the Warren Cup. Explicit representations of male-female lovemaking cut across class boundaries, appearing in a variety of places, from popular brothels and baths to aristocratic bedrooms. The Warren Cup's neoclassical figural style and composition fit well with other Augustan silver vessels. Although no other silver cup depicts lovemaking between two males, the two cups from the House of the Menander could easily be read as lovemaking between human males and females. The numerous examples of both male-female and male-male lovemaking on Arretine wares indicate that lovemaking scenes must have been relatively common in precious materials. Textual evidence for Roman attitudes toward males making love to each other sometimes contradicts the way artists pictured such lovemaking in the visual arts. Just as there are exceptions to the rule of representing the *erastes* as the older male and the *eromenos* as the boy on Greek vases, so it seems that the artist of the Warren Cup was picturing a couple of the same age on side A. And, just as the distinction between the passive and active partner seems to blur on certain Attic vases, so, five hundred years later, it seems to blur for the couple on side A of the Warren Cup. They illustrate, so to speak, the activity of the passive partner and the passivity of the so-called active partner.

Although the Romans left us very little in writing about sexual activity between males in the Augustan period, they bought, looked at, and drank from cups whose images reflected their own sexual fantasies. Scenes of beautiful males making love to each other constituted a frequent motif in cups meant for both wealthy and poor consumers. The fact that images of lovemaking like those on the Warren Cup fail to fit commonly held modern notions about Augustan moral probity is a very good argument for studying them. It is a case where visual art—not literature—comes closest to life.

John R. Clarke recently published The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C–A.D. 250. Ritual, Space, and Decoration *(Berkeley, 1991). He is currently researching the visual constructions of lovemaking in Greek and Roman art for a new book,* Looking at Lovemaking in Roman Art *[University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Tex. 78712].*

[89] E.g., on the bronze relief from a mirror cover of the Flavian period: Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, *Bellezza e seduzione nella Roma imperiale,* exh. cat. (June 11–July 31, 1990), Rome, 1990, 99, cat. no. 145, color pl. 35 on p. 54; see also Myerowitz, 145–147, fig. 7.10.

[90] An unpublished relief from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, securely dated by inscriptions to the later Julio-Claudian period, pictures a similar voyeur in the person of Eros watching Leda being penetrated by the swan. I owe this reference to the late Kenan Erim.

[91] Michel (as in n. 53), 537–598.

[92] J. Clarke, "The Decor of the House of Jupiter and Ganymede at Ostia Antica: Private Residence Turned Gay Hotel?," in E. Gazda, ed., *Roman Art: The Private Sphere,* Ann Arbor, 1991, 89–104.

[93] P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus,* trans. A. Shapiro, Ann Arbor, 1988, 101–166.

[94] Griffin, 18–26; Richlin, 1983, 34–49; Cantarella, 120–154.

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Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla*

MIRANDA MARVIN

(Pls. 47–54)

Abstract

Of the great Imperial Thermae in Rome, the possibility exists of reconstructing the sculptural program of only one—the Baths of Caracalla. The major social role played by baths in Roman life and the importance of the capital in influencing institutions in the provinces make such an attempt worthwhile. Since the Baths of Caracalla have always remained standing, the removal of their decorations began early, and many legends and misapprehensions confuse the picture of what was actually found there. The methodology followed here has been to accept as authentic only those works which can be traced to a known excavation.

Once a list of sculptures attributable to the baths is compiled, the evidence from the works themselves is combined with the evidence from the architectural design of the complex to find clues to their placement within the Thermae. Specific locations for many works are suggested, and general ones for almost all. Moreover, a close analysis of the sculptures in their architectural setting reveals a group of monumental works which seem to have been commissioned with the bath and to exemplify "Severan Baroque" in an unexpected and dramatic way.

In addition, the study gives a new glimpse of the civic institutions and public taste of Early Christian Rome, since the sculptures retrievable today are those which were in place in Late Antiquity. Finally, assembling and identifying the sculptures from the Baths make it possible to discuss them in the context of bath sculptures in general.

It should be noted that this study is exclusively concerned with freestanding sculpture, not architectural sculpture, mosaics, paintings or any of the other works of art from the Baths.

In the fourth century A.C., there were more than eight hundred baths in the city of Rome. They ranged from tiny, sometimes shady, private enterprises to some of the most lavish public buildings in the city—the great Imperial Thermae given by the Emperors to their fellow citizens. The first ruler to give his subjects one of these enormous complexes, which included large areas for exercise and socializing, was Nero. The last really grand establishment built from scratch was a gift of Constantine.[1] By his day, cheap or free bathing had come to seem, like horse-racing and gladiatorial shows, a right of the poor, and the provision of suitable facilities, an obligation of the rich.[2] Since at least the time of Trajan, all these Imperial establishments had been built to similar plans, and they all provided for the same activities—washing, swimming, sweat-bathing, massage, strolling (indoors or in the park outside), reading, gymnastics, catching up on the news, and even listening to poetry or music.[3] An overwhelming richness of decoration was an integral part of all these Thermae, which served to convince the populace both of their own importance and of their Emperor's generosity. For a few hours of every day, the urban poor could feel rich, could enjoy, not just the activities, but the luxurious surroundings available in the privacy of their villas to the rich.[4] The baths were covered with glittering mosaics and polished stone revetments, with painted stucco and, set in niches and standing on the floor, hundreds of statues. A few of these were bronze, but most were painted

* Most of the research for this article was done at the American Academy in Rome. It has, therefore, benefited from discussions with many more scholars than can be listed in a single polite footnote. Rather than creating an "Appendix: Debts of Gratitude," I will simply thank the Academy itself, its Trustees and supporters for creating that remarkable library and stimulating environment in which learning and friendship flourish. It is a pleasure also to record my gratitude to the Directors and the staffs of the Museo Nazionale Romano and the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, first for their generosity in allowing access to their storerooms and files, and then for their helpful assistance in locating both objects and records. I would like also to thank E. Milliker and the other members of the "sculpture seminar" at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and the President and Trustees of Wellesley College and my colleagues in the Greek and Latin and Art departments there for financial and other support, and most particularly the Editors of the *AJA* for their invaluable aid of all kinds.

[1] Platner-Ashby s.v. Thermae, Balneum.

[2] P. Vigne, *Le pain et le cirque* (Paris 1976) 690–91. See also A.R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (London 1968) 143–45, 206–209, and Chapters 3 and 4 passim for an analysis of the nature of the gifts made by wealthy citizens to their cities.

[3] The basic type was defined by D. Krencker in D. Krencker et al., *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen* 1 (Augsburg 1929) 180. The type may be much older than Trajan. See F.K. Yegül, *The Bath-Gymnasium Complex in Asia Minor* (Diss. Harvard University 1975) 63–65.

[4] See P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains*[2] (Paris 1969) 195; and Vigne (supra n. 2) 691.

marble, their rich polychromy adding to the sparkle of bright colors and sound of splashing fountains in the hubbub of activity filling the baths.[5]

Of all the baths in Rome, the only one whose sculptural decoration has survived in any quantity is the Baths of Caracalla.[6] Although most of its statues ended up in the lime-kilns of the Middle Ages, enough remain to give some impression of what the sculptural decoration of one of these great baths was like. It is important to remember that this impression is of the Thermae in their latest period of use. The Baths of Caracalla were typical of bathing establishments of the Empire in being maintained as long as the municipal authorities could keep the water flowing. No urban amenities were more popular than baths, and great efforts were expended to keep them functioning.[7] It was only when it became impossible to maintain the aqueducts supplying them that they were abandoned. In the Baths of Caracalla, for example, the latest repairs recorded are those of Theodoric (493–526).[8] The aqueducts were cut in the siege of the Goths in 537, and it is not clear how many were reopened afterward.[9] The sculpture found in modern times, therefore, is a remnant of what survived in the Baths after three hundred or more years of continuous use and several campaigns of repairs and refurbishing.[10] Some indication, however, of the intentions and taste of the original builders can be recovered by analyzing carefully the individual works of sculpture and their placement within the Baths.

Neither assembling the works recovered from the Baths nor deducing their placement within them is a simple process. The Baths of Caracalla were built in two different periods and have been mined for their fine stone and statuary since their abandonment. Tracing to their original locations the works pulled from the ruins is not always possible. A sketch of the history of the site may make some of these problems clear.

The principal source for the construction of the Baths is the late antique volume of Imperial biographies known as the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. In the *SHA*, Caracalla is credited with completing the central building of the complex (ill. 1). The surrounding precinct, however, is said to have been continued by Elagabalus and finished by Alexander Severus.[11] The evidence of brick-stamps substantiates the ancient accounts. It is brick-stamp and inscriptional evidence, moreover, which reveals the efforts of later emperors to repair and maintain the baths.[12]

Caracalla was only the nickname of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus, and the Baths were officially known as the Thermae Antoninianae. This name was never entirely lost, although it was corrupted to Antigno or Antignano in the Middle Ages.[13] Much of the fabric remained standing, and salvageable pieces were gradually removed and put to use. The only fragments recovered before the sixteenth century which can be identified today, however, are some capitals and possibly some columns and fragments of architrave placed by Innocent II in Sta. Maria in Trastevere in 1139.[14]

[5] Seneca, *Ep.Mor.* 56.1–2, describes the activity in a contemporary bath.

[6] Unfortunately the publication by H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (Monumenta Artis Romanae 15, Berlin 1981; henceforth cited as Manderscheid) appeared only after this article had already been submitted. I have not been able, therefore, to take full advantage of the material collected there. I have been able to simplify many footnotes by referring to his catalogue, and to mention, principally in the footnotes, some of his arguments which have particular relevance to the Baths of Caracalla. In the Checklist at the end, I have tried to clarify the differences among the lists recently published of sculptures found in the Baths of Caracalla. In addition to my own catalogue and Manderscheid's, I have included C. Vermeule's from his *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste* (Ann Arbor 1977). Vermeule's book is the publication of the Jerome Lectures which I had the pleasure of hearing in Rome in 1976; I am greatly indebted to him for the stimulation they provided.

[7] Yegül (supra n. 3) 196–98.

[8] H. Bloch, *I bolli laterizi* (Rome 1947) 290.

[9] T. Ashby, *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1935) 15–17.

[10] To Platner-Ashby (supra n. 1) add *AEpigr* 1946, no. 82, p. 23 (an architrave indicating a repair under Constantine).

[11] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, s.v. Caracalla, 9.4–5; Elagabalus, 17.8–9; Alexander Severus, 25.6. Manderscheid 13 and n. 97, takes the passage in the life of Alexander Severus to mean that he added not only the precinct buildings but all the sculptural decorations in the main building as well. Manderscheid therefore dates the sculptural program of the entire bath complex to the reign of Alexander. The wording of the text seems too vague to permit it to be read so precisely, especially since the other passages cited and the archaeological evidence indicate otherwise. The reign of Caracalla was, of course, short, and many of the colossi commissioned with the Baths may not have been set in place until after his death.

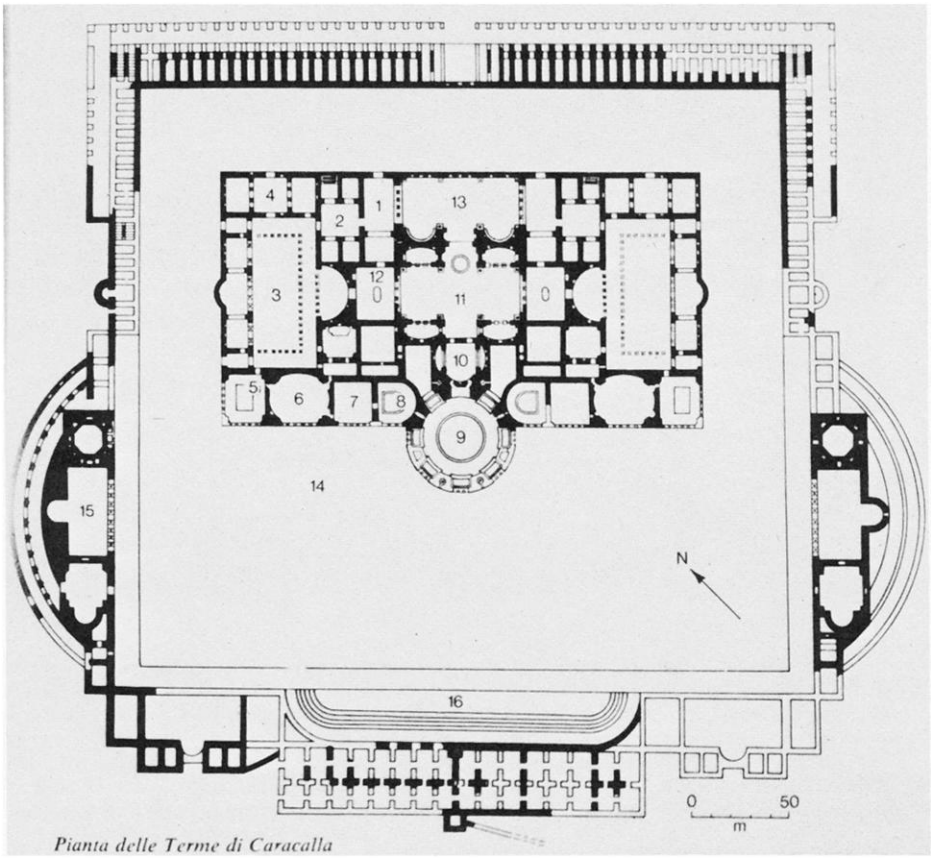
[12] To Bloch (supra n. 8) 299–303, and Platner-Ashby (supra n. 1) add C. Hülsen, *Architektonische Studien von S.A. Iwanoff* 3 (Berlin 1898) 70–71 for evidence of some kind of construction activity in the main building as well as the precinct under Alexander Severus. Hülsen was the first to make a scholarly and comprehensive list of works of art found in the Baths, and his study is still fundamental.

[13] R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* (Rome 1901–1913), summarizes the post-antique history of the baths. For the names and for references to the identification of the building as a palace, see vol. 1, 60 and especially vol. 2, 179.

[14] Lanciani 1 (supra n. 13) 7; G.J.F. Kater-Sibbes, *Preliminary Catalogue of Serapis Monuments* (Leiden 1973) 121–22. See D.

The first systematic collection of sculpture from the Baths was made in the 1540s by Alessandro Farnese, who reigned as Pope Paul III from 1534 to 1549. He was eager to find ancient statues to decorate the Farnese Palace, which he was then building.[15] Operations were in progress by the summer of 1545 and lasted at least through the spring of 1546.[16] It was in these excavations that many of the large-scale sculptures known today to come from the Baths, like the Herakles Farnese and the Punishment of Dirke ("The Farnese Bull"), were found. Several other permits to collect marble from the Baths were issued by the Papal authorities in the sixteenth century, but no discoveries of sculpture are recorded. The buildings were, however, so thoroughly stripped of their stone incrustations in the course of these investigations that by 1597, when a permit was issued for material to be used in the construction of the "nave Clementina" in the Lateran, only eleven *scudi* worth of marble was left to be recovered.[17]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, much of the area of the Baths was under cultivation, and occasional discoveries of antiquities were made, but no systematic digging was undertaken. Then in the nineteenth century a series of excavations was carried out—in 1824–1829, 1868, 1870–1872, 1878–1879,



Ill. 1. Baths of Caracalla, general plan. (After F. Coarelli, *Guida Archeologica di Roma*, fig. on p. 333)

Kinney's forthcoming definitive study of Sta. Maria for a thorough treatment of all the *spolia* there.

[15] Lanciani's account (supra n. 13) is still important; see especially vol. 2, 179–84. Now see also R. Vincent, "Les antiques" in École française de Rome, *Le Palais Farnèse* 1.2 Text (Rome 1981) 331–51, and F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London 1981) 11–12 and passim.

[16] In a diary entry dated September 1, 1545, Angelo Massarelli refers to the Herakles Farnese, the Farnese Bull and a third work, unfortunately represented only by a lacuna in the text, as having been discovered in the past August. Sebastian Merkle ed., *Concilii Tridentini Diariorum Pars Prima: Herculis Severoli Commentarius Angeli Massarelli Diaria* I–IV (Freiburg 1901) 253. (I would like to thank Pamela Myczek for kindly checking this reference for me in the Vatican.) Lanciani 2 (supra n. 13) 180–81, gives the date of the excavations incorrectly as 1546, following *CIL* VI, 1088. See also *IG*^{2} XIV, 1238 for the same (incorrect) date.

[17] Lanciani 4 (supra n. 13) 58, 64, and esp. 191.

and 1881.[18] From 1870 onward these were conducted by the Department of Antiquities, which also mounted campaigns in the Baths in 1900–1902 and 1911–1912.[19] Work since then has concentrated on the consolidation and restoration of the existing fabric. Excavation and restoration are now being carried out in the precinct.

These various investigations kept very different kinds of records. The first systematic reports, including plans, descriptions of findspots, and photographs, are from the 1911–1912 excavations. From earlier campaigns very little is recorded. Moreover, P. Rosa, in his cleaning and consolidation projects of 1871–1872, decorated the Baths not only with the sculptures he found there, but also with several that he brought from other sites.[20] The term "Terme di Caracalla" is also sometimes used in the files of the Museo Nazionale as a locality description, referring to the general region of the Baths. In addition, therefore, to the many works which were found in the Baths but were not recorded or cannot be traced today, there are in the scholarly literature several which are thought to have been excavated there but, in fact, were not.

Architectural Provisions for Sculpture

Considering all the limitations imposed by history, it is surprising how much information about the Bath sculptures can actually be retrieved. One great help is the design of the buildings themselves. It is fairly clear, even in their ruined state, where the architects intended sculpture to be placed. In the Baths, almost all the niches discovered are of the type intended to hold sculpture.[21] At the base of some, water pipes have been inserted, at times set below the sill, at times set higher up so that the pipe could be continued through the sculpture itself and the statue could be transformed into a fountain figure.[22]

The large rectangular niches, for example, over the plunge pools off the central hall (F on the plan, ill. 2), are fitted with pipes at the bottom of the niche, most of which was left to be filled with sculpture.[23] The semicircular niches around the pools, however, have no pipes leading to them and must have been designed simply to hold sculptures. Still visible in the Baths in many niches are the firm, horizontal sills designed for heavy statues. Most of these niches are placed approximately 2.50 m. above the floors. The exceptions are the fountains over the plunge pools in the central hall and room T, where the water spouts are low enough to allow bathers to fill jars comfortably. Over the swimming pool, the niches are again set too high above the water level to be reached by swimmers.

No completely accurate plan of the Baths has been published, and parts of them cannot be visited today.[24] In many of the rooms which can be seen, there are signs of remodelling and change, and the arrangement of statuary niches originally planned cannot always be determined. Nevertheless, it is possible to make a rough estimate of the number and placement of the niches let into the walls by the architect.

For the main building, the plan (ill. 2) shows that the heaviest concentration of statuary niches was in the rooms around the two palaestrae (rooms B and

[18] The excavations of 1824–1829 are reported in E. Gerhard et al., *Hyperboreisch-römische Studien für Archäologie* (Berlin 1833) 138 and 143; those of 1868 very briefly in R.A. Lanciani, "Scavi di Roma," *AdI* (now *RömMitt*) 11 (1869) 236, and in F. Castagnoli, "Documenti di scavi eseguiti in Roma negli anni 1860–1870," *BullComm* 73 (1949–1950) 167; those of 1870–1872 in [P. Rosa] *Relazione sulle scoperte archeologiche della Città e Provincia di Roma negli anni 1871–1872* (Rome 1873) 83–85; those of 1878 in *NSc* 1878, 346 and *NSc* 1879, 40 and pl. 1 no. 1; of 1881 in *NSc* 1881, 89.

[19] L. Savignoni in *NSc* 1901, 250; G. de Angelis, *Relazione dei lavori eseguiti dall'Ufficio nel quadriennio 1889–1902* (Rome 1903) 108–10, 114; E. Ghislanzoni in *NSc* 1912, 305–25.

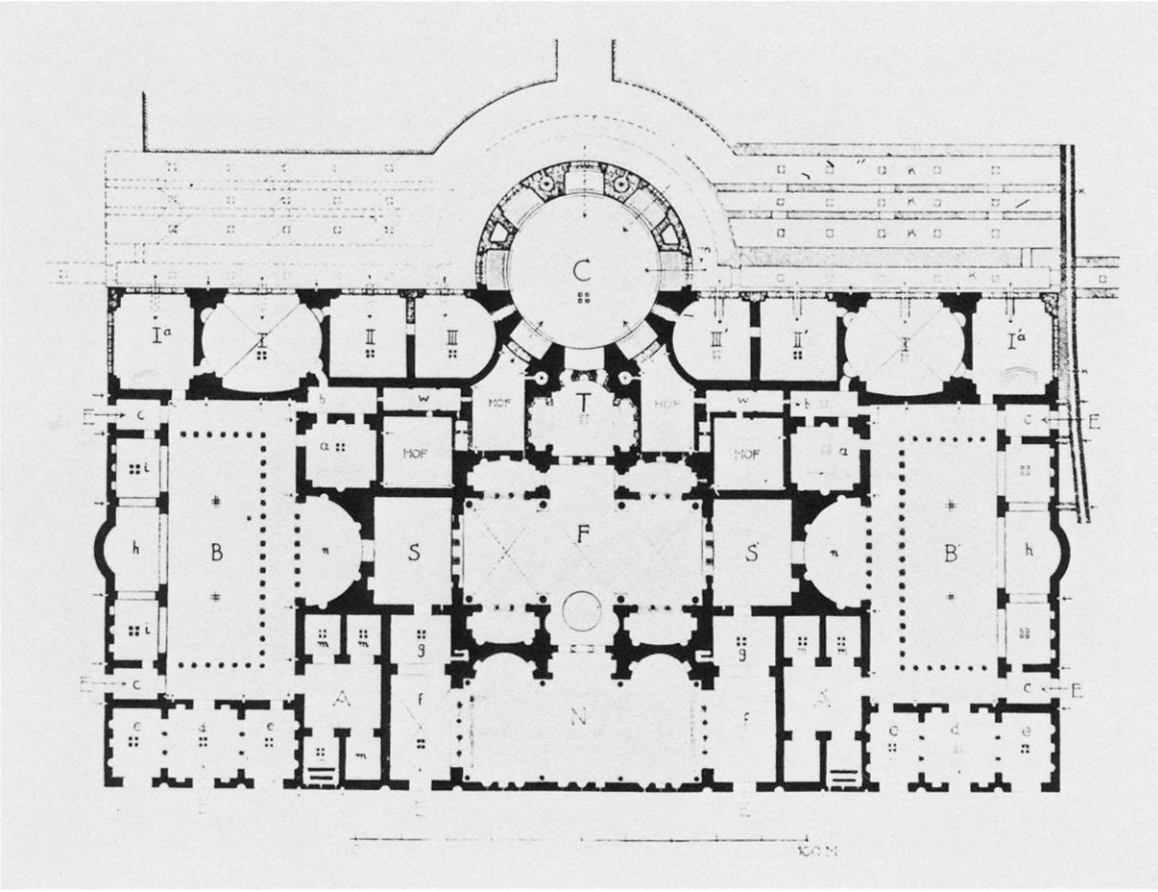
[20] Rosa, *Relazione* (supra n. 18) 83.

[21] G. Hornbostel-Hüttner, *Studien zur römischen Nischenarchitektur* (Leiden 1979) 117–18, 187–88. See also 208. By "niche" I do not mean any kind of apse or exedra at ground level, but a recess let into the plane of the wall surface, usually well above floor level (her "Wandnische," not "Bodennische").

[22] See B. Kapossy, *Brunnenfiguren der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit* (Zurich 1969), for a discussion of the arrangements of these fountain figures.

[23] I use the term central hall for the room usually identified as the Frigidarium. In general I have tried to use neutral, English words for the rooms of the Baths, since I think we understand the Latin terms less well than is usually believed. The exceptions are the two rooms B and B[1] which I call palaestrae because I think that is what they were, not basilicas as proposed by Krencker (supra n. 3) 269–79, and vigorously seconded by E. Brödner, *Untersuchungen an den Caracallathermen* (Berlin 1951) 7–14. In this I rely on the late J.B. Ward-Perkins, *JRS* 43 (1953) 210–12 following A. von Gerkan (*Gnomon* 8 [1932] 44–46), on Yegül (supra n. 3), and on conversations with F.E. Brown and L.H. Richardson.

[24] The plan reproduced here is from Krencker (supra n. 3) and is in general the best available, although mistaken in some details. The most significant errors for this study are the omission of the doors connecting the rooms A and A[1] with the two rooms marked f, of the niches in the walls of rooms f north of these doors, and the omission of the rectangular niches between the semicircular ones flanking the doors to the main building in the exedrae "n" off the two palaestrae B and B[1].



Ill. 2. Baths of Caracalla, main building. (After D. Krencker, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen* 1, fig. 400)

B^1). Set into the walls of the apses (n) leading from the palaestrae to the central core of the building, the areas opposite them under the porticoes (h and i), the warm room (A) south of each great apse, and the lavishly decorated suites at the northeast end (d and e) is a total of 24 niches around each palaestra (remembering the omissions listed in n. 24 supra). If one can assume that the shallow apses in the two areas (h) which mark the building's longitudinal axis were also designed to be emphasized with sculpture, then one can count in all probability 50 places around these two courtyards where the architect intended sculpture to be set. All of this was done with the strictest regard for bilateral symmetry, echoing the design of the building itself.

The second highest concentration of niches for sculpture was around the swimming pool (N) whose northeast wall was designed like a *scaenae frons* or a nymphaeum with two storeys of columned aediculae, each storey containing 9 aediculae for a total of 18 framed statuary niches. In addition, each of the two apses in the southwest wall held two large statuary niches, as did the rectangular area between them, and the two areas (f on the plan) which open onto the pool contained one rectangular niche apiece (not marked on the plan) for an impressive total of 26 around the pool area.

The four plunge pools around the central hall (F) were also richly ornamented with sculpture, each pool having 4 niches around it, some fitted out as fountains. Similarly the pools in the small warm room (T) linking the central hall to the hot rooms were surrounded by perhaps as many as 5 statuary niches around each pool. In each of the two rooms (S and S^1) between the central hall and the palaestrae there appear to be statuary niches north of the openings to the palaestra, but this whole area of the Baths has undergone so much rebuilding that its original appearance

is not entirely clear. The northeast exterior facade of the building is another much remodelled area, but at least 8 large statuary niches can be safely restored.

In addition to clusters of rooms whose walls were designed to hold sculptures, there were other room groups whose walls were deliberately left flat. These include the areas marked A and A^1 on the plan with their dependent rooms (m). Presumably these rooms are the apodyteria or dressing rooms. Also plain are the passageways (g). Shown as undecorated on Krencker's plan, but inaccessible today, are the small side entrances (c), the passageways (b) and (w) and the service areas (*Hof*). The lack of sculptural decoration is not surprising since they are all either small passages linking more important areas, or rooms chiefly frequented by slaves, either those employed to run the baths or those left to guard their masters' clothes. What is astonishing, however, is the complete absence of statuary niches from the great row of hot rooms along the southwest side. These were used by all and were an integral part of the bathing process. From an architectural viewpoint also, it is curious, to say the least, to see the principle of three-dimensional wall decoration abandoned in favor of completely flat surfaces in the rooms along one of the two principal facades of the building.

A look at other baths, particularly those of the same Imperial type as Caracalla's (Krencker's *Kaisertyp*) shows, however, that the pattern of distribution of the Caracalla baths, odd as it may seem, is similar to what was done elsewhere. It seems to have been traditional to decorate the palaestrae, the swimming pools, central halls, and small warm rooms with niches for sculpture but not to set them into the walls of the hottest rooms.[25]

A number of factors must be considered in attempting to understand the distribution of statuary niches. There were many different kinds of superheated rooms in Roman baths. Some provided moist heat, some dry. Some were partially solar-heated and contained large windows, others were dark. Many were round or rectangular, but more complex shapes are also recorded. The sizes vary with the size of the bath as a whole. Almost the only constant of these rooms, in addition to the elaborate heating mechanisms installed there, was the absence of sculpture. Of the other bath rooms which did contain sculpture, some were completely unheated and some were gently warmed. Much of the sculpture stood around swimming or plunge pools where splashing would be inevitable. The evidence seems to suggest, therefore, that moisture, room size and shape, or amount of light are not significant in determining whether rooms were decorated with sculpture. The factor disinclining the architect to install sculpture in a given room seems to have been an anticipated high temperature. Almost all the hottest rooms had heating pipes running up through the walls as well as under the floors. It is possible that Roman heating engineers felt that it would be too difficult to route these pipes around the niches, or that the necessary flow of hot air would be impeded by the recesses for sculpture, or that statuary niches would in some other way lower the temperature of the room. Since the flues through the walls were worked into very intricately shaped rooms, however, and were as important in keeping the walls dry as in raising the room temperatures significantly, this theory seems unlikely.[26]

At first glance it is equally hard to imagine any quality in the sculpture itself which would make it inappropriate for use in a very hot room. In almost every case it is made of marble—the very material often used to sheathe the walls of these rooms. It is virtually certain, however, that all this marble statuary was painted, and the hypothesis which suggests itself is that the wax-based paint would soften or even melt in these hot rooms.[27] This is simply a hypothesis because, although experiments have shown that

[25] Krencker and Yegül (supra n. 3) provide the greatest array of floor plans to compare. While niches set into the walls are extremely rare in superheated rooms, statues are occasionally found there. To my knowledge, however, they always come from remodelled baths; it is therefore impossible to tell whether the rooms in which the statues were found were actually superheated in the last period of the bath's use. The general tendency was to heat fewer and fewer rooms as fuel and money became harder to find. A typical example is at Timgad, where statues were found in the Southern Baths in a room originally designed as a caldarium: E. Boeswillwald, R. Cagnat and A. Bally, *Timgad* (Paris 1905) 248. Another is at Aphrodisias, where in 1966, in a caldarium, a statue bust was found, whose head had been excavated in 1965 "quite a distance away in the underground corridor separating in half the palaestra of the Baths": K.T. Erim, "Aphrodisias: 1966 Campaign," *TürkArkDerg* 15.2 (1966) 58. Manderscheid (22) notes the general dearth of sculpture in hot rooms, but in his chart of findspots (ill. 7, p. 21) lists 11 found in caldaria. All their proveniences are as problematic as the examples above.

[26] F. Kretzschmer, "Hypokausten," *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 12 (1953) 33–36.

[27] Manderscheid (22 and n. 206) mentions the problem of painted sculpture in hot rooms but stresses dampness as the chief reason for the lack of sculptures there. His example of a painted sculpture from a bath, unfortunately, is the Asklepios from the Baths of Caracalla (Checklist, no. 5, Manderscheid's no. 46) which was found in the unheated central hall, and was gilded, not painted.

extremely high temperatures were attainable in the hot rooms of ancient baths, the temperatures actually preferred by the Romans cannot be known.[28]

The paint applied to statues found in baths has received virtually no attention. When ancient painted statuary has been analyzed, however, wax has been found to be the binding medium, as the literary sources also indicate. Beeswax melts between 60° and 65° C., but it begins to soften much before that.[29] These temperatures are in line with those in superheated rooms in modern Turkish baths, and are within the capacities of Roman furnaces.

Difficult as it is to understand the pattern of distribution of statuary niches in the main building, it is simpler than trying to deal with the precinct area where only guesswork is possible. The northwest wall is the only area as yet fully excavated and published. Work is currently in progress on the southwest and southeast walls, and accurate plans will be possible when these operations are complete. At the moment, however, only the northwest section of the precinct can be discussed in detail. In this area (ill. 3) there are eleven exterior niches facing the cryptoporticus (B). In the three excavated rooms, one niche is set in the center of the apse of the southernmost room (E). In the central room there are four niches along the northwest wall, and two on each side of the central opening. In the octagonal room to the north (C) are four little apses at ground level which may or may not have held sculpture. At any rate, adding together all the clearly recognizable niches set at the conventional height above the floor, there are at least 16 emplacements unmistakably designed for sculpture. Assuming that the count in the southeast wall will be similar, we get an estimate of 32 statuary emplacements for these two walls of the precinct. The library (G) in the western end of the southwest precinct wall also contained a large statue base in its central apse.

In tabular form the totals can be indicated thus:

Statuary Niches	
Main Building	
Around palaestrae (B, B[1])	48–50
Around swimming pool (N)	26
Central Hall (F)	16
Warm Room (T)	10
Rooms S, S[1]	2(?)
Exterior northeast facade	8
Passageways, service areas, hot rooms	0
	Total: 108–112
Precinct	
Northwest wall	16
Northeast wall	16(?)
Southeast wall	?
	Total: Too little evidence to estimate at present

Sculptures found in the Baths

Incomplete though it is, the chart shows something of the intentions of the architects for the decoration of the Baths. The actual finds of sculpture from the site both confirm the hypothesis that statues were placed in the niches and demonstrate that, in addition to the works in the niches, still others were set on bases on the floors. Only four works were recorded in situ, two fallen face down in front of the niches they had occupied, and two set on the floor. The design and workmanship of many of the other statues, however, indicate where they were placed, and in most cases there

[28] Krencker (supra n. 3) has some observations on heating. An actual hypocaust was built and operated by Kretzschmer (supra n. 26). He champions high temperatures. Much lower temperatures are postulated by E.D. Thatcher, "The Open Rooms of the Terme del Foro at Ostia," *MAAR* 24 (1956) 243–56. The highest temperatures of all are those advocated by A. Lezine, *Architecture romaine d'Afrique* (Publications de l'Université de Tunis, 1ère Série: Archéologie, Histoire 9, n.d.) 15: 60°–70° C. are the temperatures he envisages. The argument centers on the question of whether the ancient bathers walked barefoot on the floors. If they did, then the air temperature cannot have risen extremely high, since the heat in the rooms came principally from the furnaces under the floors. If, on the other hand, they wore clogs or laid boards over the floors, then the floor temperature could be raised much higher since no one came into direct contact with it. The literary sources speak unambiguously of severe burns resulting from touching walls and floors of hot rooms, so despite the absence of any direct references to bathing clogs or walkways, the arguments in favor of intensely hot rooms seem the stronger.

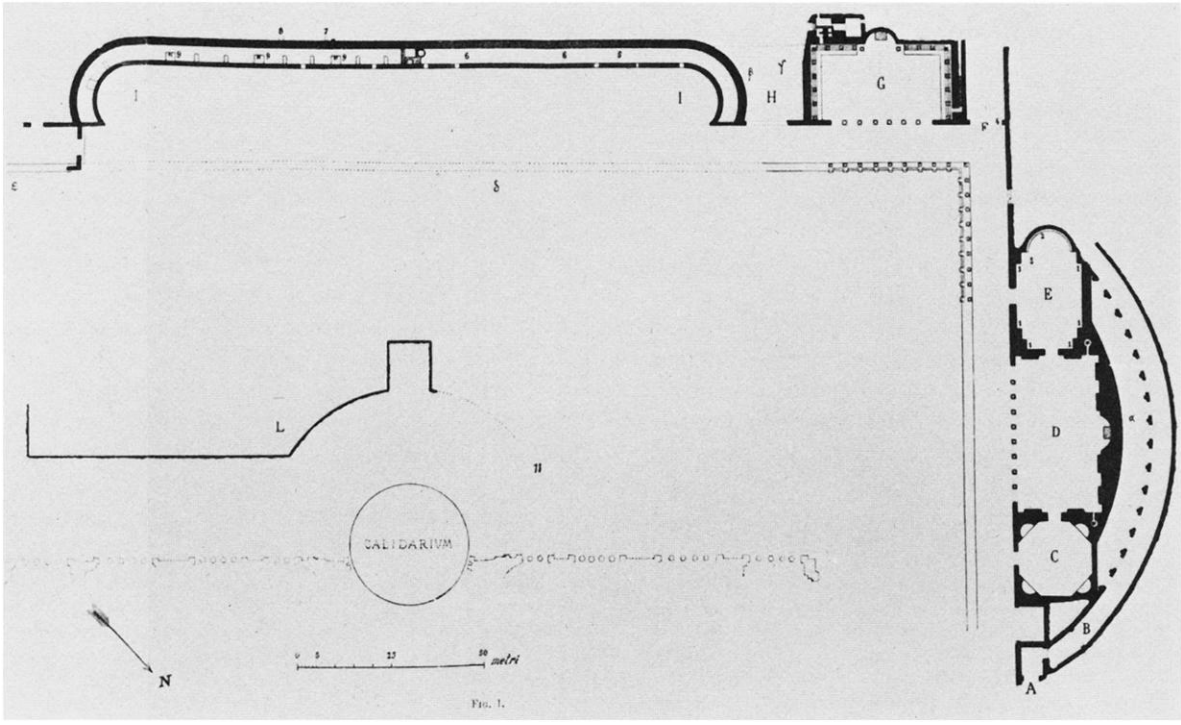
[29] Still the best source for a general discussion of painted sculpture is E. Berger, *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Maltechnik*, vols. 1, 2; *Die Maltechnik des Altertums* (Munich 1904); said to supersede Berger but lacking any discussion of medium or pigment is P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik* (Stockholm 1960). Technical studies of painted sculpture include: H. Kühn, "Detection and Identification of Waxes, Including Punic Wax by Infra-red Spectrography," *Studies in Conservation* 5 (1960) 71–79; J. Plesters, rev. of E. Schiavi, "Ritrovamento della tecnica pittorica greco-romana ad encausto," *Studies in Conservation* 5 (1960) 38–40; Greek stelai, Ch. Wolters, "Eine bemalte attische Grabstele," *MJb* s. 3, 11 (1960) 11–13. The melting point of pure beeswax, of course, is always altered by the other ingredients in the paint.

are records which reveal in what part of the complex they were found.

It is possible to organize the finds by location, beginning with the place where the largest number was recovered, the central hall of the main building. Some of them were found by the Department of Antiquities in 1901 in the substructures underneath the collapsed floor, and others, still in place, by the Farnese excavators in 1545–1546. Interestingly enough, the Farnese finds are among the best documented from the Baths. Two men are responsible, the architect Antonio Sangallo the Younger, who sketched in the Baths during the course of the excavations, and Ulisse Aldrovandi, who catalogued the Farnese collection in 1550–1551. It is on Aldrovandi's word that the identification of most of the sixteenth century finds rests.

Born in Bologna, Aldrovandi was one of the great early encyclopedists. In 1550 he went to Rome and spent eighteen months there.[30] For amusement ("per mio spasso") he made an inventory of all the ancient statues visible in the city.[31] A book resulted, which was published in Venice in 1556.[32] It included a room-by-room account of the collection in the Farnese Palace, and after some of the works the added comment that they came from the "Terme Antoniane."[33] Aldrovandi also described three fragments from the Baths of Caracalla in the house of one Mario Maccarone.[34] From the Farnese records it can be learned that this Maccarone (or Macaroni, as Aldrovandi spells it) was Paul III's agent in the excavation of the baths.[35] The fragments may have been perquisites of his job.

It is fairly rare for Aldrovandi to give proveniences for the works he catalogues. About one of the Maccarone fragments he is quite circumstantial: "A head. . . of Caracalla; it was a whole statue but during the



Ill. 3. Baths of Caracalla, NW corner of precinct. (After *NSc* 1912, plan opp. p. 305)

[30] *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome 1960) s.v. Aldrovandi, Ulisse (G. Montalenti).

[31] A. Baldacci et al., *Studi intorno alla vita e alle opere di Ulisse Aldrovandi* (Bologna 1907) 26, quoting Aldrovandi's own account.

[32] Ulisses Aldroandi (sic), "Delle Statue antiche, che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, e case si veggono," in L. Mauro, *Le antichità de la città di Roma* (Venice 1556) 115–315. Reprinted separately in facsimile by G. Olms Verlag (Hildesheim and New York 1975).

[33] Aldrovandi (supra n. 32) 145–59.

[34] Aldrovandi (supra n. 32) 266–68.

[35] Lanciani 2 (supra n. 13) 182.

excavations in the Antonian Baths it was broken and spoiled."[36] Aldrovandi's informant, it would seem, was knowledgeable about the excavations in the Thermae, which had taken place, after all, only five or six years before. There are no such circumstantial details accompanying his description of the works in the Farnese Palace, but the statues he attributes to the Baths of Caracalla come from separate rooms and are mixed with many others from different sites or without provenience. His attributions look careful and specific. In fact, a plausible hypothesis would be that Maccarone himself was Aldrovandi's guide and informant, since he was a Farnese retainer and Aldrovandi certainly knew a great deal about Maccarone's own three fragments. It is quite possible, then, that Aldrovandi was told which works came from the Baths by the very man who had supervised their excavation. Even if this was not the case, the specificity of Aldrovandi's references and the recent date of the excavations make his attributions credible.

There is little independent evidence against which to check him. The successive Farnese inventories are concerned solely with the present state, not the past history, of the works catalogued. Only the two colossal statues of Herakles which Aldrovandi describes and the Farnese Bull are also specifically said by contemporaries to come from the Baths of Caracalla.[37] None of the other finds was sensational enough to be much discussed.

Many of Aldrovandi's descriptions are fairly short and his identifications are at times idiosyncratic. From his account alone it would be possible to recognize only a few of the works he describes. Fortunately, G.B. Cavalieri (who signed himself in Latin Cavalleriis) published volumes of engravings that may have been intended to illustrate selections from Aldrovandi. Four editions of these volumes appeared by 1594.[38] Many of the later plates are the same engravings as in the earlier editions, but some are new renderings of the same works, as well as additional ones. Thus, many of the statues described by Aldrovandi can be recognized in modern museums, principally Naples, where the bulk of the Farnese collection went in the eighteenth century.[39]

Since so many of these are extremely well known, a comprehensive catalogue is unnecessary. Each work will therefore be discussed insofar as it bears on two issues: the appearance of the Baths in their final period, and the likelihood of identifying among the extant works any sculptures commissioned at the time of their construction. The chief problems which will be treated are the subject, date and condition of the sculptures, when this last offers clues to their placement. The footnotes include bibliography bearing on other points.

Main Building: Central Hall. Among the sketches of the Baths made by Sangallo the Younger is a plan of one end of the central hall with two columns in the archway separating it from the adjoining room (ill. 4).[40] The accompanying note reads, "In the intercolumniations marked B were found the two Hercules of the Farnese palace; the beautiful one ('lo bello') was where the B is [that is, the colon], and was facing the large room."

"Lo bello," or the *Herakles Farnese* as it has become known, was signed by Glykon the Athenian on the rock below the club and is readily identifiable in Aldrovandi's list (pl. 47, fig. 1). From the moment of discovery it achieved an instant fame accorded to few other works. A Naples inventory of 1796 calls it ". . . un scultura di tal sublimità che si reputa per la prima statua del mondo."[41]

Modern studies both of this colossus (H. 3.17 m.) and of the classical type on which it is based are numerous, and their conclusions need not be repeated here. The technique of the work makes it late Antonine or Severan in date.[42]

The present condition of the statue casts some light on the heavily restored and refinished condition of all

[36] Aldrovandi (supra n. 32) 267. For checking my translations of the sixteenth century Italian, I would like to thank Rachel Jacoff of the Italian Department, Wellesley College.

[37] Haskell and Penny (supra n. 15) 166–67 (Farnese Bull), 229–32 (Herakles Farnese).

[38] The largest collections of works from the Baths of Caracalla appear in Io-Baptista de Cavalleriis, *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae, Primus et Secundus Liber* (before 1584) pls. 1, 27–29, 35, 36, 38, and *Tertius et Quartus Liber* (1594) pls. 16, 26, 29, 55, 67, 81, 85, 92. See Haskell and Penny (supra n. 15) 18.

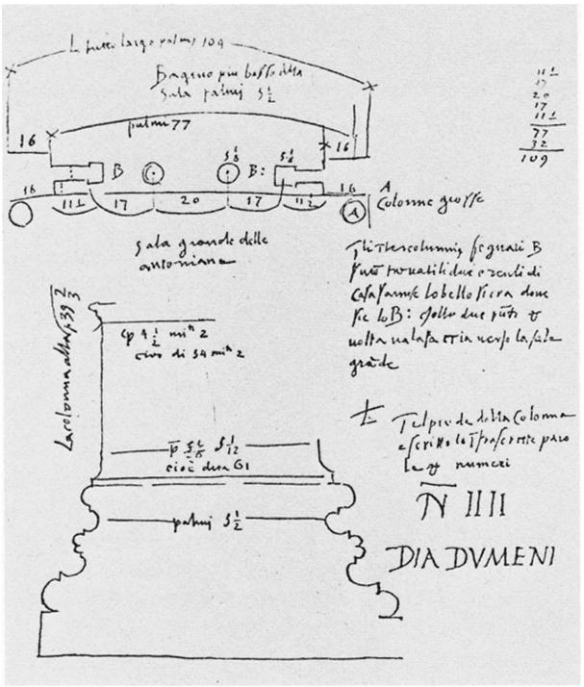
[39] See P. Moreno, "Il Farnese ritrovato," *MélRome* 94 (1982) 379–526. The location of the statues is discussed on pp. 389–90.

[40] Hülsen (supra n. 12) pl. N and p. 48.

[41] [Fiorelli], *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia* 1 (Rome 1878) 66, no. 1. An interesting account of Anton Raphael Mengs' changing attitudes towards the work is A.D. Potts, "Greek Sculpture and Roman Copies I: Anton Raphael Mengs and the Eighteenth Century," *JWarb* 43 (1980) 150–73.

[42] An excellent review of both the history of this statue since its excavation and of its type is M. Augusto Chelotti, "Osservazioni sull' Eracle del tipo Farnese," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 16 (Bari 1973) 169–96. See also Moreno (supra n. 39) for an even more extensive treatment.

the works recovered in the sixteenth century. The statue was clearly in excellent condition when found.[43] The only completely new part is the left hand, but there is also patchwork in the face, hair, beard, lionskin, left forearm, toes, fingers and right wrist in particular. The legs were broken off and have been reattached. The surface has been carefully smoothed all around, and nicks and chips in the marble filled in to bring the statue as far as possible to the state of a brand new sculpture. Most of this work was done by Guglielmo della Porta (recommended for the commission by Michelangelo) immediately after the discovery.[44] At that time the legs had not been found, and new ones were added by della Porta. When, some fifteen years later, the original ones came to light, they were not immediately joined to the statue but were exhibited separately, since the legs made by della Porta were thought to be as handsome and the composition as pleasing as the original. Not until after the figure had been moved to Naples at the end of the eighteenth century were the real legs substituted.[45]



Ill. 4. Baths of Caracalla, detail from sketches by A. Sangallo the Younger. (After Ch. Hülsen, *Architektonische Studien von S.A. Iwanoff* 3, pl. N)

No finer illustration exists of the sixteenth century attitude toward the restoration of antique works of art. The goal of such restoration was to produce a perfect statue, true to the spirit, not the letter, of ancient genius. Even down into the eighteenth century the Farnese inventories are very much concerned with whether or not a sculpture is beautiful and important enough to be "worth restoring." The higher the monetary value assigned to a work, the more likely is an investment in its restoration.[46]

Sangallo's sketch of the location of the work suggests how carefully the sculptures in the Baths were chosen for specific sites. The novelty in the composition of the Herakles Farnese is that its meaning is only clear from the back. From the front it seems to be merely a "weary Herakles" (the name sometimes given the type), but from the back it can be seen that this is Herakles exhausted from his last and greatest labor, for he holds in his hand the Apples of the Hesperides[47] (pl. 47, fig. 2). Visually, the statue has only two fully satisfactory views, the front and the back. Placing it between a wall and a column allows the best views to be enjoyed, and masks any weakness in the profile. Statues of the Herakles Farnese type were fairly common in baths.[48] In many cases, however, the

[43] The work's fame has made it the subject of a number of legends. The most enduring myth is that the head was found separately in a well in Trastevere. There are excellent joins between head and neck, and there is no reason to think that they were found separately. The origin of the myth is a reference in a letter of Guglielmo della Porta, probably written in 1569, to his having joined such a head to "una statua d'Ercole" found in the Baths of Caracalla: W. Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta* (Berlin 1964) text vol. 126–27. There were at least three statues of Herakles found in the baths according to Aldrovandi. The fame of the Herakles Farnese was such that della Porta would no doubt have clearly identified it, had he meant to refer to it.

[44] In addition to Chelotti (supra n. 42) see S. Howard, "Pulling Herakles' Leg: della Porta, Algardi and Others," in A. Kosegarten and P. Tigler eds., *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf* (Berlin 1968) 402–407. The article contains many inaccuracies but useful bibliography. See also Lanciani 2 (supra n. 13) 182.

[45] Haskell and Penny (supra n. 15) 230.

[46] The Farnese inventories are all collected by Fiorelli (supra n. 41). In addition to the ones collected in Vol. 1, 166–274, there are others in Vol. 2 (1879) 377–89, Vol. 3 (1880) 186–205, and Vol. 4 (1880) 165–273.

[47] The apples are sometimes thought to be restorations (e.g., by Howard, supra n. 44). They are, however, known in other versions of the figure (e.g., the replica from the baths at Argos: J. Marcadé, "Sculptures argiennes," *BCH* 81 [1957] 409, figs. 3–4) and so belong to the prototype. Some ancient authors, of course, do not make the apples the last labor, e.g., Apollod. 2.11.

[48] In addition to that at Argos (supra n. 47) see, e.g., those from Salamis in Cyprus, V. Karageorghis, *Sculptures from Salamis* (Nicosia 1964) 17, no. 7, and Hippo Regius, M.E. Marec, "Les Thermes d'Hippone," *Actes du 69ième Congrès National des So-*

architects had either forgotten or were content to ignore the meaning of the composition since the statues were placed against walls or in niches.[49] This work, whose date suggests that it may have been commissioned for the construction of the Baths, is not only larger than any other known version of the work (in keeping with the size of the architecture around it), and particularly grandiose in style, but also sited to perfection.[50]

The second *colossal Herakles* indicated in Sangallo's sketch has been convincingly demonstrated by Moreno to be the giant replica of the Farnese now in the Bourbon palace at Caserta (pl. 47, fig. 3).[51] Reversed in Cavalieri's engraving, this work has been thought to be a mirror image of the Farnese but is instead simply a variant in which the club of Herakles rests on a bull's head. Considered inferior to the Farnese from the moment of its discovery, the work was nicknamed the "Latin Hercules" since its artist was assumed to be a Roman of lesser ability than Glykon the Athenian. Its quality is today hard to judge since so little of what is visible is ancient, and the successive restoration projects (carefully traced by Moreno) refinished and reworked new and old parts alike.[52] Moreno's cautious statement that only the block consisting of the torso and upper thighs, including the right arm and hand and left shoulder, can indisputably be considered ancient is surely correct.[53] Parts of the rest are also ancient but are so reworked that the original appearance of the whole cannot be safely restored. Both feet, for example, seem to be mostly ancient and attached to the plinth on which they stand. This plinth, however, has been put together from several ancient and modern pieces, and whether the feet were originally at exactly the same angle to each other and the same distance apart as they appear today is not really clear. The distribution of weight was demonstrably not identical to the Naples Farnese, but exactly how the statue stood cannot be determined. Certain comparisons with the Naples figure can, however, be safely made. The works must have been of roughly the same height (the present height of the Caserta Herakles is approximately 3 m.). The composition of the Caserta figure also included the apples of the Hesperides held in the right hand behind the back (pl. 47, fig. 4). The same careful attention was therefore paid in this statue, as in its twin, to the location in which it was to be set and the scale of the architecture around it. The style, moreover, of the two works is similar. Both show the same heavily emphatic musculature, although it is treated somewhat differently. The Caserta torso is less sharply divided into major discrete units, but is constructed of smaller, less fully articulated, areas which melt quickly into one another. The shoulders also hunch forward slightly. The lower abdomen and pelvic girdle thrust forward as well, making the torso appear concave. In outline the Caserta torso also lacks the bold articulation of the pelvis and hip of the Naples figure, and the right arm makes a less sharp angle with the body. The general effect is one of curious weakness and flaccidity, which may account for the low opinion held of the work and its eventual relegation to Caserta.

A close date for the statue is impossible to establish in its present condition. A comparison of the right hands of this and the Naples Herakles reveals similarities (pl. 47, fig. 4) which may suggest that the works are not far apart in date, but the Caserta statue is simply too fragmentary and too heavily resurfaced and reworked to allow any confident statements to be made about it.[54] In the same way, of course, it is impossible to take the comparison of the hands (both of them partly restored) as any indication of a common workshop. The design of the two torsos differs so much, in fact, that a common origin for the two seems unlikely.

These are the only two works whose precise location in the central hall was recorded. Several other statues are known simply to come from somewhere in the room.

ciétés savants (Paris 1957) 117.

[49] The Argos statue, for example, is only very roughly finished in the back. The surface was merely worked with the point and had not progressed sufficiently to require the chisel.

[50] Manderscheid (25) collects additional examples of sculptures placed between columns. In some cases, as in the paired groups of the Three Graces from Cyrene arranged almost exactly as the two figures of Herakles are in Rome, the placement is also well suited to the composition. Unfortunately, in the Cyrene baths the disproportion between the under life-sized statues and the huge spaces around them demonstrates all too clearly Manderscheid's point that bath sculptures in general were not designed for their architectural surroundings: cf. his pls. 6.2 and 7.1.

[51] Moreno (supra n. 39) 379–97. The type is discussed on 478–84; catalogue entry B.7.1 p. 516.

[52] Fiorelli 1 (supra n. 41) 166, no. 2.

[53] Moreno (supra n. 39) 380. My own observations parallel Professor Moreno's so closely that the reader is referred to his analysis of the statue.

[54] Moreno, (supra n. 39) 382, suggests perhaps a Hadrianic or Antonine date.

The torso of a life-sized version of the *Polykleitan Herakles* was excavated by Guidi in 1868 (pl. 48, fig. 5). In 1920, Carlo Anti attached to it a head in the Museo Nazionale, also said to have come from the Baths of Caracalla.[55] The circumstances of excavation of the head were not recorded, and the destruction of the lower part of face and neck means that no join can be made between it and the torso, but the association seems unquestionably correct.

The surface of the torso is unrestored. It is worked uniformly all around with a rasp. No trace of polish or of any work at all with an abrasive is visible. Between the shoulder blades a hole has been roughly gouged to dowel the torso onto some surface. Lead still remains visible inside the dowel hole. Of the head, only the top is ancient. The neck and everything below the ears is plaster, as are the nose and the area of the left eyebrow. The ancient portions are worked in exactly the same way as the torso. There is no visible drill work. The surface has been badly chipped and worn, but nevertheless it can be seen that the chisel work on the eyes and hair is fairly crude and coarse.

This statue is universally considered one of the most important replicas of the Herakles of Polykleitos and has been much discussed. The date of the work is disputed. Enrico Paribeni is carefully evasive, although perhaps he leans to Hadrianic; Lauter calls it later second century; Zanker thinks it must be late Flavian or Trajanic.[56] The differences in opinion clearly demonstrate how heavily the dating of Roman sculptures depends on surface treatment. Where the surface is given no final elaboration, as in this example, the work becomes extremely difficult to date. It is clear, however, that the statue is much older than the Baths, and that the dowel hole was made after it was finished. The builders of the Baths must have acquired the work secondhand, as it were, and secured it to the back wall of one of their niches.

In April 1901, excavations were carried out in the tunnels underneath the Baths, to determine how water was heated and distributed.[57] Beneath the collapsed floor in the middle of the central hall were found several fragments of statues which had fallen into these substructures. One of them was a colossal *male hand clasping a child's foot* (pl. 49, fig. 9). If I am correct in considering this fragment a missing part of the Farnese group of *warrior carrying a dead child* (pl. 48, figs. 6, 7), now in Naples, then this enormous group too must have been erected somewhere in the central hall.

The group presents many difficulties; of these not the least is the problem of restorations. Most scholars dealing with the work have relied on the descriptions by Rossbach or Reusch to disentangle the original from the restored portions.[58] A close examination of the statue itself, however, shows that none of these reconstructions is fully correct. There are two periods of restoration, an extensive sixteenth century reworking in marble, and a later minor patching in plaster. The head and neck of the man are wholly of the sixteenth century. The head is a portrait of Commodus wearing a laurel wreath. The ribbons on the wreath dangle down in back and are attached to the chlamys. The area of the chlamys to which they are joined, however, is a separate (presumably modern) piece inserted into the torso. There is, therefore, no evidence for any such ribbons, nor, unfortunately, for the original inclination of the head, since there is extensive recutting and patching at the base of the neck where the new head was inserted. Neither arm is ancient. The right has long been known to be sixteenth century, but the left also is the work of della Porta (pl. 48, fig. 8). It is a separate piece of marble, touching no original surface, in style identical to the restored right arm. The hand has the elegance and proportions of works influenced by Michelangelo and is very different from the firm, square proportions of the original right hand of the Herakles Farnese, for example. The torso is ancient, as are the left leg and the support. The left leg is in two separate pieces, joined just above the knee by a band of modern repair 1–2 cm. wide. The right leg is all in one piece, joined to the torso just below the top of the thigh. It is probably modern too since the marble is different from the rest of the figure and it stands on a separate plinth attached by some fairly elaborate patching to the ancient plinth under the left foot and

[55] For Guidi's excavations, see *AdI* 11 (1869) 236; C. Anti, "Monumenti Policletei," *MonAnt* 26.2 (1921) 522 n. 1. D. Candilio in A. Giuliano et al., *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le sculture* 1.1 (Rome 1979) 214–15. See also H. von Steuben, "Kopf des polykleitischen Herakles," *AntP* 7 (1967) 95–103.

[56] E. Paribeni, *Sculture greche del V. Secolo: Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome 1953) 37, no. 53. H. Lauter, *Zur Chronologie römischer Kopien nach Originalen des V. Jahrhunderts* (Diss. Zurich n.d.) 104. P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen* (Mainz 1974) 17–18, n. 118.

[57] L. Savignoni, *NSc* 1901, 248–53. The excavations were directed by Giulio de Angelis.

[58] O. Rossbach, "Athamas und Learchos," *RömMitt* 10 (1895) 240 n. 1; A. Reusch et al., *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples 1908) 72–73, no. 243.

tree trunk. Enough of the thigh is preserved, however, to show that the running gait is original.

Of the child, the head and torso are ancient (in one piece with the torso of the warrior) with the exception of the nose, mouth, chin and genitals. The arms are separate pieces and are substantially modern; although some fragments are ancient, there is considerable patching in the hands, fingers and upper arms. Both of the child's legs are joined to the torso about mid-thigh. The right leg and foot are separate pieces which are both modern—joined to the man's left hand. The left leg hangs free, and its marble is more heavily weathered than any other part of the statue. This weathering is not an indication that the leg is ancient, since Cavalieri's engraving shows that the leg was in place in 1585 and must have received the same careful polishing applied to the rest of the work when it was originally restored. The weathering, therefore, must have taken place after the group entered the Farnese collection.[59]

Relevant to this analysis is the fragment excavated in 1901 in the substructures beneath the central hall of the baths. Relying on Rossbach's analysis of the Naples work, which considered the man's left arm and child's right foot to be ancient, the excavator was unwilling to consider the fragment a piece of the Naples group, but was forced to posit the existence of a separate, complementary group which has been described subsequently as a mirror image of the Naples composition.[60] Recognizing that the man's arm and child's foot in Naples are, in fact, modern means that a simpler explanation is possible. The Rome fragment could be a missing portion of the Naples group.

The man's wrist is broken off, in the fragment, but the small foot was always intended to be a separate piece of marble, joined to the rest of the leg by an adhesive. The upper surface of the ankle is roughly worked with a claw, and the area inside the fingers enclosing it has been carved away to make a shallow socket in which to insert the calf of the leg. The piece is worked to the same "satin finish" (to use the term E. Gazda borrowed from the paint industry) as are so many other unrestored pieces from the baths. The hand is broadly modelled and of stocky Roman proportions. The folds of flesh between the knuckles are plastically rendered but the wrinkles of the knuckles themselves are sketched in with gashes in the stone. The foot is clearly shown to be soft and childish.

The marble appears to be the same as the other original parts of the group. Of course, no joins can be made since the Naples restorations include the whole arm and leg, but the measurements are congruent. The child's foot in Naples, for example, measures 13 cm. across the ball of the foot and 18 cm. from the base of the toe to the heel. The corresponding measurements in the Rome fragment are 12 × 23 cm. The angle of the foot in the man's hand is also different. A more important change in the composition, however, is that the sixteenth century restorer made the warrior grasp the child's right foot with his left hand, while if the Rome fragment is accepted it would mean that the original arrangement was left hand holding left foot. (The confusion probably arose because the child's right thigh lies at a lower angle than the left thigh, as though it were being pulled down.) There is so much recutting and patching where the man's new left arm has been inserted that the position of the original cannot be determined. The child's raised left thigh and the angle of the foot and hand can be explained, however, if the man's arm is imagined to be lifted and held in front of the body instead of projecting out to the side (ills. 5, 6). This would also give the group a tighter outline, more in keeping with ancient taste than the present jagged appearance.

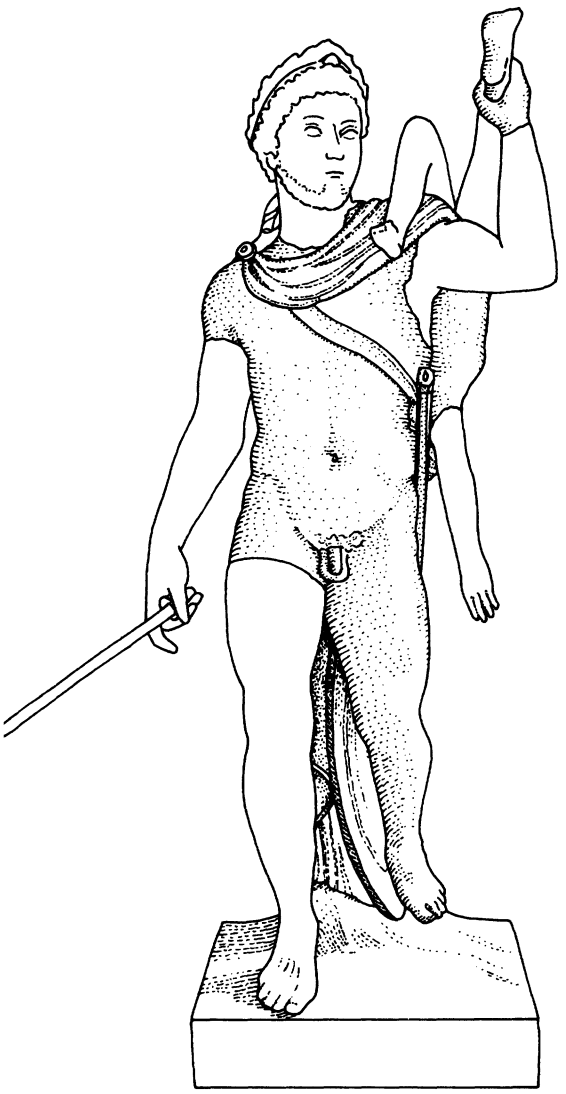
It is impossible, however, to define the composition of a group in which only the torso and one leg of the dominant figure and the torso and head of the secondary figure can be demonstrated to be even partially original. This and the refinishing of the surface in the sixteenth century also make it difficult to date the work. Fortunately the tree trunk is original, and belongs in Muthmann's latest category, so the work is late Antonine at the earliest.[61]

The fragmentary nature of the work affects the interpretation of the group as well. The subject represented is a man carrying a dead child. Many identifications have been proposed, none of them satisfactory. The man is portrayed as a warrior striding forward, wearing a chlamys and an empty scabbard hung from a baldric. The tree-trunk support is supplemented by the shield propped against it, and a bundle of drapery hung over it (in part restored). The empty scabbard

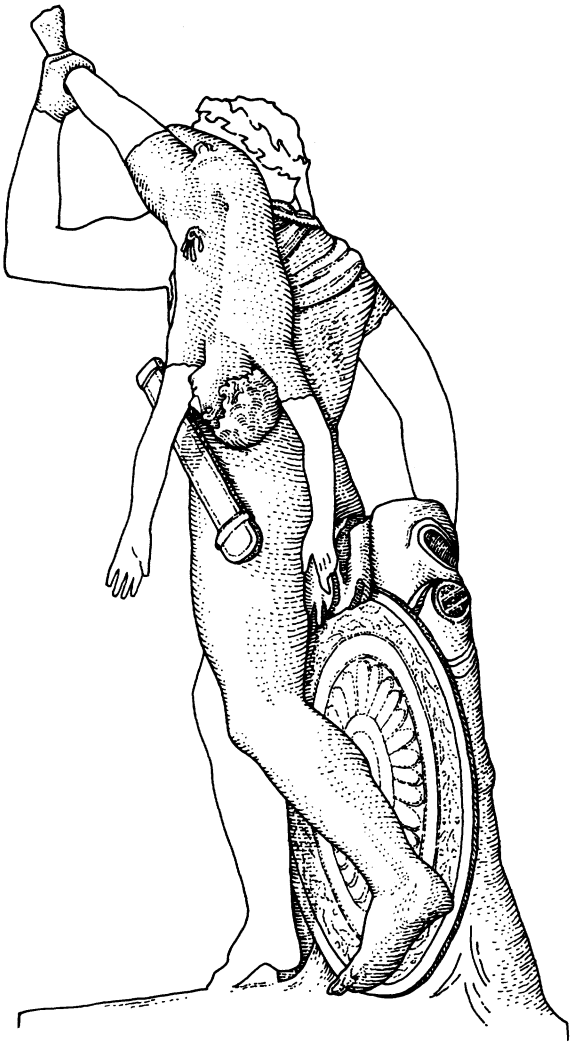
[59] According to Reusch (supra n. 58) 73, the work was displayed at the Villa Chiaja for some time. Perhaps it was set in a garden kiosk (like the ones at the Villa Albani) where the projecting leg might have been exposed to the weather.

[60] Savignoni (supra n. 57) 253. Vermeule (supra n. 6) 60.

[61] F. Muthmann, *Statuenstützen* (*AbhHeidelberg: Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1950:3, Heidelberg 1951) 43–45, 81.



Ill. 5. Baths of Caracalla, Achilles and Troilos group, restored front view. (Drawing Jean Drew)



Ill. 6. Baths of Caracalla, Achilles and Troilos group, restored back view. (Drawing Jean Drew)

makes the restoration of a sword in the man's missing right hand seem likely. Slung over his back, face upward, is the body of a boy. The wound which killed him—from its dimensions clearly a spear or arrow puncture, not a sword cut—oozes blood and entrails down his belly (pl. 49, fig. 10). His hair, curiously enough, fails to obey the law of gravity, and frames his cheek with neat little tendrils. His age is pre-pubescent, his face incongruously mature (pl. 49, fig. 11).

In identifying the figures, the crucial question is whether the man is the child's enemy or friend. Has he killed the boy and slung him over his back with the indifference of a hunter to his catch, or is this a scene of interrupted action, in which the child has been killed by another, and the man has hastily snatched up the body, and raced forward, sword drawn, to fend off still present enemies? The loss of so much of both figures has made it difficult to reconstruct the emotional content of the group. In many ways the works closest in feeling are the great Antonine statues of Gauls facing

death.[62] They share an atmosphere of brutal heroism and melodrama. The equipment of the Naples warrior makes it impossible to consider this group yet another in that series, since the Gauls are carefully provided with distinctive shields to identify them as Gaulish.[63] The shield of the Naples warrior, which is rimmed with a laurel wreath, is an elaboration of the round shield with a flat rim used in Roman art for gods and heroes of mythology, not for barbarians.[64]

There is, of course, a long series of representations in ancient art showing a warrior holding by the foot a child slung over his back: the scenes depicting the murder of Astyanax by Neoptolemos. In these compositions the group is completed by a facing figure of Priam seated on an altar.[65] There are two cogent reasons for not adding the Farnese sculpture to the list of these representations. One is that the scene virtually disappears from ancient art after the Early Classical period. The Ilioupersis remains a favorite subject, but this particular incident is no longer illustrated.[66]

The second reason is that, although there were many versions of the murder of Astyanax, this particular motif illustrates the one in which he was thrown to his death from the walls of Troy.[67] The boy in the Naples group is already dead. He has been killed by a single puncture wound. The Naples group, therefore, must show another murdered child in a composition borrowed from representations of the death of Astyanax.

The peculiar contradictions of the work, in which the man is shown heroically, and yet our sympathies are consciously enlisted on behalf of the dead boy whose young nakedness is so pitifully exposed, have led scholars to think of great heroes driven into madness and child murder. The story of Lykourgos, for example, maddened by Dionysos and killing his son Dryas, was well known and fairly commonly depicted in ancient art, but the weapon he invariably used was an axe.[68]

Robertson would like to identify the child slung over the maenad's back in the Derveni Krater as Dryas, and the one-booted man dancing opposite her as Lykourgos.[69] This identification is somewhat tenuous, and has been disputed, but whoever the victim is, the Derveni Krater shows incontrovertibly that by the fourth century B.C. the motif of holding by one foot a dead child slung over the back had come to seem too horrifying to belong to the normal world of heroic warfare, even at its bloodiest, and had been shifted to the realm of possession and madness.

To Roman viewers the motif was perhaps most familiarly associated with a different sort of savage womanhood. On Roman sarcophagi it is over her shoulder that the witch Medea flings one of her dead children as she climbs triumphantly into her dragon-drawn chariot, her revenge complete.[70] Clearly, in dropping out of the Ilioupersis, the motif did not disappear from ancient art, but simply acquired a new

[62] M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (rev. ed., New York 1961) figs. 281, 282, 427, 430–36. See also G. Kleiner, "Das Nachleben des pergamenischen Gigantenkampfes," *105 BerlWinckProg* (1949) and P.R. Biénkowski, *Die Darstellungen der Gallier in der hellenistischen Kunst* (Vienna 1908).

[63] The best illustrations of the shields are in P. Santoro et al., *I Galli e l'Italia* (Rome 1978) 237 fig. 5, 245 fig. 14, 247 fig. 19. See p. 214 for a discussion of the type, which is occasionally carried by Roman soldiers as well as barbarians.

[64] A similar shield is propped up before the dying Meleager on a sarcophagus at Wilton House, datable ca. 180: G. Koch, *Die mythologischen Sarkophage* Pt. 6: *Meleager (Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* 12.6, Berlin 1975) pl. 103, no. 122; see pp. 123–24. On a sarcophagus now lost, but known from a drawing of 1745, Achilles carries a similar shield in a scene of combat with Hektor: C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* 2 (Berlin 1890) xxi, no. 45; see p. 56. Both these shields have a Gorgoneion as a central decoration. What is perhaps a version without the Gorgoneion is carried by the retainers of Achilles in the stucco scene of Priam before Achilles in the Antonine "Bunte Grab" on the Via Latina: H. Mielsch, "Römische Stuckreliefs," *RömMitt-EH* 21 (Heidelberg 1975) 90–92, pl. 82.1. An illustration which shows the shields better is in E.L. Wadsworth, "Stucco Reliefs of the First and Second Centuries A.D.," *MAAR* 4 (1924) pl. 26. Closest of all is the shield of Roma on the Apotheosis face of the base of the column of Antoninus Pius, where the shield is also wreathed with laurel. Appropriately, the central rosette of Roma's shield is decorated with the wolf nursing Romulus and Remus: L. Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1976) figs. 5 and 27; see p. 33.

[65] The clearest treatments of the subject are M. Wiencke, "An Epic Theme in Greek Art," *AJA* 58 (1954) 285–306, and C. Mota, "Sur les representations figurées de la mort de Troilos et de la mort d'Astyanax," *RA* 50 (1957) 25–44.

[66] See Wiencke (supra n. 65) 305–306; U. Sinn, *Die Homerische Becher, AthMitt-BH* 7 (Berlin 1979); A. Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliaques* (Warsaw 1964) 29; J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italiote*, 2 vols. (Rome 1975) 45–50.

[67] Schol. Lycophr. *Alex.* 1268 (Allen Fr. XIX of *Little Iliad*), T.W. Allen ed., *Homeri Opera* 5 (Oxford 1912) 135.

[68] R.D. De Puma, "A Fourth Century Praenestine Mirror with Telephos and Orestes," *RömMitt* 87 (1980) 13–14; *EAA* s.v. Licurgo (L. Guerrini).

[69] M. Robertson, "Monocrepis," *GRBS* 13 (1972) 39–48. This identification is disputed by B. Barr-Sharrar, "Toward an Interpretation of the Dionysiac Frieze on the Derveni Krater," *Cahiers d'Archéologie Romande* 17 (1978) 56.

[70] M. Schmidt, *Der Basler Medeasarkophag* (Tübingen n.d.) pls. 3, 19, 22 (Basel sarcophagus); 26.1, 28.2 (Berlin); 31 (Ostia ash urn); 32.2 (Rome, Museo Nazionale); 32.3 (Mantua).

set of associations. As far as is known, however, the Naples group is the only translation of it into sculpture in the round.

Several identifications have been proposed for this unique work. In 1895 Rossbach suggested that the subject of the Naples group was Athamas with the body of his son Learchos, and was followed in this theory by Reusch in the Naples guide.[71] Athamas was the subject of a play by Sophokles about which little is known.[72] Apollodorus gives two accounts of Athamas, not quite identical, but in both he goes mad and kills his son.[73] Apparently he shot the boy with an arrow, thinking he was hunting a deer. No representations of the scene are known from ancient art. One of the *Descriptions* of Kallistratos is of a painting depicting the madness of Athamas (no. 14); the body of Learchos does not seem to have appeared in it. If, indeed, Athamas was out hunting when he shot his child, the Naples group cannot represent the scene, since the man is equipped for battle, not for the hunt.

The greatest of all heroes of Greek mythology, of course, went mad and killed his children. *Hercules Furens* was one of the most popular of Euripides' plays with Roman audiences, and was also the subject of a tragedy by Seneca. Philostratos (*Imagines* 2.23) describes a representation of the slaughter in a manner much indebted to the theatrical versions. It is clear, from all accounts, that Herakles shot at least one son with an arrow from his bow. Actual representations of the scene in art are rare. One Paestan krater and one late Roman mosaic in Portugal depict the scene, but without the Astyanax motif.[74] The objections that can be raised to the Athamas identification hold for Herakles. The Naples figure, to represent Herakles, should be wearing a quiver, not a scabbard. There should be some trace of Herakles' lion skin worn over his shoulder, or thrown on the tree trunk, instead of the bunch of plain drapery. If he held his club (with which, in some accounts, he battered one child to death) in his missing right hand, why is his scabbard empty? Herakles is a hero whose distinctive attributes are always so heavily stressed that to recognize him in this anonymous heroic warrior is unconvincing.

On the face of it a man armed with a sword who carries a child killed by a spear or arrow does not seem likely to be the agent of the child's death. Despite the callousness of the hero's gesture—tossing the small body indifferently over his back—many scholars have thought of heroes rescuing children killed by others. As early as 1849 Welcker suggested that the group represented Hektor with the body of Troilos, and this identification is the one most often repeated today.[75]

The story of Troilos, the youngest son of Priam, was told in the *Kypria*, and was the subject of a play by Sophokles.[76] It can be only roughly reconstructed. He was ambushed by Achilles, apparently while exercising horses near the sanctuary of Apollo Thymbraios. In both Greek and Etruscan art, four separate incidents in the story are isolated: the ambush, the pursuit of the mounted boy by Achilles on foot ("swift-footed"), the capture and death of Troilos (which sometimes, especially in Etruscan versions, includes Achilles decapitating the body), and the fight over the corpse, in which Achilles, sometimes aided by Ajax and/or other Greeks, battles Trojans led by Hektor.[77] Unlike the death of Astyanax, episodes from the story of Troilos continue to be depicted after the Early Classical period. They are quite popular on Hellenistic ash-urns from Etruria,[78] and Achilles pulling Troilos from his horse appears on a Roman sarcophagus in Mantua.[79] Nevertheless, the story is not particularly popular in Roman art, although references to it are not uncommon in Roman literature.[80]

The arguments in favor of the identification begin with the iconographic confusion in Archaic art between the deaths of Troilos and Astyanax. These two young Trojan princes, each killed by a Greek hero, one at the beginning and one at the end of the war, are obvious subjects for conflation, and on many vases it is

[71] Cf. supra n. 58.

[72] The fragments are collected in S. Radt, *TrGF* 4, 99–102.

[73] Apollod. 1.9.2; Apollod. 3.4.2–3.

[74] A.D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* (Rome 1936) 31, pls. 6–7; M. Heleno, "Villa Lusitano-romano de Torre de Palma (Monforte)," *O Arquelógo Portugués*, n.s. 4 (1962) 11–28, pl. 14 and color pl. D.

[75] F.G. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler* 1 (Göttingen 1849) 371. Modern views include A. de Franciscis, *Guida del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*[2] (Naples 1967) 19, no. 5999 (where it is suggested that the group represents either Hektor and Troilos or Neoptolemos and Astyanax); E. Künzl, *Frühhellenistische Grüppen* (Cologne 1968) 54; Mota (supra n. 65) 44; K. Schauenburg, "Zu griechischen Mythen in der etruskischen Kunst," *JdI* 85 (1970) 66 n. 153.

[76] *TrGF* 4 (supra n. 72) 453–58.

[77] The scholarly literature on this obscure figure is surprisingly large. Good bibliography is by E. Paribeni in *EAA* s.v. Troilo e Polissena; see also Mota (supra n. 65) and Schauenburg (supra n. 75) esp. 46 and n. 79. See also *RE* s.v. Troilos (A. Lesky).

[78] H. Brunn, *I Rilievi delle urne etrusche* 1 (Rome 1870) 52, pls. 48.1–65.36.

[79] Robert (supra n. 64) pl. 26, fig. 63a.

[80] They range from *Aeneid* 1, 474ff., to Quintus of Smyrna, Bk. 4, 418ff.

often impossible to determine which one's death is represented. Much of the problem is ours. Since the two deaths occur in lost poems, we are ignorant of important details and find confusing representations which may have been perfectly clear to the ancients.

Troilos is most often killed by Achilles' sword, but not infrequently by his spear.[81] The latter weapon would suit the puncture wound of the Naples figure: the argument runs that Hektor has managed to wrest the body of his young brother from Achilles and is lunging fiercely with his sword to ward off a counterattack. The sword, shield, chlamys and heroic nudity are all appropriate for an epic hero. Since no representations of Hektor with Troilos' body are known elsewhere, there is no iconographic tradition to suggest that Hektor ought to hold the boy differently.

There is, however, from Homer a strong sense of Hektor's character, and from all ancient art, a sense of the dignity due the bodies of the beloved dead. It is possible to keep one arm free for fighting, and yet not to treat a dead brother like an animal.[82] Accepting the identification with Hektor ignores the association, made since the fourth century B.C., of this motif with madness and loss of control. It ignores also the shield of the hero, wreathed with the laurel of victory, which is inappropriate for Hektor, who will face defeat and death.

One figure, however, is both the greatest warrior of the victorious Achaians and a man whose ferocity approached madness. He is, moreover, often shown with the body of Troilos. This is, of course, Achilles. Usually he is shown dragging Troilos from his horse or thrusting his weapon into the small body, or brandishing the severed head, but what is depicted here, I think, is the struggle for the corpse, and the presence of Hektor is not real but may be implied, as Achilles (naturally) runs, sword drawn, to meet an attack. The story of Troilos is not well enough known to say whether this is an alternative to a scene of decapitation, or a prelude to it. The group is very different from any of the known representations of Achilles and Troilos, but the scene it most strongly resembles, the death of Astyanax, is the very one often confused with the earlier murder.

It is important also to remember the composition of the group and its probable discovery in the vicinity of the central hall. The identity of the figures depends on the boy's puncture wound (which makes it impossible for him to be Astyanax or Dryas, for example). This wound is not visible from the front (pl. 48, fig. 6). Looked at head on, at least in its present state, the subject is ambiguous. This compositional device is the one used, of course, in both Herakles Farnese replicas found in the Baths. Unlike the Herakles, however, the group of Achilles and Troilos has a powerful left side view (pl. 48, fig. 7), and, indeed, learning the identity of the figures is a gradual process as one walks past the group from the front down the man's left side toward the back. It is his right side only which is unhelpful. Considering the careful placement of the Herakles, it is therefore unlikely that this group was a pendant to it between the wall and columns of the other end of the room, but it is likely that it was as carefully sited. The colossal size of the group, its date (as far as that can be determined in its present condition) and its unusual and gruesome subject matter, reminiscent of the Punishment of Dirke, all suggest that this work, too, may have been commissioned for the Baths and destined from the beginning for a specific location, perhaps between two rooms where ancient bathers, like modern museum-goers, could gradually discover the figure's identity as they walked past it.

Another colossal work excavated under the central hall in 1901 which it is tempting to try to locate precisely in the Baths is the great *head of Asklepios* now in the Museo Nazionale in Rome[83] (pl. 49, fig. 12). The head is complete except for the nose, which has been restored. (The photograph in *NSc* 1901, 249 shows the head before restoration.) The face has been smoothed to a "satin finish." The hair and beard, however, show no signs of any smoothing over the chisel marks. The eye sockets have been worked with a claw, leaving a surface rough to the touch but even. The surface here is the same as that left on the top of the child's foot in the group of Achilles and Troilos. In both cases the surfaces were presumably prepared for an adhesive—in this instance to attach the eyes. The smoothly polished surface of the skin is particularly interesting since at the time the head was discovered, fragments of gilding still adhered to the face. They were reported under the left eyelid by the excavators.[84] Remnants of the undercoat on which the

[81] As on the sarcophagus in Mantua (supra n. 79).

[82] For some interesting parallels, see the collection of black figure vases showing Ajax carrying the body of Achilles collected by S. Woodford and M. Loudon, "Two Trojan Themes," *AJA* 84 (1980) pl. 3.3–6; pl. 4.7 and 9; pl. 5.10–11.

[83] See Savignoni (supra n. 19); L. de Lachenal in Giuliano et al. (supra n. 55) 93–95.

[84] *NSc* 1901, 250.

gilding was laid, in which traces of gold were still visible, were reported by another observer between the right eye and the nose, on the right cheek bone, and the lower lip. What was described as a "lavaggio indiscreto" has removed all these traces today.[85] Clearly a fine, lustrous surface was not always meant to be seen in antiquity and did not preclude the application of a coat of color to the marble.

The tools used to work this head are revealing. Around the face the larger locks of the hair and beard are deeply drilled, and the smaller ones are sharply chiseled. All the drillwork and the crisp chiseling stop at the ears. The sides of the head are roughly chiseled with even more summary work at the back (pl. 49, fig. 13). The god's fillet is cut with abrupt horizontal strokes—very different from the long, hard lines of the hair and beard. Above the fillet the work has not even been carried to the chisel stage, but the crown of the head is left as worked by the point. The sculptor clearly recognized that from ground level there would be no possibility of seeing the sides or crown of the head, and he must have known that the work would be enclosed in some sort of niche. The head (without the neck) is, however, 49 cm. high, indicating that the complete statue was approximately 4 m. tall. At this size the Asklepios would be the largest extant work from the baths—even the Punishment of Dirke group reaches only 3.70 m. This size precludes most of the niches in the central hall, and it is therefore tempting to suggest that the statue stood in one of the apses in the area between the central hall and the swimming pool, matched, of course, by an equally colossal Hygieia on the other side. Images of Asklepios and Hygieia were traditional in baths and were often paired.[86]

On stylistic grounds von Steuben thinks the work was commissioned for the Baths.[87] De Lachenal, in the Museo Nazionale catalogue, would prefer to date it Late Hadrianic or Antonine.[88] Dating on the basis of technique in a work of such enormous scale is difficult, particularly when the sculpture was designed to be gilded. Both scholars agree, however, in seeing in it an exaggerated re-elaboration of a much-loved and familiar Asklepios type. Asklepios' iconography has been much studied, most carefully by D. Mustilli and M. Bieber.[89] Further bibliography is given by de Lachenal.[90]

A second head recovered under the central hall in 1901 belongs to a much less familiar type. It is the *head of a youth or young girl*, found virtually complete except for some locks of hair broken off on the left side[91] (pl. 50, figs. 14, 15). Like the other fragments recovered in the twentieth century, this head is important since it shows an original Roman treatment of surfaces.

The skin of this youthful head is more highly finished than most of the sculptures from the Baths. The marble was polished to a soft luster, giving the surface a "pearly" look. In sharp contrast, the hair which frames the face is completely matte. The technique shows extensive use of the drill in lips, eyes and especially hair. The hair has been chiseled into locks and then, every 3–5 cm., separated into clusters by a drilled channel. These channels follow the chiseled contours and are carefully irregular and asymmetrical. Drilled channels undercut the hair in front of the ears and along the neck. Above the fillet there is no drilling, only roughly chiseled outlines of the locks of hair. The fillet itself is chisel-cut with obvious tool marks left unsmoothed. The careful drilling of the hair below the fillet, however, goes all around the statue and is not confined to the front.

Like the Asklepios, therefore, this work was clearly never meant to be seen from above. The head is about one and one-half times life-size and on a standing figure would have been high enough above the viewer to make the crown of the head invisible. Unlike the Asklepios, however, it was designed to be seen from all sides, as the drilling of the hair on the nape shows. Again the evidence points to a sculptor who knew where the work was to be placed. It was not designed for a niche or a place against the wall, but for the open floor where there were no second-storey galleries from which spectators could have looked down.

Identifying the work is difficult. It belongs to that large class of "classicistic" sculpture just now begin-

[85] A. Pasqui in *NSc* 1909, 396 n. 1.

[86] See infra n. 191.

[87] In Helbig[4], no. 2227, pp. 139–40.

[88] L. de Lachenal in Giuliano et al. (supra n. 55) 94.

[89] Our figure belongs to a type carefully disentangled by D. Mustilli, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome 1939) 146, no. 1448. See also Helbig[4] no. 1784, p. 554 (H. von Steub → M. Bieber, "A Bronze Statuette in Cincinnati and its Place in the History of Asklepios Types," *ProcPhilSoc* 101 (1957) 70–92, surveys the field quickly; note that fig. 9 on p. 75 is identified as the Asklepios from the Baths of Caracalla but is a different work altogether.

[90] See de Lachenal in Giuliano et al. (supra n. 88) 96.

[91] J. Papadopoulos in Giuliano et al. (supra n. 55) 165–66.

ning to be sorted out.[92] The head could be either male or female. One of the common devices of classicistic sculptors, in fact, was to combine youthful male bodies with female head-types to achieve the effeminate youths so popular in decorative sculpture. When only the head is preserved, it is often impossible to be sure which sex is represented.[93] Such is the case with this head. Hair of this length is found on figures of both sexes.[94] Von Steuben follows Savignoni and Roberto Paribeni in relating the head to the so-called Eubouleus in Athens.[95] The hair is, indeed, very similar, and no doubt is fourth century in inspiration.[96] The features, however, have little to do with the large, strong features of the "Eubouleus,"[97] but are closer to some of Zanker's late Hadrianic or Antonine recreations of Early Classicism, like the versions of the Tiber Apollo in Cherchel or in the Museo Nazionale in Rome.[98] Like them, the head from the Baths mixes a strict composition of horizontals and verticals with small, sweetly sensuous features betraying the influence of Praxiteles. The head from the Baths, however, has more changes of plane and a less perfectly oval shape than those works derived from the Severe style. Ridgway, indeed, pointed out to me orally how striking the similarity is between the profile view of this head and the profile of the so-called Hera from the Argive Heraion.[99] The work is clearly an example of successful eclecticism, in which unrelated borrowings from the past are re-shaped into a harmonious, congruent whole.

The "bridge-drilling" in the hair means that the head must date some time after the mid-Antonine period.[100] Papadopoulos calls it Late Antonine or early Severan, citing its similarities to the Severan Paris from the Palatine.[101] It is therefore likely, considering its size as well as its date, that this work too was commissioned for the Baths. It may once have been part of a huge narrative group like the Punishment of Dirke, or could simply have been a single ideal figure.

The other two works recovered in 1901 which can be located today are extremely fragmentary. One is a *male pelvis* in the eclectic tradition of the youthful head (pl. 51, fig. 17); the other is the *right thigh* of a straightforward replica of the *Diskobolos*.

The surface of the male pelvis is interesting. The front is carefully worked to a "satin finish"; the back remains rough to the touch. The dividing line runs straight down the middle of the flank, as is fairly standard for Roman marbles, which were almost always designed for an architectural setting. It argues nothing specific about whether this work was designed for any particular setting. If anything, this fragment is more carefully finished in back than most. Paribeni has suggested that it is a mirror-image of the smaller of the two Farnese "gladiators" in Naples (Naples no. 6408) (pl. 50, fig. 16). As he notes, however, the rendering of the genitals with deep creases is quite different from the Naples figure, and should indicate an older man, as should, perhaps, the somewhat bulkier thighs. The shape of the pubic hair, moreover, although similar in the two, is not identical, and the proportions do not coincide.[102] Finally, the distribution of weight is not a simple mirror-image of the Naples statue. In the Naples figure the weight-bearing leg is advanced. In the Rome fragment, not only is the weight carried on the other leg, but it is the free leg which advances. The two works are very similar, however, in their combination of stylistic traits. The schematized pelvic muscles suggest the Severe style, the ogival shape of the pubic hair the late Archaic

[92] B.S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1970) Ch. 9, 130–42; W. Trillmich, "Bemerkungen zur Erforschung der römischen Idealplastik," *JdI* 88 (1973) 247–72; F. Preisshofen and P. Zanker, "Reflex einer eklektischen Kunstanschauung beim Auctor ad Herennium," *DialAr* 4–5 (1970–1971) 100–19.

[93] Zanker (supra n. 56) 84, referring to the so-called "Orpheus" in Munich, and 76–77 (male bodies with female heads). A good example of the difficulties encountered in dealing with classicizing works of this kind is provided by a head with hair not unlike that of the Caracalla fragment which was found in the excavations of Temple E at Corinth. Originally published as a "Head of a Woman" in R. Stillwell, R.L. Scranton and S.E. Freeman, *Corinth* 1.2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1941) 216, no. 6, fig. 172, it is now exhibited in the Corinth Museum (Inv. no. 1570) mounted on a male torso found in the same excavation (Inv. no. 1539; *Corinth* 1.2 no. 11, fig. 177 and p. 220).

[94] J. Raeder, "Eine klassizistische Frauenfigur in Rom," *JdI* 92 (1977) 255 figs. 4–5; Zanker (supra n. 56), pl. 56, figs. 5–8.

[95] In Helbig[4], no. 2275; R. Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*[2] (Rome 1932) 201, no. 541.

[96] Zanker (supra n. 56) 110, referring to the "Adonis" of Capua.

[97] Compare the observations by Papadopoulos (supra n. 91) 165.

[98] Zanker (supra n. 56) pl. 71, no. 1 and no. 3.

[99] C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* 1 (Boston and New York 1902) frontispiece.

[100] E.K. Gazda ed., *Roman Portraiture: Ancient and Modern Revivals* (Ann Arbor 1977) 24.

[101] Papadopoulos (supra n. 91) 166.

[102] Paribeni (supra n. 56) 25. The figures are roughly to the same scale but the width across the buttocks of the Naples statue is ca. 33 cm., of the Terme figure 38 cm. The maximum width of the pubic hair, however, of the statue in Naples is 15 cm., and of the Terme fragment only 13.5 cm., although the latter is the larger figure.

period, the pubic hair itself and the naturalistic genitals the fully Classical.[103] Clearly both works belong to the "classicistic" tradition, and if not mirror images, must have looked similar. The work is earlier in date than the Baths, and must have been reused there.

The other fragment, a life-sized right thigh with a portion of a wrist attached at the knee, was brilliantly recognized by Paribeni as a piece of a Diskobolos. He dated it to the Antonine period and suggested that a fragment in the Museo Barracco of a hand holding a discus might be from the same copy, since the Doryphoros head in that collection (see below) is known to come from the Baths of Caracalla.[104] The surface treatment must be what led Paribeni to an Antonine date for the work. The leg is uniformly polished all around and has been brought to the soft luster characteristic of many Antonine works. It is noticeably less "pearly," however, than the youthful head above. The modelling of the thigh muscle is close to other versions of the Diskobolos and suggests that the statue was a standard replica.

In the Museo Barracco today, but excavated by the Department of Antiquities under the central hall of the Baths in 1878, is a beautiful *head of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos*[105] (pl. 51, fig. 18). The head is unrestored. Large chips are missing from the chin and nose. The fragment breaks off at the base of the neck. The face has been smoothly finished with an abrasive. The hair has been less perfectly smoothed, but an abrasive has been used over the chisel which carved out the locks. The difference in surface treatment between the face and the hair, although perceptible, is slight. The statue has been largely worked with a chisel, but the usual deeply drilled line separates the lips. The fine finish on the skin of the face was not given to the nape of the neck. The angle of the head, the rendering of the hair and the facial features are all slightly idiosyncratic, and place this in the class of "free" replicas of the Doryphoros. The height of the existing fragment, moreover, is 35 cm., slightly larger than the corresponding portion of the Naples Doryphoros (which measures only 36 cm. from the crown of the head down to the clavicles). The Barracco work, therefore, was either bigger than most versions of the Doryphoros, or the head was larger in proportion to the body.[106] The workmanship is uniformly exquisite. It is not surprising, therefore, that this head is usually considered to be late Hellenistic. Von Steuben cautiously calls it late Hellenistic or Julio-Claudian, but both Lauter and Zanker opt for the earlier date.[107]

Among the works which cannot be located today, one further fragment excavated in 1901 is extremely tantalizing. An *under life-sized hand holding a syrinx* was recorded.[108] In the files of the Museo Nazionale a torso of an *under life-sized satyr* is also said to come from the Baths of Caracalla and to be "part of a group."[109] It is tempting to relate these fragments to each other and to the *hand of an over life-sized statue holding a cup* reportedly found in the Baths in 1881,[110] and to postulate a group of Dionysos and a small satyr, like the one from the baths of Faustina at Miletos.[111] Statues of Dionysos are ubiquitous in baths, and it would be surprising if one were lacking here. Since none of the Caracalla fragments, however, can be found, the existence of the group can hardly be taken as certain.

Another work which teases the imagination was discovered in the central hall in the excavations of 1871–1872. It was a *fragment of a draped woman with left leg raised.* The pose suggested that of the Aphrodite from Melos to the excavator.[112] The work was set up in the Baths, where it was seen by Duhn, and published in 1881.[113] He described it as over life-

[103] Schematic muscles: see Harmodios and Aristogeiton, S. Brunnsåker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes* (Stockholm 1971) pls. 1, 13; very close is the archaistic Amelung torso in Berlin, Zanker (supra n. 56) pls. 50.1 and 51.1; the shape of the pubic hair: Ridgway (supra n. 92) pl. 8 (East Pediment, Aigina); G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi*[2] (London 1960) fig. 579, Kouros no. 192: "484–460 B.C."; Diskobolos herm in the Museo Nazionale, Rome, Paribeni (supra n. 56) no. 9, pl. 9. The naturalism of the genitals is seen in Polykleitan works like the Diadoumenos (good plates in P.E. Arias, *Policleto* [Rome 1964] pls. 66, 69, 70) and the Jewett Athlete of Wellesley College.

[104] Paribeni (supra n. 56) 24, no. 22. In associating the Terme and Barracco fragments, Paribeni is followed by von Steuben in Helbig[4], no. 1858, p. 622.

[105] *NSc* 1878, 346 and *NSc* 1879, 40 and pl. 1; C. Pietrangeli, *Museo Barracco* (Rome 1973) 84, no. 108, pl. 13.2; W. Helbig and G. Barracco, *La Collection Barracco* (Munich 1893) pls. 43, 43a.

[106] Cf. the remarks by H. von Steuben, *Der Kanon des Polyklet* (Tübingen 1973) 30. For measurements, see R. Tobin, "The Canon of Polykleitos," *AJA* 79 (1975) 307–23.

[107] Von Steuben in Helbig[4], no. 1883, p. 639; Lauter (supra n. 56) 50; Zanker (supra n. 56) 10.

[108] Savignoni (supra n. 19) 253.

[109] Museo Nazionale no. 56753.

[110] *NSc* 1881, 89.

[111] A. von Gerkan and F. Krischen eds., *Milet* 1.9 (Berlin 1928) pl. 35. Found by the base in the pool in the "tepidarium," dated contemporaneously with the baths (p. 120).

[112] Rosa (supra n. 18) 85.

[113] F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom* (Leipzig 1881–1882) 249, no. 928.

sized, made of Greek marble, preserved from navel to thigh, and draped in a chiton and mantle. It reminded him of the Nike from Brescia. The figure has now disappeared. The same pose is known from numerous female figures, an Aphrodite from the baths at Hippo Regius, for example.[114]

Main Building: Room "f" West. Only one statue can be indisputably located in the main building outside the central hall, and it is one of the few sculptures recorded in situ. In his account of his work in 1871–1872, Rosa describes finding a *life-sized torso of the "Hermes of Andros" type* (pl. 51, fig. 19) fallen in front of the niche in the wall separating the western room (f) from room A[1].[115] (The niche is missing on Krencker's plan, ill. 2 here.)

The surface of the statue is heavily weathered and its original treatment is hard to recognize. Nevertheless, it is clear that the back was given only a cursory finishing with a rasp. There is a deep hole between the shoulder blades where a dowel was inserted to attach the statue to the niche. The area around the dowel hole is chipped and gouged like the same area in the Polykleitan Herakles found by Guidi in the central hall.

The "Hermes of Andros" type is one of the most popular in the Roman statuary repertoire. It is common in baths, but difficult to interpret since it was not only a beloved image of Hermes but also extremely popular for portrait statues.[116] Hermes, god of the palaestra and of public speaking, is clearly at home in the environment of the baths, but no more so than are honorary statues. The solidly emphatic musculature of this particular version suggests an older figure than do some other versions, making it likely to be a portrait, since the tendency in Roman workshops was to make the Olympians ever more youthful. The ambiguities of the type have been often discussed and need not be repeated here.[117] This particular version looks late first or early second century, but the erosion of the surface makes close dating difficult.

Apparently in the same area, Rosa found a *fragment of a male head*, now lost, about which he said only that the hair was worked "in maniera grandiosa."[118]

Main Building: Palaestrae (?). It is just possible that we may know the find-spot of one more work described by Aldrovandi. A 1575 engraving of the ruins of the southeastern palaestra calls it the place where "very beautiful fragments of statues and animals, which were in antiquity all of one piece" ("ch'erano antichamente tutto d'un pezo") were found.[119] If it is reliable at all, this description ought to refer to the colossal group of the Punishment of Dirke, known popularly as "the Farnese Bull."

Almost as sensational as the Herakles Farnese when discovered, this enormous work (3.70 m. high, 2.95 m. square) is something of an embarrassment to scholars today[120] (pl. 51, fig. 20). It is massively restored. Figures and landscape alike are a complete patchwork of ancient and sixteenth century pieces. The surfaces have been given a thorough refinishing. The restoration, by G.B. Biondi, must have been a lengthy process, and clearly had not progressed very far by the time Aldrovandi saw the work in 1550. He calls it Herakles fighting the bull, and in his description mentions all the small animals carved into the base but none of the major figures except "Herakles" and the bull. By 1585, the restoration had been completed and the subject correctly identified.[121] A major study of the work currently being undertaken by Ariel Herrmann promises to clear up some of the misapprehensions current about the group.

Some details should be noted here which bear on its placement and date. The group has a striking front view and is just comprehensible from the sides. The back, however, is awkward and uninformative. The group was clearly meant to stand against a wall, perhaps, considering its size, at one end of a dramatic vista. A likely site in the southeastern palaestra is the central apse (h) which marks one end of the longitudinal axis of the building. The view along this axis is

[114] Marec (supra n. 48) 117. The type has been most recently discussed by F. Croissant, "Une Aphrodite méconnue du début du IVième siècle," *BCH* 95 (1971) 65–107.

[115] Rosa (supra n. 18) 83.

[116] See G.E. Rizzo, *Prassitele* (Milan 1932) esp. pl. 112 (London replica) and pl. 113 (Athens replica). Manderscheid illustrates three from baths, one of them almost certainly a portrait: no. 37, pl. 16; nos. 533–34, pl. 51. See now E. Andreou, *Deltion* 31.1 (1976) 261–62.

[117] See G. Lippold, *Griechische Plastik* (*HdA* 3.1, Munich 1950) 275 and n. 2.

[118] Rosa (supra n. 18) 84.

[119] Brödner (supra n. 23) pl. 24 top. See Lanciani 2 (supra n. 13) 183. Note that the baths are actually oriented NE/SW, not N/S and the Palaestra I cited as southeastern is called southern by Lanciani.

[120] The best study remains F. Studniczka, *Zeitschrift für das bildende Kunst* 14 (1903) 171–82. Two recent treatments are by L.B. van der Meer, *BABesch* 52–53 (1977–1978) 65–68, and G. Gualandi, *ASAtene* 54 (1976) 60–61.

[121] Aldrovandi (supra n. 32) 158; Cavalieri (1584?) no. 1.

open and unimpeded from one end of the building to the other.

Dating the work is made difficult by the restorations, but those parts of the drapery and the tree trunk supports which are ancient suggest a date at the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.C.[122] The workmanship looks remarkably similar to the group of Achilles and Troilos but, curiously enough, much less like the Herakles Farnese. The evidence of size and date together makes it seem fairly safe to assume that this was a tour-de-force commissioned for the Baths.

Placing the Farnese Bull in the eastern palaestra makes it irresistible to speculate about what might have been set in a corresponding position in the western palaestra. The principle of bilateral symmetry is strong in these Baths, as the example of the two Herakleis in the central hall shows.[123] Many small fragments of sculpture were found by Rosa in 1872 in what was probably the western palaestra. They included a *fragment of a woman's leg*, which Rosa thought probably came from the statue of an Amazon.[124] (This means, no doubt, that the leg must have been bare.) The presence of these numerous fragments makes the following anecdote, written down in 1594 by Flaminio Vacca, extremely suggestive:

> Many years ago a sculptor told me that the father of his father, who was in the Antoniana in the time of Sixtus IV, had seen a marble island with the feet of many figures attached to that same island; and there was also there a marble ship with figures on it, but wholly ruined, which was sailing towards that island... but the ship was never found there: you must imagine that having once sailed through water, it must then have sailed through fire in some lime-kiln.[125]

Once dismissed as fantasy, the story now seems perfectly reasonable. In the light of the great discoveries of sculpture at Sperlonga, the marble landscape with figures is altogether plausible. The chronology of the sculptor's family works out, and a lime-kiln was, in fact, discovered in the Baths in 1912.[126] The presence above ground of fragments of this group might have been one of the clues which suggested to Paul III that mining the baths for sculpture would be a profitable enterprise.

If such a complex group existed, it may well have been the pendant to the Farnese Bull in the western Palaestra. What the subject might have been—another episode from the Theban Cycle? Odysseus? the Argonauts?—is fruitless to consider since the group itself has such a tenuous hold on life.

Main Building: Rooms Unknown. The remaining sculpture which can be assigned to the main bath building falls into two categories. The first category consists of Aldrovandi's attributions from the Farnese collection. All the Farnese works which can be even tentatively located come from the main building, and it was certainly there that Sangallo the Younger made his sketches. It seems therefore that this was where the Farnese excavators worked. Properly speaking, the second category consists not of statues at all, but of inscribed bases for vanished statues. (In some instances, even the bases themselves have vanished today.)

These inscriptions are extremely important because they provide evidence for a class of statuary widely found in baths but otherwise poorly represented among the finds from the Baths of Caracalla. Honorary statues of donors, patrons and public and private benefactors of all sorts were traditional in baths throughout the Empire. They are usually represented today, as here, simply by their inscribed bases, from which the bronze statues have been taken to a foundry or the marble ones to a lime-kiln. Perhaps the impression that there were, relatively speaking, fairly few of these in the Baths of Caracalla reflects the greater number of dignified public buildings available in Rome than in smaller provincial cities. There may have been more suitable sites in which to erect such statues in the capital, and so the Thermae there may have received fewer of them than did baths in the provinces. On the other hand, most of the excavators who worked in the Baths of Caracalla over the centuries were looking for works of art or reusable architectural members, not empty marble bases. The bases they found they may not have recorded.

At any rate, five are known today, four recorded in the sixteenth century and one by Rosa in 1871–1872.

[122] Muthmann (supra n. 61) 81.

[123] Manderscheid (25) has observed that it is a principle strongly respected in bath sculpture in general, and cites many examples.

[124] Rosa (supra n. 18) 83. He seems to have been working in the western end of the building.

[125] F. Vacca, "Memorie di Varie Antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della Città di Roma... nell' anno 1594" in A. Nibby ed., *Roma Antica di Famiano Nardini* 4 (1820) 13, para. 23.

[126] *NSc* 1912, 310. It is described only as "medieval."

The sixteenth century finds are said to come from near the site of the Herakles Farnese, hence no doubt from some place in the main building, probably the central hall. Three of them are now lost, but all the inscriptions were recorded at the time of discovery.[127] Three were reused, but in all four instances the latest inscriptions show that they held statues set up by the Urban Prefect C. Ceionius Rufus Volusianus in honor of Valens and Valentinian.[128] Two are dedications to Valentinian (*CIL* VI, 1171 and *CIL* VI, 1173), and one to Valens (*CIL* VI, 1172), all of which no doubt held portraits of the emperors honored.[129]

The fourth base (*CIL* VI, 1070) belongs with a group of late antique inscriptions which simply record the actions of urban prefects in setting up statues, and not, usually, much about the works themselves.[130] They could have been honorary portrait statues lacking the usual inscription. They could, on the other hand, have been ancient works brought from earlier locations and re-erected.

From the Theodosian Code it is clear that the Imperial government in the fourth and fifth centuries was much concerned with the fate of abandoned buildings which were being stripped of their architectural and sculptural decorations at an ever-increasing rate. Many inscriptions also record the efforts of conscientious municipal authorities to repair these buildings or at least to salvage the statuary from them by moving the sculptures to buildings still in use.[131] Baths, since they were maintained longer than most urban amenities, received a number of rescued statues.[132] In almost no cases do the inscriptions recording the re-erection of the sculptures indicate which statues were saved. De Rossi in 1865 suggested that they were cult statues removed from temples and set up as works of art.[133] Lanciani repeated this suggestion and it has entered the literature on the early Christian period, specifically with reference to this base from the Baths of Caracalla.[134] Unfortunately the state of the evidence—consisting in so many cases of copies of vanished inscriptions—cannot substantiate the claim.

The inscription on the fifth statue base known from the main building, the one discovered by Rosa in 1871–1872, was copied by Hülsen from Dressel's transcription.[135] Unfortunately the version given is corrupt, and the base is now lost, so a corrected reading cannot be made.

Everything else which can be placed with some likelihood in the main building comes from Aldrovandi's list. No specific sites can be suggested for any of these works, and indeed, many are known only from his descriptions. Of those which can be found today, one seems likely to have been commissioned for the building. It is an over life-sized basalt figure engagingly described by Aldrovandi as a statue of the Vestal Virgin who proved her chastity by carrying water in a sieve[136] (pl. 52, figs. 21, 22). More likely she represents a *Victory* carrying a wreath and palm branch.[137] When Aldrovandi saw it, the missing head, arms and

[127] *CIL* VI, 1170–73.

[128] This C. Ceionius Rufus Volusianus was Praefectus Urbi in 365. He was an interesting and controversial figure whose career Ammianus Marcellinus details at length, if disapprovingly (27.3). See A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1971) 978–80.

[129] *CIL* VI, 1173, although said to come from the Baths, may have been moved away from them by Volusianus. The base when found had three inscriptions on three different faces. The earliest was from an unknown city outside Rome, the second was a dedication to Diocletian mentioning the Baths, and the third was Volusianus' dedication to Valentinian. Lanciani has suggested that the provenience given in the *CIL* is an error and that, in rededicating the statue to Valentinian, Volusianus moved the work. This theory would eliminate the anomaly of having two dedications to Valentinian and only one to Valens set up by Volusianus in the Baths: R. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (New York 1899) 33.

[130] *CIL* VI, 1651–72.

[131] C. Pharr et al. eds., *The Theodosian Code* (Princeton 1952) Bk. XV, Title 1, 14; Bk. XV, Title 1, 19; Bk. XVI, 10.15; Bk. XVI, 10.18; N. Maj. 4, 458.

[132] In Cherchel, for example, the excavators of the Western Baths uncovered four statue bases with inscriptions claiming them to have been "translata de sordentibus locis": V. Waile, *De Caesareae Monumentis quae Supersunt* (Algiers 1891) 30. See also P. Gauckler, *Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*: 4, *Musée de Cherchel* (Paris 1895) 60.

[133] G.B. De Rossi, "Delle statue pagane in Roma sotto gli Imperatori Cristiani," *BACrist* 3 (1865) 5–8.

[134] R. Lanciani, "Le Escavazioni del Foro," *BullComm*, ser. 5, 27 (1899) 185. Repeated, for example, in A. Chastagnol, *La Préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris 1960) 347, 367.

[135] Hülsen (supra n. 12) 75: "Imp. Domitiani Caesar/Aug. Germ. Loco. CLXXV/Per. primum Lib." The inscription is said to be in the Terme magazines. It may well be, but it is not inventoried and cannot be found.

[136] Aldrovandi (supra n. 32) 151. Professor Lilian Armstrong has pointed out to me that the figure strongly resembles Mantegna's painting of the maligned Vestal now in London. G. Knox, "The Camerino of Francesco Corner," *Arte Veneta* 32 (1978) 79–84, fig. 2 on p. 81. See also E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna* (New York 1955) fig. 27.

[137] A. Gulaki, *Klassische und klassizistische Nikedarstellungen* (Bonn 1981) 215–17, analyzes this Naples Victory and groups it with a number of related classicizing creations. She dates the work to the early third century A.C., calling it "eine Schöpfung der Aemulatio severischer Zeit." In Reusch et al. (supra n. 58) 184, no. 685, the statue is said to be of "marmo bigio." Almost undoubtedly, however, it is heavily weathered basalt, like the Maenad below.

feet had been replaced with modern substitutes. Today the work is exhibited unrestored, and enough is left to indicate fairly clearly how the figure was originally arranged. The left leg, as is traditional with Victories, was thrust forward completely detached from her drapery which is fully finished behind it. The dowel holes for the attachment of the leg are visible, although of course some may be for the restored limb Aldrovandi saw. The right leg is preserved to the instep, where the drapery arches up coyly over what was no doubt intended as a charming glimpse of toes. The sixteenth century reworkings and the modern plaster have made it impossible to determine how the missing parts of the foot were originally attached. The left arm was drawn back a little and bent at the elbow, the classic gesture of Victories holding palms.[138] The arm below the elbow was inserted into the large dowel hole still visible. A small dowel hole in the left side between breast and waist presumably anchored the palm. The right arm was brought forward just under the breast as if to hold out something. A wreath is a likely guess.

The original head and neck of the Victory are completely gone, and the cuttings to insert the sixteenth century head have destroyed any indications of original angle or material. In Cavalieri's engraving, the restored head turned slightly to the right, as if looking toward the object held out in that hand.[139] This pose would be reasonable, and some ancient evidence may have suggested it to the Renaissance restorer. The broken edges of the figure's drapery contain many small dowel holes. Presumably these were made in the sixteenth century when the broken edges were neatly filled in (unless, of course, they represent similar ancient repairs instead). The back is only cursorily rendered, although its surface has been brought to the same finish as the front, presumably in the sixteenth century. A large dowel hole between the shoulder blades has been filled in, no doubt at the same time. There are no indications that there ever were wings.

The pose of the Naples statue is completely typical for Victories. Her costume, however, is not. She wears a sleeved chiton, belted at the waist with an overfold, in an arrangement ultimately indebted to the reclining Aphrodite from the east pediment of the Parthenon, but even better known in many Roman adaptations.[140] Aphrodite, however, in all these versions, wears a himation or cloak thrown over her chiton. The Naples statue appears to wear a petticoat under hers. The chiton parts over her right leg, revealing another piece of clothing beneath it. In a profile view, the impression that two separate garments are worn is strong (pl. 52, fig. 22). The buttoned sleeves of the chiton are not canonically rendered either, and the buttons are missing altogether from her left arm, leaving a sort of looped or cut-out effect, again with the appearance of an undershirt beneath the chiton. She seems to be wearing both a chiton and a peplos beneath it.

A close examination, however, shows that this impression is deceptive. Below the knee, the vertical folds of the chiton seem to lie underneath the tightly stretched loops of the garment they apparently covered at the waist. Moreover, the fully finished drapery behind the missing left leg shows no sign of any second garment. The work combines two traditional draped figures, an Aphrodite with chiton and himation, and a Victory wearing a garment which falls open to reveal one leg. Both are ultimately late fifth century B.C. in origin—one going back to the Aphrodite from the Parthenon, the other to the Nike of Paionios. The sculptor of this Victory, however, may well have been ignorant of both. The works he follows are the countless Hellenistic and Roman adaptations of the types. It is the decorative qualities of these adaptations that he is anxious to reproduce. He is reaching for the effects of cloth-on-cloth, of thin material moulding a body and heavy material blown into wave-like patterns irresistibly suggesting movement. He understands these originally late fifth century devices, however, only in terms of surfaces, of rich contrasts of textures and elegant linear patterns. Neither the logic of the clothing itself nor the classical sculptor's logic of design, which used each surface pattern to emphasize the three-dimensionality of the form beneath it, has any meaning for him. He even indulges in anatomical distortions, giving the figure quite impossibly long legs.[141] In this rendering, he may be influenced by a common Victory type in which the belt comes just below the breasts; he may have known that

[138] Gulaki (supra n. 137) suggests that she may have held a lyre, not a palm.

[139] Cavalieri 1584? (supra n. 38) no. 36.

[140] Many of these adaptations are conveniently assembled in M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies* (New York 1977) figs. 435–48. See also Gulaki (supra n. 137) 216.

[141] Not uncommon in these Roman classicizing Nikai, as Gulaki, (supra n. 137) 200 (discussing a statuette in Lepcis Magna, fig. 169), points out.

his figure was to be seen from far below and corrected for the foreshortening of distance, or he may simply not have cared. He may rather have been interested in dramatic effect.

The figure must, indeed, have been dramatic when complete, since the missing members were probably in white marble, and the palm and wreath probably in gilded bronze. Behind the peculiarities of the clothing may have lain the sculptor's extremely careful arrangement of the colors in his final product, and the technical difficulty of allowing, for example, glimpses of a white marble arm under a basalt sleeve.

Works in basalt are rare and hard to date, but this one, in which traces of traditional marble-working tools are apparent—claw, flat chisel, point and drill—seems to be later second or early third century.[142] The date is appropriate for the Baths, as is the grandiose style, and so again it is tempting to consider this one of the works commissioned for a niche in the building.

Another work in dark stone was found in the Baths, which from a distance must have appeared similar to the Victory. Both are highly decorative studies of flamboyant drapery in which the artist's attempts to recreate the style of the late fifth century are thwarted by his familiarity with later reshapings of that style, and by his own Roman approach to sculpture as a creation of surfaces, not structure.

The second figure is different in subject from the Victory and, upon analysis, seems to be much earlier in date. It represents a *Maenad*, one arm raised, holding something before her[143] (pl. 52, figs. 23, 24). The body is black basalt; the head, right arm, and left foot are white marble, suggesting that the missing left arm and right foot were marble as well. The right forearm and parts of the right sleeve are restored. The maenad wears a light chiton and a heavy mantle which is drawn over her left shoulder. Over her right shoulder she wears a lion or panther skin, the paws of which dangle down in front and back. The animal's head, which lies on her right breast, is too badly damaged to identify. Where the straps of her sandals cross, they are decorated with tiny satyr-heads. The back of the body is sketchily finished, but the head is completed all around. This treatment is extremely unusual, and suggests that the head, a straightforward ideal type, may have come from a different statue, particularly since maenads almost always have a vine-leaf or grape cluster tucked into their hair to identify them. The satyr-heads on the sandals demonstrate that this work must have represented a maenad, and further suggest that her Bacchic identity was elaborately established. Moreover, the head does not fit perfectly into the basalt body. Under the chin the marble slightly overlaps the basalt; over the left shoulder there is a fine but visible gap between basalt and marble. Yet, where the upraised right arm and sleeve meet, it should be noted, there is also a slight lack of fit, and even the foot, which undoubtedly belongs, is crudely inserted. The vicissitudes of time and travel since the work was discovered may account for this clumsiness. Nonetheless, the discrepancies between the head and the body remain suspicious.

The thumb and forefinger of the maenad's right hand are broken off. Her remaining fingers clasped something, only a tiny stub of which remains. The work was carefully analyzed in 1965 by Günter Fuchs, who thought that the object was too irregular in shape and too small in diameter to have been a thyrsos; the maenad must have been holding up an animal by its tail. He suggested restoring a thyrsos in her left hand.[144] Fuchs observed in the style of the figure a debt both to the Pergamene vision of classicism, and to the "Neo-Attic" tradition of decorative maenads whose frenzy subsides into an erotic playfulness. The date he suggested for the work is Flavian, a suggestion with which von Blanckenhagen concurs.[145]

The two dark stone statues, then, are different in subject and in date. They differ in style as well. The earlier work may use loops and folds of drapery more to create linear patterns than to model the body underneath it, but the clothing remains coherent. The artist is creating a variation on a single theme, not mixing contradictory types. The tradition in which he is working, the draped figure activated by swirling gusts of wind-blown cloth, seems more alive to him than it does to the artist of two hundred years later.

Significant though these differences are today, in the early third century they may have seemed less so. The two works share the same size, mixture of materials and generally flamboyant style. They share too the presence of a dowel hole between the shoulder blades. It is easy to imagine that they were intended to

[142] Compare G. Fuchs, "Eine Basaltstatue in Palermo," *RömMitt* 72 (1965) 108 n. 32.

[143] See Fuchs (supra n. 142) 100–15 for a detailed study of the work.

[144] Fuchs (supra n. 142) 111–12. He identifies the figure as Thyia, leader of the Thyiads and a minor cult figure.

[145] I would like to thank Professor P. von Blanckenhagen for his kindness in looking at photographs and giving an opinion.

complement each other (perhaps with additional similar figures) in strategically placed niches. As time passed, all these figures from the Greek tradition began to blur together into a kind of Classical generality, and the specific meaning of each became less significant than the pleasing impression given of works in a Grand Tradition. A maenad could quite easily seem an appropriate partner for a Victory, when both evoked principally literary and artistic, no longer deeply religious, associations.

The same can of course be said about the associations evoked by the *colossal Athena* listed by Aldrovandi and now in Naples[146] (pl. 53, fig. 25). The work he describes is sometimes confused with the Athena Farnese (Naples no. 6024), but Aldrovandi is quite specific. He notes that the head, arms and legs are modern, and that her helmet is plumed. This description can only refer to the figure illustrated here. Between the snake (only the lower coils of which now remain) and her right leg was a shield, for which cuttings can be seen today on the leg. The type is the so-called "Ince Athena" which belongs to a group of closely related Athenas wearing the Corinthian helmet.[147] When Athena appears in bath sculptures it is almost always as one of these types. The snake doubtless suggested to Roman viewers a connection with health (Hygieia, of course, always appears with a snake), and it is significant also that this is the type of Athena most frequently associated in Roman monuments with Apollo and the Muses.[148]

The statue when it was restored was given a thorough polishing, which was applied all around the figure, lending it the slightly lustrous finish preferred by the sixteenth century Farnese restorers. The workmanship of the figure is excellent; monotony is avoided in the folds of the drapery, and surface planes are subtly varied. It looks to be early Imperial in date.

The final work described by Aldrovandi which Cavalieri engraved is today in storage in the Naples Museum[149] (pl. 53, figs. 26, 27). The renovations currently in progress there have left it encased in scaffolding and coated with plaster dust so that a full description and analysis are not possible, but some tentative, general points can be made. Another colossus, its restored height is 3.18 m. The figure is a *heroic male nude* wearing a baldric and supported behind the left, weight-bearing, leg by a cuirass. The plinth beneath the statue is in two parts. The smaller, ancient part includes only the area beneath the left foot (behind the toes) and the cuirass support. The rest, including the toes of the left foot and the helmet on which the right foot rests, are sixteenth century restorations. The right leg, from the upper thigh on down, is also sixteenth century, prominent in Cavalieri's engravings. Although enough is left at the top of the thigh to indicate that it was probably brought forward, not enough is preserved to demonstrate what the original height and angle of the leg were. That the statue has been repaired at least twice is clear from the breaks at the knee and ankle of this new leg, both of which are mended with plaster, not with the strips of marble preferred in the sixteenth century. The left leg is substantially ancient, although broken and mended (just below the knee), and containing one inserted repair (the lower thigh above the kneecap). The cuirass support was broken at the same height as the leg and has been elaborately repaired; nevertheless, it appears to be largely ancient, although extensively patched and reworked. It is joined to the right buttock by a tree branch protruding from its right sleeve. The branch is broken at both top and bottom, attached at an incorrect angle to the cuirass sleeve, and clumsily patched into the buttock. It is not clear, in fact, whether the branch, although it looks ancient, was added by the restorers to shore up the new right leg. The torso seems to have suffered only minor damage, and in front is in one piece with the neck up to the base of the chin. Both shoulders are preserved, but arms and hands are sixteenth century restorations. The head also is Renaissance (a portrait of Tiberius). The back of the head is either a separate piece of marble or has cracked, since a break runs around the skull, but none of the hair appears (insofar as it is at all visible) necessarily to be Roman. The preservation of the neck muscles in front shows that the turn of the head to the left is ancient. The baldric has been much repaired, and the empty scabbard hanging from it appears to be partly or wholly restored. Essentially, then, the presumably ancient portions of the work are the left leg, the torso, the neck in front and most of the

[146] Aldrovandi (supra n. 32) 153; Cavalieri 1584? (supra n. 38) no. 38; Naples no. 6319 (now in depository); Reusch (supra n. 58) no. 483.

[147] G.B. Waywell, "Athena Mattei," *BSA* 66 (1971) 376.

[148] See, for example, Muse sarcophagi: M. Wegner, *Die Musensarkophage* (Berlin 1966) pls. 22, 26, 28, 30, 33 and passim.

[149] Inv. no. 6000. Reusch (supra n. 58) no. 1015; Fiorelli (supra n. 41) 174, no. 68; Aldrovandi (supra n. 32) 147–48; Cavalieri 1584? (supra n. 38) no. 28; Cavalieri 1594, no. 67 (a different engraving).

cuirass support. At least two sets of restorations are visible, and the work has been completely resurfaced and polished.

Identification is difficult. The cuirass support indicates a martial figure, but the statue could represent a divinity like Mars, a personification or mythological figure, or could equally well be a heroic portrait. The difficulty is similar to that encountered in dealing with the "Hermes of Andros" fragment in the Baths (pl. 51, fig. 19). The difference, of course, is that this work is not a standard replica of a familiar type. It is, instead, an eclectic mixture of different traditions. The musculature of the torso is strongly Polykleitan, but the stance (particularly, of course, if the raised right foot is justified) is quite different.[150] The baldric is an "option" that was added to or subtracted from heroic statues as taste or iconographic urgency dictated.[151] Such an eclectic mixing of statuary types is particularly common in Imperial imagery, and suggests that this may well be a portrait of an emperor.[152] If the tree branch does belong to the statue, it implies that an early Severan date might be too late for the work, which would thus have been reused in the Baths.

The remaining statues said by Aldrovandi to come from the Baths of Caracalla were not illustrated and are known only from his descriptions, which are not precise enough to identify them with specific works. Simply listing them, however, gives an indication of what kinds of figures were found in the Baths.

"... a *torso of Hercules* with the lion's skin; it has neither head nor arms..." (Aldrovandi, p. 147)

"... a *Hermaphrodite*... has no head: [it] is a very beautiful torso..." (Aldrovandi, p. 148)

Here Aldrovandi is less exact than he sounds. He describes numerous "Hermaphrodites," three of them in the Farnese palace, and his account of one of them (not from the Baths of Caracalla) shows how he made the identification: "... a torso of a Hermaphrodite; it has no head but can be recognized since it has the long locks of a woman."[153] Another of his "Hermaphrodites" is engraved by Cavalieri and is unmistakably an Apollo Lykeios.[154] A "Hermaphrodite," then, to Aldrovandi, was a long-haired, graceful male. A Dionysos is as likely as an Apollo.

In Reusch's guide to the Naples Museum, no. 6354, "Bacchus Hermaphrodite," is said to be Aldrovandi's hermaphrodite from the Baths.[155] The identification is surely mistaken. The Naples figure wears both a chiton and a diagonal goatskin, which Aldrovandi is unlikely to have failed to describe.

"... a *Venus*... without a head..." (Aldrovandi, p. 148)

"... a *nude woman* also without a head, but holding a knot of drapery in her arms..." (Aldrovandi, p. 148)

What distinguishes a Venus from an ordinary nude woman is not clear. Aldrovandi does not limit himself to the Pudica type in recognizing Aphrodite, nor to figures lacking any wisp of drapery.

"... another *very beautiful torso*; it is not known of whom" (Aldrovandi, p. 150)

"... a *head of Antoninus Pius*, [it] has also a separate bust which they attached there..." (Aldrovandi, p. 150)

Naples no. 6078 is a colossal head of Antoninus Pius from the Farnese collection which has been tentatively identified as the one described by Aldrovandi.[156] The identification is unlikely, however, since the Naples head is truly colossal, 1.30 m. high, and Aldrovandi, who is conscientious about noting the scale of large figures, says nothing about the size of this one. Moreover, no bust remains with this head. Wegner thinks the Naples head belonged to a cult statue of the deified emperor, perhaps from a temple.[157]

[150] A raised foot combined with an erect posture would be somewhat unusual for a nude male statue, but not unprecedented. See, for example, another heroic figure in Spain: A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid 1949) no. 121, pl. 95 and text pp. 121–22; and a variation on the Apollo Lykeios in Delos: J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos* (Paris 1969) pl. 30, no. A 4124. (Elizabeth Milliker gave me this last reference.)

[151] Both the "Ares Borghese" and the "Diomedes," for example, are known with and without baldrics. Without baldrics: T. Lorenz, *Polyklet* (Wiesbaden 1971) Diomedes pl. 20, 1; Ares pl. 20, 2. With baldrics: B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Klassische Skulpturen (Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen* 2, Munich 1979) fig. 38, p. 100 Diomedes; B. Freyer, "Kultbild und Skulpturenschmuck des Arestempel in Athen," *JdI* 77 (1962) 217 fig. 4, Ares in Dresden. For both with baldrics and Imperial portrait heads, see H.G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellungen der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin 1968) pl. 37.1, 2.

[152] Niemeyer (supra n. 151) 63–64. See also D. Faccenna, "Il 'Pompeo' di Palazzo Spada," *ArchCl* 8 (1956) 173–201.

[153] Aldrovandi (supra n. 32) 150.

[154] Cavalieri 1584? (supra n. 38) no. 37.

[155] Reusch (supra n. 58) 163.

[156] Reusch (supra n. 58) 248–49, no. 1029; De Franciscis (supra n. 75) 43; Vermeule (supra n. 6) 110.

[157] M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit (Das römische Herrscherbild*, 2.4, Berlin 1939) 25 and 116.

"... *another [torso of a woman], half clothed and half nude...*" (Aldrovandi, p. 151)

The three fragments from the house of Mario Maccarone are described thus:

"... a *horse* equipped with a saddle-blanket, reins, breast-straps, and such things; it has no head and shows that it must have had a man on top because the rider's legs appear." (Aldrovandi, p. 266)

"... a *head* with a bust almost in the round of *Antoninus Caracalla*; it was a whole statue but during the excavations in the Antonian Baths it was broken and spoiled." (Aldrovandi, p. 267)

A fragment described as "a relief head of the Sun with rays" is a fragment of architectural sculpture and not relevant here.

Precinct Area. Only a handful of works can be traced to the precinct area surrounding the main bath building. There may be a number of reasons for the disparity between the number of sculptures found here and in the main building. The precinct is still being excavated, and those parts that have been fully investigated revealed dense post-antique occupation including, in Room E of the northwestern precinct enclosure wall, a lime-kiln.[158]

The most significant evidence for the original decoration of the area is the *torso of the Doryphoros* (pl. 53, fig. 28), which was found fallen from one of the eleven niches facing the cryptoporticus (B) in the northwest wall (marked by *a* on ill. 3).[159] If these fairly inconspicuous niches were filled with statues, the fact augurs well for the architect's having been able to fill the other spaces designed for statuary. The surface of the Doryphoros replica has suffered badly from weathering, a process unfortunately still continuing today as the work is displayed out of doors and is thickly coated with soot. A detailed commentary is therefore difficult. The front appears to have been finished with an abrasive while the back was only rasp-finished. Between the shoulder blades is a deep, square dowel hole for attaching the statue to a background. Signs of damage from its fall, in addition to the missing head and limb, are large chips in the chest area and right leg, which has been recomposed from three fragments joined together. The left arm has also been rejoined at the elbow.

The work is a straightforward, competent replica, little mentioned in the literature on Polykleitos.[160] The style and technique of the figure seem close to the Polykleitan Herakles from the Baths, but that unfortunately has been dated variously from Flavian to Antonine.[161] At any rate, this is another work which was clearly reused in the Baths.

The same excavations of 1911–1912 which found the Doryphoros cleared the western end of the southwestern wall and uncovered a library. Set in the center of its rear wall was an apse containing a large *statue base.*[162] The statue was missing, and the base was uninscribed, but it is likely that an image of Athena, traditional in libraries, stood there.

Two herms were found in the excavations of the precinct in 1912, neither one in situ. One, a *bearded herm* of the Waroqué type in Willers' classification, was found in the area (H) between the library (G) and the "stadium" on the plan (pl. 54, fig. 29).[163] The bust, the beard (from just below the lips), and the nose are restored. The flesh has been finished with the rasp, the hair and beard with a bull-nosed chisel. Drillwork is minimal, visible only in the corners of the eyes and between the lips. The type is a variant of the Pergamon herm which is itself considered to be a late adaptation of the Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes.[164] Harrison's "Alkamenoid" aptly describes the effect that the workshops which churned out all these bearded herms desired to produce.[165]

The presence of herms in the grounds of the Thermae is predictable. Although they are not common in baths, herms are standard ornaments of gymnasia and libraries, and are favorite garden ornaments in villas.[166] Both this herm and the following youthful herm were found separately in the grounds of the Baths near the structures attached to the precinct wall. No pedestals were found with them, showing that they were not found in situ. The absence of

[158] See supra n. 126.

[159] Ghislanzoni (supra n. 19) 307.

[160] P.E. Arias, *Policleto* (Rome 1954) 141. He describes the work as made of Luna marble.

[161] See supra p. 358.

[162] Ghislanzoni (supra n. 19) 311.

[163] Ghislanzoni (supra n. 19) 314.

[164] D. Willers, "Zum Hermes Propylaios des Alkamenes," *JdI* 81 (1967) 37–101, group C-I. The Caracalla herm is not listed in his catalogue and should be added. The closest parallels are his fig. 63, a herm in Venice, and fig. 64, one in the Barberini gardens in Rome. See also B. Schweitzer, *Antiken in ostpreussischen Privatbesitz* (Halle 1929) 174.

[165] E.B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (*The Athenian Agora* 11, Princeton 1965) 134.

[166] Manderscheid (27) notes the rarity of herms. Few baths, however, had the vast precinct areas of the Imperial Thermae in Rome, and it was as open-air statuary that herms were often used: Grimal (supra n. 4) 191–92; Harrison (supra n. 165) 125; T. Ashby, "La Villa dei Quintilii," *Ausonia* 4 (1910) 9.

weathering probably indicates that they were set up not out of doors, but in the shelter of one of the precinct rooms or the portico fronting them. The precinct buildings were not completed until the reign of Alexander Severus. Neither style nor technique, however, permits the attribution of either one of these herms to the mid-third century. Herms are notoriously difficult to date, but these are probably second century.

The second, youthful and *beardless herm* was found in the open area in front of the "stadium"[167] (pl. 54, fig. 30). Its bust and nose are restored. Both the face and the hair are worked with a bull-nosed chisel broader than the one used on the bearded herm. Drillwork is no more apparent in this head than in the bearded one, except in the drilling between the lips, which is cruder here. This difference can no doubt be attributed to the less-finished state of the work which awaits the rasping that has evened out the surface of the bearded head. Except for these details of surface treatment, the workmanship of the two heads is similar (compare the rendering of the eyes) and the marble is identical. They are, moreover, the same size. The young herm is 43 cm. high to the 42 of the bearded. They would seem to have been designed as a pair, and it is curious that they should have left the workshop in such different stages of completion. Even thick wax or paint would scarcely disguise the unfinished state of the young head. Since their use in the Baths must be secondary, it is interesting to see that the Severan architects were content to use the herms as they found them rather than working them up to a uniform finish.

The type of this youthful herm is less common than the ubiquitous "Alkamenoid" bearded one, but it is by no means rare. The identity of the god portrayed is not clear. Apollo seems most probable, but a young Hermes is a possibility. Both the sculptural and iconographic problems of the type are dealt with by Harrison in her discussion of the herms from the Athenian Agora.[168] If Raeder is right in thinking a fondness for tight corkscrew curls to be a Hadrianic-Antonine trait, perhaps the curls of this youthful head can give us a mid-second century date for the pair.[169] Also to be noted is the occurrence of herms of these types as a pair in places other than these Baths. A similar set was found near the temple of Hermes in Cyrene.[170]

One of the most intriguing finds from the Baths is a *marble eagle* sold to Horace Walpole in 1745, which formed part of his collection at Strawberry Hill (pl. 54, fig. 31). It was said to have been excavated from the *Vigna* Boccapadugli within the precinct of the Baths of Caracalla.[171] Such a property appears in Nolli's map of 1748 as a strip running roughly from the three westernmost hot rooms to the southern precinct wall, including principally open space, therefore, and the western corner of the steps of the "stadium."[172]

Walpole was extremely fond of his eagle, and wrote to Sir Horace Mann upon its arrival in England, "It is a glorious fowl!"[173] At the Strawberry Hill sale of 1842 it was sold to Lord Wemyss, in whose estate, Gosford House, it apparently remains.[174]

Reinach's publication of 1896 remains the most complete. He considered the entire bird to be ancient with the exception of the beak and perhaps the right wing. He would date it in the second century A.C.; Strong would put it in the first.[175]

Animal sculptures are not customary in baths, and if the eagle stood alone originally it is most plausibly seen as an ornament of the "stadium." A restored right wing, however, might conceal an original function as a support for a portrait of an emperor depicted as Jupiter, or it could even be part of a Ganymede group.[176]

One further discovery from within the precinct area deserves mention, although strictly speaking it is not a statue. In the same area (H) (ill. 3) in which the bearded herm appeared (an area not wholly excavated and which the investigators found extremely

[167] Ghislanzoni (supra n. 19) 316.

[168] Harrison (supra n. 165) 136–38. To her examples add a replica in the Kresge Art Center of Michigan State University: B.S. Ridgway, "A Hellenistic Head from the MSU Art Collection," *Kresge Art Center Bulletin* 1.2 (Nov. 1967) unpaged.

[169] Raeder (supra n. 94) 267.

[170] E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle Sculture di Cirene* (Rome 1959) 165, nos. 368, 369; see p. 131.

[171] W.S. Lewis, W.H. Smith and G.L. Lam, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann* 3 (*Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 19, New Haven 1954) 65–66 and n. 10.

[172] A.P. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* 3 (Rome 1962) pl. 403 (Map no. 169).

[173] *Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (supra n. 171) 420.

[174] S. Reinach, "Aigle en marbre de la collection de Lord Wemyss," *MonPiot* 3 (1896) 49; C.C. Vermeule, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis," *AJA* 59 (1955) 141.

[175] E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome* 1 (London 1929) 170; Reinach (supra n. 174) 41.

[176] Niemeyer (supra n. 151) pl. 34:1, 2 (Claudius), pl. 46 (Balbinus). E.K. Gazda, "Ganymede and the Eagle: A Marble Group from the Age of Augustine," in J.H. Humphrey ed., *Excavations at Carthage 1977 conducted by the University of Michigan* 6 (Ann Arbor 1981) 127, fig. 2. Freestanding eagles are not, of course, unknown. See C.C. Vermeule, "The Late Antonine and Severan Bronze Portraits from Southwest Asia Minor," in T. Gelzer ed., *Eikones* (*AntK-BH* 12, 1980) 188.

confusing) was found a marble altar dedicated to Diana, Silvanus and Bona Dea. The lettering of the inscription is no earlier than the end of the third century.[177] The choice of deities may be significant. The excavator noted that all three had temples in the vicinity of the Baths. An altar to these deities would also testify eloquently to the rustic and park-like nature of the open spaces in the Bath precinct.

On the other hand, the disturbed nature of the area where the altar was found should be kept in mind, as should the nearby lime-kiln. The altar was not very large, measuring 0.74 × 0.50 × 0.42 m. It could have been brought to the Baths from one of the nearby temples simply in order to be made into lime. A simple lime-kiln is easy and quick to set up, and it is extremely unlikely that any large marbles were brought to or removed from the Baths for destruction. A life-sized marble statue weighs more than a ton, and it is easier to rig up a kiln near the works of art than to break them up and haul them long distances.[178] Small works which can easily be tipped into a cart are a different matter, and are suspect in the vicinity of lime-burning operations.

Original Location beyond Conjecture. In addition to the works from the Baths of Caracalla on display or in the catalogued storerooms of the Museo Nazionale in Rome, there exist inventory records for more than two hundred additional fragments said to come from the Baths. Unfortunately the ravages of time and two World Wars have made it impossible to trace these pieces, although the present curatorial staff offers every possible assistance. From the files, it can be seen that most of the fragments are too small and too briefly described to indicate even whether they are from statues in the round or architectural sculpture. Many are not sculpture at all, but bits of the marble furniture of the Baths.[179] A few, however, are suggestive.

No. 60368 is described as the *left shoulder of a figure wearing a cuirass and chlamys*. Aldrovandi's bust of Antoninus Pius comes to mind, as well as the head of Caracalla in the house of Mario Maccarone and the statue bases which once held Imperial dedications.

Museo Nazionale no. 60379 is called an *Eros lying on a rock* which is draped with a lion's skin. From the base of the rock a lizard runs out. Statues of *putti* are not uncommon in baths although it is hard to imagine a successful placement for these small figures in the giant spaces excavated.[180] Perhaps they were set around the smaller water basins, or perhaps they are examples of works moved to the Baths in Late Antiquity. The ominous lime-kiln should be kept in mind here as well.

Another work possibly brought to the Baths simply to be destroyed there is Museo Nazionale no. 60389, which is described as a *fragment of a funerary inscription*. A more likely explanation for its presence is that the uninscribed side was used in one of the many late repairs of the building to replace a damaged step, paving slab or similar feature.[181]

In addition to the works above, there are many others in Naples, Rome, and indeed around the world which are said to come from the Baths of Caracalla but which cannot be traced either to Aldrovandi's list or to any plausible account of an excavation. It is quite likely that some of these were, in fact, found in the Baths. There is no evidence, however, to make this possibility into a certainty.[182] One work in the Museo

[177] Ghislanzoni (supra n. 19) 313. See also *AEpigr* 1913, no. 187; *AEpigr* 1918, no. 94. *CIL* VI, 543 is a second century dedication to Silvanus perhaps also found in the Baths.

[178] Two separate kilns were found, for example, in the Byzantine baths at Ptolemais: C.H. Kraeling et al., *Ptolemais: City of the Libyan Pentapolis* (Chicago 1962) 163. Three are reported from Bath A at Antioch: G.W. Elderkin et al., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 1 (Princeton 1934) 31. According to Carlo Fea, the four small groups of the Labors of Herakles found at Ostia were actually discovered inside a lime-kiln set up in a bath: *Relazione di un viaggio ad Ostia* (Rome 1802) 43.

[179] Much of the material inventoried around 1912 does not come from the bathing rooms, but from the Mithraeum established in the substructures. The finds included sculptures, altars, furniture and dedications. Ghislanzoni, (supra n. 19) 317–25, discusses the cult rooms and the more important finds. I have excluded the Mithraeum and its finds since the objects found there are clearly related to the cult and not to the bath. It is, however, an important Mithraeum, the largest discovered in Rome, and among the objects found there was a life-sized Aphrodite Anadyomene. Since Venus was one of the significant planets in Mithraic theology, figures of Aphrodite are occasionally found in Mithraea. There is no reason, therefore, to associate this statue with the bath. Cf. M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (The Hague 1956) 187–90 nos. 457–63, for the Caracalla Mithraeum. Other images of Aphrodite known from Mithraea are cited on pp. 76, 123, 160, 185, 200, 274, 275. On the cult of Mithras and locations of Mithraea in Rome, see M.J. Vermaseren, *Die Mithrasdienst in Rom* (Nijmegen 1951).

[180] See, for example, Lepcis Magna: R. Bartoccini, *Le terme di Lepcis* (Bergamo 1929) 157–59; El Djem: P. Gauckler, E. Gouvet and G. Hannezo, *Musée de Sousse* (*Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie* 11, Paris 1902) 40, no. 6; and Carthage: G.-Ch. Picard, *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* (November 1946) 152. See now also Manderscheid 27.

[181] As, for example, in the baths at Hippo Regius: Marec (supra n. 48) 120; and in the pool of the fourth century Nymphaeum on the Via Livenza in Rome: *NSc* 1923, 386–88.

[182] The most persistent misattribution to the Baths is the "Farnese Flora," Bieber (supra n. 140) figs. 158–59. Aldrovandi, (supra n.

Nazionale probably does come from the Baths, but enough doubt exists to keep it off the list. It is a *torso of the Aphrodite of Knidos* (no. 48133). In the museum files it is said to have come from the "Baths of Caracalla by the Church of S. Cesario." The Church of S. Cesario is not far from the Baths, but is not adjacent to them.[183] Partially underneath the church was an elegant second century building with a handsome black-and-white marine mosaic floor.[184] The torso was a chance find, the circumstances of its excavation are not known, and this may be one of the cases in which "Terme di Caracalla" refers to a general region: the torso could have come from the building under the church.

SCULPTURES FROM OTHER BATHS

When all the evidence from both the arrangements made by the architects for the placement of sculptures and what remains of the statues themselves is put together, a picture begins to emerge of a heavy concentration of sculpture in the main building, particularly in the central hall and palaestrae. This is not likely to be accidental, since it agrees with the evidence of other large baths where sculptures were discovered.

Few baths throughout the Empire were found with more than a fragment or two of their original statuary in place. The few that have produced significant amounts of sculpture are principally in North Africa and Asia Minor, giving us a painfully biased sample.[185] Nonetheless, it should be noted that in those large baths where sculpture in any quantity was found, the same pattern of distribution as in the Baths of Caracalla tends to occur. In Asia Minor, where bath architecture is sometimes modified to include a special room often filled with sculpture, the pattern is somewhat skewed,[186] but in general the statuary niches were concentrated under the porticoes surrounding the palaestrae, on the walls of the swimming pools, and surrounding all the small pools in the unheated and warm halls. Sculpture standing on the floors was principally found crammed into the central halls.[187]

In Manderscheid's *corpus* of bath sculpture, the frigidarium (central hall) dominates all other spaces as the principal location for statuary. His conclusion results from the comprehensive nature of his sample, which includes small baths with only core bathing rooms, and his concentration on the sculptures themselves rather than on architectural provisions for their display.[188] The sample, however, reflects what seems to have happened in the latest years of the life of most baths, when water and fuel supplies were troublesome, some rooms were abandoned, and patterns of use seem to have changed.[189] At that time it appears that most sculptures were erected in the central halls. From the Baths of Caracalla, for example, of the 41

32) 146, describes seeing the statue in the Farnese palace, but does not give it any provenience. As far as I can determine, the myth originated in the seventeenth century with P.S. Bartoli, "Memorie di Varie Escavazione Fatte in Roma e nei luoghi suburbani vivente Pietro Santi Bartoli," in C. Fea, *Miscellanea Filologica Critica e Antiquaria* 1 (Rome 1790) para. 78, pp. ccxli–ccxlii. (According to this same account by Bartoli, parts of the Herakles Farnese had been found not simply in two different places [supra n. 43] but three: para. 77, p. ccxli.) Since the Flora had been drawn by Marten van Heemskerck in the 1530s (Chr. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck* 1 [Berlin 1913] Fol. 62v.), it cannot have been excavated along with the other colossi from the baths. With luck, Haskell and Penny's clear statement, (supra n. 15) 218, that "there is no evidence that the *Flora* was even found in the Baths of Caracalla" will finally put an end to the myth.

A recent misattribution is the head of Dionysos, British Museum no. 1627, claimed by Zanker (supra n. 56) to be from the Baths. All that is known of the head is that it was found "nelle vicinanze di Roma" (C. Robert, "Testa di Bacco," *AdI* 1875, 34) and was bought by the British Museum in 1879: A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* 3 (London 1904) 48. Along with a similar head of Apollo, now also in the British Museum (no. 1548), it was briefly stored in the Baths at the time when they were used as a depository. The Apollo is claimed by Smith in the BM *Catalogue*, who is followed by Vermeule (supra n. 6) 112, to have originated in the Baths. Both heads, however, were merely temporarily exhibited there. See Hülsen (supra n. 12) 72.

[183] Touring Club Italiano, *Roma* (Rome 1968) removable map.

[184] F. Coarelli, *Guida Archeologica di Roma* (Rome 1980) 155.

[185] Manderscheid (5–8) notes the bias of the sample, and suggests some of the reasons for it. Nevertheless he states that the principle on which his own analysis is based is that what is preserved represents a cross-section of what existed in antiquity—geographically, chronologically and iconographically (p. 4). These positions seem to be contradictory, and only the former appears valid. The sample available today of sculptures from baths is simply not good enough to permit the kinds of statistical manipulations to which Manderscheid subjects it; one of the worst weaknesses in the sample is our dismal ignorance of the sculptural decoration of the baths of the chief cities of the Empire. Manderscheid's statistics are further weakened by some errors, and some omissions from his catalogue.

[186] Yegül (supra n. 3) 185, also 189–91; and "A Study in Architectural Iconography: Kaisersaal and the Imperial Cult," *ArtB* 64 (1982) 7–31.

[187] Manderscheid 21–22.

[188] Manderscheid, 8, 10 and passim, shows himself aware of the importance of niches as indications of the existence of statues now lost, but in his catalogue, and in the numerical conclusions he reaches about the distribution of sculptures, he does not include the evidence from these niches.

[189] Some interesting interpretations of this phenomenon are offered by R. Ginouvès, "Sur un aspect de l'évolution des bains en Grèce vers le IVe siècle de notre ère," *BCH* 89 (1955) 135–52.

known statues, 13 certainly came from the central hall and 8 or 9 more probably did. If the Farnese works known only from Aldrovandi's list are added, then most of the works discovered in modern times could be associated with the central hall. The pattern is consistent with Manderscheid's results. It does not, however, reflect the clear intentions of the Severan architects or the original appearance of the Baths. The architects demonstrably never intended the centripetal effect of concentrating all the decorative sculpture in the middle of the building; instead (except for the whole row of rooms on the southwest facade) they designed richly three-dimensional walls to enclose the perimeter of the building, and to mark both its NE/SW (N through T) and SE/NW (B through B[1]) axes. The sculptural niches served to emphasize two distinct areas of activity, the central bathing core and the palaestrae, stressing both the Roman and the Greek traditions which were so deliberately combined in the Imperial Thermae. Manderscheid is probably correct in relating the preponderance of sculptures standing on the floor of central halls to their use as places for socializing. This seems to have been a pattern of use which developed through time, as bath patrons stubbornly refused to honor the theoretical separation of their activities into neat bathing/non-bathing categories. Architecturally, moreover, in the Baths of Caracalla at least, as the intersection of the two major axes of the building, the central hall perhaps deserved some special attention.

When not just the locations, but also the subjects and styles of the sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla are taken into account, it is clear that here too there are many similarities to large provincial baths. There is a standard repertoire of figures found in almost every bath from which sculpture has survived in quantity.[190] The Baths of Caracalla are no exception. Apart from honorary statues, the programmatic core consists of a collection of classical deities, personifications and ideal types, all of which suggested health and pleasure. Supplementing it were distinctive sculptures which reflected the taste of each bath's donor and the place of the building in its community. From one end of the Empire to the other, however, a Roman entering one of the large Thermae would find himself in a comfortingly familiar environment created by traditional architectural patterns and standard sculptural ornamentation.

The principal figures suggesting good health, of course, were the images of Asklepios and Hygieia, which seem to have been an expected part of any bath's decoration.[191] Since ancient medical writers were enthusiastic about the benefits to be derived from judicious bathing, these representations are hardly surprising. Probably to be explained by association with them are the statues of Apollo which are found in baths. Considering the great variety of Apollo types known, it is significant that almost all of these represent him as Kitharoidos.[192] Often statues of the Muses are found as well.[193] On the basis of these sculptures, it is sometimes suggested that parts of the baths were used as lecture or concert halls. Not until Late Antiquity, however, can really persuasive textual evidence be adduced to support this contention.[194] There is, moreover, a relative scarcity among bath sculptures of literary figures. The honorary statues erected were usually of contemporary public benefactors or members of the Imperial house. Statues of poets, philosophers, the "speakers and thinkers" so often honored elsewhere, are infrequent here. The emphasis in bath decoration is more on physical well-being than on the life of the mind.[195] A reference to Apollo the singer, of course, might well represent not merely one to poetry and literature, but to Apollo the

[190] Manderscheid (38) defines the nucleus of a "normal program" of bath decoration as consisting of images of Asklepios, Dionysos and Aphrodite, and portraits. In his discussion of the iconography of bath decorations and the relative importance of the figures found there, he relies heavily on his statistics of the frequency of occurrence and spatial distribution of the various images (p. 28). Since the evidence seems to me unable to support these conclusions (supra n. 185), I have, as will become apparent below, looked at the material in a somewhat different way. It is impossible, of course, for two students of the same ancient phenomenon ever to look at it in the same way.

[191] In addition to the numerous finds of Asklepios and Hygieia statues (Manderscheid 31 and fig. 9), there is the testimony of Lucian. His *Hippias*, an encomium on the architect of a bath, is the most complete literary account left of a Roman bath, and in his description of its decoration only two statues are mentioned—of Asklepios and Hygieia, with a clear implication that such images were expected as part of a well appointed bath (Lucian, *Hippias* 5–8).

[192] An exception occurs at the Hadrianic Baths in Lepcis Magna where, in addition to an Apollo Kitharoidos (Manderscheid no. 311, pl. 39) which is a version of the Apollo from Ostia, a classicistic young Sauroktonos was discovered (Manderscheid no. 312, pl. 39).

[193] Manderscheid no. 18, pl. 14; nos. 120–24, pls. 23–24; nos. 142–44, pl. 24; no. 197, pl. 29; nos. 215–21, pl. 31.

[194] Augustine, for example, debated Fortunatus the Manichee in the baths at Hippo Regius: P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley 1969) 141.

[195] Cf. the remarks of Manderscheid 34–35. The libraries in the great Imperial Thermae may have been designed to differentiate them from ordinary baths, as do their park-like precincts.

healer and the force of the "therapeutic word." Statues of Apollo Kitharoidos are too common in too many contexts to force a single interpretation on the type.[196]

The images of Athena which appear in baths are almost always those in which she is associated with Apollo and the Muses. Sometimes, as in the Baths of Caracalla, she is depicted with a snake, suggesting Minerva Medica, the patroness of health.[197]

A special place in popular esteem was held by Herakles, who is ubiquitous in bath sculpture. Many representations of Herakles—seated, standing, leaning on his club—are found. The Farnese type is one of the more common.[198] His popularity is not surprising considering that not only is he associated with Hermes as a patron of the palaestra, but he is also a god of therapeutic hot springs, and by the third century was firmly established as a major protector of the Roman Empire, particularly of the emperor's person.[199] Caracalla, like his father, had a special veneration for him.[200] Moreover, by that time Herakles had become an important symbol of moral as well as physical energy, and to the average person a symbol of, and helper in, the vicissitudes of everyday life.[201]

Dionysos and his entourage signify most clearly the theme of physical pleasure. Their essentially decorative function as symbols of cheerful self-indulgence is clear since satyrs occur much more often than the god himself, and maenads are rare. A broad range of sculptural types of both the god and his associates is found. The other great symbol of pleasure is Aphrodite, who is by far the most popular deity represented in extant bath sculpture, and for whom no preferred sculptural type can be identified.[202] Along with Aphrodite come many representations of Eros (depicted in any form from a *putto* to an ephebe) and the Graces. Here the familiar one-sided group is customary. An ordinary Roman might well have had the same difficulty we would have today in recognizing a Grace outside that familiar composition. In baths the problem would have been particularly acute since bath buildings were filled with all sorts and conditions of nymphs. Fairly often these were water nymphs, and it is not unusual to find them converted into fountains.[203] Water deities in general are, not surprisingly, common, as Manderscheid observes.[204]

Almost as popular as the personifications and classical deities are images of idealized young men. These graceful youths may have been seen by Roman bath patrons simply as symbols of beauty and sexuality, as masculine equivalents of the Aphrodites and nymphs, but it is likely that they also specifically referred to the exercise areas in the baths, as the nymphs seem to have symbolized their pools and fountains. Sometimes these youths echo the style of famous artists, as the two replicas of the Doryphoros and the Herakles from the Baths of Caracalla recall Polykleitos. Like all the images from baths, these sculptures symbolized culture, the grand tradition of the classical past. To what degree evoking this tradition implied, in a public bath of Late Antiquity, specific references to famous sculptors is not at all clear. Whether the cultural values inherent in the works came from their association with the names of artists or with the world of the Classical Greek *gymnasia* which they symbolized is less important than the fact that these anonymous youths were as significant for the Roman public as images of Apollo or the Graces in creating an atmosphere of beauty, opulence and traditional values.

It is noteworthy that every one of the baths in which large quantities of sculpture have survived is one which remained in use into the Christian period. All these pagan images were tolerated by Christian rulers, and by the masses of their subjects who patronized the baths. Clearly they were not seen as religious images, but as symbols of the tradition to which Rome was heir. The many late statues of public figures, such as the dedications of Volusianus in the Baths of Caracalla, demonstrate official approval of the institution of the bath, and emphasize again the important role it played in late Roman city life. The evidence from the

[196] E. Dwyer, *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture* (Rome 1982) 124–25, points to the frequency of Apollo Kitharoidos types in the repertory of Pompeian garden statuary, for example.

[197] As in the baths at Hippo Regius (Manderscheid no. 466, pl. 47). It is a pity that only the statue base was found in the library of the Baths of Caracalla, since it is so likely that an Athena stood there.

[198] See supra n. 48.

[199] J. Bayet, "Hercule Funéraire," in J. Bayet, *Idéologie et plastique* (Rome 1974) 214–18. Manderscheid (33–34) notes, on the basis of the inscriptions on the statues, that it was Herakles' role as a god of the state which seemed to dominate in baths, rather than his role as a god of healing or of hot springs.

[200] *SHA* "Caracalla" 5.5; A.M. McCann, *The Portraits of Septimius Severus* (*MAAR* 30, Rome 1968) 65–66.

[201] Bayet (supra n. 199) and in the same collection of articles, "Les statues d'Hercule des Grands Thermes de Lambèse," 405–10.

[202] Manderscheid (33) also points out the political role of Venus as the ancestress both of the Augusti and of the Roman people.

[203] See supra n. 22.

[204] Manderscheid 30–31. These fountain figures, which are essentially little more than elaborated water spouts, are, in one sense, not really freestanding sculpture at all, but closer to furniture, like the marble benches and tables which are also richly decorated.

decoration of baths, frequented by all classes, demonstrates again that in the first Christian centuries the lower classes as well as the educated elite were expected to feel that they participated in that tradition and to identify it with sound medical practice, education and refinement.[205] Indeed, in Ptolemais, Libya, a new bath was built in the Byzantine period and decorated with reused sculptures. Those which can be identified are Cleopatra I as the Tyche of the city, Asklepios, the Three Graces, an Athena Farnese, two statues of Herakles, a sea-creature, a late Egyptian priest and the portrait of a philosopher.[206]

THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF THE SCULPTURES FROM THE BATHS OF CARACALLA

The characteristics which distinguish the sculpture from the Baths of Caracalla from other collections of bath sculpture begin to appear when the sizes and dates of the works found there are considered. Only a few can be measured, but the sizes of most can safely be deduced and it becomes clear that many were enormous. The Herakles Farnese, the "Latin Hercules," the Punishment of Dirke, the gilded Asklepios, Achilles and Troilos, the "Ince" Athena, the Naples heroic nude and the head of the androgynous youth are all one-and-a-half to more than twice life-sized. All of these but the androgynous youth were known to Aldrovandi, and identified by him as colossi. The sizes of the remaining works on his list are not given, which can be safely taken to mean that they are life-sized or smaller. The hand holding a cup discovered in 1881 was called colossal by its excavator, and the fragmentary standing woman found in 1871–1872 was apparently also well over life-sized. Ten colossal works are therefore known from the Baths; eight can be traced. Of these, two are not precisely datable (the Caserta Herakles and the heroic nude in Naples). Five of the remaining ones are late Antonine/Severan in date; only one, the Athena, is unmistakably earlier. Of the smaller works which can be identified today, only one is contemporary with the late colossi, the basalt Victory. All the rest are earlier.

Two sharply differentiated groups thus appear in the sculptures from the Baths. One is a set of mostly life-sized figures which are earlier than the Baths, and the other is a set of mostly colossal figures which appear to be contemporary with them. Colossi are extremely rare in baths, and the Thermae of Caracalla are the only complex where more than two have been found.[207] That many of these giants are contemporary with the building, and hence probably commissioned for it, and that they seem to have been designed for specific places in it make them even more astonishing. In most baths, Manderscheid finds that the designers of the sculptural programs paid little attention to the scale of the spaces around them.[208] Caracalla's architects were clearly attempting something extremely ambitious and, in comparison with the provinces at least, extraordinary.[209] When the cost of commissioning sculpture is taken into account, it is scarcely surprising that, apart from these colossi, few other original works were ordered, but most of the niches were left to be filled with statuary on hand.[210]

Duncan-Jones has made an interesting collection of the prices of buildings and sculpture in the second and early third centuries A.C. His figures indicate that no public buildings cost more than baths, and that a substantial portion of the cost came from their sculptural ornamentation. His data are from two areas, North Africa and Italy.[211] The three most expensive buildings are in Italy. The costliest was the Baths of Neptune in Ostia built for no less than HS 2,000,000 by Antoninus Pius. An unknown structure at Aquileia cost just HS 1,000,000, and the next most expensive item Duncan-Jones records was HS 800,000 for the remodelling of a bath in Altinum. No building in Africa is recorded to have cost more than HS 600,000. Five, however, cost between HS 400,000 and 600,000—one temple, one theater, one fountain-house, one library and one bath. All are buildings traditionally decorated with quantities of sculpture.

That it may have been the sculpture which contributed to the high cost of these buildings is further suggested by some inscriptions from Africa recording

[205] See C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *DOPapers* 17 (1963) 55–59; D.M. Brinkerhoff, *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch* (New York 1970) 56–72.

[206] D.M. Brinkerhoff, "The Sculptures," in C.H. Kraeling et al., (supra n. 178) 188–98.

[207] Manderscheid 27 and n. 273.

[208] Manderscheid 27.

[209] Here is where our ignorance of the sculptural programs of the earlier Imperial Thermae in Rome is particularly painful.

[210] Original works would not be expected, of course, in the later Severan buildings in the precinct, so that it is only with the parts of the complex designed by the architects of Caracalla that the issue arises.

[211] R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1974). North African prices are found in Ch. 3, introduction, 63–67; building costs are discussed on 75–78; charts, 90–93. Italian prices are given in Ch. 4, construction costs, 124–26; charts, 157–62.

gifts of portions of buildings. These additions all cost HS 61,000 or less, with the sole exception of the rebuilding of the proscenium and *scaenae frons* of the theater at Lepcis Magna in Greek marble and the addition of marble statues. This cost HS 500,000 in A.D. 157/8. No doubt it was the use of imported marble which inflated the price so dramatically.

The suggestion of the importance of sculpture in the total cost of buildings is confirmed by the fairly generous available sample of the prices of actual statues. The most accessible figures are again those compiled by Duncan-Jones for North Africa.[212] The variations in cost are quite wide; statues of Caracalla are listed, for example, ranging in price from HS 12,000 to HS 2,400. The average price of a marble statue, however, seems to have remained between HS 4,500 to 6,500 from the reign of Antoninus Pius through that of Caracalla. From Italy the evidence is less abundant, but suggests that prices were similar.[213] To fill a hundred niches in the Baths of Caracalla with sculpture would have cost, then, between HS 450,000 and HS 650,000 if the sculpture were newly commissioned for the purpose. Even if Caracalla were willing to spend for his baths what Antoninus Pius did, say, two million sesterces, then a quarter of the budget would be consumed in just filling niches in the main building. Prudence clearly dictated the use of as many existing statues as possible. A large number would have been readily available from other Imperial properties and the confiscated estates of enemies. The 1828 excavations in what may have been the Villa dei Quintilii, for example (which became Imperial property after the execution of its owners by Commodus), produced two maenads of "marmo bigio" (probably weathered basalt), with heads and limbs of white marble, ten palms (about 2.2 m.) tall.[214] It is tempting to group these with the reused maenad in the Baths of Caracalla and suggest the villa as the original home of the work. We should probably imagine that Caracalla's architects (like Michelangelo collecting ancient statues for the Campidoglio) established a depot and stockpiled sculptures from the beginning of the project.

When we consider the sculptures which are not earlier works reused but which appear to be contemporary with the erection of the building, it is clear that the group is not all the product of one workshop. It is reasonable, nevertheless, to advance the hypothesis that they were all created for the same building because, although they betray some differences in style and technique, they demonstrate a consistent taste and sensibility. Caracalla's architects knew what they wanted.

The six works they seem to have commissioned (leaving to one side the two undatable fragments in Naples and Caserta) fall into three distinct groups. Two are inflated versions of well known types, the Herakles Farnese and the gilded Asklepios; two are gruesome mythological groups rare in ancient art, the Punishment of Dirke, and Achilles with the Body of Troilos; and two are unusual variations on familiar themes, the Victory and the androgynous youth.

Of these, only two, the bloodthirsty groups, seem likely on technical grounds to come from the same workshop. This common source can only be said to be likely, not certain, since both are so heavily restored and resurfaced. In both, however, the treatment of the tree trunks is the same and the handling of the drapery thrown over the trunk in the Achilles group is very close to the technique in the ancient portions of Dirke's skirt. The resemblances are more than technical. The prehistory of the works is similar and obscure. Both may be related to Hellenistic sculptural prototypes, and to monumental painting as well. Both are unusual subjects, seldom represented elsewhere.

These subjects may be rare because they are so appalling. In both of the groups from the Baths, however, the composition is designed to intensify the horror. Our attention is focused on Dirke in the one case, and on the pathetic nakedness of the dead child in the other. In both, moreover, the artist is playing games with us. We think of Achilles as a hero, Dirke as a vicious criminal. In these groups Achilles appears as a monster, Dirke as a helpless victim. Our normal expectations are confounded, our feelings confused. The works disorient the viewer and raise unsettling questions about heroic values.

This taste is a clear demonstration of the new sensibility introduced as early as Late Antonine art. The groups in the Baths of Caracalla raise the same kinds of questions about heroic mythology that the historical reliefs of the column of Marcus Aurelius raised about Imperial propaganda and contemporary warfare. That Severan patrons should commission sculptures of this kind is not surprising. What is unusual is to have such works appear in a public bath. On the

[212] Duncan-Jones (supra n. 211) North Africa, 78–79, 93–99.
[213] Duncan-Jones (supra n. 211) Italy, 126–27, 162–63.
[214] Ashby (supra n. 166) 12.

whole, bath sculpture tended to avoid raising issues of any sort. "Luxe, calme et volupté" might be the theme of most bath decoration. Caracalla's architects were clearly striving for something new, something to surprise and shock.

The same attitude is evident in the versions they chose of traditional works. Clearly both the gilded Asklepios and the Herakles Farnese were designed to make the viewer gasp. In both cases the artist has enlarged and exaggerated a familiar type until, like a blown-up photograph, the forms dissolve and lose meaning. The benign image of Asklepios is hardened and all the linear details are sharpened until the face becomes merely a mask. Under the gilding all changes of plane would have disappeared in a stark inhuman brightness. The gentleness of the healing god disappears as well, and with it his identity as helper and comforter. This image of Asklepios, by a formal exaggeration of the traits in the prototype, and by the unusual treatment of the surface, reverses our expectations and shocks our preconceived ideas of the nature of the god. As with Achilles, as with Dirke, we see a stranger, not a familiar acquaintance.

How much more is this true when we consider the Herakles Farnese! There the shock must have been the greatest of all since the type was common. Here the exaggeration and elaboration of the forms of the prototype, instead of wiping out changes of plane as in the Asklepios, turn the whole statue into nothing but planar modulations. The surface articulation becomes so exaggerated that it dominates the work. Like the contemporary basalt Victory, the whole statue is nothing but a richly three-dimensional surface. There are so many intersecting planes that it is facetted like a diamond designed for a maximum number of reflecting surfaces.

This transformation sets up an impossible contradiction with the prototype. Greek sculpture is based on the premise that the surface is the visible demonstration of the structure beneath it. The Herakles Farnese, being all surface, fails to answer the structural questions posed by the type. Where is all that weight distributed? How stable is his club? Is he really balancing himself on it? Like the drapery of the basalt Victory, we expect the figure to make sense; we want to read from the surface what is happening underneath. When we are unable to intuit the interior supports of bone and muscle that hold up the figure, we begin to think that none exist, and the statue looks curiously weightless, hollow, balloon-like.

Moreover, by emphasizing equally every detail of the giant body, the artist dissipates our attention, fails to focus it on the essential parts of the figure that mean support and strength. The eye wanders distractedly from one minor plane to the next, and energy, instead of building up within the body, flows away from it, leaving this giant Herakles oddly limp.[215]

It flows out of the great official portraits of Caracalla too, which Nodelman has convincingly demonstrated to be constructed of interacting surface planes.[216] There, however, the great artist he calls the Caracalla Master has composed those planes so as to focus all attention on the ruler's terrifying glance, and it is from his eyes that the concentrated energy streams out to intimidate even a modern viewer. This work too is based on a classical prototype, a Diomedes known from many versions.[217] In the case of the Caracalla portrait, a Late Antique reinterpretation of a Greek form has produced a masterpiece. It may be that in the third century this was more readily done with heads than with bodies, in that age whose ideas of the holy turned more and more away from the physical. It may just be that the Caracalla Master was a greater artist than Glykon the Athenian.

Even if his work is ultimately a failure, Glykon's Herakles must be considered successfully sensational. Caracalla's architects surely achieved their goal of astonishing the viewer and confounding his expectations. Like the heroism of Achilles, the strength of Herakles is suddenly called into question. The quality which defines him is shown to be something we have mistakenly taken for granted.[218]

Severan sculpture is normally discussed in terms of portraits, historical reliefs and sarcophagi. This group of works commissioned for the Baths of Caracalla is surely a truly monumental example of "Severan Baroque." Sensationalism, the desire to evoke an emotional response, to reshape old forms with a new aesthetic, to call into question accepted moral values

[215] The Herakles, now in Caserta, which was erected as its counterpart, gives, with its concave chest and aqueous musculature, an even greater impression of weakness.

[216] S. Nodelman, "Severan Imperial Portraiture" (unpubl. ms. in American Academy in Rome) 566. My view of Severan sculpture in general is indebted to Nodelman's powerful analysis of Antonine and Severan portraits. He regards the Herakles Farnese more charitably than I do, however (p. 575).

[217] G. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen* (Leipzig 1929) 181.

[218] It is a pity that the subject of the androgynous head cannot be identified, since we cannot know whether beneath its bland exterior lurks the same desire to surprise and to confound expectations.

by challenging formal ones, to play games with the viewer—all of this can be legitimately called Baroque. To do it on a vast scale in a public building is even more so. The pattern is consistent. As the colossi reverse our expectations of their subjects, so the group as a whole reverses expectations of appropriate themes for bath decoration. The presence of the colossi in turn raises questions about the array of familiar works around them. What did this Grand Tradition of classical culture say to the average Roman of the third century A.C.?

The presence of these commissioned works would have set up a certain tension, created an air of theatricality in the Baths that must have been deliberate, considering the care given to the placement of the works. In one sense, in fact, the sculptures can be said to be the Baroque element in the architecture—introducing a note of excess and loss of control into its predictable, symmetrical and rational spaces. Perhaps one reason for choosing works which go to such extremes as these was because they could assert themselves against the vast spaces around them, catch the patrons' attention, make focal points for vistas, mark transitions from room to room. Although freestanding, they are in reality architectural sculpture, integral parts of a carefully designed environment.

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A CHECKLIST OF WORKS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE BATHS OF CARACALLA

The list below comprises works which seem fairly certain to have come from the Baths of Caracalla. Nos. 29–37, which appear in quotation marks, are known only from Aldrovandi, and no. 41, which appears in brackets, is known only from Flaminio Vacca's anecdote. An attempt has been made to correlate this list with those of Vermeule and Manderscheid by adding the catalogue number which each assigns to the work. It should be noted that their identifications of these works often differ from my own.

	Vermeule	*Manderscheid*
1. Herakles Farnese	no. 1	no. 51
2. Latin Hercules	no. 23	no. 52
3. Polykleitan Herakles	no. 6	no. 53
4. Achilles and Troilos	no. 4	no. 64
5. Head of Asklepios	no. 11	no. 46
6. Head of youth or girl wearing fillet	no. 10	no. 60
7. Pelvis of nude man		no. 68
8. Thigh of Diskobolos	nos. 7 and 15	no. 67
9. Head of Doryphoros	no. 20	no. 61
10. Hermes of Andros type		
11. Fragment of male head		
12. Fragment of colossal female figure		
13. Fragment of female leg		
14. The Punishment of Dirke	no. 2	no. 63
15. Victory	nos. 4B and 16	
16. Maenad	no. 24 or 25	
17. Athena	no. 4C	
18. Heroic male nude		
19. Torso of Doryphoros	no. 12	no. 62
20. Bearded Herm	no. 13	no. 56
21. Youthful Herm	no. 14	no. 55
22. Marble eagle	no. 21	
23. Base of statue dedicated to Valentinian		
24. Base of statue dedicated to Valens		
25. Base of statue erected in reign of Valens and Valentinian		
26. Base of statue dedicated to Valentinian		
27. Uninscribed statue base in library		
28. Statue base with feet of statue preserved, inscription garbled		
29. "Torso of Hercules"		
30. "Hermaphrodite"	no. 5	no. 47
31. "Venus"		
32. "Nude woman"		
33. "Very beautiful torso"		
34. "Head of Antoninus Pius"	Naples no. 6078	
35. [Female torso] "half clothed and half nude"		
36. "Horse" [and legs of rider]	Pieces of an equestrian group	
37. "Head. . .of Caracalla"	Statue of Caracalla	
38. Under life-sized hand holding a syrinx		no. 66
39. Under life-sized Satyr torso		
40. Over life-sized hand holding a cup		
41. [Marble ship . . . marble island]	no. 4A	

In addition to the works listed above, other possible attributions are discussed on pp. 376–77.

Both Vermeule and Manderscheid list in their catalogues works which I do not believe can be attributed securely to the Baths. Some were once stored but were not excavated there (Vermeule no. 19; Vermeule no. 22, which is Manderscheid no. 54). The Aphrodite excavated from the Mithraeum (Vermeule no. 9, Manderscheid no. 49) seems to belong to the cult rooms, not the Baths (see my n. 179). The mirror reversal of the Achilles and Troilos group (Vermeule no. 23, Manderscheid no. 57) disappears if the Rome fragment is restored to the Naples group. Similarly, the fragmentary warrior group (Vermeule no. 15, Manderscheid no. 67) is merely the thigh identified by Paribeni as a piece of a Diskobolos (Marvin no. 8). The "Farnese Flora" and the other colossal works, Naples 5975 and 5978 which Manderscheid and Vermeule include, are old misattributions discussed on pp. 376–77 and n. 182. The Berlin head (Vermeule no. 18, Manderscheid no. 48) can be traced to no excavation.

A NOTE ON THE COLLECTION OF GIROLAMO EGIDIO DI VELO

By 1748, when G.B. Nolli's plan of Rome was published, the site of the Baths of Caracalla was divided among a number of different proprietors. The main building and the southern part of the precinct belonged to the *Collegio Romano*. With the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, the property passed to another seminary which leased it in 1815 to the de Leoni family. From them, in turn, Count Girolamo Egidio di Velo leased it in March of 1824. The count, an immensely wealthy antiquarian from Vicenza, was specifically interested in collecting antiquities from the site, principally to decorate his own house, but also to embellish the tomb of his fellow-townsman, Palladio. He succeeded in getting a permit to excavate by the end of March, and within a few weeks had uncovered the two great mosaics of athletes which covered the floors of the huge semicircular apses opening off the palaestrae (n on the plan). His plan to export the mosaics to Vicenza touched off a lawsuit lasting several years. The then Director of Antiquities, Carlo Fea, who had been concerned for a long time about the spoliation of the Baths, energetically moved to establish that the mosaics, as an integral part of an ancient building, were the property of the Papal state. Ultimately, he was successful, and the mosaics went to the Lateran.

In the course of his excavations, which continued for several years, di Velo uncovered a number of works of sculpture. Unfortunately their importance paled next to the mosaics, and only one was reported on in detail, a porphyry head, found in May 1825. This turned out to be a protome perhaps once attached to one of the great porphyry basins included in the furnishings of the Baths. None of his other discoveries of sculpture excited much attention and he was allowed freely to export them all.

At his death, di Velo's collection passed to the Museo Civico of Vicenza, unfortunately without documentation about the provenience of the works. Di Velo excavated in sites other than the Baths of Caracalla, and purchased liberally from antiquities dealers. His collection has been published in the impressive catalogue by Vittorio Galliazzo, *Sculture greche e romane del Museo Civico di Vicenza* (Treviso 1976), and is quite interesting. Except for some works of dubious antiquity, the collection betrays a consistent taste. The question is, whose taste?

Most of the works are Hadrianic or Antonine in date and firmly "classicistic" in style. They are in white marble, life-sized or under. The male figures are usually youthful and androgynous, the females half draped and sweetly pretty. The subjects are mostly satyrs, nymphs, Dionysos, Apollo, Aphrodite and anonymous ideal types. Works of this date, style and subject-matter are commonplace in baths. The Antonine era was the great age of bath building, and sculptures of exactly this kind were turned out by the thousands to decorate the new establishments. Almost all of them would be at home in the Baths of Caracalla, from which the recorded finds have included fewer works of this type than might have been expected. Perhaps these are the missing statues, and perhaps di Velo stumbled upon an area of the Baths consistently decorated with works in this familiar taste. Unfortunately it is more likely that the taste is di Velo's own, and that of the dozen or so sculptures in his collection in Vicenza, a few came from the Baths, and the rest were assembled around them. They can neither be forgotten when considering the sculptures from the Baths, nor can any one of them be indisputably located there.

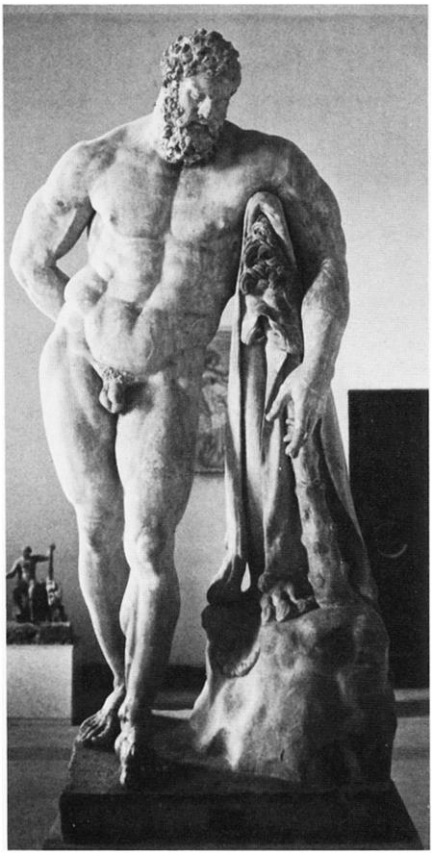


FIG. 1. Baths of Caracalla, the Herakles Farnese, front view. (Photo author)



FIG. 2. Baths of Caracalla, the Herakles Farnese, back view. (Photo author)

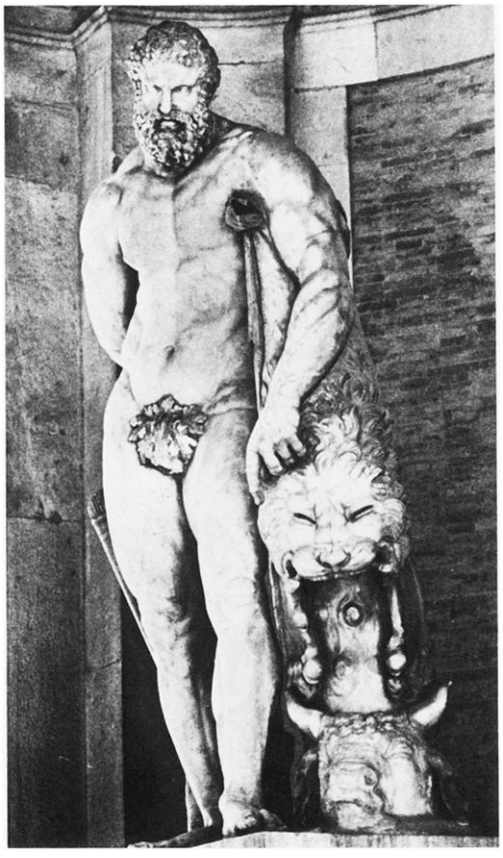


FIG. 3. Caserta, Palazzo Reale, so-called Latin Hercules. (Photo author)



FIG. 4. Baths of Caracalla. Upper: Herakles Farnese, right hand. Lower: "Latin Hercules," right hand. (Photos author)

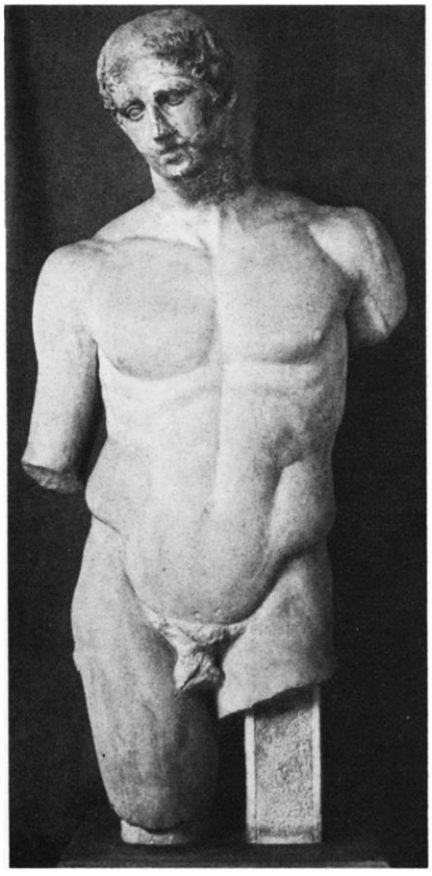


FIG. 5. Baths of Caracalla, replica of the Polykleitan Herakles. (Photo author)

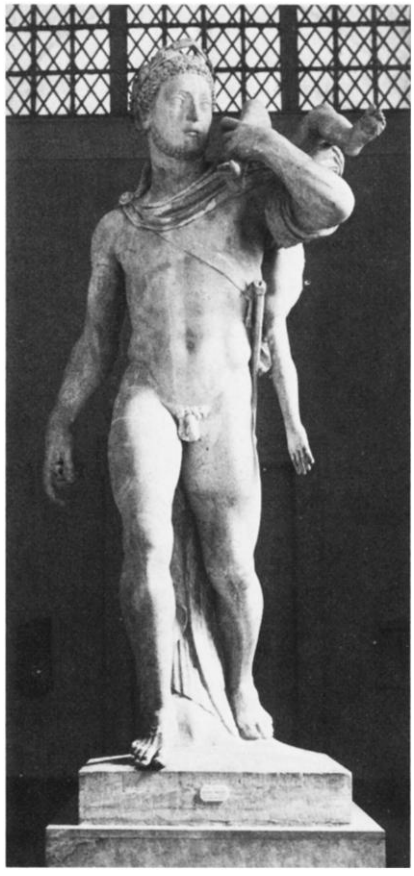


FIG. 6. Baths of Caracalla, group of Achilles and Troilos, front view. (Photo author)

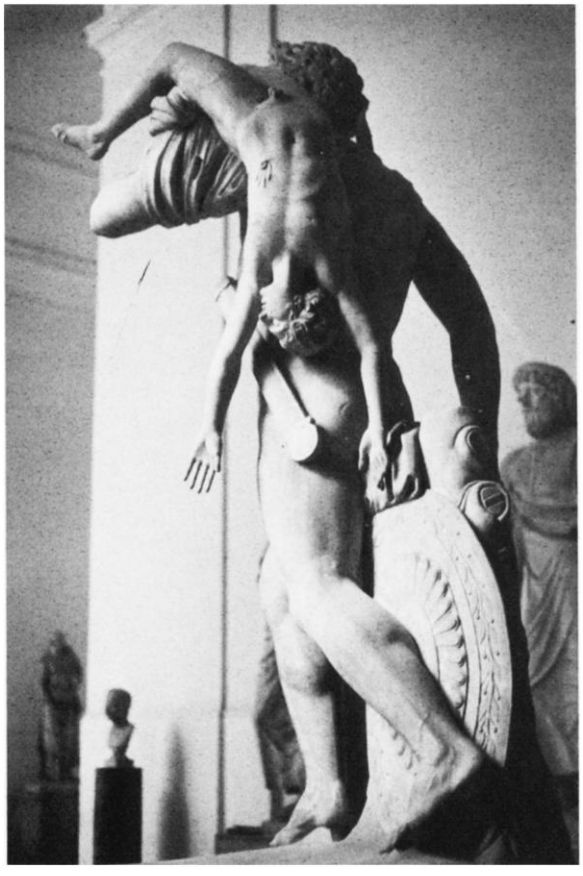


FIG. 7. Baths of Caracalla, group of Achilles and Troilos, back view. (Photo author)

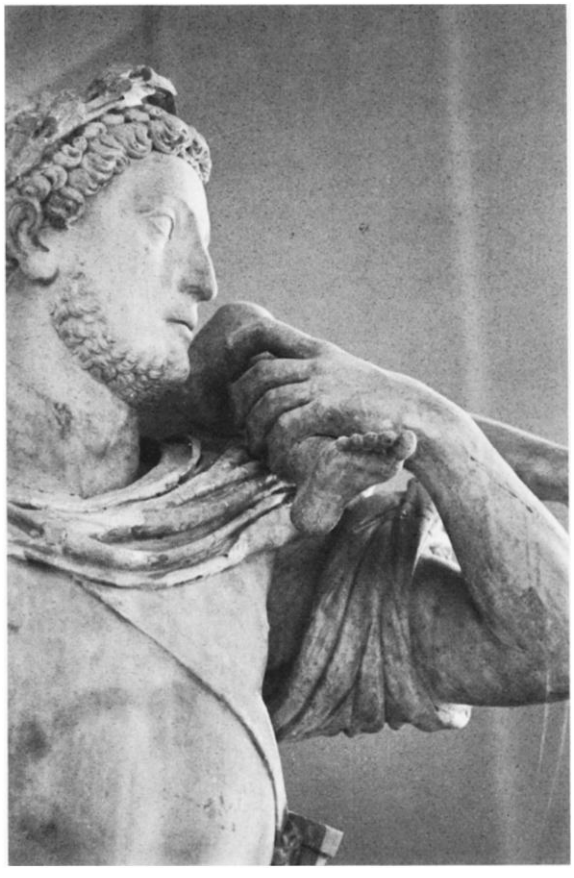


FIG. 8. Baths of Caracalla, group of Achilles and Troilos, detail. (Photo author)

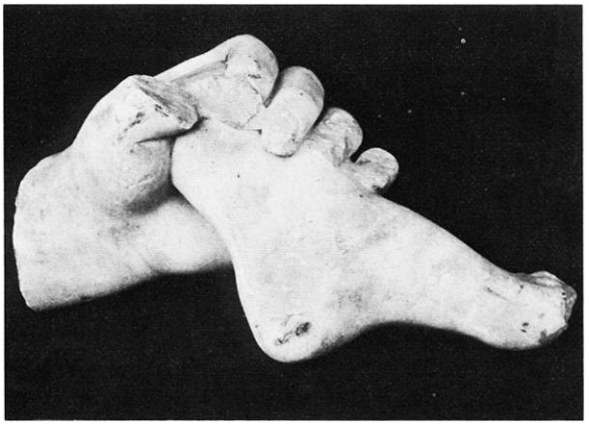


FIG. 9. Baths of Caracalla, fragment of colossal hand holding a child's foot. (Photo author)

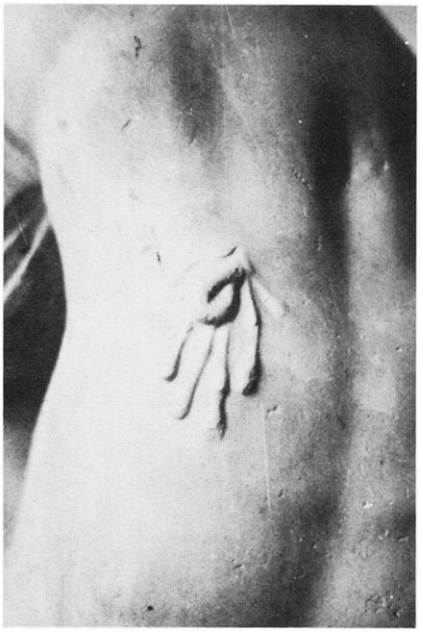


FIG. 10. Baths of Caracalla, group of Achilles and Troilos, detail. (Photo author)

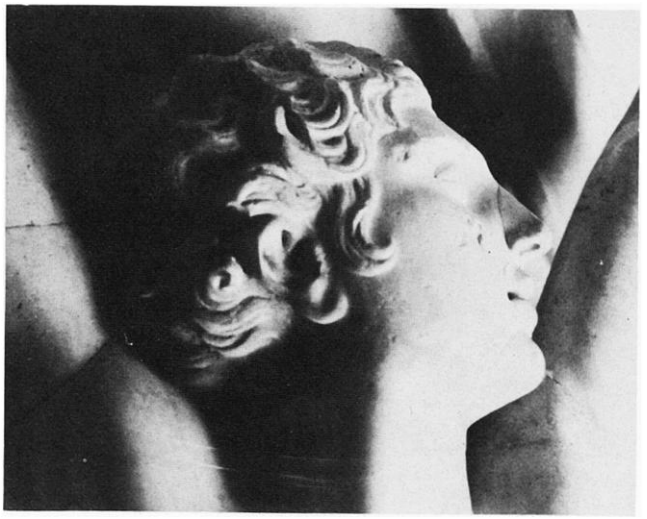


FIG. 11. Baths of Caracalla, group of Achilles and Troilos, detail. (Photo author)

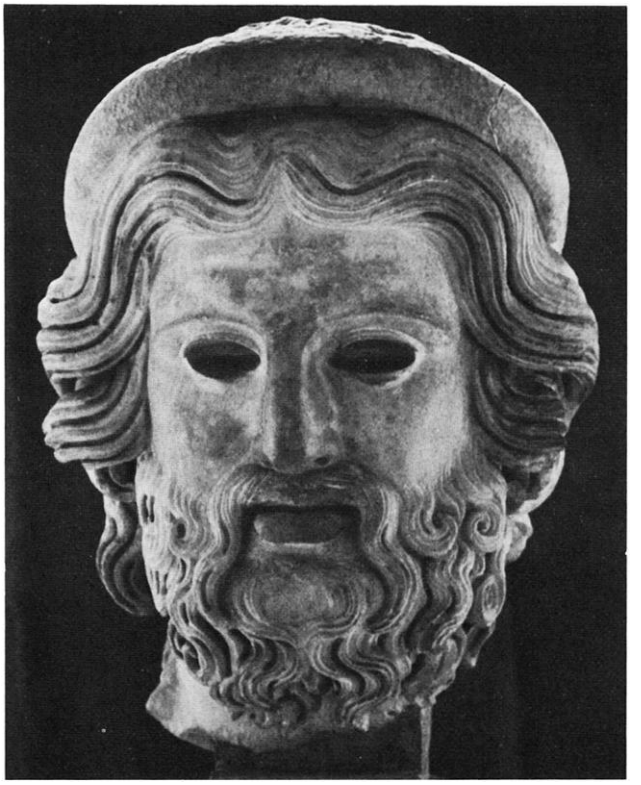


FIG. 12. Baths of Caracalla, head of Asklepios, front view. (Photo author)

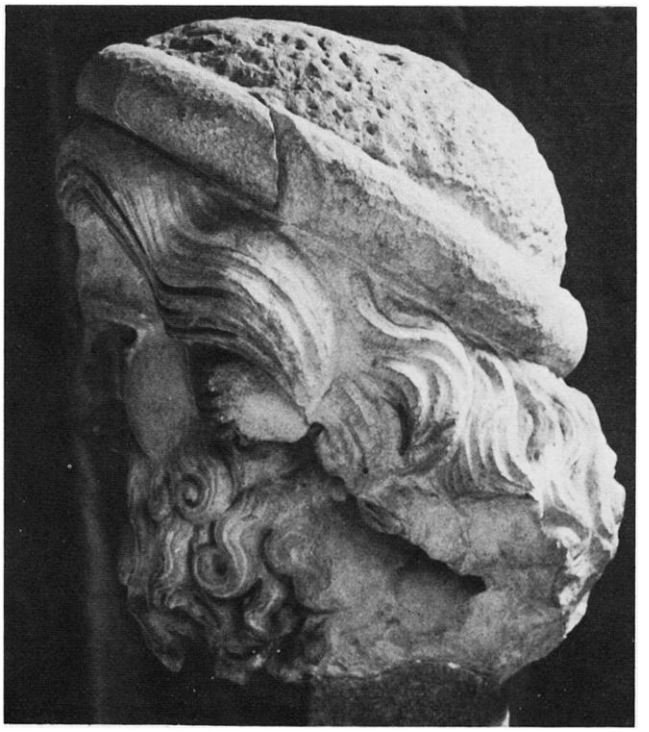


FIG. 13. Baths of Caracalla, head of Asklepios, side view. (Photo author)

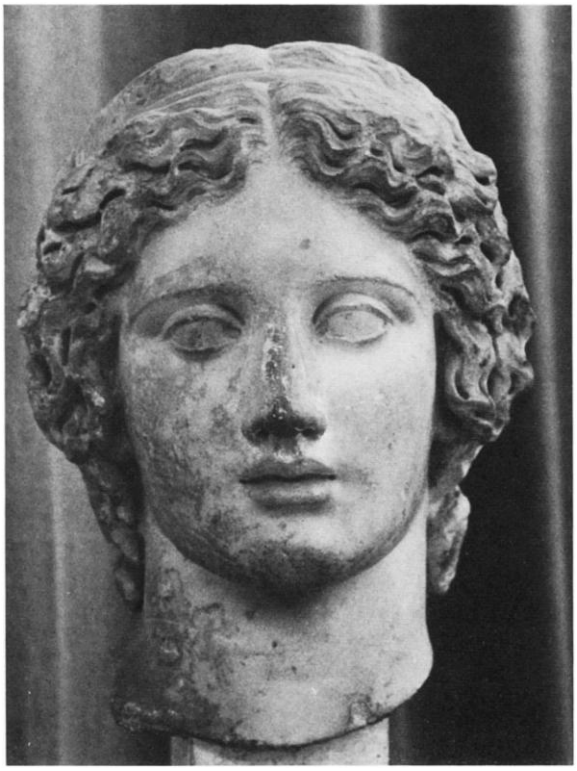


FIG. 14. Baths of Caracalla, head of girl or youth, front view. (Photo author)



FIG. 15. Baths of Caracalla, head of girl or youth, side view. (Photo author)

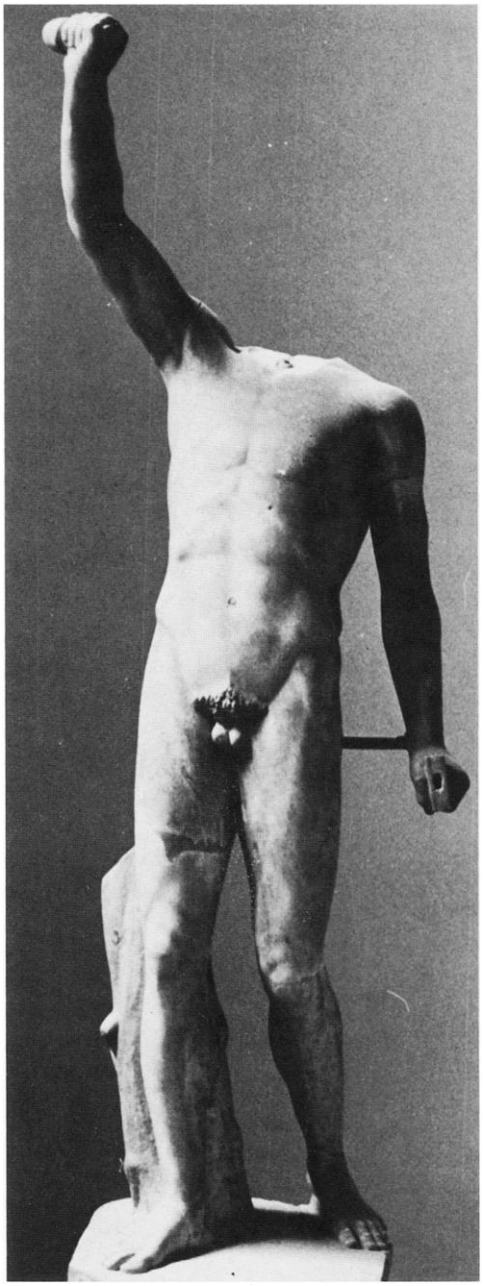


FIG. 16. Farnese gladiator, Naples Museum no. 6408. (Photo author)

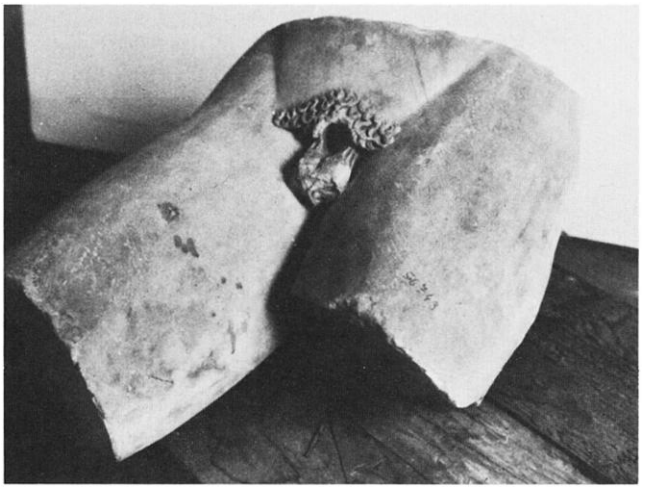


FIG. 17. Baths of Caracalla, nude male pelvis fragment. (Photo author)

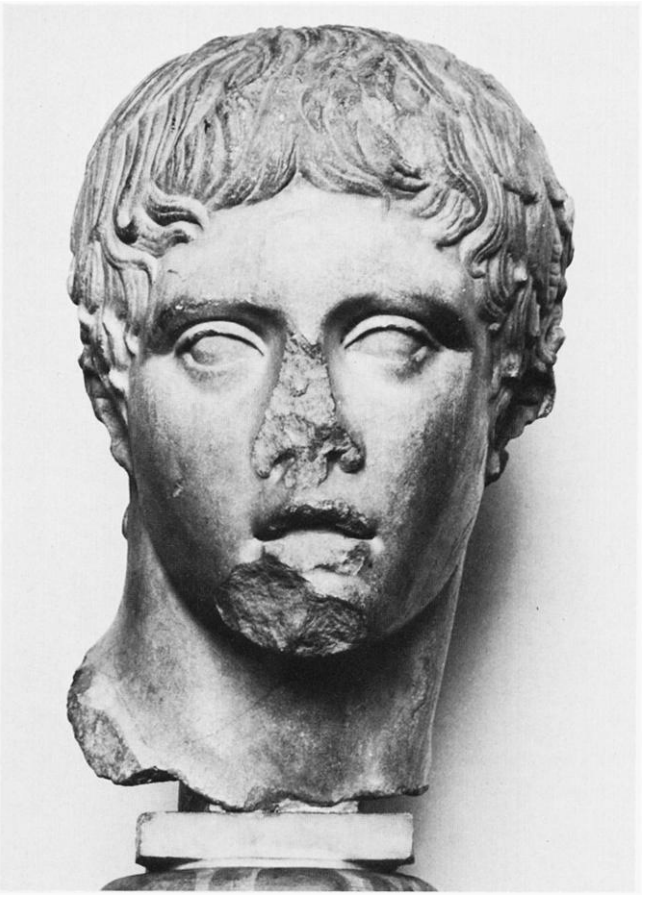


FIG. 18. Baths of Caracalla, Doryphoros replica, Museo Barracco. (DAI, Rome, neg. no. 67-2540)

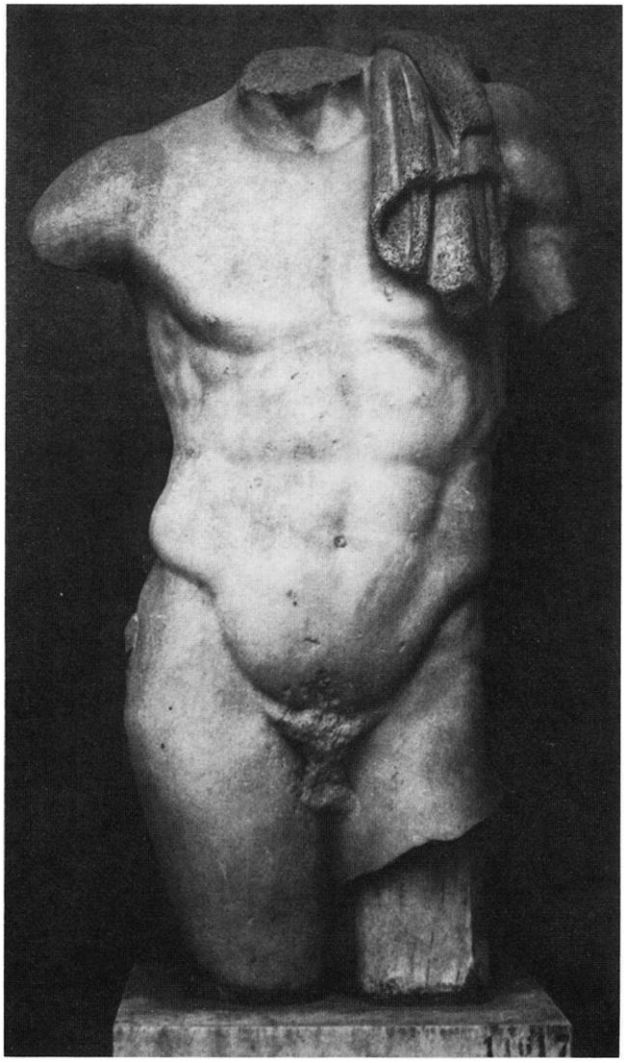


FIG. 19. Baths of Caracalla, Hermes of Andros type, torso. (Photo author)



FIG. 20. Baths of Caracalla, Punishment of Dirke ("Farnese Bull"). (Photo author)



FIG. 21. Baths of Caracalla, basalt Victory, front view. (DAI, Rome, neg. no. 57-1396)



FIG. 22. Baths of Caracalla, basalt Victory, side view. (DAI, Rome, neg. no. 57-1397)



FIG. 23. Baths of Caracalla, basalt Maenad, front view. (DAI, Rome, neg. no. 57-1560)



FIG. 24. Baths of Caracalla, basalt Maenad, back view. (DAI, Rome, neg. no. 57-1561)



FIG. 25. Baths of Caracalla, Athena, head and arm restored. (Photo author)

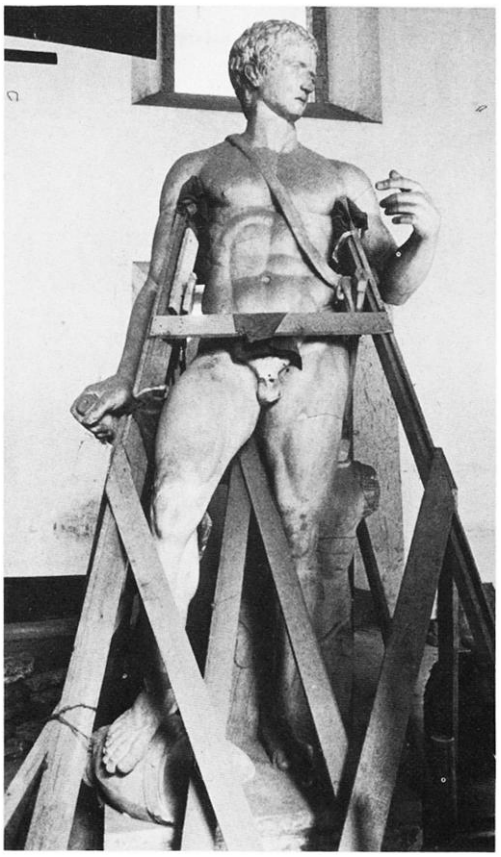


FIG. 26. Naples, colossal heroic warrior. (Photo author)



FIG. 27. Naples, colossal heroic warrior. (Photo author)

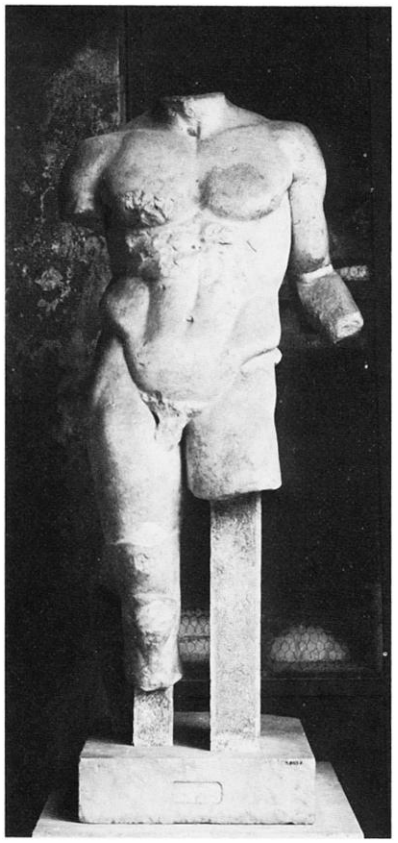


FIG. 28. Baths of Caracalla, fragmentary Doryphoros replica. (Photo author)

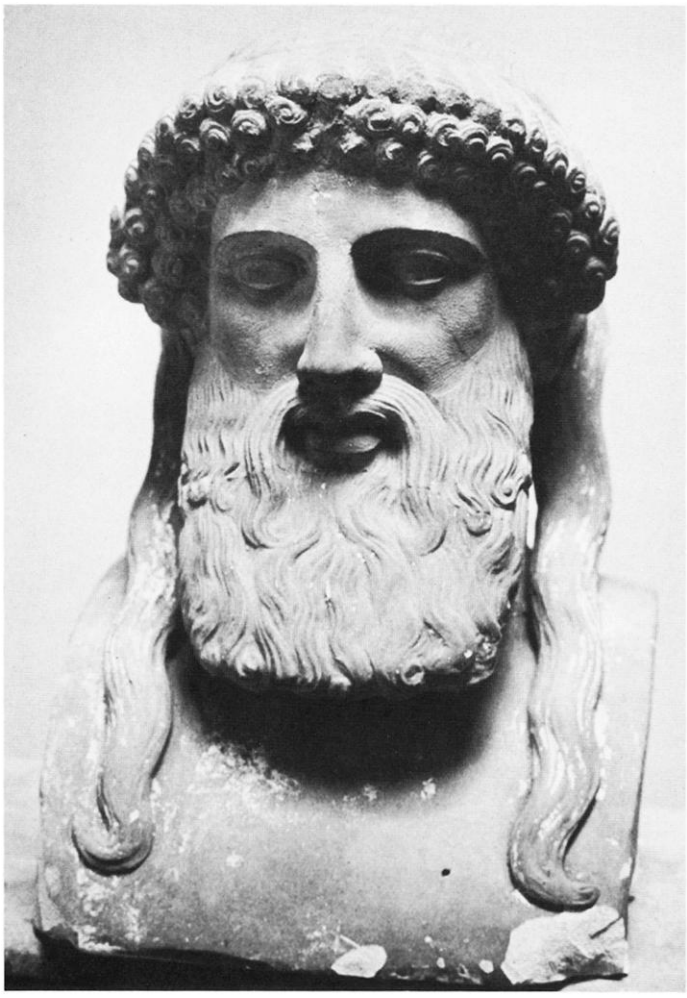


FIG. 29. Baths of Caracalla, bearded herm. (Photo author)



FIG. 30. Baths of Caracalla, beardless herm. (Photo author)



FIG. 31. Baths of Caracalla, marble eagle. (After S. Reinach, *MonPiot* 3 [1896] pl. 4)



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Young Achilles in the Roman World

ALAN CAMERON

Achilles is the only epic hero whose life can be followed quite literally from the cradle to the grave — and beyond. A recent book has analysed accounts of his death and afterlife,[1] focusing on the Archaic period. Less attention has been paid to his remarkably well documented childhood, mainly known from Hellenistic and Roman sources. And even less to his continuing, if changing, relevance in the Roman world.

I JUVENAL

I begin with a casual allusion in Juvenal:

> securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem
> committas, nulli gravis est percussus Achilles
> aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus (Juvenal 1.162–4).
>
> Without much effort you can pit Aeneas against the fierce Rutulian, nor is there any problem in killing Achilles, or Hylas, much in demand, who fell in after his urn.

These three lines list what are clearly implied to be three tiresomely hackneyed poetic themes: Aeneas' duel with Turnus, the death of Achilles, and Hylas' fall down the well. In keeping with the context, the first and third are suitably depreciatory in tone: *committas* suggests a duel between two gladiators, and *urnamque secutus* mere clumsiness. But as Robin Nisbet pointed out in a penetrating series of notes on the text of Juvenal, while 'the fatal wounding of Achilles seems an appropriate epic theme, and *percutere* an appropriate verb ... there is nothing humorous about *percussus Achilles*'. Accordingly he proposed *excussus*, an allusion to Achilles' exposure when disguised as a girl on Scyros.[2] The corruption would have to be early, since the Scholia vetustiora (p. 17.5 Wessner), which I would date to the fifth rather than fourth century,[3] explain *percussus*.

The case both against *percussus* and in favour of *excussus* can be considerably strengthened. First, the killing of Achilles is *not* in fact a hackneyed theme.[4] Not counting the post-Juvenalian Quintus of Smyrna, no identifiable poem since the Archaic *Aethiopis* is known to have described his death. Nor was there even any agreement about who killed him: Paris, Apollo, or Apollo disguised as Paris.[5] Nor is an arrow in the heel 'an appropriate epic theme'.[6] Here we can apply a test from another medium. The exploits of Achilles were a favourite theme in Greco-Roman art, from the earliest times down into Late Antiquity. In 1981 Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann listed more than a thousand representations, a

[1] J. S. Burgess, *The Death and Afterlife of Achilles* (2009).

[2] R. G. M. Nisbet, 'Notes on Juvenal', in N. Horsfall (ed.), *Vir Bonus Discendi Peritus: Studies in Celebration of Otto Skutsch's Eightieth Birthday* (1988), 89, reprinted in R. G. M. Nisbet, *Collected Papers on Latin Literature* (ed. S. J. Harrison) (1995), 231.

[3] See my article on the subject forthcoming in *CQ* 2010.

[4] In her Cambridge commentary (1996) Susanna Braund cites Epictetus 3.23.35, πῶς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀπέθανεν, (cited already by Mayor) as proof that the death of Achilles was 'a common theme for recitation'. That is certainly the implication of the passage, but the fact remains that it does not, in fact, seem to have been a common theme.

[5] Burgess, op. cit. (n. 1), 38–9.

[6] For the low esteem in which archers were thought to be held, see the scholia on *Iliad* 4.242 and 11.385.

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dossier that could now be greatly expanded.[7] Naturally enough, the epic duels with Hector (558–83), Penthesilea (719–93), and Memnon (807–47) are all well represented, as are the Patroclus story (466–505) and the ransoming of Hector's body (642–718). The killing of Troilus was extraordinarily popular in Archaic art (206–388), but scarcely found thereafter. Yet there are only a handful of representations of Achilles' death in any period (848–59, with 848–9 uncertain and 850 the battle over his corpse). At most seven from the period of the Empire (853c, 854a, 854b, 855–8). Scarcely an epic duel, since Achilles is represented already on his knees dying, his heel transfixed by the fatal arrow, while a figure holding a bow stands to one side watching.

Excussus would certainly be a suitable verb for this sort of discovery or revelation (see Nisbet's parallels); the change is slight (*ex-* lost after *est*, with *per-* an obvious guess to fill out the metre); and Achilles in a frock would provide a neat transition to the girlish Hylas. But there is also another, more important reason for preferring *excussus*.

According to Katherine King, Achilles remained the epitome of the peerless, pitiless warrior driven by uncontrollable rage right down into Late Antiquity.[8] This claim is certainly true as far as it goes. How else after all could anyone write of his career and behaviour at Troy? Indeed there is more evidence than the handful of poetic texts (mainly Vergil and Quintus of Smyrna) King cites. For Achilles is one of the prime cases discussed in the abundant ancient literature on anger, from Hellenistic times down into Late Antiquity.[9] But this is still only half the story. By Roman times, the most popular part of the Achilles saga was his childhood, his education by Chiron the centaur, and his concealment as a girl on Scyros (1–104), where he falls in love with Lycomedes' daughter Deidameia.[10] And the most popular single theme by far was his exposure (usually by Odysseus) in female dress (105–75). In the commonest version of the scene there are four figures: Deidameia, Odysseus, a man blowing a trumpet, and Achilles wearing a frock but brandishing a shield and spear. The martial sound of the trumpet prompts the future warrior to betray himself and grab the weapons Odysseus has cunningly left in view.

On the standard modern interpretation, Achilles in a frock reflects rites of passage or initiation in which a youth-about-to-become-a-man wears female clothing.[11] It is certainly intriguing that a similar story is told of Theseus, given his connection with Scyros. According to Pausanias, he was once mocked as a girl by workmen building a roof for the temple of Apollo Delphinios in Athens because of his plaited hair and foot-length chiton. Theseus promptly proved his manhood by throwing an ox higher than the temple roof.[12] But this sort of explanation cannot easily be made to fit the notorious transvestism of

[7] See her entry 'Achilleus' in *LIMC* i (1981), 37–200, nos 1–922, with several different items under some headings; also D. Kemp-Lindemann, *Darstellungen des Achilleus in griechischer und römischer Kunst* (1975); for a representative selection of late antique illustrations, M. Bell in K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality* (1979), 230–8. For bibliography on representations of Achilles in Renaissance and later art, H.-K. and S. Lücke, *Helden und Gottheiten der Antike: Ein Handbuch der Mythos und seine Überlieferung in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (2002), 15–41.

[8] K. Callen King, *Achilles: Paradigms of the War Hero from Homer to the Middle Ages* (1987), 130 and *passim*.

[9] W. V. Harris, *Restraining Rage* (2001), *passim* (see the index); for Cicero, briefly, King, op. cit. (n. 8), 119–21.

[10] The Scyros episode goes back to at least the fifth century B.C.: K. Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit des Kriegers: Geschlechterdifferenz und Initiation in Mythos und Ritual der griechischen Polis* (2000), 82–101.

[11] The first to propose this view seems to have been A. E. Crawley, 'Achilles at Skyros', *CR* 7 (1893), 243–5 (in the manner of his age claiming that such rites 'are almost universal among uncivilized peoples'); H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes: essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique* (1939), 153, 321, 353–5; M. Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity* (1961), 1–16; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (1985), 261; P. Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter* (1986), 116; K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology* (1989), 49–69; Waldner, op. cit. (n. 10), 82–101; and see especially now P. J. Heslin, *The Transvestite Achilles: Gender and Genre in Statius' Achilleid* (2005), 193–236.

[12] Paus. 1.19.1.

Heracles, located much later in his career.[13] It is by no means impossible that the story of Achilles' concealment on Scyros was invented to explain some misunderstood cult ritual involving cross-dressing, but that would not help to explain its popularity in historical times.

Most of the many representations of what I propose to call 'Achilles Exposed' date from the Roman period, many from Late Antiquity: wall paintings (105–16), mosaics (117–27),[14] and (above all) sarcophagi (128–65).[15] Part of the reason for what might seem the surprising popularity of this motif is no doubt its status as the turning point in Achilles' life. As such, it lends itself (especially on sarcophagi) to symbolic interpretation: no man can escape his destiny. The most striking recent addition is the Achilles plate in the mid-fourth-century Kaiseraugst treasure, a magnificent silver dish 53 cm in diameter, illustrated round the rim with ten scenes from Achilles' childhood and, singled out for special treatment in a large central medallion, his exposure by Odysseus and the trumpeter.[16] There can be no question that by Juvenal's day the exposure on Scyros was the single most hackneyed theme in the Achilles cycle.

Of course, Juvenal had literature rather than art in mind. The only full-scale literary treatment of the Achilles saga planned in the Roman age was by Statius, 'the outstanding instance of the kind of poet that Juvenal deplored'.[17] Statius completed less than a book and a half, largely devoted to the Scyros episode (1.198–960). While he clearly intended to tell the whole story (Sections II and IV), it may be significant of his own attraction to the theme that most of the allusions to Achilles in the *Silvae* concern Chiron and Scyros.[18] The very fact that he got no further may have contributed (in the West at least) to the growing concentration of interest in this part of the cycle.

The immense popularity of the motif of Achilles in female dress playing with Deidameia and her sisters (Kossatz-Deissmann, nos 95–175) has an obvious relevance to Margit Benker's remarkable claim that Statius' *Achilleïd* is in fact a thinly disguised attack on Domitian.[19] There are many problems with this thesis, not the least being Statius' motive. In the present context I mention only her suggestion that his portrayal of Achilles in female dress alludes to the young Domitian's escape from the Capitol in A.D. 69 dressed as a priestess of Isis. In fact our two sources, Tacitus and Suetonius, both imply priest rather than priestess,[20] and since there were undoubtedly priests of Isis, why should Domitian have run the further risk of female impersonation? But even if he did wear female dress on this occasion, the motif of Achilles in female dress was so well established and so popular in itself that no one would have looked for an ulterior motive in this detail at least of Statius' portrayal.

The hackneyed themes of Roman art were more hackneyed in literature than might at first appear. But Achilles at school or practising the lyre or disguised as a girl appear less

[13] So (for example) Delcourt, op. cit. (n. 11), 9–10; against, N. Loraux, *The Experiences of Tiresias* (1995), 126.

[14] F. Ghedini, 'Achille "eroe ambiguo" nella produzione musiva tardo-antica', *Antiquité tardive* 5 (1997), 239–64; on wall paintings, more below. For a newly discovered two-part exposure of Achilles on Scyros mosaic in Switzerland, R. Ling, *Ancient Mosaics* (1998), 73.

[15] For the Achilles theme on sarcophagi, M. H. Chéhab, *Sarcophages à reliefs de Tyr*, Bull. du Musée de Beyrouth 21 (1968), 9–44; R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (1984), 67–8, 134–45; D. Grassinger, *Die mythologischen Sarkophage I: Achill ... Amazonen* (1999), 19–43.

[16] See the elaborate treatment by Victorine von Gonzenbach and Christoph Jungck in H. A. Cahn and A. Kaufmann-Heinimann (eds), *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst i* (1984), 225–315, with many additions to Kossatz-Deissmann's list. The childhood of Achilles is also a popular motif on North African earthenware plates: J. Garbsch and B. Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum* (1989), 164–74.

[17] Nisbet, op. cit. (n. 2, 1995), 231; for Juvenal's attitude towards Statius, S. H. Braund, *Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires* (1988), 15, 36–9, 60.

[18] 1.2.215–17; 2.1.88–9; 2.6.30–1; 5.3.193–4; O. A. W. Dilke, *Statius Achilleid* (1954), 6–7.

[19] M. Benker, *Achill und Domitian: Herrscherkritik in der Achilleis des Statius* (1987), 88; see Michael Dewar's balanced but sensibly sceptical review in *CR* 38 (1988), 252–3.

[20] 'Isiaci celatus habitu interque sacrificulos vanae superstitionis' (Suet., *Dom.* 1.2); 'lineo amictu turbae sacricolarum immixtus' (Tac., *Hist.* 3.74).

in full-scale independent narratives than as paradoxical, often comic *exempla* in the rhetorical poetry of the Empire.[21] Ovid hits all the highlights in a couple of characteristic passages of the *Ars amatoria*. Ovid himself has been put in charge of the *ferus puer* Amor, just as Chiron was put in charge of another *ferus puer*, Achilles:[22]

> Phillyrides puerum cithara perfecit Achillem
> atque animos placida contudit arte feros.
> qui totiens socios, totiens exterruit hostes,
> creditur annosum pertimuisse senem;
> quas Hector sensurus erat, poscente magistro
> verberibus iussas praebuit ille manus (1.11–16).

> The son of Philyra [Chiron] made the boy Achilles an accomplished lyre-player, and by his peaceful art subdued those savage passions. He who so often terrified both friend and foe cowered (so the story goes) before an old man. Those hands that Hector was to feel he held out for the lash when teacher told him.

Later in the same book he implies that Achilles 'disguised his manhood in a long dress' in order to get close to and rape Deidamia:

> Quid facis, Aeacide? non sunt tua munera lanae;
> tu titulos alia Palladis arte petas.
> quid tibi cum calathis? clipeo manus apta ferendo est;
> pensa quid in dextra, qua cadet Hector, habes? (1.691–4)

> What are you doing, grandson of Aeacus? Wool is not your business. It is by another art of Pallas [warfare] that you should be seeking fame. What are you doing with baskets? Your arm is meant for a shield. Why are you holding a skein in the hand by which Hector will die?

Even in Seneca's *Troades*, which King naturally and appropriately cites for the continuing motif of Achilles' wrath, the point is sometimes made by giving a neat twist to motifs from the childhood cycle. For example, Achilles arrives at Troy after doffing his 'false clothes'; and where Ovid's Chiron had subdued Achilles' passions, Seneca's teaches him songs of war, 'stretched out in his hollow cave, his plectrum striking the tinkling chords'.[23]

Despite his professed contempt for mythological themes, Juvenal himself mentions Achilles a further six times, the most interesting being 7.210–12, where he is pictured as trembling before Chiron's cane and not daring to laugh at his teacher's tail.[24] The closest parallel to 1.163 (as Nisbet noted), in a poet Juvenal knew well, is Martial 5.48.5: 'talis raptus Hylas, talis deprensus Achilles', where the fate of Hylas is linked to the unmasking of Achilles, with *deprensus* used in the same sense as the postulated *excussus*. It is surely Achilles' frock rather than death to which Juvenal 1.163 alludes.

[21] Horace, *Odes* 1.8.13–16, with Nisbet and Hubbard's note, and E. W. Leach, 'Achilles, the Campus Martius, and the articulation of gender roles in Augustan Rome', *CP* 89 (1994), 334–43; Ovid, *Met.* 13.162–71; *Ex Ponto* 3.3.43; Stat., *Silv.* 2.1.88–9; Juv. 7.210; Claudian, *In Ruf.* 2.179–80; Sidon., *Carm.* 9.131–45; for more on the late antique poets, Z. Pavlovskis, *Parola del Passato* 20 (1965), 281–97.

[22] *Ars* 1.11–16; 691–4. Hollis assumes that Ovid's digression on Achilles at the loom in female dress in *AA* 1.681–704 (*fabula nota quidem*) derives from the *Epithalamium of Achilles and Deidameia* ascribed to Bion. Ovid no doubt knew the poem, but he was surely familiar with the theme from wall paintings, mosaics and other representations in art long before he came across this very minor poem.

[23] Sen., *Tro.* 213–14, 830–5; King, op. cit. (n. 8), 128–9.

[24] For Juvenal's use of *exempla* (though historical rather than mythical), J. De Decker, *Juvenalis Declamans: Étude sur la rhétorique déclamatoire dans les satires de Juvénal* (1913), 107–9.

II STATIUS I

Critics have always found the tone of the surviving book and a half of Statius' *Achilleïd* hard to assess. In recent years some have emphasized the erotic, idyllic, and sentimental elements, arguing or assuming that the rest of the poem would have continued in this vein, a new and more complex kind of epic.[25] I would like to suggest that the representation of Achilles in art can make a contribution (albeit somewhat unexpected) to this debate as well.

Statius himself emphasizes in his proem that he plans to deal with the whole of Achilles' life, not just the part made famous by Homer (1.3–7). That is to say, at a minimum the Chiron, Scyros, Iphigeneia, Telephos, Troilos, Penthesilea, Memnon and Polyxena episodes, in addition to the exploits that fill the *Iliad*.[26] What were (or would have been) his sources for the non-Homeric material? By 'sources' I mean here no more than sources for subject-matter, accounts or versions of the episodes he planned to include, not the poets by whom he was most influenced in his handling of these episodes (in what survives perhaps Ovid).[27]

Commentators occasionally remark that the Achilles story was popular in art, but have never taken it seriously as a source. Jean Méheust raised the possibility in his Budé edition, but after devoting less than two pages to a random survey of mainly Archaic and Classical representations, simply dropped it, on the grounds that there was no way of knowing.[28] More recently, in the course of a massive, if undiscriminating survey of every possible link between art and literature in the age of Nero and the Flavians, Jean-Michel Croisille cited many contemporary representations of the Scyros episode and what he oddly characterized as 'secondary' episodes. But his investigation was largely confined to the essentially unanswerable questions whether Statius was directly influenced by or himself directly influenced specific representations of particular scenes. Here he reached the banal and limited conclusion that contemporary paintings 'strongly influenced him for the famous scene that forms the best moment of the poem' — namely Achilles in female dress.[29] The fact that Croisille applied the same treatment to Statius' *Thebaïd*, Seneca's tragedies, and even the satires of Persius reveals that he did not see the Achilles saga as in any sense a special case.

More constructively approached, contemporary representations can at any rate tell us more than the scanty literary sources. The only Hellenistic poem we know of is the fragmentary *Epithalamium of Achilles and Deidameia* ascribed to Bion. But the lighthearted way in which Achilles is shown trying to talk Deidameia into going to bed with him when Ps-Bion breaks off ('the other sisters sleep with one another ...') is very different from the rape described by Statius.[30] There is no *epithalamium* in Statius, and scarcely even a wedding. The last thing Achilles does before leaving Scyros is force a reluctant Lycomedes to agree to a marriage, and Lycomedes is represented as indignantly refusing ('quid triste fremis?') until Achilles places the baby Pyrrhus (remarkably enough

[25] S. Koster, 'Liebe und Krieg in der "Achilleis" des Statius', *WJbb* n.f. 5 (1979), 189–208; Heslin, op. cit. (n. 11); see too G. Rosati, 'L'Achilleide di Stazio. Un'epica dell' ambiguità', *Maia* n.s. 44 (1992), 233–66, reproduced as the preface to his edition, *Stazio Achilleide* (1994); A. Barchiesi, 'La guerra di Troia non avrà luogo: il proemio dell'Achilleide di Stazio', in *Forme della parodia, parodia delle Forme nel mondo greco e latino, Atti del Convegno Napoli, 9 maggio 1995* (1998), 45–62 and 'Masculinity in the 90s: the education of Achilles in Statius and Quintilian', in M. Paschalis (ed.), *Roman and Greek Imperial Epic* (2005), 47–75.

[26] Perhaps too his transportation to the White Isle and other stories about his life after death.

[27] S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (1998), 95–8, 124–8, 135–44; and now Heslin, op. cit. (n. 11), 261–76.

[28] *Stace Achilléide*, ed. and trans. J. Méheust (1971), xxx–xxxi. No more than a brief aside in a footnote in Rosati, op. cit. (n. 25), 8 n. 7. Despite its title, T. S. Duncan, *The Influence of Art on Description in the Poetry of P. Papinius Statius* (1914), does not actually deal with art at all.

[29] J.-M. Croisille, *Poésie et art figuré de Néron aux Flaviens: Recherches sur l'iconographie et la correspondance des arts à l'époque impériale* i (1982), 101–26, with a catalogue of representations at 132–6 (quotation from 126).

[30] 1.642; Ovid, *Ars* 1.673–706 (in part quoted above) is his most likely source for this emphasis.



FIG. 1. The Achilles plate from the Kaiseraugst Treasure.
I. Thetis and the birth of Achilles; II. Dipping of Achilles in the Styx; III. Achilles handed over to Chiron; IV. Achilles being fed the marrow of wild beasts; V. Achilles learning to hunt; VI. Achilles learning to read; VII. Achilles learning to throw the discus; VIII. Achilles handed back to Thetis; IX. Achilles entrusted to Lycomedes on Scyros; X. Achilles playing the lyre with Deidameia.

spoken of as already born!) in front of him.[31] There is no point in even considering the *Aethiopis* (not certainly known even to Vergil),[32] since Statius never reached the post-Homeric exploits. The lost *Skyrioi* of Sophocles and Euripides may have contributed one or two details,[33] but, as David Vessey has remarked of Statius' one completed epic, 'no certain interrelation has ever been traced between the *Thebaïd* and the surviving dramas of Aeschylus and Sophocles'.[34]

Yet despite the absence of literary evidence for any comprehensive pre-Statian Hellenistic or Roman treatment of the Achilles theme, the many representations in art prove that the entire saga was nonetheless extremely well known in the Roman period. Indeed, there was a regular cycle of Achilles illustrations. Individual components in this cycle were naturally based on famous early paintings or sculptures (the most popular of all, 'Achilles Exposed', may derive from a painting by Athenion of Maroneia),[35] but when

[31] 1.898–920, with Dilke's notes.
[32] E. Fraenkel, 'Vergil und die Aethiopis', *Philologus* 87 (1932), 242–8 = *Kleine Beiträge* ii (1964), 173–9.
[33] So (for example) Croisille, op. cit. (n. 29), 103, 116.
[34] D. Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid* (1973), 69.
[35] Pliny, *NH* 35.134: for attempted reconstructions on the basis of the Pompeian copies, M. Robertson, *History of Greek Art* i (1975), 583–4; R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (1991), 134. I use the vague characterization 'based on' advisedly: see B. Bergmann, 'Greek masterpieces and Roman recreative fictions', *HSCP* 97 (1995), 79–120.

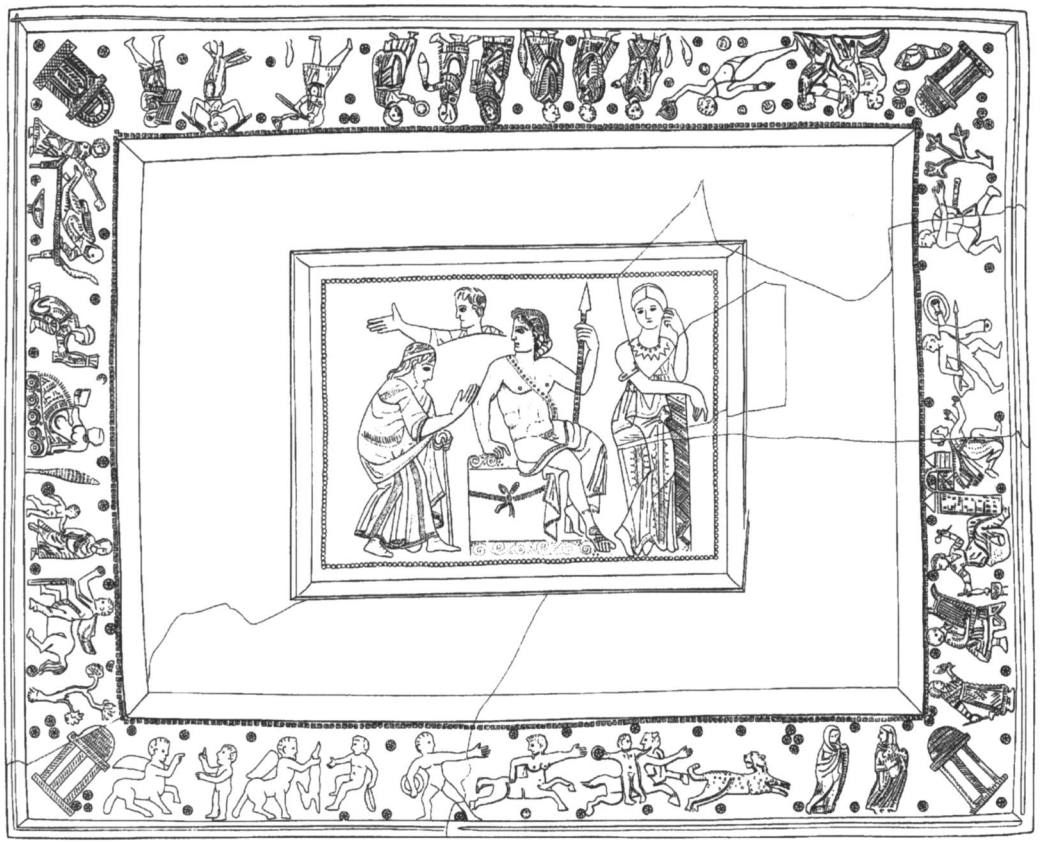


FIG. 2. Terra sigillata Achilles plate from North Africa.
Left side: Birth of Achilles, with Thetis and maid; Thetis holds Achilles up to dip in Styx; Thetis hands Achilles over to Chiron. Bottom side: Chiron teaching Achilles; Chiron brings Achilles game to eat; Achilles learns to throw discus; Achilles learns to hunt riding on Chiron's back; Thetis brings Achilles to Scyros dressed as girl. Right side: Achilles plays lyre with Lycomedes' daughters; Achilles throws off dress, with Deidameia to left and Odysseus to right. Central medallion: Priam, on left, begs Achilles for Hector's body, with Briseis on right.

combined in a cycle they turned into a narrative. This must have helped even the most casual observer to identify less familiar scenes on the basis of better known ones, aided by the further clue of their place in the cycle.

At least fifteen such cycles have survived. Rather than cite a series of illustrations, I offer line drawings of the two fullest surviving cycles: a terra sigillata plate from North Africa and the Achilles plate from the Kaiseraugst treasure (Figs 1 and 2).[36] Almost all are later in date than Statius, but one category at least, the Pompeian wall paintings, is certainly earlier. Kurt Weitzmann traced this cycle to a lost illustrated Hellenistic *Achilleïs*.[37] But over and above the usual objections to Weitzmann's famous lost illustrated archetypes,[38] if such a poem had survived long enough to influence (as Weitzmann believed) so much late antique and even Byzantine art, we would surely have heard of it. While lavishly

[36] Adapted from Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, op. cit. (n. 16), 301–7; see too M. A. Manacorda, *La paideia di Achille* (1971), 20–6; W. Raeck, *Modernisierte Mythen: Zum Umgang der Spätantike mit klassischen Bildthemen* (1992), 122–38.

[37] K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*[2] (1984), 19–21, 86, 165–8, 192; *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*[2] (1970), 233.

[38] For an early critique of Weitzmann's method (he postulated *Iliads* with up to 720 pictures!), H. Bober, *Art Bulletin* 30 (1948), 284–8. For a useful survey of the evidence, N. Horsfall, 'The origins of the illustrated book', *Aegyptus* 63 (1983), 199–216.

illustrated Homers are at least a possibility, given the centrality of Homer in Greco-Roman culture at all periods, widely circulating illustrated copies of a wholly unknown poem would be quite another matter. Above all, Statius' proem (with its promise to include all that Homer left out) implies that he at least knew no such work.[39]

No two extant cycles are identical, but close iconographic parallels between a number of individual scenes make it fairly clear that they go back to a common source in some form or other. In the present context it makes little difference whether we identify this common source as an illustrated poem, an illustrated mythographic handbook, or artists' copy-books.[40] One of the principal postulates of Kurt Weitzmann's *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (1951) was an illustrated copy of the most comprehensive surviving mythographic handbook, ascribed to Apollodorus. The basis of his claim was the standardized representation of many mythological scenes (including entire mythological cycles) in a number of different media, culminating in deluxe manuscripts of the Middle Ages.[41] Many medieval copies of *Aratea* (whether Aratus, Cicero, Germanicus, or Hyginus' *De astronomia*) are illustrated, and obvious similarities among all these miniatures point to a common ancient source, possibly an illustrated copy of the *Catasterisms* of the so-called Ps-Eratosthenes.[42] And while there is no indication that the now lost unique manuscript of Hyginus' *Fables* was illustrated (the two surviving fragments are not), the slightly different bilingual version excerpted by the so-called Ps-Dositheus apparently was.[43]

There has been much discussion about artists' copy-books or pattern-books among art historians in recent years, some denying their very existence, most simply disputing their exact nature.[44] A reference in a Hellenistic papyrus to a customer approving the 'model' or 'pattern' (παράδειγμα) shown him by the wall-painter he had hired strongly supports the natural assumption that people planning to decorate their homes with wall paintings and mosaics chose the scenes they wanted from pattern-books.[45] It is probable (for example) that the Trojan battle scenes in Pompeii and the Vatican Odyssey landscapes were copied from cycles in such pattern-books.[46] Trimalchio had scenes from both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on the walls of his portico, and Vitruvius mentions both as routine subjects for domestic wall paintings.[47] A recent discussion by Katherine Dunbabin cites, as one of many details supporting the use of pattern-books, the stereotypical representation of the trumpeters in scenes of Achilles' exposure on Scyros in widely different locations.[48]

[39] So too Manacorda, op. cit. (n. 36), 46–9. But his argument that any such source would have been mentioned in the Statius scholia is weak. The *Achilleïd* scholia are worthless; their scholarly content is far less than even the so-called Lactantius Placidus scholia on the *Thebaïd*: R. D. Sweeney, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Scholia to Statius* (1969), 89–90.

[40] For more evidence on illustrated mythographical handbooks, see my *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (2004).

[41] See especially pp. 78–87, 126–7, 143–4, 155–6, 194–6, 204–5; more in his *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (1971), 185–7.

[42] J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: the Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (1953), 151–6; K. M. Phillips, Jr, 'Perseus and Andromeda', *AJA* 72 (1968), 16–23; P. McGurk, *Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Illuminated Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages* iv (1966), xxii–xxv; Weitzmann, op. cit. (n. 37, 1970), 72, 96.

[43] 'picturae igitur huius laboris multis locis dant testimonium' / ζωγραφία τοιγαροῦν τούτου τοῦ κόπου πολλοῖς τόποις δίδωσι μαρτυρίαν (*Corp. Gloss. Graec.* iii.56.47). Ps-Dositheus' Aesop was also illustrated: 'per eum enim picturae constant' / διὰ τοῦτον γὰρ αἱ ζωγραφίδες συνέστηκαν (ibid., 39.49).

[44] Ling, op. cit. (n. 35), 217–20 (with bibliography on p. 235); C. Kondoleon, *Domestic and Divine: Roman Mosaics in the House of Dionysos* (1995), 45, 191–205, 212–21; K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (1999), 302–3.

[45] P. Zenon 59445, with E. Vanderborght, 'La maison de Diotimos, à Philadelphie', *Chron. d'Égypte* 17 (1942), 120–1; M. Nowicka, 'Théophilos, peintre Alexandrin, et son activité', in N. Bonacasa and A. di Vita (eds), *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: studi in onore di Achille Adriani* ii (1984), 257; Ling, op. cit. (n. 35), 217. Plato writes of painters (ζωγράφοι) using παραδείγματα in *Rep.* 500E (and cf. *Tim.* 28B).

[46] Ling, op. cit. (n. 35), 107–12; Horsfall, op. cit. (n. 38), 213–14.

[47] Vitr. 7.5. ; Petr. 29.4.

[48] Dunbabin, op. cit. (n. 44), 302.

In a recent book I argued in favour of the assumption often made but never systematically justified that Roman poets regularly consulted mythographic handbooks.[49] This assumption has usually been rejected on the misguided grounds that it is demeaning to learned poets like Vergil and Ovid to ascribe their mythological knowledge to handbooks rather than a wide, first-hand reading of the classical poets. But the classics seldom *narrated* the stories of myth from start to finish. Our own knowledge of countless details in even the most familiar stories derives from scholia attempting to explain allusions (already in Pindar, not to mention the Hellenistic poets) that *presuppose* stories, versions and details they do not give. Roman poets turned to mythographers less as sources than as guides, to help them decipher such allusions in their own reading, and to remind them of this or that detail (names of fathers, wives, children), or to provide handy lists when they needed a mythological illustration but wanted to avoid the more hackneyed examples.

Given the obvious popularity of Achilles' pre-Trojan years in both the art and literature of the early Empire, even though we cannot identify any specific, systematic literary treatment, we are bound to assume that all the highlights were covered in the anonymous mythographers we now know from the papyri to have circulated widely in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial world.[50] In whatever form he knew it, whether illustrated or not, there can be little doubt that Statius was familiar with the Achilles cycle. The proof is his frequent agreement with the version represented in the cycle where it either differs from or is simply not part of the earlier literary tradition.

I would draw attention to the nine following details. (1) Statius is the earliest surviving writer to mention Thetis dipping the baby Achilles in the Styx by his heel.[51] This is a standard feature of any cycle of any length.[52] (2) Achilles' lyre-playing is mentioned in passing by Homer (*Iliad* 9.186), but developed into a skill he learned from Chiron in the later literary tradition (see below) and the cycles. (3) More specifically, both Statius and the cycles expand the motif by featuring Achilles playing the lyre with Deidameia.[53] (4) Then there is the curious motif of Chiron feeding young Achilles on the marrow and entrails of wild animals, found in Statius (entrails of lions and marrow of a she-wolf, 2.99–100) and the cycles. Only two illustrations of this motif (both late antique) are so far known. In literature it is found no earlier than the first- or second-century A.D. mythographers Ps-Apollodorus (entrails of lions and wild boars and marrow of bears) and the so-called Mythographus Homericus (marrow of lions and bears).[54] But it is clearly implied by the representation of a lion and boar hanging from a bough carried by Chiron as early as a seventh-century B.C. Attic amphora in Würzburg.[55] (5) In early versions in both literature and art, it is normally Peleus who entrusts the baby Achilles to Chiron, Thetis having abandoned both husband and baby.[56] In Statius, as in the cycles, it is Thetis who takes Achilles to Chiron and later conceals him on Scyros.[57] (6) Neither Statius nor the cycles feature the once popular theme of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. It appears just once on a sarcophagus relief (compared with scores of representations of the various scenes

[49] A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (2004), especially chs 9–10.

[50] See especially M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (1998); and Cameron, op. cit. (n. 49).

[51] M. Roussel, *Biographie légendaire d'Achille* (1991), 81–2; Heslin, op. cit. (n. 11), 166–9; Burgess, op. cit. (n. 1), 9–11.

[52] Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, op. cit. (n. 16), 238–40, 310.

[53] Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, op. cit. (n. 16), 263–8, 312–13. See too Philostratus, *Heroicus* 20.2 (who explains it as a way of calming the mind).

[54] Stat. 2.99–100; Ps-Apoll. 3.13.6; the D Scholia to *Iliad* 16.37; Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, op. cit. (n. 16), 244; Heslin, op. cit. (n. 11), 273–5.

[55] K. Friis Johansen, 'Achill bei Chiron', in *ΔΡΑΓΜΑ Martino P. Nilsson ... dedicatum* (1939), 184–6.

[56] Roussel, op. cit. (n. 51), 92; Kossatz-Deissmann, op. cit. (n. 7), nos 19–45; E. Robbins, *QUCC* 45 (1993), 7; Heslin, op. cit. (n. 11), 286–94.

[57] With the sole exception of the so-called Tensa Capitolina.

from Achilles' childhood).[58] Indeed Peleus plays no part at all in either Statius or the cycles.[59] (7) More generally, there is the centrality of the Deidameia episode in both Statius and the cycles. (8) Both Statius (2.116) and the cycles have young Achilles riding on Chiron's back (obviously Chiron was uniquely qualified to give riding lessons).[60] Finally (9), a scene so far as I know not represented on any surviving monument: Chiron sitting in his cave awaiting his pupil's return from the day's hunt (2.119–20), described in Philostratus' ecphrasis of a painting of the upbringing (τροφαί) of Achilles (*Imag.* 2.2.3).

Méheust was understandably sceptical about the idea that Statius was influenced by Archaic vases reflecting a version he might just as easily have found in Homer or the epic cycle. And Croisille limited his inquiry to the few passages where direct comparison between 'tableaux' in Statius[61] and paintings or mosaics was possible. The debate is transformed by the realization that it is a whole series of specific details familiar from the Achilles cycle current in his own day that Statius shares. In the first century of our era the most relevant (and conspicuous) form this cycle took was domestic wall paintings. No fewer than twelve paintings of Achilles Exposed on Scyros and seven of him learning to play the lyre with Chiron are known from Pompeii alone.[62] One house has a sequence of three: Achilles Exposed, Thetis watching Hephaestus make Achilles' arms, and finally Thetis crossing the sea on a Triton to deliver them. Moreover a fourth scene is represented on the shield Achilles grasps in the first of the three, Chiron teaching him the lyre.[63] The second and third scenes appear as a pair in another Pompeian house; a third house has Achilles Exposed and Achilles quarrelling with Agamemnon; and there is a temple colonnade with six scenes of Achilles at Troy.[64]

Not only was this a part of the world well known to the Neapolitan Statius. As an experienced practitioner of rhetorical ecphrasis, he was trained to study and describe statues, paintings and other artifacts.[65] Paintings in particular are often mentioned or described by the Greek novelists.[66] Both *Daphnis and Chloe* and *Leucippe and Clitophon* take their point of departure from paintings. 'How much more lovely you have become in this dress. I once saw such an Achilles in a painting', remarks a character in Achilles Tatius as she disguises the narrator of *Leucippe and Clitophon* as a woman.[67]

Some of the extant Achilles cycles are only partially preserved, but wherever enough survives to judge, at least half and usually more of the scenes in any given cycle cover the pre-Trojan phase of Achilles' life: birth, bath in the Styx, hunting and lyre-playing with Chiron, life as a girl and exposure on Scyros, the making of his weapons by Hephaestus and their delivery by Thetis.[68] A marble relief in Rome with eight scenes has only two set

[58] G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (1982), 173; for the scenes from Achilles' childhood on sarcophagi, ibid., 127–31 and 382–90.

[59] Some scholars have (quite properly) stressed Statius' debt to Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis* (Hinds, op. cit. (n. 27), 126), without noticing that Peleus himself is absent (except for a few passing allusions: 90, 440, 507, 898).

[60] So too Philostratus (2.2.5); Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, op. cit. (n. 16), 247.

[61] For his unhelpful analysis of the poem into a succession of 'tableaux', see Croisille, op. cit. (n. 29), 474–5 and 489–91.

[62] *LIMC* i, pp. 48–9 and 58–9; K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis: topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive* (1957), index p. 366; J. F. Trimble, 'Greek myth, gender, and social structure in a Roman house: two paintings of Achilles at Pompeii', in E. K. Gazda, *The Ancient Art of Emulation* (2002), 225–48.

[63] Pompeii ix.5.2; the second and third may again be his first arming. The shield device of Chiron teaching him the lyre also appears on a Pompeian mosaic (vi.7.23); see too Robertson, op. cit. (n. 35), 584.

[64] Pompeii vii.2.75; vi.9.6–7; vii.7.1 (Schefold, op. cit. (n. 62), 173, 117, 192); several reproduced in G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistica-romana* (1929), pls 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65.

[65] On this aspect of Statius' work, see especially A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae: Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World* (1983).

[66] S. Bartsch, *Decoding the Ancient Novel* (1989), ch. 2, especially 40–5.

[67] Achilles Tatius 6.1 (Winkler's translation).

[68] Half: the so-called Tensa Capitolina, a series of bronze reliefs from perhaps *c.* 300 B.C., with six pre-Trojan and six Trojan scenes.

at Troy.[69] A terra sigillata plate from Africa (Fig. 2) preserved in a number of (slightly differing) copies has no fewer than twelve scenes, only one Trojan.[70] And that one Trojan scene is not Achilles on the rampage, but Priam ransoming Hector's body, prominently displayed in a central medallion. This motif rivals Achilles Exposed in popularity in the art of the Empire (especially on sarcophagus reliefs).[71] Why this scene in the centre of a cycle otherwise wholly devoted to Achilles' childhood? According to W. Raeck, because it represents the high point of Achilles' career.[72] This would neatly explain the presence of his evidently now restored prize Brisëis to Achilles' right,[73] but the ransoming of Hector's body is the high point of the *Iliad* rather than of Achilles' career as a warrior. That surely reaches its peak in the duel with the living Hector, while Achilles was still in the grip of his Homeric wrath. The ransoming of Hector's body represents the waning of that wrath, something (I suggest) that could be seen as one of the more benign results of Chiron's schooling. Early texts, following Homer, limit Chiron's teaching to medicine.[74] But texts of the Roman period emphasize instead his musical teaching,[75] and Ovid, Silius and Philostratus all claim that music soothed Achilles' ferocious instincts and prevented him yielding to anger.[76]

III ACHILLES AS PAIDEIA?

The Achilles plate in the Kaiseraugst treasure (Fig. 1), with all eleven of its scenes pre-Trojan, calls for more detailed discussion. It has been suggested that it was originally one of a pair, with the other plate featuring Achilles' Trojan exploits.[77] But the increasing emphasis on Achilles' youth and education in the Roman age is perhaps against what might otherwise have seemed a natural assumption. So too is the discovery of another massive Achilles plate in the so-called Sevso treasure, featuring the exposure at Scyros on its central medallion.[78] Then there is the terra sigillata Achilles plate with thirteen out of fourteen pre-Trojan scenes (Fig. 2). It is generally (and no doubt correctly) assumed that these and other North African pottery plates are cheap copies of silver originals.[79] Given the many more or less identical copies, it does not look as if this plate was one of a pair.

Why this elaborate focus on Achilles' childhood, almost to the exclusion of his military exploits? It is natural to assume that there is some general theme or message here over and above the individual scenes. In 1971 M. A. Manacorda published an ambitious monograph on the Kaiseraugst plate, which he interpreted as the 'Paideia of Achilles',[80] a notion that

[69] Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, op. cit. (n. 16), 303–5.

[70] Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, op. cit. (n. 16), 304–5; J. Garbsch, 'Ein spätantiker Achilles-Zyklus', *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 45 (1980), 155–67; J. Garbsch and B. Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum* (1989), nos 194–204, with a colour plate on p. 170.

[71] Kossatz-Deissmann, op. cit. (n. 7), nos 642–709; G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (1982), 388–9. I am assuming that the scene showing the bringing of arms to Achilles is his first arming, before he goes to Troy (properly, only the second set of arms was custom-made for Achilles, the first set being Peleus': briefly, A. Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists* (1998), 143–5).

[72] Raeck, op. cit. (n. 36), 131.

[73] This female figure is identified as Brisëis on the mould for a similar plate (Garbsch and Overbeck, op. cit. (n. 70), no. 195).

[74] J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (1960), 238–9.

[75] Sen., *Tro.* 833–5; Val. Flacc., *Arg.* 1.139; Stat., *Achill.* 1.118, 186–94 and 2.157–8; Quintilian 1.10.30; Juv. 7.211–12; *Orph. Argon.* 382–4 and 398.

[76] Ovid, *Ars* 1.11–12; Silius, *Punica* 11.449–52; Philostr., *Heroicus* 45.6; so too Homer himself, according to Ps-Plut., *De musica* 40 (*Mor.* 1145–6).

[77] L. Guerrini, *Arch. Class.* 23 (1971), 194; Raeck, op. cit. (n. 36), 132.

[78] M. Mundell Mango and A. Bennett, *The Sevso Treasure Part One* (1994), 153–80; the frieze includes many other mythological scenes, not restricted to the Achilles saga.

[79] See especially J. W. Salomonson, 'Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen zu einem Tonfragment der Sammlung Benaki in Athen', *BABesch* 48 (1973), at 32–40.

[80] Manacorda, op. cit. (n. 36), especially 22f.

has been developed in different ways in two more recent studies. Manacorda himself, under the misapprehension that the treasure could be linked to the Apostate Julian,[81] had in mind nothing less than the conflict between pagan and Christian *paideia*. Scarcely less portentously, Letizia Abbondanza identified this '*paideia* chironiana' as a symbol of Greek culture in the Roman world.[82] Tacitly dropping the notion of cultural conflict, Ruth Leader more straightforwardly argues for an evocation of 'the traditional education of the elite in the Greco-Roman world'.[83] With the word 'education' I have no quarrel, but Leader has something grander in mind. She appeals to Peter Brown's brilliant discussion of *paideia* as one of the defining features of the Roman élite, 'a training as much in a particular mode of social interaction as in specific knowledge'.[84] This is a fair enough definition of what we might call the high culture of the age. While by no means the only word found in contemporary texts (λόγοι is also common, especially in Libanius and Julian),[85] παιδεία is certainly the standard term for the literary culture so prized by the élite.[86] The ability to turn a polished phrase or identify classical quotations and mythological references (whether in literature or art) did indeed amount to a sort of password that 'allowed members of elites in different parts of the empire to recognize their social peers wherever they went'.[87] Leader emphasizes one scene that stands out from the mythological context: Achilles learning to read, holding a tablet bearing the first five letters of the Greek alphabet, with a female figure standing between boy and centaur (Fig. 1.vi). Since pose and dress most plausibly identify her as a Muse,[88] she infers that Achilles 'is not merely learning his alphabet but being "educated in the Muses", that is, receiving a proper literary education, like that of the viewer'.

On this reading, the cultivated viewer is invited to recognize his own παιδεία in the efforts of the young Achilles, a reading Leader justifies on the grounds that the Greek word carries 'the dual meaning of culture as well as education'. But in the first place, παιδεία carries not so much a 'dual' meaning as a range of meanings, running all the way from the elementary training of a small child to the high culture of the élite. Thus while it could be applied with equal appropriateness to both, that does not mean that one implies the other. Second, while παιδεία Ἀχιλλέως makes a convenient title, it is *modern* (a coinage of Manacorda). The postulated slippage between meanings in the Greek is therefore irrelevant.

More specifically, a series of contemporary texts favours a much more restricted reading of the scenes represented on the plate. If we are going to use any Greek word to characterize scenes from Achilles' childhood, the most appropriate would be τροφή or ἀνατροφή, 'nurture'. This does have ancient warrant. Philostratus' detailed description of a painting of Achilles' lessons with Chiron bears the title Ἀχιλλέως τροφαί, 'The nurture of Achilles' (*Imag.* 2.2.3). On a fifth-century mosaic representing the birth of Achilles from Cyprus, the woman shown holding the baby is identified as Anatrophe.[89] The difference is more than

[81] We now know that it must in fact have been buried at least five years before Julian's accession: Cahn and Kaufmann-Heinimann, op. cit. (n. 16), 417.

[82] 'Immagini dell'infanzia di Achille in età imperiale: continuità di un paradigma educativo', *Ocnus: Quaderni della scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia* 4 (1996), at 18.

[83] R. Leader 'The David Plates revisited: transforming the secular in early Byzantium', *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000), 407–27, at 421–3.

[84] P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity* (1992), 35–70; Leader, op. cit. (n. 83), 422–3.

[85] A. J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie* (1959), 92–6. For Julian, J. Bouffartigue, *L'Empereur Julien et la culture de son temps* (1992), 603–5.

[86] C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (1986), 149–50; Bouffartigue, op. cit. (n. 85), 581–603. More generally, see T. Schmitz, *Bildung und Macht: Zur sozialen und politischen Funktion der zweiten Sophistik in der griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit* (1997).

[87] Leader, op. cit. (n. 83), 423; so already Bouffartigue, op. cit. (n. 85), 588.

[88] Von Gonzenbach, op. cit. (n. 16), 253; Leader, op. cit. (n. 83), 423.

[89] R. E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity. Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (2004), 133 with fig. 3.6.

merely terminological. τρέφειν is both the *vox propria* for the earliest stage of nurture[90] and (more important) one of the main subdivisions of the rhetorical encomion, the section between the honorand's γένος (birth, ancestors) and ἐπιτηδεύματα (character, habits) or πράξεις (deeds, achievements).[91] More striking still, the one illustration all the rhetoricians recommend for this section is, precisely, Achilles.

First the *Progymnasmata* attributed to the late second-century Hermogenes: 'then comes nurture, as in the case of Achilles, how he was reared on the marrow of lions, and by Chiron. Next how he was brought up and educated (ἐπαιδεύθη).' Whether the honorand 'lived a philosophical, rhetorical or military life' he *postpones* to the section on ἐπιτηδεύματα. Next the probably third-century Menander Rhetor: 'If he does not have a distinguished nurture (as Achilles had with Chiron), discuss his education (παιδεία) ... *Then* speak about his love of learning, his quickness, his enthusiasm for study.' Next, passing on to the section on ἐπιτηδεύματα, 'if he is distinguished in philosophy and knowledge of literature, praise this. If in the practice of war and arms, admire this.' Finally, the fifth-century Nicholas of Myra, who cites the example of Achilles being reared by Chiron on the marrow of deer. *After this*, Nicholas continues, mention whether he was good at rhetoric or poetry.[92]

All three carefully distinguish nurture, for which they all cite Achilles as the ideal illustration, from the study of literature and philosophy. All three were teachers whose handbooks exercised a wide influence. Their precepts can be shown to have been known to and followed by a number of late antique writers. First, the poet Claudian. In his panegyric on the third consulate of Honorius, written for 1 January 396, he describes, in the section on nurture, how Theodosius trained his young son by recounting the martial successes of his grandfather:

> non ocius hausit Achilles
> semiferi praecepta senis, seu cuspidis artes
> sive lyrae cantus medicas seu disceret herbas. (*III Cons. Hon.* 60–2)
>
> No more swiftly did Achilles drink in the precepts of the old Centaur when he learned how to wield a spear or play the lyre or recognize the plants that heal.

As the rhetors had taught him, he limits the comparison with Achilles to the practical training of a young boy. Nothing is either said or implied at this point in his poem about Honorius' literary culture.[93] When reassuring his young grandson about the forbidding appearance of his schoolteacher, Ausonius playfully remarks that young Achilles was not afraid of Chiron, neatly reversing Juvenal's picture of Achilles trembling before Chiron's cane, both cases clearly implying a small boy.[94]

In his account of the schooldays of the future St Basil, Gregory Nazianzen again appeals to the Achilles model only to reject it. Basil, he insists, was *not* taught by a 'braggart centaur to chase hares, run down fawns, hunt stags, excel in war or break in young horses, using the same person as horse and teacher, or to be nourished on the mythic marrow of deer and lions'.[95] The much later biographer of the emperor Basil I (A.D. 867–86) likewise claims that the young Basil 'had no need of the half-human, half-animal Chiron'.[96] We

[90] See LSJ s. v. τρέφειν I; τροφεῖα means the wages paid a wet-nurse (ibid. s.v.).

[91] The fullest treatment of these divisions is now L. Pernot, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain* i (1993), 154–78.

[92] Hermog., *Prog.* 16.2 Rabe; Menander Rhetor 371, p. 82 Russell and Wilson; Nicholas, *Prog.* p. 52. 8 Felten.

[93] In *IV Cons. Hon.* 396–8, at the end of a long speech exhorting Honorius to military glory, Theodosius tells him 'meanwhile' to 'cultivate the Muses while you are young'. Nothing here about Achilles. The fullest collection of material on Claudian and the Greek rhetoricians remains L. B. Struthers, 'The rhetorical structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian', *HSCP* 30 (1919), 49–87.

[94] *Protrepticus ad nepotem* 20–1, p. 20 Green; Juv. 7.210.

[95] *Or.* 4, *PG* 36.509.

[96] Theophanes Continuatus, *Vita Basilii* 6, ed. I. Bekker (1838), 220.4. On the classical background of this anonymous writer, R. J. H. Jenkins, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), 19–30.

should not make too much of the Christianity of Gregory and the Byzantine biographer in this context, because the pagan Libanius also rejects the comparison for the sons of Constantine, claiming that they were nurtured in a royal palace, not, like Achilles, in Chiron's cave; their father carried them, not on skins of wild beasts, but on the blessed purple.[97] Rejecting a comparison is simply one way of using it.

These texts evoke one detail after another from the childhood of Achilles as depicted in these various cycles, right down to his lyre lessons and diet of bone-marrow. Gregory has everything except the lyre. Not one reads them as implying high culture rather than elementary instruction (and the biographer of Basil explicitly limits mention of Chiron to his subject's childhood).[98] It is the same story if we turn to sophistic texts like Dio Chrysostom's dialogue between Achilles and Chiron (*Or.* 58), or the painting of Achilles and Chiron described by Philostratus (*Imag.* 2.2). Both clearly envisage the future warrior as a small child. Philostratus' ecphrasis is particularly suggestive here, since it so obviously incorporates more interpretation than description. What struck Philostratus was the contrast between the idyllic scene he was looking at and the slaughter this playful boy would soon be wreaking at Troy; the child whose exploits 'seem now to deserve apples and honey as rewards ... will disdain whole cities and marriage with Agamemnon's daughter'.

As for the reading tablet, equating the alphabet with classical literature is a stretch. Though a modern touch in the mythological context, the fact that it shows the first five letters of the alphabet rather than (say) the opening words of a famous classical text makes it much more likely that it simply represents an updating of the pattern of a young boy's basic instruction. Here we may compare a representation of a schoolboy from Palmyra with a stylus in his right hand and a writing-tablet in his left on which he has just written the last four letters of the alphabet.[99] We have dozens of school exercises on papyrus in which students copied letters of the alphabet, in and out of sequence.[100]

As for the Muse, we must surely accept Victorine von Gonzenbach's solution. This scene collapses two originally separate stock scenes into one: Achilles learning to read and Achilles learning to play the lyre. A mosaic from Cherchel shows Achilles playing the lyre between Chiron and a Muse reclining on a pillar.[101] Von Gonzenbach drew attention to Philostratus' account (*Heroicus* § 45.8) of the young Achilles praying to Calliope for the power of song. Calliope granted him enough to cheer himself up and entertain at banquets, but in view of his own martial destiny reserved the full power of song for another, who will sing of Achilles' achievements — meaning Homer, of course. Thus the only text that associates Achilles in any way with poetry explicitly restricts his competence. It should in any case be borne in mind that Achilles' lyre-playing was a Homeric datum (9.186–9). How he learned to play was bound to feature in any account of his childhood, and this was one subject where a Muse might be thought a more appropriate teacher than a centaur.[102]

Rhetoric is a central element in the paideia Manacorda and Leader envisaged as the message of the Kaiseraugst plate. Yet no contemporary familiar with the teachings of the rhetoricians and their exemplification in the work of contemporary poets, sophists and artists could have looked at the plate and not recalled these and many similar passages. The focus of the 'nurture' section in the panegyric was the honorand's *childhood*, its purpose to identify early indications of character or natural aptitude (εὐφυΐα) for the skills in which he would excel as an adult.[103] Scenes of Achilles and Chiron do have an exemplary significance. Yet it is not the literary accomplishments of the cultivated élite adult they evoke, but the physical and moral training of the very young.

[97] *Or.* 59.30–1.

[98] The following paragraph begins ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν *παιδικὴν* παραλλάξαντος ἡλικίαν ... (*Vita Basilii* 7, p. 220.15).

[99] M. Rostovtseff, *Caravan Cities* (1932), 152, pl. XXXII. 3.

[100] R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996), 37–40.

[101] *Silberschatz* ii, Taf. 172.2; von Gonzenbach, op. cit. (n. 16), 253.

[102] Though (as we have seen) many literary sources do in fact make Chiron his music teacher.

[103] For example, Claudian describes the baby Honorius as playing with weapons ('reptasti per scuta puer ...').

This sort of training was taken very seriously by ancient parents, Greek and Roman alike. It was usually entrusted to slaves called παιδαγωγοί, and a great many texts, from Plato down to Tacitus and the Ps-Plutarchan *De liberis educandis*, stress the importance of choosing παιδαγωγοί of high moral character. A remarkable series of late antique mosaics illustrating the schooldays of a small boy called Kimbros shows him in the regular company of two figures — one, Alexandros, evidently a grammaticus, and the other, Philios, presumably his παιδαγωγός.[104] The task from which παιδαγωγοί got their name was escorting boys to and from school or the gymnasium. They were not really teachers, but informal tutors expected to be responsible for the manners and morals of their charges.[105] The point is nicely illustrated in a popular declamation theme about Diogenes the Cynic: whenever he saw a boy who was disobedient or a fussy eater, he struck the παιδαγωγός.[106] The evidence of Libanius shows that the institution flourished down into Late Antiquity, when they were often 'in charge of assisting their pupils with homework, helping them memorize, giving them more exercises'.[107]

It is not surprising that a figure of such importance in Greek élite culture was assigned a mythological exemplar, and as early as Plato, Phoenix, appointed by Peleus to watch over the young Achilles when he left for Troy (*Iliad* 9.438–42), was identified as his παιδαγωγός.[108] Distinguishing Phoenix as παιδαγωγός and Chiron as teacher was a neat way of reconciling two different traditions, both known to Homer. *Iliad* 11.831–2 briefly refers to Achilles learning healing skills from Chiron, 'the most just of Centaurs'; and 9.485–91 describes Phoenix caring for the baby Achilles. 'The poet knows nothing about Achilles being brought up by Chiron, only later poets', remark the ancient scholia on 9.486,[109] while modern scholars have usually preferred to see Chiron as the older tradition and Phoenix as an '*ad hoc* invention'.[110] The role of Chiron is documented as early as the seventh century by the Würzburg amphora. But most ancient readers simply combined the two by assigning them different roles. Chiron was established as fully-fledged teacher by the pseudo-Hesiodic *Praecepta Chironis* addressed to Achilles, a work evidently known to Pindar and often alluded to in Attic comedy,[111] so in Greek terms pedagogue was the role left for Phoenix.

Already in Classical times a number of texts stress the importance of Achilles' education. A great many Attic vases show Achilles, often represented as a typical Athenian schoolboy, being handed over to Chiron by Peleus or Thetis or both together.[112] In Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, Clytemnestra inquires about the upbringing of the young man she believes Agamemnon has chosen to marry their daughter:

> Cl.: Did Thetis or his father raise Achilles?
> Ag.: It was Chiron, so that he might not learn the ways of evil men.
> Cl.: Ah, wise the teacher, and wiser still the entruster (σοφός γ' ὁ θρέψας χὠ διδοὺς σοφώτερος).

[104] For a brief account, with colour plates, of these mosaics (eleven in number), see C. Marinescu, S. Cox and R. Wachter in H. Morlier (ed.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* 9.2 (2005), 1269–77.

[105] H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (6th edn, 1965), 220–1; there is much useful material in S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (1977), 38–45 and 100–1; for their protection of their charges' virtue, D. Cohen, *Law, Sexuality and Society* (1991), 195.

[106] Theon, *Prog.* 98.34, p. 21 Patillon-Bolognesi (1997); Libanius, *Chria* 2 (= Libanius 8.74–82 Foerster), with the texts cited in Foerster's notes.

[107] R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (2001), 47–50.

[108] Plato, *Rep.* 390E–391C, a passage that also mentions Chiron as his teacher. Homer limits Chiron's instruction of Achilles to medicine (11.831–2).

[109] So too the scholia on Pind., *Nem.* 3.76 b and Apoll. Rhod. 1.558, generally supposed to reflect the view of Aristarchus.

[110] J. B. Hainsworth in the Cambridge Commentary (iii (1993), 310); W. Jaeger, *Paideia* i (1939), 23–4; against, from a strict unitarian point of view, J. A. Scott, *AJP* 33 (1912), 76.

[111] R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (1967), 143–5; J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (1960), 228–44.

[112] Johansen, op. cit. (n. 55), 181–205; F. A. G. Beck, *Album of Greek Education: the Greeks at School and Play* (1975, intriguingly enough at the Cheiron Press), 9–13.

Later in the play Achilles himself alludes to the upbringing in the house of pious Chiron that has taught him 'to be straightforward in his ways' (τοὺς τρόπους ἁπλοῦς ἔχειν).[113] According to Xenophon's Socrates, 'the man who inculcates right speech and right conduct would merit the honour Achilles showed Chiron and Phoenix'.[114] Sophocles' satyr-play *The Lovers of Achilles* seems to have represented Chiron as the pedagogue concerned to guard him from the advances of amorous satyrs.[115] Chairemon's *Centaur* (another satyr-play) and Pherecrates' *Chiron* (a comedy) evidently dealt with less serious aspects of Achilles' schooldays.[116] As late as the Roman period, we still find Ps-Plutarch citing Phoenix as the type of the σπουδαῖος παιδαγωγός,[117] and in one of Lucian's dialogues, Antilochus brands something Achilles said as 'reflectingly little credit on your two teachers (τοῖν διδασκάλοιν ἀμφοῖν), Chiron and Phoenix'.[118] Themistius, who was tutor to a number of imperial pupils (Valentinianus the son of Valens, Gratian the son of Valentinian I, and Arcadius the son of Theodosius), repeatedly casts himself in the role of Phoenix.[119] Obviously it would have been rather silly to compare himself to a centaur, though elsewhere he does allude to Chiron as Achilles' tutor.[120] Libanius calls Maximus of Ephesus, the Emperor Julian's teacher, his Phoenix, and twice uses the same motif for other teacher-pupil pairs of his acquaintance, usually with the implication that the pupil is still a child.[121]

Whatever faults Christians might find with pagan education, they were attracted by the idea of the παιδαγωγός as a sort of moral tutor. Indeed Clement of Alexandria constructed an entire treatise in three books on the motif of Christ as παιδαγωγός, taking as his point of departure a number of biblical passages (Matthew 19.13–14: 'suffer little children to come to me'; 18.3–4: 'truly, I say to you, unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven'). In keeping with this theme, he addresses his Christian readers throughout as 'children', and the advice offered is in effect the practical advice of a good παιδαγωγός: how the good Christian should behave, right down to table manners, cosmetics, and even the sort of shoes (s)he should wear.[122] Writing as he was for cultivated readers,[123] wherever possible Clement reinforces his point with an apt classical illustration or quotation. For example, vain women who endlessly study their appearance in mirrors should reflect on how little good it did Narcissus (3.11)! Not surprisingly, he could not resist Achilles and his παιδαγωγός, neatly pointing out that, on the evidence of Homer himself, Phoenix was not in fact a person of good character at all, but 'woman-mad' (γυναικομανής).[124]

Remarkably enough, then, Achilles makes not one but two appearances in the mythical prehistory of ancient elementary education, a hero with both a παιδευτής and a παιδαγωγός. The first steps of children towards adulthood were not only carefully superintended by responsible ancient parents, but lovingly chronicled as well. The point is strikingly illustrated by a quite different group of Roman monuments that nonetheless have

[113] Eur., *Iphig. Aul.* 708–10 and 926–7; for further discussion of the importance of Achilles' education in this play, P. Michelakis, *Achilles in Greek Tragedy* (2002), 100–6.
[114] Xen., *Symposium* 8.23.
[115] For the fragments, see now H. Lloyd-Jones, *Sophocles Fragments* (1996), 58–63, with Michelakis, op. cit. (n. 113), 172–8.
[116] Chairemon F 1–3 in *TrGF* i²; Pherecrates F 155–62 in *PCG* vii.
[117] Ps-Plut., *De lib. educ.* 7 = *Mor.* 4B. Plutarch records a παιδαγωγός for Theseus as well (Κοννίδας, *Thes.* 4), honoured with a cult in Athens (E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (1989), 120, 178–9), but unknown to literature. And according to Diodorus 4.4.3, Silenus was the παιδαγωγός of Dionysus.
[118] Luc., *Dial. Mort.* 26(15).1.
[119] *Or.* 9.123c (i.186.23 Downey); *Or.* 13.173a, c (i.246.5; 249.6); *Or.* 18.224d (i.324.18).
[120] *Or.* 21.257b (i.39.3); so too Libanius, *Ep.* 1508.3 F (= 142 N).
[121] Lib., *Ep.* 694.5 F (= 80 Norman); *Ep.* 155.2–3; *Ep.* 1492.2; R. A. Kaster, *TAPA* 113 (1983), 332; idem, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (1988), 256, 318.
[122] See Marrou's introduction to H.-I. Marrou and M. Harl (eds), *Clément d'Alexandrie: Le pédagogue, livre 1* (1960), 23; for footwear, ii.11; for cosmetics, iii.2–3, with Marrou's notes.
[123] Marrou, op. cit. (n. 122), 66–91.
[124] i.7.56; according to *Iliad* 9.449–53 he was (falsely) accused of sleeping with his father's concubine.

suggestive links to the Achilles cycle: children's sarcophagi. A number of reliefs on a dozen or so children's sarcophagi narrate the brief life of the deceased in a series of stock scenes, the three main components (setting on one side scenes of death and mourning) being: (1) mother and/or nurse bathing the child, evidently its first bath, immediately after birth; (2) child riding in a cart pulled by a goat; (3) child standing with bookroll in hand before a teacher.[125] So far no monument showing little Achilles in such a cart (evidently as popular with small boys in Roman times as toy pedal-cars today)[126] has come to light, but immediately after evoking Achilles' birth, the appointment of Chiron to rear him (τροφεύς) and his diet of animal marrow, Philostratus moves on to 'the age at which children need *carts* (ἁμαξίδων) and knuckle-bones', claiming that, while Chiron did not forbid him such things, 'he accustomed him to small javelins, darts and running'.[127] The tell-tale detail of the cart puts it beyond doubt that, like all the other sophists, Philostratus had the elementary training of a small boy in mind. Also relevant here is the sequence of mosaics depicting scenes from the life of little Kimbros, again from first bath to schooldays. There is an obvious parallelism with some of the scenes in the Achilles cycle: the first bath (in the Styx), the ride (on Chiron's back), and the school lessons. Kimbros is not shown *in* a cart, but one panel shows him lying on the ground in front of one. Presumably he once fell out of his cart and hurt himself.

Most of the Kimbros mosaics are peopled with personifications, one of them actually labelled Paideia, shown standing behind a grammaticus called Alexandros. One of only two literary texts where Paideia is personified is Lucian's *Dream*, which describes how two women appeared to him in a dream when he was a teenager, competing for his allegiance: Sculpture (Ἑρμογλυφικὴ τέχνη), a working woman with unkempt hair and calloused hands;[128] and Paideia, beautiful, dignified and elegantly dressed. What Paideia offers the young Lucian is the rewards of high culture, but since she also claims to be well known to him already (ἤδη συνήθης σοι καὶ γνωρίμη), evidently she represents the whole educational process from childhood on. The Kimbros Paideia clearly reflects the lower rather than higher end of the spectrum. In the so-called *Tabula* of Cebes, probably of the first century A.D., we find Paideia with her two daughters, Truth and Persuasion; Paideia is described as fair but of mature age, wearing a simple, unadorned robe.[129] Another representation of Paideia has recently turned up from the now flooded city of Zeugma. Among a number of mosaic floors in the same house, one is a stock version of Achilles Exposed; the other has three female personifications, Arete seated with Paideia and Sophia at her sides.[130] All these monuments underline the importance attached to education among members of the élite (and would be élite) of the Roman world — and the exemplary role of Achilles in this area.

The fact that so many of the scenes illustrated on the Kaiseraugst and terra sigillata plates also appear in the poets and rhetoricians enables us to dispense with conjecture about their meaning. The rhetoricians prescribe a restricted range of episodes for a specific

[125] K. Wernicke, *AZ* 43 (1885), 209–22; H.-I. Marrou, ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ: *Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains* (1937; repr. 1964), cat. nos 1–13, 18, 19, 95, 151–2 with pp. 197–207; N. Kampen, *AJA* 85 (1981), at 53–5; G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (1982), 107–9; J. Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi: their Decoration and its Social Significance* (1996).

[126] For two much-earlier examples of children riding in animal-drawn small carts, Beck, op. cit. (n. 112), pl. 54, nos 280 and 281 (*c.* 400 B.C.).

[127] ἀκοντίοις εἴθιζε καὶ παλτοῖς καὶ δρόμοις, *Heroicus* 45.4. J. K. Berenson Maclean and E. Bradshaw Aitken, *Flavius Philostratos: Heroikos* (2001), 137 oddly translate δρόμοις 'race courses'. But given his Homeric reputation for fleetness of foot, Chiron is naturally represented as teaching him how to *run*. In Statius, for example, Achilles describes how, before he was twelve, Chiron made him 'outpace swift hinds and Lapith steeds and *by running* overtake the flung dart' (Ach. 2.110–13).

[128] Lucian's uncle and grandfather were sculptors: Jones, op. cit. (n. 86), 8–10. Obviously this work is highly significant for the attitude of a man of letters to artists.

[129] J. T. Fitzgerald and L. M. White, *The Tabula of Cebes* (1983), §18, p. 87; there is much elsewhere in the work about True and False Paideia.

[130] I am grateful to Jean-Pierre Darmon for information on this point.

part of the encomion, the part reserved for evoking some detail (real or imagined) in the early life of a great man that foreshadowed his future greatness.[131] In a civilization that prized illustrations from Greek myth, Achilles' training, documented in such classics as Homer, Hesiod and Pindar, came to be treated as the archetypal pattern, aided by the fact that, even outside the Achilles saga, Chiron was established as the archetypal teacher.[132] Already in Homer he is Asclepius' teacher as well as Achilles', and Hesiod and Pindar add Jason to the list of his pupils. Attic vases confine themselves to Achilles, while the prologue to Xenophon's *On Hunting* (not to mention other texts) adds a further nineteen names (Cephalus, Milanion, Nestor, Amphiaraus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theseus, Hippolytus, Palamedes, Odysseus, Menestheus, Diomedes, Castor, Polydeuces, Machaon, Podalirius, Antilochus, Aeneas).[133] In a complete break with the traditional representation of the character of Chiron, Machiavelli famously argued that the reason he was such a good teacher of princes was his combination of the intellectual and the bestial. The ruler needs to learn that, if the first proves inadequate, he can always turn to the second.[134] But in the ancient world Chiron is invariably represented as a sage, kindly figure, the one good centaur.[135]

With Chiron as teacher and Phoenix as pedagogue, no wonder Achilles turned out so well. The fact that Homer had also mentioned his lyre-playing even allowed a modest cultural dimension in this exemplary pupil. The strange story of an over-protective mother hiding him away on Scyros illustrated how even the most successful men sometimes take brief detours down the wrong path before finding their true destiny.

How then should we read the Kaiseraugst plate? The main problem with the Manacorda-Leader interpretation, Achilles representing the ideal of late antique literary culture, is not just that it is out of line with the abundant literary evidence collected here. More important, it fails to account for the fact that, outside the childhood cycle, Achilles remains the type of the peerless, pitiless warrior. How can we see Achilles in effect personifying the arts of peace rather than war?

Apart from the lyre (inescapable, thanks to Homer) and the unique reading tablet, the scenes of Chiron's training are limited to physical education (hunting, riding, discus-throwing). The lists of activities in Statius, Philostratus, Claudian and Gregory Nazianzen emphasize that the purpose of this training was to produce a warrior, not a man of culture. So too does one of Libanius' more amusing *Ethopoeiae*, Chiron's reaction to the news that Achilles was living in a parthenon.[136] His main complaint is the waste of all that training, with the same sort of jokes we find in Ovid about hands taught to use a bow plying the loom. His final sally does imply that Achilles learned to read ('goodbye dear old *Catalogue of Ships*'),[137] but only for the sake of a neat joke. One's first thought is that this is an

[131] With the growing importance of literary culture as a status marker in Late Antiquity, the 'nurture' section of the panegyric *might* have been appropriated or adapted to evoke the honorand's proficiency in this area. In the event it was not, partly no doubt because most honorands were men of action (emperors, generals, administrators) rather than culture; partly because the rhetoricians recommended listing cultural attainments in the section devoted to achievements (πράξεις and ἐπιτηδεύματα); partly too because a certain level of literary culture (the ability to pick up and drop allusions to classical texts and Greek mythology) was simply taken for granted among the élite of the Late Roman world.

[132] H. Jeanmaire, 'Chiron', *ΠΑΓΚΑΡΠΕΙΑ: Mélanges H. Grégoire* i (1949), 255–65. H.-K. and S. Lücke, op. cit. (n. 7), 185–96.

[133] At one time this prologue used to be dismissed as a product of the Second Sophistic, but most now accept it as genuine Xenophon: E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* i (1898), 431–4; E. C. Marchant in the Loeb *Xenophon: Scripta Minora* (1925), xlii–iii; V. J. Gray, *Hermes* 113 (1985), 156–72.

[134] For a fascinating account of the influence of this idea in Renaissance literature and art, see H. Ingman, 'Macchiavelli and the interpretation of the Chiron myth in France', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982), 217–25.

[135] On good and bad centaurs, G. S. Kirk, *Myth, its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* (1970), 156–62.

[136] Libanius ed. Foerster viii (1915), 405–8.

[137] ἀφείσθω μοι νέων κατάλογος προσφιλής, p. 408. 5.

anachronism: the Trojan war has not yet taken place. Then a moment's reflection suggests that the catalogue of ships is the one part of the *Iliad* that could have been written before Achilles left Scyros!

Furthermore, while some of the stock elements in the cycle fit the traditional Greek athletic ideal well enough, two, the least conventional and most striking, conspicuously do not. First, feeding on the entrails and marrow of deer, lions and boars, clearly intended to explain the speed, ferocity and strength of the future warrior.[138] And second, Achilles Exposed, by far the most popular and idiosyncratic motif in the entire cycle, and so understandably singled out for the central medallion. Achilles in drag hardly makes a natural or appropriate culmination to a pictorial evocation of traditional literary culture. It was to shield Achilles from his fated early death that his mother hid him away on Scyros, but the moment Odysseus and Diomede turn up with trumpets and weapons, his latent martial instincts reassert themselves. This scene thus marks not only the end of Achilles' childhood but also the end of the false path that has been leading him away from his true destiny as a warrior.

The great advantage of this reading, by implication the reading of contemporary rhetoricians and their pupils the panegyrists, is that it does not oblige us to withhold our knowledge of Achilles the pitiless warrior. Here it is relevant to consider another passage of Libanius, this time from a curious speech in praise of pantomime dancers (who regularly mimed scenes and characters from myth):[139]

> The dancer has shown you the many daughters of Lycomedes, the work and tools of maidens, the distaff, the spindle, the wool, the warp, the woof. And he has shown you Achilles acting the part of a maiden. But don't worry! He won't stop the dance here. Odysseus is coming to the door, and Diomede with his trumpet, and the son of Peleus is revealing who he really is instead of who he seems to be.

The next moment we have Achilles at Troy, killing, brandishing his spear, and driving all before him in terror. We have already seen how Philostratus contrasted the Achilles who would sack cities and fight rivers at Troy with the little boy of his rustic idyll (*Imag.* 2.2), and Dio Chrysostom's curious little dialogue between the boy Achilles and Chiron (*Or.* 58) tells the same story:

> Achilles: Why are you teaching me how to use the bow?
> Chiron: Because this too is a warlike accomplishment.
> Achilles: An accomplishment of cowards, directed against cowards!
> Chiron: How so?
> Achilles: It does not allow the foe to come near ...

Even where the contrast is not made explicit, it is always implicit — as (for example) when Juvenal says Achilles would not *then* have dared to laugh at his teacher's tail (7.212). In all such texts the subtext is always '*even* Achilles *once*'. Like the audience of Libanius' pantomime, anyone looking at the Kaiseraugst plate had the same expectations. That cute little fellow learning his lessons round the frieze and (in a misguided interlude) incongruously dressed as a girl is about to reveal his true nature. With this of all scenes prominently featured in the central medallion, no one could withhold his knowledge of Achilles' martial destiny. The subtitle of the Kaiseraugst plate might be 'Even Achilles once'. It is the childhood of Everyman[140] transposed onto the mythological plane. What might be the purpose, the occasion for such a plate? Perhaps something so mundane as a gift to commemorate the birth of a boy child, or his first day at school.

[138] D. S. Robertson, 'The food of Achilles', *CR* 45 (1940), 177–80, citing material on 'The homoeopathic magic of a flesh diet' from J. G. Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* ii (1912), 138–68.

[139] *Or.* 64.68; see now M. E. Molloy, *Libanius and the Dancers* (1996), with useful introduction, translation (slightly adapted here), and commentary.

[140] Provided (of course) he was a member of the élite.

IV STATIUS 2

The relevance of all this to Statius is twofold. On the one hand, we should beware of identifying the erotic, idyllic and sentimental elements in the *Achilleïd* as specifically and characteristically Statian contributions to the Achilles saga. Given the time (and place) in which he lived, it was never likely that Statius' Achilles would be the killing machine of Homer — or even Catullus. A Flavian *Achilleïd* without Chiron, Deidameia and a bit of cross-dressing was unthinkable, and cross-dressing demanded the Ovidian rather than Vergilian manner. On the other hand, it seems to me that, while fulfilling his promise to cover Achilles' entire life, Statius did his best to keep childhood, centaurs and even love within fairly narrow limits.[141]

In the first place, there is what Parkes has nicely called the 'hyper-epic' opening words of the poem: 'magnanimum Aeaciden formidatumque Tonanti / progeniem'.[142] Then, instead of describing Achilles' birth, bath in the Styx, nourishment and education in full one after another, he mentions them in passing or in flashbacks. The bath in the Styx is briefly evoked in back-references (1.134 and 268). While teaching Deidameia to play the lyre, Achilles mentions in passing that he himself was taught by Chiron (1.572–5). The brief account of his nourishment and education is postponed to Book 2, in the form of a reply to a query from Diomede (2.86–167). In fact, the only episode treated in any detail in its proper chronological place is Scyros, and even this is skilfully broken up so that we are ever mindful of the looming war.

If Statius had followed the distribution of themes we see in the illustrated cycles, we might have expected no more than half of the projected twelve books[143] to deal with the Trojan war. As it is, Achilles is on his way to Troy by the beginning of Book 2. Not that even this is the first we hear of Troy. Book 1 opens with Thetis learning of the Greek preparations for war. Realizing the threat this poses for Achilles, at first she tries (unsuccessfully) to stop or destroy the expedition, and then hastens to Chiron's cave. Chiron tells her that he has recently noticed a change in the boy, who has become much more violent (1.147–58). Disturbed by this news, she at once takes him to the court of Lycomedes on Scyros. The budding warrior at first refuses to dress like a girl, but reluctantly does so when he catches sight of and falls in love with Deidameia. At this point the narrative breaks off to return to the Greek preparations for war. Ulysses and Diomede learn from Calchas of Achilles' whereabouts, and at once set sail for Scyros (1.397–559). 1.560–674 resume the story of Achilles' love, though we find him unhappy and frustrated at being kept from his beloved weapons and hunting (624–39). Intriguingly enough, it is in this mood of frustration that he turns to violence on a smaller scale and takes Deidameia's virginity (639–43). He begins to console her — but then ends by telling her in the most brutal terms that he is fated to sack Scyros and kill her, thus casting an unexpected shadow over the consummation of their love (657–8). If anything in Book 1 can be identified as Statian invention, it is surely this. No trace here of the idyllic tone of Ps-Bion's 'wedding' poem.

Not long after this Ulysses and Diomede arrive (675), and the rest of the book is thus once more overshadowed by the coming war. Nor, as in the traditional version, is Achilles caught out by Ulysses' trick. He is already ripping off his female clothes at the sight of the weapons, *before* the trumpet blast (852–77). And he does so because 'Troy fills his breast' ('totoque in pectore Troia est', 857). It seems clear that, despite his obvious familiarity with the growing tendency to dwell on his hero's pre-war life, Statius was determined to redress the balance. While drawing on the details of the later tradition to make his hero

[141] So too R. Parkes, 'The Return of the Seven', *AJP* 129 (2008), 381–402, emphasizing allusions to the *Thebaid* in the *Achilleid*.

[142] Parkes, op. cit. (n. 141), 382.

[143] It seems natural to suppose that Statius intended twelve books, like the *Aeneïd* and indeed his own *Thebaïd*.

more complex and so more interesting, he nonetheless makes it clear from the very beginning that in the end Achilles will subordinate personal happiness to military glory.

It is revealing to examine more closely the prophecy that Scyros 'will lie in ruins, destroyed by fire and sword' ('igni ferroque excisa iacebit / Scyros', 657–8) and Deidameia herself 'will pay for Achilles' embraces with a cruel death' ('saevo mea tu conubia pendas / funere', 659–60). Though not discussed by the commentators, this prophecy derives from a casual reference in the *Iliad* to the captive woman Achilles gave Patroclus from the spoils when he sacked Scyros (Σκῦρον ἑλὼν αἰπεῖαν, 9.668). It is (of course) hard to reconcile the capture and enslavement of Scyros with the story of Deidameia. In particular, it directly conflicts with *Iliad* 19.326–7, where Achilles refers to his son Neoptolemos growing up in Scyros. The Homer scholia predictably report a view that the Scyros of 9.668 was a different place, in Phrygia. Pausanias, evidently finding life 'among the girls' on Scyros out of character for such a hero, remarked that 'Homer did well to have Achilles sack Scyros' (1.22.6). Philostratus makes the main character in his *Heroicus* repudiate the story of the interlude on Scyros as too improbable to be believed.[144]

For the modern scholar, the obvious way out is to suppose that the author of 9.668 did not know the tradition about Achilles' stay on Scyros and son by Deidameia, and to consider the lines in Book 19 interpolated on the basis of the later tradition.[145] Ancient critics were already puzzled by Achilles' uncertainty whether Neoptolemos was still alive, and some athetized 19.327 (εἴ που ἔτι ζώει γε Νεοπτόλεμος θεοειδής), not without some justification in light of the much vaguer preceding line (ἠὲ τὸν ὃς Σκύρῳ μοι ἔνι τρέφεται φίλος υἱός).[146] But Statius was evidently happy to accept and even embellish the implications of 9.668, because it allowed him to develop a much darker and more complex version of the Scyros story. Apparently he was planning to have Achilles return from Troy to Scyros on one of those expeditions in search of booty we learn of from Homer, to destroy the scene of his discreditable sojourn 'among the girls'. Deidameia herself was to die in the carnage (not necessarily by Achilles' own hand). To dwell on the idyllic and sentimental aspects of Book 1 is to ignore the way Statius himself undermines what might have seemed the most carefree period of the young hero's life. And he does it by following up hints already present in Homer, the archetypal text for Achilles the warrior.

Achilleïd 1 closes with Deidameia's fear that the Trojan women will soon be pursuing Achilles (943–55). Koster predicted further erotic episodes, drawing attention to the four other women in his life (Iphigeneia, Briseïs, Penthesilea and Polyxena).[147] Statius was almost certainly planning to exploit these erotic possibilities, but none of the four are exactly romantic relationships, and three of the four ladies meet grisly ends. More specifically, Deidameia's fear that 'ipsa placebit / Tyndaris' (945–6) suggests the strange story otherwise known from Pausanias and Philostratus of a posthumous union with Helen on the White Island in the Black Sea.[148]

Already on her wedding night Deidameia foresees that she will be disowned and betrayed, joked about as a youthful indiscretion ('puerilis fabula culpae', 947). She makes Achilles swear that he will at any rate not let some *barbara coniunx* bear him a child. He duly swears, but it is clear from the last line of the book ('inrita ventosae rapiebant verba procellae') that he will break that oath — perhaps an allusion to some otherwise undocumented tradition that Achilles had a son by Briseïs.

[144] Phil., *Her.* 45.8.

[145] See (for example) the notes of Bryan Hainsworth and M. W. Edwards in the relevant volumes of the Cambridge Homer commentary; most recently, M. L. West, '*Iliad* and *Aethiopis*', *CQ* 53 (2003), 9.

[146] See the texts quoted in H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* i (1885), 1140–1; and M. W. Edwards's note.

[147] Treated by Katherine King in a chapter entitled 'Soldier of Love: Archaic Greece to Medieval Europe', op. cit. (n. 8), 171–217.

[148] Pausanias 3.19.13; Phil., *Her.* 54.2–13; N. Austin, *Helen of Troy and her Shameless Phantom* (1994), 99. This need not mean that Statius was planning to continue after Achilles' death (so Méheust, op. cit. (n. 28), p. 49 n. 2). Pausanias (3.24.10–11) cites a Laconian tradition that Achilles had been one of Helen's suitors, which he dismisses on chronological grounds. Lines 945–6 may just have been a learned allusion not developed in the sequel.

Even in Book 1, the sentimental tone and lightness of touch that modern readers find so attractive is intermittent, repeatedly undercut by darker hints of the Trojan tragedy that will follow. It is less the first chapter in a life of Achilles than an account of how he came to participate in the Trojan war. Indeed, it may be significant that, when referring to his planned new epic in *Silvae* 4.7.94, Statius mentions Troy before Achilles ('Troia quidem magnusque mihi temptatur Achilles'). And, as King rightly emphasizes, Statius makes clear that Chiron's rigorous training, which Achilles himself relates, significantly enough once he has already made his choice on the boat to Troy (2.96–167), was intended to prepare him to be a warrior.

It is no doubt idle to debate the tone of 10,000 odd lines that were never written, and Statius might well have failed to achieve a satisfactory balance even if he had lived to complete his poem. At *Silvae* 4.23–4 he confesses that he was stuck in the early stages ('primis meus ecce metis / haeret Achilles').[149] But for all the charm and wit of Book 1, overall I see no reason to believe that it was the *Metamorphoses* rather than the *Iliad* or *Aeneïd* that he was hoping to rival — as indeed the evocation of Homer in the proem implies.

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[149] K. M. Coleman (*Statius Silvae IV* (1988), 203) points out the neat paradox of πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς being stuck in a chariot accident. For various interpretations of this reference, Heslin, op. cit. (n. 11), 60–2.



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EROS'S FLAME: IMAGES OF SEXY BOYS IN ROMAN IDEAL SCULPTURE

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Images of youthful males characterized by a soft, just-pubescent physique and a relaxed, soignée pose constitute a distinctive sculptural genre popular during Roman times. For reasons that will become obvious in the course of the article, this group of statues may be called "sexy boys." Mythic in subject and ideal in form, the figures recall Greek statues from the classical past. In their Roman context, however, they possessed meanings that were not only aesthetic or historical but also social and sexual. Charged erotically but at odds with traditional ideals of Roman masculinity, these statues challenge the virile ideal that has long dominated our conceptions of male sexual identity and behavior in the Roman world.

To the extent that these statues have been discussed in modern times, they have been seen as Roman copies of now-lost Greek originals dating to the fourth century B.C.[1] On the basis of their poses and figural types, they have traditionally been attributed to Praxiteles, a Greek sculptor of the mid-fourth century, suggesting a kind of "praxitelean afterlife." Although "praxitelean" is a convenient descriptive label, its implications require that the term be used with caution. For one thing, sculptors other than Praxiteles clearly also had a major influence upon the forms; among the artists known by name, for example, Skopas, Praxiteles' contemporary in the fourth century, and Lysippos, a slightly later master, are believed to have popularized some of the poses and figural types that we will see are fundamental to the definition of our corpus.[2] In addition, works of the fifth-century master Polykleitos, usually seen as the stylistic antipode of Praxiteles, apparently presaged certain "praxitelean" motifs: his workshop's "Westmacott Ephebe" and Narcissus pioneered the downward-looking male

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[1] This attitude is especially prevalent when more than one version of a statue type survives. One such example: a figure of Paris best known from versions now in the collections of Kassel, the Vatican, and recently sold from Marbury Hall (Kassel: M. Bieber, *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen der königlichen Museum fridericianium in Cassel* [Marburg 1915] 22, no. 26, pls. 24–25. Vatican: Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri 2807; W. Amelung and G. Lippold, eds., *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1903–56) 3.2:425–26, no. 20, pl. 179 [called Ganymede]. Marbury Hall: present whereabouts unknown; *Classical Sculpture Formerly from Marbury Hall, Cheshire* [sale catalogue, Christie's London, 10 July 1987] 36–37, no. 13).

[2] Skopas's Pothos adopted a cross-legged stance that became synonymous with rest (A. Stewart, *Skopas of Paros* [Park Ridge, N.J. 1977] 107–10, pl. 45a). Lysippos is said to have devised the slender body proportions that predominate in our corpus (Pliny *HN* 34.65).

suspended in a state of self-imposed reverie.[3] Even those figural motifs that we today regard as quintessentially "praxitelean"—the leaning pose of such works as the Apollo Sauroctonos or the upraised arm resting atop the head of the Apollo Lykeios—may have come to be known by Roman sculptors not so much through detailed sculptural copies of Praxitelean originals as through the many Hellenistic adaptions that these popular works engendered.[4]

Given this mix of precedents, it is doubtful that the Roman viewer equated what he saw in our corpus with Praxiteles or any other long-dead Greek sculptor. While recognizing the distinctive stylistic character of what he was looking at—a distinctiveness occasionally highlighted by juxtaposing the figure with another of different conception[5]—the viewer would not necessarily have identified it as "praxitelean" in opposition, say, to "polykleitan." To many viewers, the statues may have represented simply two strains of the same classical Greek ethos that propelled Roman ideal sculpture. In this paper, then, my aims are not to establish ties to any particular master but to investigate the meanings of the statues' figural language in the Roman context.

The statues that constitute our group register their difference from the heroic male ideal dominant in Rome in their treatment of three elements: pose, body type, and head type. Not every individual statue belonging to the corpus demonstrates the typology effectively, for many examples survive as fragments or restorations that distort their original appearance. Yet our problem is not only the familiar one of an antique work whose original appearance has been irrevocably altered. In addition, the taste among eighteenth-century literati for slim and soignée male figures[6] makes it difficult to discern how much of the corpus is authentically antique and how much a product of eighteenth-century or earlier restoration.[7] It is not clear that

[3] Westmacott Ephebe: P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen. Studien zur Veränderung des Kunstgeschmacks in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz am Rhein 1974) 19–21, pls. 21–23; H. Beck, P. Bol, and M. Bückling, eds., *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik* (Mainz am Rhein 1990) 245–46, 585–94, nos. 103–16, pl. 6; Narcissus: Zanker, 26; Beck, Bol, and Bückling, 599–601, nos. 123–25.

[4] E.g. the Cyrene and Tralles Apollos (R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* [London 1991] figs. 75 and 76). Smith (p. 65) credits the Hellenistic age for introducing a more effeminate and eroticized dimension to images of Apollo and Dionysos, but at least one of the examples he uses for his argument, fig. 77, may be Roman rather than Greek. M. Fullerton, "Imitation and Intertextuality in Roman Art," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997) 427–40, discusses the issue of sculptural precedent.

[5] As in the San Ildefonso group in Madrid (Museo del Prado 67; Zanker [as n. 3] 28–30, no. 26, with earlier bibliography) or on a Tiberian coin showing two statues, different in their pose and formal articulation, flanking the door of the Aedes Concordiae in Rome (H. Mattingly, *British Museum: Coins of the Roman Empire* [London 1923] 1:137, no. 116, pl. 24; E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* [London 1961] 1:294, fig. 347).

[6] Young men in "praxitelean" poses in Ingres's *Achilles Receiving the Ambassadors of Agamemnon* (1801) and David's *Paris and Helen* (1789) have been argued by C. Ockman to express homosexual feelin[illegible] "Profiling Homoeroticism: Ingres' *Achilles Receiving the Ambassadors of Agamemnon*," *Art Bulletin* 75 [1993] 259–74). For another use of the same classical imagery [illegible] A. Meyer, "Re-dressing Classical Statuary: The Eighteenth-Century 'Hand-in-Waistcoat' Portrait," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995) 47, figs. 3 and 4.

[7] For examples of eighteenth-century work see Bartolomeo Cavaceppi's restoration of the Newby Hall Eros (B. Cavaceppi, *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassorilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da Bartolomeo Cavaceppi* [Rome 1768] 1:pl. 40; S. Howard, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Eighteenth Century Restorer* [New York and London 1982; Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago 1958] 65) and Carlo Albacini's Eros Farnese and Ganymede (Naples, Museo Nazionale 6353 and 6351; E. Pozzi, ed., *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1.2: *La scultura greco-romana* [Rome 1989] 174–75, nos. 143 and 142). See also J. Podany, "The Conservation of Two Marble Sculptures from the J. Paul Getty Museum," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 9 (1981) 103–7. On restoration see M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Il gusto di restauro* (Rome 1948); U. Müller-Kaspar, "Das sogenannte Falschen am Echten. Antikenergänzungen im späteren 18. Jahrhundert in Rom" (Ph.D. diss., Bonn 1988) and the discussion by N. Ramage in this volume.

statues such as the Apollo Belvedere or the Belvedere Antinous represent "unsullied" examples of Roman ideal sculpture.[8] In a very real sense, their reputation has followed that of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, their most eloquent fan.[9] For the approximate century-long period beginning in 1764 when Winckelmann's writings formed educated opinion in the West, the ancient statues he esteemed were likewise valued; when his influence waned, naturally his favorite statues also lagged in appreciation. Today we attribute some of Winckelmann's enthusiasm for statues of beautiful nude young men to his own homosexuality;[10] seeing these statues—and similarly conceived contemporary works—against the backdrop of the eighteenth century helps to acknowledge both their eroticism and their role as expressions of ancient anxieties about gender roles and sexual identity.

Gesture and the Masculine Other

Almost all the "sexy boys" adopt a leaning pose.[11] (Even those statues whose upper torsos do not truly lean—that is, keep the chest erect and the shoulders aligned horizontally—often evoke a leaning pose by resting one arm on a support.)[12] Propped by a vertical support at the side, the figure composes itself in an often complex configuration of contrary axes and overlapping planes. In a typical example, a youth who probably represents Paris (fig. 11.1)[13] rests his left arm on his shepherd's crook while adopting a leaning pose that forces his right hip out into space and creates a sinuous contour on the right side of the body. Bolstered by the staff, he stabilizes himself on one leg while drawing the other "resting" leg across in front. (Unlike the balance of the classical contrapposto scheme, the stance of the Conservatori Paris requires an artificial support to prevent the figure's tipping over.) The resulting diagonal downward from right to left counters the strong compositional movement toward the opposite direction that is generated by the inclination of the head, left arm, and drapery.

Although a carved plinth marks out the statue's frontal axis, Paris's upper body twists at

[8] Apollo: F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (New Haven and London 1981) 148–51, no. 8; Antinous: Haskell and Penny, 141–43, no. 4.

[9] Apollo: *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Vienna 1764) 392; Belvedere Antinous: *Geschichte*, 402.

[10] A. Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London 1994); D. Sweet, "The Personal, the Political, and the Aesthetic: Johann Joachim Winckelmann's German Enlightenment Life," in *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, ed. K. Gerard and G. Hekma, *Journal of Homosexuality* 16 (1989) 147–62.

[11] The pose was made famous by Praxiteles. Well-known examples of Praxitelean figures who lean include the Aphrodite of Knidos, the Apollo Sauroctonos, and the Resting Satyr. See A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven and London 1990) 176–79, 277–81, figs. 503–5, 509–10.

[12] For example, the statues of Paris in Kassel and one in Marbury Hall (both above, n. 1) or a headless Dionysos in Tarragona (Museo Arqueológico 372; A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de Espana y Portugal* [Madrid 1949] 95–96, no. 81, pl. 70). The latter places his weight on his standing left leg while resting lightly on the ball of the right foot. The outward extension of the right leg, as well as the frontward placement of the foot, gives the figure an instability that distinguishes it from more balanced classical poses such as that of the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo (Stewart [as n. 11] fig. 285). For other examples of this transient pose see the Princeton Bacchus (fig. 11.4 and discussion below) and a statuette of Eros in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek; *Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker* [Copenhagen 1907] no. 179, pl. 14).

[13] Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori 1080; Stuart Jones, *Cons.* 163–64, no. 15, pl. 56. Although broken and poorly finished, the statue is nearly entirely preserved and therefore an exemplary work for our study. The Phrygian cap, the curved staff, and a tiny bull that helps to support the figure suggest identification as Paris. Found at the Villa Casali on the Celian in Rome in 1885.

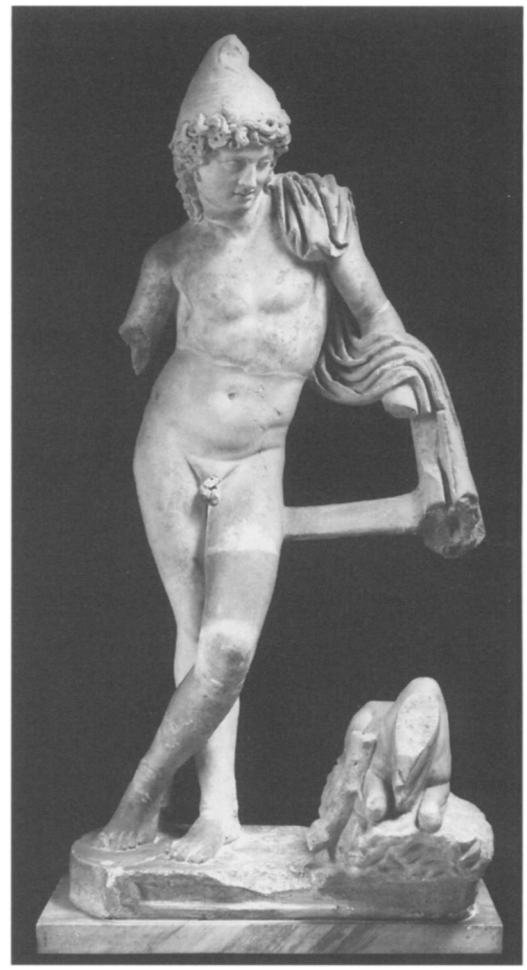


Fig. 11.1. Paris. Rome, Musei Capitolini 1080 (photo Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini).

the hips, and his torso bends and shifts to avoid direct alignment with the frontal plane. In addition, the sculptor aims to create multiple spatial planes within the figure's narrow confines. While the crossed left leg and the drapery slung over the left arm define the space in front of the torso, the pose of the right arm, once bent to rest on the right hip, emphasizes the space behind. The composition's denial of the priority of the frontal view is further underscored as Paris tilts his head down and turns his face away to avert his gaze from the spectator.

In its down-turned head, crossed legs, withdrawn arm, hip-shot pose, and leaning stance, the Conservatori Paris exhibits many of the compositional features that characterize the distinctive genre of Roman sexy boy statues. In most examples, the weight-bearing leg is the only vertical element of the figure; elsewhere angles and curves create a dynamic composition that animates the statue. Typically the hips and shoulders function as the pivots for the figure's alignment; in such works as the Borghese Eros in Paris and a nude young man in Boston[14]

[14] Borghese Eros: Paris, Musée Nationale du Louvre Ma 545; *Musée National du Louvre. Département des Antiquités grecques et romains. Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques* (Paris 1922) 32; and C. Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie grecque: La sculpture* (Paris 1948) 3:627, fig. 272; Youth: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1974.125 (M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston 1976) 105, no. 161. Unlike such works as the Apollo Sauroctonos, the left arm is clearly not raised.

as well as the Conservatori Paris discussed above, the subjects lift their left shoulder while dropping the left hip at the same time. Although not impossible to sustain in real life, the pose requires considerable concentration (not to mention flexibility!). In its mannerism it is akin to the exaggerated movements of fashion models today; like them it is "real" but hardly natural. Sometimes the visual effect is disjunctive: certain variations of the Apollo Citharoedus type depict the god posed in an uncertain limbo between standing and sitting.[15] With his vertical posture, he stands, but with his lower torso proffered to the viewer via his tilted pelvis and angled hips, he sinks back in a sitting pose. Such contradictory movements inevitably place the figure in a state of contrived languor: the calm repose implied by his leaning stance and crossed legs is undercut by aspects of the stance that imply restlessness.

Even today the pose and attitude of these statues suggest latent eroticism. To ancient viewers, the message was redoubled because of the cultural associations of specific aspects of their pose. Literature contemporary with the statuary provides insight into the gestural nuances of the images. According to several ancient writers, an inclined head signified passive homosexuality and androgyny.[16] Lowered eyes set within the inclined head were a further sign of submission. Latin prescriptions for the orator provide additional insight into the body language conveyed by the statues. Because rhetoric and sculpture, similar in their urban and intellectual character, were both public forms of display, it is not inappropriate to apply strictures for one medium to the other. In the view of Quintilian, the effective orator kept his hands at a height no higher than the eyes and no lower than the waist[17]—gestures such as that of the Sauroktonos, with one arm raised above the head, or countless Lykeios variations in which one hand rested atop the head,[18] were of course taboo for the decorum-conscious gentleman. Dropping the head to the side was also not recommended: "To incline the head to one side . . . expresses languor,"[19] a quality suggestive of effeminacy. For Cicero softness and languor were equated with bodily desire and grief.[20]

As Maud Gleason has demonstrated, deportment was crucial to establishing the correct masculine image for a Roman citizen who aspired to public life.[21] Voice and grooming were also part of his masculine image-making: while our statues remain mute, their appearance exemplifies virtually all the aspects of grooming that the rhetors specifically caution against because of their "feminine" connotations. Among the oft-repeated prohibitions: hair that was

[15] A particularly egregious example is to be found in the Apollo who accompanied the Muses in a multifigural group from the Baths of Faustina at Miletus (Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri 2000; H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Termenanlagen*, *Monumenta Artis Romanae* 15 [Berlin 1981] 94, no. 214, pl. 31). Clearly these figures are meant to be viewed from the front rather than the unflattering right oblique. On the standard typology, see *LIMC* 2:208–13, nos. 190–238. This type of Apollo Citharoedos differs from that discussed by L. Roccos in this volume.

[16] Dio Chrys. 4.109–12; Pseudo-Aristotle (*Phys.* 808a), Polemon and Adamantius, cited by J. Bremmer, "Walking, Standing, and Sitting in Ancient Greek Culture," in *A Cultural History of Gesture*, ed. J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (Ithaca 1991) 23.

[17] Quint. *Inst.* 11.112.

[18] On a whole series of statues of Bacchus that adopt the Lykeios motif see S. Schröder, *Römische Bacchusbilder in der Tradition des Apollo Lykeios. Studien zur Bildformulierung und Bildbedeutung in späthellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (Rome 1989).

[19] Quint. *Inst.* 11.3. 69: "in latus inclinato languor."

[20] Cic. *De Or.* 1.2.

[21] M. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton 1995) *passim*.



Fig. 11.2. Bacchus. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 113203 (photo Singer, DAIR, inst. neg. 73.804)

curled, annointed, or otherwise overly coiffed;[22] bodies made soft and limp either through lack of physical exertion or depilation;[23] eyes that stared or glanced in a provocative way.[24]

Just as many "sexy boy" statues pose in a manner that Romans would have considered distinctly unmanly, so too do their body types suggest effeminacy. "Ephebic" in character, they are slim and soft in the torso, elongated and narrow in the legs.[25] Their character is typified by a well-preserved statue of Bacchus in the Museo Nazionale Romano (fig. 11.2);[26] derived from the

[22] Seneca the Elder railed against men who, among their other vices, curled their hair (*Contr.* 2 preface 2 and Gleason [as n. 21] 109). The hermaphrodite rhetor Favorinus annointed his tresses (Gleason, 129).

[23] On depilation see Gleason (as n. 21) 109, 113. Bodies such as those of adolescents that were moist rather than dry were equated with the female realm (Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.28).

[24] Polemon *Phys.* 61.1.276F and *Anon. Lat.* 98.2.123–24F, joined by Gleason (as n. 21) 63. The Aphrodite of Knidos, an epitome of the feminine, was described as having "melting eyes" (Lucian *Imagines* 6).

[25] Actual measurements corroborate the visual effect of the statues. If one compares the proportional scheme of the Doryphoros to that of the Apollo Sauroktonos, for example, one finds a trend toward reducing the torso's volume, enlarging the head, and slimming the legs (E. Berger et al., *Der Entwurf des Künstlers. Bildhauerkanon in der Antike und Neuzeit*, exhib. cat. [Basel 1992] 328 and 332). I thank Bettina Bergmann for this reference.

[26] Museo Nazionale Romano 113203; A. Giuliano, ed., *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* (Rome 1979–)





Fig. 11.3b. Bacchus from nymphaeum at Punta Epitaffio, detail of head. Baiae, Castello di Baia (photo Foto Marburg).

Fig. 11.3a. Bacchus from nymphaeum at Punta Epitaffio, front. Baiae, Castello di Baia (photo Foto Marburg).

Westmacott Ephebe, a popular classical statuary type, the Terme statue has legs that are lengthened in respect to the torso above and a far more juvenile conception of its muscular underpinnings.[27] Yet although smooth and undeveloped in relation to many classical or Hellenistic bodies, the torso of the typical "sexy boy" does not completely lack muscular definition. Usually a slight depression running vertically down the middle of the chest and an impression of firmness beneath the flesh surface hint at imminent maturity (figs. 11.3a and 11.4).[28] For now the groin is defined as a high-rising line barely protruding beyond the surface (fig. 11.5);[29] when the boy matures, it will take on a more emphatic projection and sharp directional shift, forming the near right angle the muscle

1.12.2:127–30, no. 9; Zanker (as n. 3) 24, no. 21, pl. 23, 4; and C. Maderna-Lauter in Beck, Bol, and Bückling (as n. 3) 635–36, no. 165.

[27] In a work such as the Terme Ganymede, a short torso sits on legs so long as to appear stalklike (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 79811; Giuliano [as n. 26] 1.2:305–6, no. 21).

[28] Statue of Bacchus from Baiae, Museum (F. Zevi et al., *Baia. Il ninfeo imperiale sommerso di Punta Epitaffio* [Naples 1983] 60–64, no. 10, figs. 141–45); torso of Bacchus wearing a panther skin, Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University y1989. → *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University* 49.1 (1990) 50, fig. p. 51.

[29] Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori 897; Stuart Jones, *Cons.* 133 no. 65, pl. 37; Zanker (as n. 3) 99, pl. 75, 1–3 (with the portrait features of Antinous). In a male torso

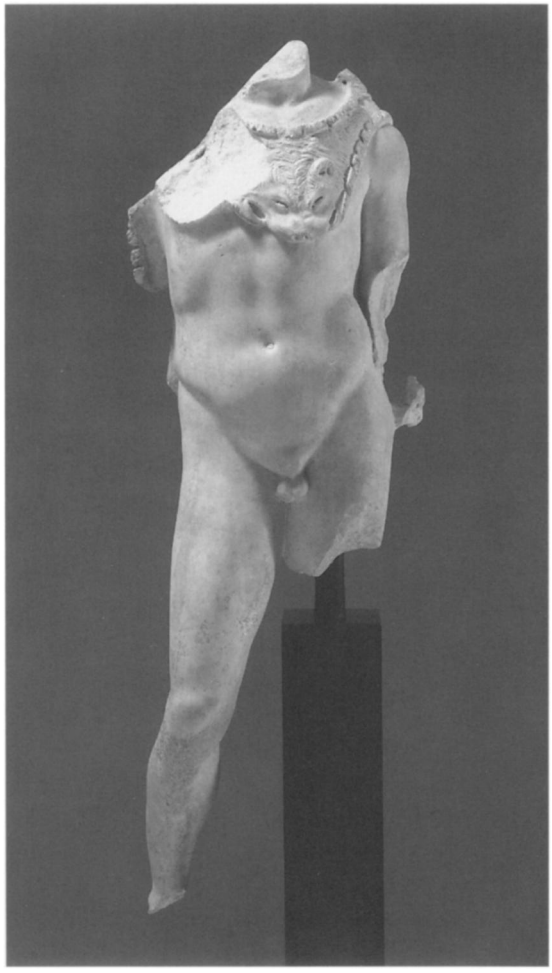


Fig. 11.4. Bacchus or Satyr. Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University 1989-24 (photo Museum).

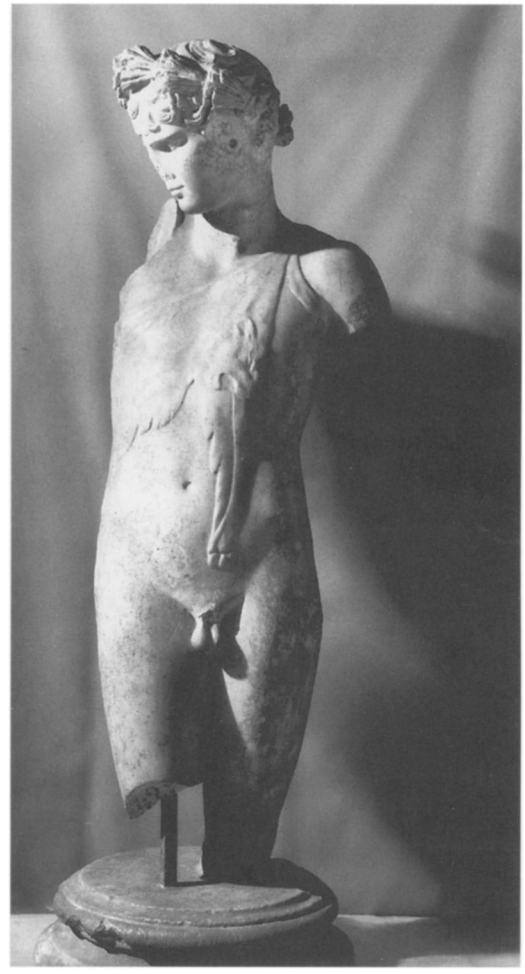


Fig. 11.5. Antinous as Bacchus. Rome, Musei Capitolini 897 (photo Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini).

assumes in the classical athletic physique of such works as the Doryphoros. In our statues, the rising diagonal of the groin produces a visual effect of slender elongation in the figure. Lacking strong lateral emphasis in the shoulders or hips, the figure can be read as a sinuous contour.

The position of the head, often tilted downward and its glance averted, furthers an impression of fluid curves in the composition. Its face is distinctive; constructed as an inverted triangle, it typically has narrow eyes, a small mouth with lips slightly open, and a flat forehead that joins the nose in a profile so vertical as to appear artificial (fig. 11.3b). The eyes are narrow and set under heavy lids; the oblique view presented by the averted face may cast them in shadow, enhancing their distance and endowing them with sentiments that have been variously described as dreamy, aloof, or melancholic.[30] Whatever their

in Rome (Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabra 2376; Amelung and Lippold [as n. 1] 3.2:148, no. 64, pl. 70) the groin line is so faint as to be nearly invisible. Instead the muscle articulation is concentrated in the diaphragm region.

[30] So E. Angelicoussis describes a head of Paris in Woburn Abbey (*The Woburn Abbey Collection of Classical Antiquities* [Mainz am Rhein 1992] 71–72, no. 55, figs. 257–60 or Stuart Jones, *Cons.* 133 on the Antinous/Bacchus in the Conservatori (fig. 11.5 and discussion below).

particular emotions, they project a sense of self-absorption, an otherworldliness that suggests that they are but reluctant participants in our world.[31] Their distinctive character becomes clear when we compare a reposing figure of certain fourth-century Greek origin such as the young man depicted on a grave relief from Ilissos. Although crossing his legs and leaning against a support, the youth looks with an even gaze directly at the viewer.[32] That relatively few female figures—only the so-called Psyche from Capua comes to mind[33]—cast their gaze downward in the sexy boy mode is another indication of the contained application of the motif to this male group.

Framing the delicate face is a mound of hair with luxuriant, seemingly disarranged curls, which, at least in the best quality works, appear to melt into the neck and shoulders. Typically the hair is piled high on the crown in a bouffant style, which thins out dramatically below the ears as it tapers into long strands on the neck. (In a statue of Bacchus in Istanbul [fig. 11.6] an already generous pouf of hair has its volume so enhanced by an ivy wreath of oversized leaves that the god's face recedes into shadow.)[34] With their shoulder locks and the sometimes fussy arrangements into which hair atop the head is knotted, these coiffures evoke feminine styles (for example, in the Eros of Centocelle, fig. 11.7, or a head of Bacchus in London).[35] In some statues, the subject's transgressive character is playfully acknowledged: viewers of the stunning Bacchus from Hadrian's Villa (figs. 11.8a–b),[36] for example, would see nothing amiss in the god's simple, center-parted coiffure, vaguely reminiscent of early classical styles. Upon examining the back, however, they would discover a cascade of hair braided into a ponytail of decidedly female form.[37] Long locks hanging onto the back in contrast to a modest coiffure on the front surprise the viewer of a statue now in the Vatican (fig. 11.9)[38] and at the same time provide clear evidence of the importance of the back view in these statues.[39]

[31] In literature, the gesture may connote pathos, grief, or coquetry; on the latter, see Theoc. *Id.* 2.112 and *Anth. Pal.* 5.252 (F. Muecke, "Turning Away and Looking Down: Some Gestures in the Aeneid," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London* 31 [1984] 105–12). For a similar effect in eighteenth-century French painting see M. Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Chicago and London 1980) chap. 1.

[32] Athens, National Museum 869; Stewart (as n. 11) fig. 517. See also Stewart's (as n. 2) characterization of Skopas's Pothos: "its whole *raison d'être* is to concentrate the spectator's attention elsewhere" (p. 109 and his reconstruction of it as part of a multifigural group [fig. 7]).

[33] Naples, Museo Nazionale 6290; Pozzi (as n. 7) 96, no. 10.

[34] Arkeoloji Müzerleri 1236 T; G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, vol. 2 (Constantinople 1912) 326, no. 592. The statue remains unfinished, but the basic outlines of the hair are established. Compare the "Dionysos Bevilacqua" in the Munich Glyptothek (Gl 231; M. Fuchs, *Glyptothek München. Katalog der Skulpturen*, 6: *Römische Idealplastik* [Munich 1992] 86–94, no. 13).

[35] Eros: Musei Vaticani 769; Zanker (as n. 3) 108–9. Bacchus: London, The British Museum 1627; Zanker, 114–15, no. 17, pl. 84. The Apollo Belvedere also wears a female hairstyle (see H. Kenner, *Der Apoll vom Belvedere. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 279.3 [Vienna 1972] 6–14). See Mattusch, fig. 5.1, in this volume.

[36] Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 622; Giuliano (as n. 26) 1.1:70–72, no. 58, and Zanker (as n. 3) 103, no. 5, pl. 77, 2.

[37] Its design is remarkably close to the ponytail worn by Sabina, Hadrian's wife, in a bust in the Conservatori (848; K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* 3 [Mainz am Rhein 1983] 12–13, no. 1,2 pls. 14–15; drawing in A. Carandini, *Vibia Sabina* [Florence 1969] pl. 13, no. xlvii). The Erechtheion caryatids also provide a typological parallel (E. Schmidt, *Die Kopien der Erechtheionkoren. Antike Plastik* 13 [1973] pl. 16b).

[38] Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri 2759 (formerly Braccio Nuovo); Amelung and Lippold (as n. 1) 1:56–58, pl. 5; signed "Phaidimos."

[39] On the issue of the back see below.



Fig. 11.6. Bacchus. Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri 1236 T (photo Museum).

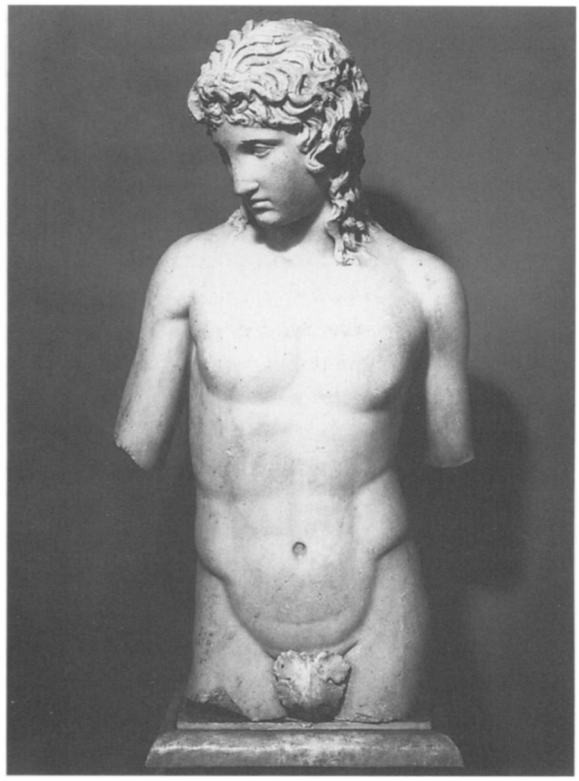


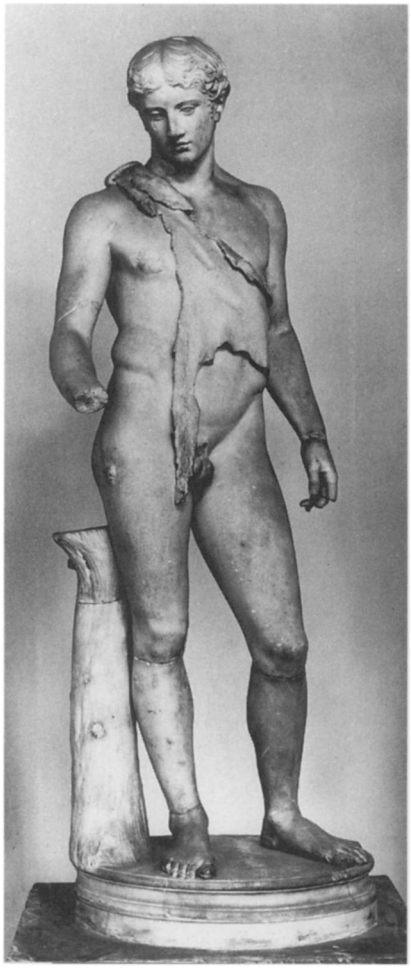
Fig. 11.7. Eros of Centocelle. Vatican Museums 769 (photo Museum).

Some of the hair arrangements found on other sexy boy statues, however, bear little relation to traditional styles worn by either men or women. The thick corkscrew curls ringing the faces of many representations of Paris (fig. 11.10),[40] for example, seem an artist's invention, deliberately concocted to convey the foreign character of its subject.[41] If waves and long locks produced sexually transgressive Hellenistic statues of Apollo and Bacchus, the artificial conceits appearing in these Roman images evoked exoticism and otherworldliness.

In combination with delicate youthful bodies, the gestures and physical attributes I have enumerated above projected an effeminacy at odds with traditional Roman notions of masculine virility and respectability. Given its unconventionality, who was depicted in this mode? Although many of the surviving examples lack heads or attributes, those figures that can be identified indicate a restricted circle of subjects. Among the gods were Bacchus, Harpokrates, and occasionally Apollo, as well as Eros. From the mythological realm, Paris, Ganymede,

[40] Munich, Glyptothek Gl 263; B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München. Katalog der Skulpturen* 2: *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Munich 1979) 241–47, no. 23. Unbroken heads on the Vatican and Marbury Hall versions of the Paris statue discussed above establish this head type as belonging to the popular body. Related but reproducing a different type (it is reversed) is a head in Paris (Musée Nationale du Louvre Ma 535; *Musée National du Louvre* [as n. 14] 32); deeply undercut in the manner of the "beehive" hairstyles worn by some Flavian women, it may have been substantially recut in modern times.

[41] Compare the frizzed "dreadlocks" depicted in a bronze head from the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum (Naples, Museo Nazionale 5598; Pozzi (as n. 7) 136, no. 201. Possibly the Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra: R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* [Oxford 1988] 160, no. 24).



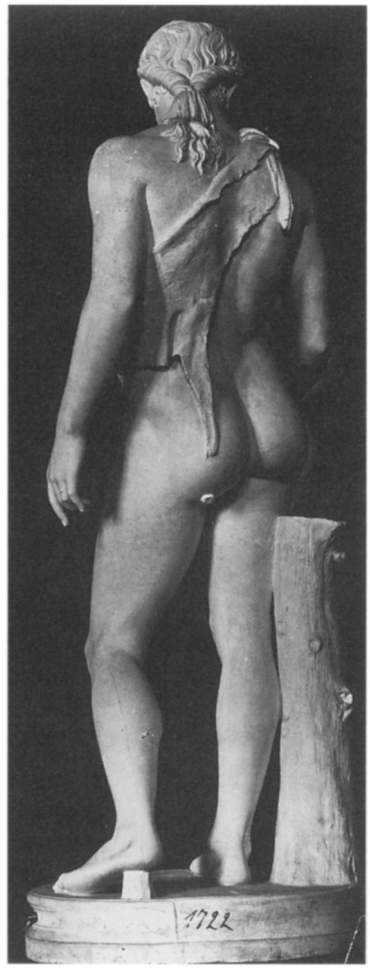


Fig. 11.8a (far left). Bacchus, front view. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 622 (photo Rossa, DAIR, inst. neg. 76.2000).

Fig. 11.8b (near left). Bacchus, back view. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 622 (photo DAIR, inst. neg. 595).

and Adonis frequently had this appearance,[42] while personifications such as Hypnos or Thanatos could also adopt the look. With the exception of the personifications, what these subjects share is their status as exotic foreigners. Liminal figures in Graeco-Roman culture, they could be endowed with transgressive imagery because their foreignness exempted them from conformity to prevailing norms of male representation. Although Adonis and Paris were both mythic exempla of the male heterosexual lover, their passionate attachments reduced them to a state of physical torpor like that of a woman—hence their soft, feminine physiques.[43] In the same manner, Bacchus had a built-in iconographic rationale for his representation in this mode; because of his connections with wine and the theater, the lack of self-control implied by the relaxed, leaning poses and body types he adopted was by no means problematic. Finally, certain subjects such as Eros or Ganymede could be argued to merit puerile bodies

[42] These subjects are often indistinguishable iconographically because their primary attribute is the Phrygian cap, called "the universal attribute of the youthful beloved of the gods" (R. Neudecker in *Forschungen zur Villa Albani. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke* 2: *Bildwerke in den Portiken, dem Vestibül und der Kapelle des Casino*, ed. P. Bol [Berlin 1990] 70–71, no. 170). To complicate matters further, the Phrygian cap was also worn by Attis, Mithras, and Orpheus.

[43] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* richly documents the feelings of female lovers; see, among others, the stories of Thisbe (with Pyramis, book 4), Medea (with Jason, book 7), Byblis (with Caunus, book 9), and Circe (with Picus, book 14). I thank Paul Iverson for raising this point.



Fig. 11.9. Leaning youth. Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri 2759 (photo Museum).

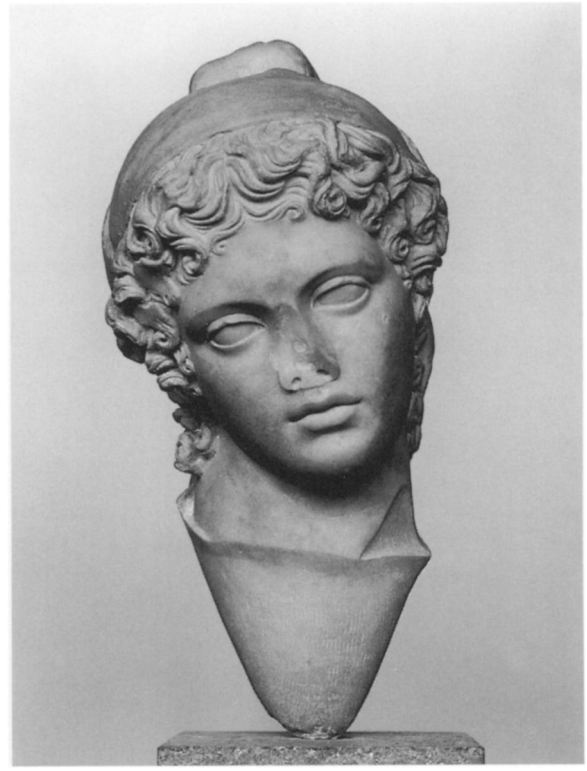


Fig. 11.10. Head of Paris. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München Gl 263 (photo Koppermann, Museum).

because of their youthful age.[44] In fact, the extreme youth of the sitter may have been the rationale for the combination of a portrait with a "praxitelean" body in the few instances in which a Roman chose so anti-heroic a mode of commemoration.[45]

Indeed there are several cases in which the sculptor appears to have "bulked up" an ephebic-type model in order to produce a more conventional and socially acceptable male image. The leaning youth of the San Ildefonso group, as Zanker has noted, alters the body type of its model the Apollo Sauroctonos by broadening the torso's dimensions and endowing it with more developed musculature; in other words, the sculptor "polykleitanizes" a soft,

[44] It is interesting, however, that Pliny calls the strongly muscled Doryphoros of Polykleitos a *puer*, technically a boy under the age of seventeen (Pliny *HN* 34.55) but qualifies the description with the adjective *viriliter* ("manly-looking").

[45] Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori; C. Vermeule and M. Comstock, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art 1971–1988* (Boston 1988) 55–56, no. 47. Compare also several portraits of young boys whose ivy crowns and nebrises recall Dionysos (bust of a boy in Florence, Uffizi 1914, n. 260; G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le sculture*, vol. 2 [Rome 1961] 95, no. 108, and a head in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.105.1; G. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* [Cambridge, Mass. 1954] 93, no. 176, pl. 123a–c). The absence of "praxitelean" bodies in the corpus collected by H. Wrede, *Consecratio in forma deorum. Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz am Rhein 1981), confirms my argument.

pubescent form. This practice appears to have been fairly commonplace among the Romans, as a number of ideal statues whose poses derive from Praxitelean models are claimed by Zanker as examples of classicizing imagery influenced by the fifth-century master Polykleitos. Such works as the Dionysos Jacobsen, Vatican Thanatos, Bacchus from Hadrian's Villa, Conservatori Antinous (fig. 11.5), and Eros of Centocelle (fig. 11.7) fit into this category.[46] One might mention as well an extensive series of juvenile flute-playing satyrs whose leaning, cross-legged pose evokes Praxiteles' Resting Satyr but whose lower torsos show emergent musculature beneath their baby fat.[47] Whether fourth-century Greek types selected for copying or eclectic works newly fashioned for Roman settings, these muscled versions underscore the strength of the prevailing male corporal ideal and the perhaps limited applicability of the softer, more ephebic body type.

Sculptural Erotics and the Roman Sexual Climate

While their identity provided the excuse for the youthful, soignée depiction of the sexy boy statues, it does not explain entirely the typically sensual, erotically charged nature of the image. Of course few mythic figures were imagined in a single, monolithic mode; along with the mainstream view there were countermyths and variants. According to some traditions, for example, Ganymede was not a pubescent stripling but a more worldly youth of seventeen,[48] and Paris was depicted fully dressed rather than nude.[49] Yet in the freestanding statues that form our corpus Ganymede is invariably young and Paris nude. Why sculptors and patrons preferred this highly sensual male imagery forms the subject of the remainder of this chapter. First I will discuss the formal means by which the image was eroticized and then examine the context and meanings of its sexual messages. As we saw in the discussion of body types and poses above, individual statues may not possess all of the formal devices that eroticize the young man, but their different features produce the visual effects that characterize the genre.

The treatment of naked flesh plays a powerful role in the statue's visual impact. We have already seen how a sinuous pose and lack of muscular articulation create the sensation of soft, fluid body forms. In many images, drapery or another material is employed as a counterpoint

[46] All illustrated in Zanker (as n. 3): the Dionysos Jacobsen (pl. 83, 1); Vatican Thanatos (pl. 83, 4); Bacchus from Hadrian's Villa (pl. 77, 2); Conservatori Antinuos (pl. 75, 1–3); and Eros of Centocelle (pl. 81, 1–3). The distinction may pose further difficulties if one accepts the view of Andreas Linfert that early works of Praxiteles such as the Sauroctonos and Pouring Satyr show strong Polykleitan influence (A. Linfert, "Die Schule des Polyklet," in Beck, Bol, and Bückling [as n. 3] 285).

[47] Typical examples include two statues from the Borghese Collection and now in Paris (Musée Nationale du Louvre Ma 594 and 595; *Musée National du Louvre* [as n. 14] 36) or the figure restored holding a cup in the Villa Albani (P. Bol, ed., *Forschungen zur Villa Albani. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke* 3: *Bildwerke in der Galleria della Leda, im ehemaligen Tempel der ephesischen Artemis und im Bigliardo* [Berlin 1992] 363–66, no. 382, pls. 236–43). A newly discovered headless statue from Aizanoi reproduces the same type (*Antike Welt* 25.4 [1994] 379, fig. 23). The soft youth of these examples should be contrasted against the hard wiriness of Hellenistic interpretations of the image such as a statue in the Vatican (Galleria dei Candelabri 2760; Amelung and Lippold [as n. 1] 3.2:390, no. 25). On the differences see Smith (as n. 4) 129.

[48] In the pederastic poem of Straton discussed below, there is an allusion to Ganymede as seventeen.

[49] Paris is fully dressed and portrayed as a young adult on an early second-century A.D. sarcophagus in Rome (Museo Nazionale Romano 8563; Giuliano (as n. 26) 1.5:152–56, no. 6; H. Sichtermann and G. Koch, *Griechisches Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen* [Tübingen 1975] 54–55, no. 56, pls. 141, 2 and 142–43) and in a seated statue in the Vatican (Musei Vaticani, Galleria delle Statue 762; Amelung and Lippold [as n. 1] 3:422, no. 255, pl. 47; Helbig^4, 120).

to the flesh surface. Of course the interaction of drapery and flesh had long intrigued ancient sculptors, but in our corpus the classical function of drapery as a modeling device for the (usually female) body is replaced by a more purely optical goal: to heighten the tactile sensations of the carved marble.[50] Fur and feathers provided the preferred textural contrast; enlivened with linear but soft details, they underscored the morbidity of the flesh rather than contradicted it. In the Eros of Centocelle type (fig. 11.7), the oversize wings form a backdrop for the figure, their vertical accent contrasting with the more curvacious profile of the body. In other works the play of textures is even more subtle; the nebris worn by Bacchus in a statue from Argos,[51] for example, clings so tightly that it functions as a second skin. It reiterates rather than contradicts the body forms, just as it does in the Antinous/Bacchus statue in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (fig. 11.5).

That Antinous's nebris had a visual and iconographic rather than sartorial function is suggested by the amount of flesh it leaves uncovered. In contrast to earlier works such as Praxiteles' Resting Satyr, his garment is decidedly skimpy; it covers neither the genitals nor the buttocks and exposes the shoulders and one breast. The nebris worn by the above-mentioned Bacchus from Hadrian's Villa (fig. 11.8) is tinier, displaying essentially both breasts and the entire back. Other intended "coverings" conceal even less flesh: the nebris worn by one of the statues of Bacchus from the Julio-Claudian nymphaeum at Baiae (fig. 11.11)[52] is simply an iconographic accent for the upper torso; in a youthful male torso in Chicago the drapery swathes only the back of the lower legs, while the front and buttocks are completely revealed;[53] in several of the Paris and Ganymede statues the drapery makes but a thin choker around the neck.[54]

Neither nudity nor the use of drapery as a foil for skin was a new conceit in ancient sculpture. Since the earliest archaic experiments, the male sexual organs had been openly displayed. In these Roman sexy boy images, however, the conjunction of drapery and pose seems intended to reveal and titillate. In the Conservatori Antinous a long leg and hoof descend the entire length of the torso to stop directly above the pubic area, whereas in the Museo Nazionale Bacchus the nebris leg, now partially broken, can be restored as just grazing the right side of the genitals. Reiterating the vertical line of the weight-bearing leg and the rightward emphasis developed by the god's gaze, the position of the garment can hardly have gone unnoticed by the viewer.

The viewer's gaze was directed toward the statue's genitalia in other ways as well. Drapery slipping below the hips focused the viewer's attention on male genitalia in the Dionysos Jacobsen and the Apollo Citharoedos just as it had so daringly in female statues such as the

[50] Marble was the preferred material for these statues, probably because of its opacity and natural coloration (especially when coated with tinted wax).

[51] Archaeological Museum 11; J. Marcadé and F. Raftopoulou, "Sculptures argiennes," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 81 (1957) 438–39, no. 11, figs. 19–20 and Manderscheid (as n. 15) 84, no. 137, pl. 24.

[52] Baia, Museum; Zevi et al. (as n. 28) 61–62, no. 11, figs. 175–78.

[53] The Art Institute 1926.441; *Ancient Art at the Art Institute of Chicago*: *The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 20.1 (1994) 51, 53. Traces of drapery under the left arm suggest that its ends once looped over the arms. For a comparable Ganymede in painting see a South Italian vase of ca. 340 B.C. in Tampa (Museum of Art 86.106; A. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* [Oxford 1978] 1:405–6 no. 15/51, pl. 143, 4–6). In sculpture compare a male torso in New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art 13.229.2; Richter [as n. 45] 37, no. 52, pl. 45) whose drapery (clasped in the left hand) must have swung out beyond the figure but was anchored with dowels behind the knees (there are two cuttings visible).

[54] See the statues mentioned above, n. 1, and a fragmentary statue of a youth wearing a Phrygian cap in Granada (Museo Arqueológico 843; García y Bellido [as n. 12] 127–28, no. 130, pl. 100).

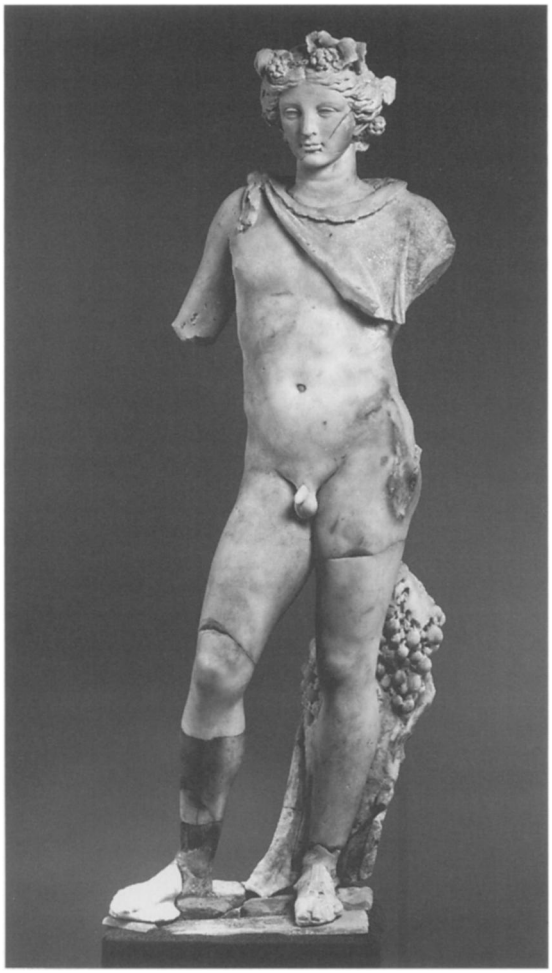


Fig. 11.11. Bacchus, Baiae, Castello di Baia (photo Foto Marburg).

Aphrodite of Melos.[55] Thighs pressed tightly together as they cross have a similar effect on the viewer, as does the popular hip-shot pose. Despite the inward-turning effect of the downcast head, these stances are self-conscious poses of sexual display. Indeed the head too played a role in the statue's eroticization; its dense mass of hair, brushing the face and neck, often enhanced the body's tactile effects (figs. 11.7 and 11.10). The very profusion of hair on the head would have drawn attention to its absence in the pubic region; as a mark of the figure's youth—and also in contrast to the manly athletes and heroes of classical Greece—none of the sexy boys has carved pubic hair. With their open genital display yet averted glance, these statues are clearly intended as objects for visual delectation.

Notwithstanding the traditional emphasis for both sculptor and viewer on the front of a freestanding statue, the back of many sexy boy images received considerable attention. In some statues (figs. 11.8b and 11.9) the coiffure is most fully elaborated at the back; in others the figure's contorted pose (fig. 11.5) finds resolution only at the back. Using compositional devices that may have been originally devised for Aphrodite,[56] these sculptures pull the viewer

[55] "Venus de Milo," Musée Nationale du Louvre Ma 399; Stewart (as n. 2) fig. 806. Compare also the dramatic revelatory effect of drapery in the Venus Anadyomene in Syracuse (Museo Nazionale; *LIMC* 2:83, no. 743, pl. 73).

[56] Especially such images as the Venus Kallipygos in



Fig. 11.12. Jupiter and Ganymede, detail of a strigillated sarcophagus. Vatican Museums, Cortile Ottagono (photo Singer, DAIR, inst. neg. 72.584).

around the statue so that the back—and features such as the well-shaped buttocks—can be appreciated.

As embodiments of youth and beauty, young men such as Ganymede and Adonis had a natural appeal in the funerary realm. Helmut Sichtermann has collected sixteen examples of Roman sarcophagi decorated with the boy Ganymede and Jupiter disguised as an eagle:[57] some of them are posed virtually identically to surviving freestanding sculptural groups, with Ganymede leaning toward the smaller eagle, hip thrust into space and one leg crossing in front of the other (fig. 11.12).[58] On the basis of this comparison it has been suggested that the related freestanding statues were also funerary; several other statues whose specific iconography seems to support an eschatological meaning, notably the San Ildefonso group, with its altar and down-turned torch, and the personification of Thanatos,[59] with its closed eyes, have been similarly identified. Without known findspots for these statues, however, their funerary association remains speculative. Indeed, when the provenance of statues from the sexy boy corpus is known, it seems to have been either the villa or the baths.[60] Of the statues

Naples (Museo Nazionale 6020; Pozzi [as n. 7] 156, no. 18) or Sleeping Hermaphrodite (Stewart [as n. 2] figs. 819–20). As in certain "sexy boys," the drapery contrasts with the smooth flesh.

[57] H. Sichtermann, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* 12.2: *Die mythologischen Sarkophage. Apollon bis Grazien* (Berlin 1992) 164–67, nos. 138–45.

[58] Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere; Sichtermann and Koch (as n. 49) 30, cat. 20. Whether this similarity reflects the fame of the statue or the role of the pose as an identifying attribute of Ganymede is unclear.

[59] Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri 2557; Amelung and Lippold (as n. 1) 3.2:256–57, no. 33, pls. 117–18.

[60] Perhaps the paucity of villas excavated in Asia Minor explains the relative dearth of "praxitelean" statues

already discussed, many have a known villa provenance. In addition to the two Bacchuses from a villa at Baiae (figs. 11.3 and 11.11), the Vatican Thanatos comes from the Villa of Cassio in Tivoli and an Adonis and Eros from Centocelle.[61] In addition, the Museo Nazionale Bacchus (fig. 11.8), Newby Hall Eros, Hermitage Eros Centocelle type,[62] and possibly the Capitoline Antinous (Hermes) came from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli.[63] From bathing establishments, the numbers are smaller but still more than from any other context: the Bacchus and a fragmentary Ganymede from Argos,[64] the long-haired Vatican youth,[65] another Bacchus statue in Rome,[66] and a Ganymede group found in Agnano.[67]

It is, I think, hardly accidental that statues of beautiful young men once decorated the interiors of Roman villas and baths. Although by the (largely) second-century date of our statues the villa and the baths had become integral elements of Roman life (in the case of the villa, of specifically upper-class Roman life), nonetheless both were the setting for *otium* (leisure), whose various facets, whether exercising, reading poetry, listening to music, contemplating art, or discussing philosophy, were Greek in origin and remained profoundly Greek in character. With their mythic subjects, nudity, and particular formal or iconographic details, sexy boy statues looked Greek—indeed so Greek that today they are frequently mistaken for copies of Greek originals. The perfect sculptural decorations for a Greek-derived cultural milieu, they interpreted their nonheroic subjects in an unceremonious postclassical style. Thus they corroborate Tonio Hölscher's view of Roman sculpture as governed by a system of visual semantics in which meaning was linked with formal style.[68] According to his thesis, gods and heroes, as befit their gravity and moral virtue, were represented in Greek-derived styles from the late archaic or classical periods, while epiphanous gods such as Apollo, Bacchus, and Venus were rendered in the more dynamic imagery of the postclassical age. Although perhaps more restrained in their movement than the latter deities, our sexy boy statues draw upon the same postclassical visual language.

Emulative of Greek statuary in their form, theme, and setting, these works in their youthful eroticism recall aspects of a specifically Greek homosexual culture.[69] Within the Greek elite

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among the rich sculptural discoveries of such cities as Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Perge, and Side.

[61] Bacchuses: Zevi et al. (as n. 28) 60–62, nos. 10 and 11; Vatican Thanatos: R. Neudecker, *Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien* (Mainz am Rhein 1988) 230, no. 66.10; Adonis and Eros: Neudecker, 205, nos. 47.1 and 47.5. Surveying the twenty-three known copies of the Centocelle Eros, Olga Palagia notes that a number have a villa provenance (O. Palagia, *Ancient Greek Art from the Collection of Stavros S. Niarchos* [Athens 1995] 182).

[62] St. Petersburg, Hermitage A 855; O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage* 3.2 (Berlin and Leipzig 1931) 24–24, no. 123, pls. 25, 26.

[63] J. Raeder, *Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli* (Frankfurt 1983) 68–69, no. 1:51 (Dionysos); 57–58, no. 1:39 (Newby Hall Eros); 133–34, no. 2:15 (Hermitage Eros); 157, no. 3:41 (Hermes).

[64] Bacchus: Marcadé and Raftopoulou (as n. 51); Ganymede: Marcadé and Raftopoulou, 445–48, no. 15, figs. 25–26.

[65] See n. 38. Amelung and Lippold (as n. 1) 1:58 record its findspot by R. Fagen in 1800 in the niche of a caldarium at Ostia. It is uncertain which of the approximately twenty-five baths housed the statue.

[66] Museo Nazionale Romano 361942; found in 1962 in the Piazza della Esedra in Rome above the site of the Baths of Diocletian.

[67] Manderscheid (as n. 15) 81, no. 119, pl. 22.

[68] Tonio Hölscher, *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosphisch-Historische Klasse*, 1987. 2 (Heidelberg 1987) 42. E. Dwyer, "Decorum and the History of Style in Pompeian Sculpture," in *Studia Pompeiana and Classica in honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, vol. 1, ed. R. Curtis (New Rochelle, N.Y. 1988) 105–26, and J. Raeder (as n. 63) 239 make the same point.

[69] I use the term *homosexual* with the awareness that it is an anachronism when applied to ancient Greece. See D. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other*

from the classical period on, sexual relationships between men were tolerated, if not entirely sanctioned, as long as they conformed to an approved pattern: a young boy (known by the term *eromenos*) could receive the amorous attentions of an older male lover (known as the *erastes*).[70] While homosexuality in Rome had neither the public profile nor the quasi-institutionalized status that it had had in classical Greece, nonetheless it was clearly practiced, and even socially accepted under certain conditions.[71] Most of our literary evidence comes from the educated upper class.[72]

Martial frequently describes the erotic attractions of boys. Epigram 4.42 sums up his fantasy of the ideal partner:

> If I could choose one boy, in any style
> From any country—this would be my choice:
> Firstly, he'd be Egyptian from the Nile
> For there they breed lascivious, languorous boys.
> I'd have him blond, and fairer than the snow
> For lads of that complexion there are rare.
> Let him have soft long tresses hanging low
> And starry eyes. (I don't like braided hair.)
> He should be low-browed, with nose aquiline,
> With lips more crimson than a Paestan rose,
> Let him force me to love when I decline,
> And spurn me when I'm eager—and spurn those
> Seductive boys or girls. Let him be *mine*.
> To me alone give all that passion knows.
> "Your words are clean, although their meaning daunt:
> It's my boy, Amazonicus, you want."[73]

Among the literature surviving from the Greek East, Hyginus's *Fabularium Liber* of the second century catalogues beautiful boys, and an entire book of the *Greek Anthology* collects pederastic love poems from the Roman imperial age.[74]

A well-known epigram of Straton preserved in the *Anthology* sets forth the chronological

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Essays on Greek Love (New York and London 1990), using the model of M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality 1: The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. R. Hurley (New York 1978) 43. On homosexuality as a typically Greek phenomenon see Cic. *Tusc.* 4.70 and 5.58 (*more Graeciae*); much of the vocabulary of homosexuality was Greek (R. MacMullen, "Roman Attitudes to Greek Love," *Historia* 31 [1982] 484–502, esp. 48➞ C. Williams, "Greek Love at Rome," *Classical Quarterly* 45 (1995) 517–39 and his broader *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1999) 63–67, argue that pederasty, not homosexuality in general, was regarded as Greek by the Romans.

[70] J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York and London 1990) 11; K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London 1978).

[71] Only the active role was acceptable for a male lover. Disapprobation of homosexuality varied, depending upon the age and social class of the passive partner: boy slaves were condoned, whereas sex with free-born boys, adult slaves, and adult men of free-born status (in that order) evoked ever increasing disapproval. (MacMullen [as n. 69] 491; Williams 1999 [as n. 69] 18, 30).

[72] MacMullen (as n. 69) 498, who also cites Dover (as n. 70) 148 as a precedent. (Of course it is this class that is most likely to have left whatever literary or artistic testimonia we have.) For evidence of the low, rustic taste for young boys during the Hellenistic period see Longus *Daphne and Chloe* 4.11–12 and 4.38.

[73] Trans. A. Reid. On Martial's paeans to boys see J. P. Sullivan, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic* (Cambridge, U.K. and New York 1991) 207–9. Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press. I thank Anne Haeckl for drawing my attention to this poetry.

[74] Hyg. *Fab.* 27; *Greek Anthol.* 12 (trans. W. Paton [rev. 1979, rpt. Cambridge, Mass. and London 1991]).

parameters of the love object as between twelve and sixteen.[75] Other poems in the book enumerate the physical virtues for which such a boy was prized: long, curly hair; skin whose softness is as yet unroughened by stubble; "honeyed" lips; limpid eyes.[76] In some instances the boys' soft skin is equated with the smooth marble of a statue,[77] a reversal of the standard literary conceit in which sculptures were endowed with the actuality of flesh; Pliny tells of a man who attempted sex with a nude statue of Eros by Praxiteles.[78] The statue's attribution to Praxiteles may simply be a coincidence—more than one sculptor had the name, and there is evidence for its use as a synonym for sculptor[79]—but nonetheless the episode is easily understood in the context of the eroticized imagery of our Praxiteles-influenced corpus. With their emollient surfaces, delicate faces, and less-than-lifesize scale, our statuary youths evoke the beautiful male love objects that set Roman hearts aflutter in the Imperial age.

The most acceptable male partner for the active male lover was a young slave.[80] Although the criteria applied in the selection of such slaves were undoubtedly highly personal, surviving descriptions of male household slaves present a consistent and suggestive profile: they are young, good-looking, and foreign. Slaves matching this description frequently worked in the dining room, where as servers of food and wine they could be admired by the dinner guests;[81] a third-century Tunisian mosaic showing wine servers confirms the literary account.[82] Catullus mentions litter-bearers (*ad lecticam homines*) from Bithynia,[83] clearly alluding to their role as status-enhancers.

The desire to manifest this form of status extended to the highest levels of Roman society. The emperor Augustus surrounded himself with "little boys" (*pueris minutis*), preferably Syrians or Moors, who amused him with their pretty faces and chatter (*facie et garrulitate amabilis*).[84] The wealthy Herodes and Favorinus kept an Indian child and Trimalchio, young

[75] *Greek Anthol.* (as n. 74) 12.4. For a recent commentary on the poem, see N. Hopkinson, *Greek Poetry of the Imperial Period: An Anthology* (Cambridge, U.K. and New York 1994) 92–93. Typically a boy would become an *eromenos* at puberty, outgrowing the role when he had grown body hair and acquired other secondary sex characteristics, at about eighteen to twenty years of age (A. Rousselle, "Personal Status and Sexual Practice in the Roman Empire," *Zone* 5 [1989] 314). Sometimes masters castrated their slaves to prevent the onset of puberty (Rousselle, 313).

[76] Hair: 12.192 (see also Petron. *Sat.* 97.2, describing Giton's hair as *crispus* and other references noted in A. Richlin, "Not before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the *Cinaedus* and the Roman Law against Love between Men," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 [1993] 523–73); unbearded face: 12.12, 12.27; skin: 12.30, 12.36; 12.191; lips: 12.22; eyes: 12.7.

[77] *Greek Anthol.* 12.40. Epigrams 12.56 and 57 play on the notion of art as a rival to nature in terms of male beauty. Coincidentally, in both epigrams Praxiteles serves as the exemplar of the sculptor. Ov. *Met.* 3.419 describes Narcissus in these terms.

[78] Pliny *HN* 36.22. For other examples of explicit "Pygmalianism," all involving men with female statues, see H. Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, trans. J. Freese, ed. L. Dawson (1931, rpt. London 1994) 502–3. The story of Tiberius's keeping a statue of the Apoxyomenos in his bedroom hints at sexual deviancy (Pliny *HN* 34.62).

[79] Philostr. *VA* 6.19.8 and the epigrams cited in n. 77.

[80] Williams 1999 (as n. 69) 30–38; Richlin (as n. 76) 535–37; C. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, U.K. and New York 1993) 188. See also n. 71 above.

[81] John D'Arms, "Slaves at Roman Convivia," in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. W. Slater (Ann Arbor 1991) and J. Pollini, "The Warren Cup: Homoerotic Love and Symposial Rhetoric in Silver," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999) 35–36.

[82] From Dougga, the mosaic is now in Tunis (Musée du Bardo A 382; K. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* [Oxford 1978] 257, pl. 45). Compare the appearance of the slave bearing gifts for victorious gladiators in the mosaic of Magerius from Smirat (Dunbabin, 67–69, pls. 52–53).

[83] Catull. 10.16. The demands of their job no doubt required more robust slaves than the typical sexy boy.

[84] Suet. *Aug.* 83.

Alexandrians in quantity.[85] Hadrian too succumbed to the attractions of a foreign-born youth from Bithynia, Antinous.[86] Although the youngest of these slaves do not appear to have serviced their masters sexually,[87] there is strong innuendo about their just-adolescent colleagues. In Catullus's poem, for example, the word *cinaediorem* appears shortly after mention of the litter-bearers. While the word describes a woman who wants to borrow the slaves and not the Bithynians themselves and has the relatively innocuous meaning of "shameless hussy," the etymological origin of the term hints at the slaves' erotic attractions.[88] As Slater has noted, slave names such as Aphrodisius, Veneria, and Erotion imply their possessors' sexual roles in the household.[89]

Young, beautiful, and foreign: the literary image of certain household slaves parallels the visual image presented by the sexy boy statues. Thus our statues may suggest the good-looking slaves used by wealthy Romans in intimate domestic contexts. Conceptually they relate closely to the decorative lamp-holders (*lampadarii*) that depict the young slaves who staffed the dining room, although the *triclinium* pieces tend to be bronze and much smaller than the statues that constitute our corpus.[90] Unlike the lamp-holders, "sexy boy" statues are not meant to be understood literally as slaves—such a meaning obviously cannot be sustained for the statues of divinities and mythic figures. But we should not rule out the similar resonances of meaning that were attached to these statues; after all, both slaves and statues have essentially the same status as possessions of a rich owner. Ganymede as an artistic subject embodies this concept succinctly; in his mythic configuration, he is the cup-bearer of Jupiter and thus the epitome of a servant; as a statuary image of a cup-bearer in the villa of a rich man, he is in a sense also his master's servant, a figure whose age, beauty, and exotic background provided a mythic paradigm for the mortal servants who waited on their master (who, consequently, may have fancied himself as a Jupiter-like power).[91] With their diverse foreign backgrounds, these exotic slaves—and the statues that evoke them—personify the Empire domesticated: small in size, physically nonthreatening, they are the cousins of the crouching barbarians carved in colored marbles[92] and the distant relatives of the *ethne* displayed on major imperial reliefs.[93]

[85] For Herodes and Favorinus, Philostr. *VS* 23; for Trimalchio, Petron. *Sat.* 31. Egyptian *deliciae* are mentioned by Statius (*Silvae* 5.5.66 and 2.1.72).

[86] S.H.A. *Hadr.* 14.5 f., Dio 69.11. On his depiction see below. Bithynia is also mentioned as the locus of a passive sexual act that Julius Caesar was alleged to have performed (Suet. *Iul.* 2).

[87] Called *delicium* or *delicatus*, these slaves could be male or female and were typically less than ten years old. Their owners could be male or female. That their tombstones frequently attest to their roles suggests that their behavior was not considered shameful. See W. Slater, "*Pueri, Turba Minuta*," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London* 21 (1974) 133–40 and H. Nielsen, "*Delicia* in Roman Literature and in the Urban Inscriptions," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 19 (1990) 79–88.

[88] J. Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 132.

[89] Slater (as n. 87) 137. Commodus had a *delicium* called Philocommodus, who shared his bed (Herodian 1,17).

[90] P. Zanker, "Zur Funktion und Bedeutung griechischer Skulptur in der Römerzeit," in *Le classicisme à Rome aux Ier siècles avant et après J.-C., Entretiens Hardt* 25 (Geneva 1979) 289; C. Hallett, "Classical Statues as Roman Household Decoration: Pseudo-Classical Lamp-Holders," *American Journal of Archaeology* 93 (1989) 276.

[91] There were many divine parallels for the lovers of boys: Apollo (with Hyacinthos), Poseidon (with Pelops), Hermes (with Cadmus).

[92] R. Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren. Orientalenstatuen aus farbigen Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst* (Worms 1986).

[93] For the earlier history of the pictorial tradition, → R. Smith, "*Simulacra Gentium*: The *Ethne* from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *Journal of Roman Studies* 78 (1988) 50–77 and A. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1995) 69–93.

While to interpret the "sexy boy" images as evidence of trickle-down imperialism may exaggerate the notion, at the very least the statues underscored the worldly internationalism of elite Roman society in the imperial age.

In the context of the baths, statues of sexy young boys perhaps conjured up a different, less polyvalent set of images. Notwithstanding their distinctly Roman architecture and technology, baths evoked the Greek world by virtue of the cultural activities that took place there: from exercise to education to simply relaxing, most of what Romans did in the baths had Greek origins. As Fikret Yegül has noted, the gymnastic culture practiced in Asia Minor during the Imperial age was institutionally similar to that of prior centuries.[94] In a thermal setting where Greek cultural values dominated, sculptural images that bespoke Greekness were a natural component of the decorative scheme.[95] Whether a "sexy boy" statue had any qualifications for a bath setting beyond its essentially Greek style is ambiguous. Was sexual activity between men, like athletic contests and ephebic lists, one further aspect of the continuity of Greek gymnasium culture?[96] While accusations of sexual license in the baths are deeply suspicious when part of Christian polemic,[97] earlier literature, where the recommendation of the gymnasium as a pick-up place for young men is a standard *topos*, is more credible.[98]

As one of the primary loci (or at least stimuli) for homoerotic courtship, the gymnasium gave a public face to what today we would consider private activities. In the same way, the pederastic poetry of Martial and other Imperial age writers advertised private attitudes to a public audience. "Sexy boy" statues also brought eroticism into the public realm; notwithstanding their frequent conception as a mythical "other," their sheer numbers indicate their appeal for a wide, albeit elite, audience. Yet the treatment of Antinous indicates that there were some constraints. Few of his images combine a portrait with an overtly "praxitelean" body type but instead borrow fifth-century corporal types.[99] And his coiffure, although characterized by long curls, nonetheless conforms to prevailing norms by having a uniform length.[100] On the other hand, his head looks down and away from the

[94] F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. and New York 1992) 309–10. Similarly, education and literature (in the formal sense) show little change from earlier practice (Hopkinson [as n. 75] 3).

[95] Indeed such quintessentially Roman statues as portraits or historicizing reliefs are extremely rare. See Manderschied (as n. 15). Several statues of young boys carrying athletic weights offer a pertinent comparison with our corpus. Standing less than a meter in height and typically coiffed with a long tress left uncut at the back of the head, these statues may well represent the boyish slaves who carried their masters' exercise equipment to the gymnasium. Although as yet none has a known provenance, a bath location is likely. See A. Herrmann, "The Boy with the Jumping Weights," *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 80 (1993) 298–323, who argues for their function as funerary images, despite the lack of particularized portraits.

[96] Williams 1995 (as n. 69) 524 and 1999 (as n. 69) 63–64.

[97] For the Church's view that baths incited men to lust see the response to Barsanuphius, cited by Yegül (as n. 94) 217. For a general attitude against bathing in public or private, see the discussion of Sylvania by E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. D. Womersley (London 1995) 2:111 n., citing *Vitae Patrum* p. 779.977.

[98] Cic. *Tusc.* 4.70, on male/male love: "mihi quidem haec in Graecorum gymnasiis nata consuetudo videtur"; Tac. *Ann.* 14.20: "gymnasia et otia et turpes amores." The palestra is singled out in Achilles Tatius's *Clitophon and Leucippe* (2.38.4) as a place to meet boys.

[99] On the use of Severe Style statue types as statue props for Antinous's portrait head, see Zanker (as n. 3) 97. In addition to the Antinous/Bacchus mentioned above, several portraits from Greece do render Antinous with an ephebic body (H. Meyer, *Antinoos* [Munich 1991] 103–4 and 105–6).

[100] Only in a rare image (as the statue of Antinous as Bacchus in the Vatican; Sala Rotunda 256; Helbig[4], 34; Meyer [as n. 99] 88–90, no. 1:67, pls. 77–79) does Antinous adopt a divine hairstyle such as that routinely worn by our statuary youths.

viewer in virtually all surviving portraits. Thus he becomes for the viewer the passive object he was for the emperor.

Despite their effeminacy and clearly erotic intent—they might aptly be characterized as "cinaedic"[101]—it would be mistaken to assume that only pederasts or homosexuals (by contemporary definitions) commissioned and looked at these images of sexy boys. As scholars such as John Winkler and David Halperin have argued,[102] ancient sexuality was not categorized as hetero- or homosexual, two mutually exclusive behaviors; many men enjoyed sexual pleasure not only with women but also with boys.[103] As a poet in the *Greek Anthology* (5.65) pronounces:

> Αἰετὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἠλθεν ἐπ' ἀντίθεον Γανυμήδην,
> κύκνος ἐπὶ ξανθὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἑλένης.
> οὕτως ἀμφότερ' ἐστὶν ἀσύγκριτα· τῶν δύο δ' αὐτῶν
> ἄλλοις ἄλλο δοκεῖ κρεῖσσον, ἐμοὶ τὰ δύο.
>
> Zeus came as an eagle to god-like Ganymede,
> as a swan came he to the fair-haired mother
> of Helen. So there is no comparision between
> the two things; one person likes one, another
> the other; I like both.[104]

In the ancient view, Ganymede and the eagle functioned as a true pendant to Leda and the swan[105]—the two myths represent different forms of love that were enjoyed equally and that, subject to certain constraints, engendered equal degrees of moral approbation.[106]

Nor must we imagine that "sexy boy" statues had an exclusively male audience. At their wedding feast, Augustus and Livia were entertained by nude young boys (ψίθυροι) whom Dio tells us were especially enjoyed by women.[107] Just as they enjoyed the physical presence of attractive nude boys, so women must have enjoyed looking at their statues. Thus the "female" gaze must not be excluded. Clearly one did not have to be a pederast in order to appreciate statues suggestive of the pederast's love object.

Manipulating a complex system of messages that encoded gender in antiquity, "sexy boy" statues blended masculine and feminine signs. Although masculine in their genitalia, the statues

[101] The term *cinaedus* applied to men who were penetrated by other men (Winkler [as n. 70] 45–54; Richlin [as n. 76] 526–31). See also Williams 1999 (as n. 69) 172 f.

[102] Winkler (as n. 70) and Halperin (as n. 69) 17 f.

[103] To reiterate what has already been stated, what mattered was not the sex of the love object but the dynamics of power with that lover: a "real" man always played the active role in penetrating his partner.

[104] Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the Loeb Classical Library from *Greek Anthology: Volume I*, pp. 160–61. Loeb Classical Library Vol. 067, translated by W. R. Paton, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1916.

[105] On the visual pairing of the two myths see J. Clarke, "The Décor of the House of Jupiter and Ganymede at Ostia Antica: Private Residence Turned Gay Hotel?" in *Roman Art in the Private Sphere*, ed. E. Gazda (Ann Arbor 1991) 93. Contrast the moralizing view of Sichtermann, who interprets the Ganymede with the eagle as symbolic of pederasty, one of three "abnormal" forms of love depicted on a Roman sarcophagus at San Sebastiano, the others being narcissism (exemplified by Narcissus) and sadism (exemplified by Cupid and Psyche) (Sichtermann [as n. 57] 166–67, no. 144, pls. 115, 2 and 116).

[106] On forms of male-male love-making that earned wide social disapproval see Richlin (as n. 76) 526–30; MacMullen (as n. 69).

[107] Dio 48.44.3. On sexual relations between women and *cinaedi* see Richlin (as n. 76) 532–33 and *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New Haven 1983; rev. ed. New York and Oxford 1992) 139 (citing a woman mentioned in Mart. 7.58).

expressed femininity in their body types, coiffures, and poses—they represent, in marble or bronze, those *androgynoi* whom Suetonius describes as having "something of the shape of a man but are feminine in all other respects."[108] To their largely second-century Roman audience, they conveyed unmistakably homoerotic sentiments. Yet it is worth remembering that at other periods in antiquity the same message of sexuality was conveyed by an entirely different set of visual images. In the context of sixth-century B.C. hoplite warfare, for example, a well-muscled torso conventionally known as the *cuirasse esthétique* could have an erotic value.[109] By the Imperial date of our images, however, the cuirass aesthetic epitomized the virile male. In the same way, ideals of beauty were not defined in monolithic terms: although youth is usually cited as a requisite of beauty, in fact beauty competitions for older men are attested in classical Greece.[110] Even within the realm of corporal appearance, beauty had many components; classical *euexia* contests evaluated a host of characteristics: symmetry, definition, tone, bearing, fit or healthy appearance.[111] As these shifting values indicate, eros's flame, although universal in its power, took many forms for those it touched.

[108] Suet. *On Insults* 61.

[109] S. Flory, "Dressed to Kill: The Aesthetics of Archaic and Classical Greek Hoplite Warfare," *American Journal of Archaeology* 98 (1994) 333. See also L. Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality* (London and New York 1992) 17, citing K. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies* 2: *Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the Male Terror*, trans. C. Turner, E. Carter, and S. Conway (Oxford 1989).

[110] N. Crowther, "Male 'Beauty' Contests in Greece: The *Euandria* and *Euexia*," *L'Antiquité Classique* 54 (1985) 285.

[111] Lucian *Anach.* 25.



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Appius' Indignation: Gossip, Tradition, and Performance in Republican Rome

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Reading the *pro Caelio*'s account of Clodia's vengeful obsession with the young aristocrat Marcus Caelius, we are perhaps always at risk of behaving like those Romans who followed the common talk (*hominum sermo*) about the most scandalous aspects of Caelius' case: believing, that is, in what is said because it accords with Clodia's reputation (cf. Cic. *Cael.* 69). Aware of the pitfalls of credulity, scholars have long been anxious about whether the affair actually happened and was in fact a subject of gossip among Cicero's contemporaries.[1] We are right to wonder, since our doubt may not only determine our view of the speech as persuasion but also help us interrogate Roman misogyny as promulgated through judicial oratory and other types of public performance.[2] A Roman *quaestio* was of course supposed to elicit and divulge true information about a past event; the speeches, however, for both the prosecution and the defense, could be expected to take full advantage of sexual stereotypes and might well involve distortion of the facts. But perhaps our uncertainty about whether or not the affair represented new and reliable information for Caelius' jurors has prevented us from appreciating all that Cicero's *pro Caelio* can tell us about the dissemination of information and the function of performance in Roman society. As many have recognized, it is through the famous *prosopopoeia* of the vener-

[1]Craig 108–9 provides a useful summary of, and a balanced solution to, the debate. As also cited there, Heinze 228, 245–48 and Stroh 269–73 argue for and against general knowledge of the affair respectively, while Austin 86 and Reitzenstein 32 maintain that Cicero could not have been the first to mention in court a circumstance as potentially damaging to Caelius' standing (cf. Drexler 25, Wiseman 1985: 74, Classen 76 n. 74). Craig sees Cicero playing to both informed and uninformed members of the audience, although he admits that embracing either perspective on Cicero's persuasiveness requires a "leap of faith" (109).

[2]For Cicero's manipulation of female stereotypes, see Skinner, Geffcken 27–43, Lefkowitz 32–40.

able Roman censor Appius Claudius Caecus that Cicero first brings forth the key to his defense, namely, the premise that the charges of *aurum* and *venenum* leveled against Caelius arise not from any criminal activity on Caelius' part, but rather from the failed love-affair between Caelius and Clodia.[3] Recent criticism of the Appius passage has centered on the rhetorical significance of Appius' antiquated morality and the comic or stock invective elements of his denunciation of Clodia.[4] Yet, whatever the status of the love-affair, the introduction by Cicero's Appius of gossip about Clodia can shed welcome light for us on the Roman justice system. Indeed, through his performance as Appius, Cicero co-opts the informal and marginal information network of gossip from within the formal information system of Roman judicial procedure.[5]

[3]So already Heinze 232. For the individual charges and their division among Cicero and Crassus, Caelius' other *patronus*, see Austin 152–54. For Cicero's response to the general charge of *vis*, see the illuminating discussion in Riggsby 97–105.

[4]See Vasaly 172–90, esp. 174–75, 181; Geffcken, 18–19, 34. Scholars following Geffcken's emphasis on humor include Skinner, May 105–16, and, recently, Riggsby 97–105 (but cf. Wiseman 1985: 84, May 116). While I depart from the current tendency to describe the Appius passage's dramatic effects primarily in comic and/or trivializing terms, I certainly do not mean to deny the comic qualities of the speech, but rather to follow in a direction suggested in a certain sense by Salzman, for whom the speech's evocation of drama functions also as an attack upon the unconventional religious behavior of the Clodii (a further subject of gossip behind those I discuss here). The broad civic context recalled by Salzman suggests the benefits of widening the horizons of our interpretation beyond the specific festival circumstances of the *Ludi Megalenses.*

[5]Here "system" suggests the organized, even ritual *process* of information transmission in the judicial context, while "network" refers to a *set of interrelations* not necessarily defined by such organization (although, admittedly, views on the informality of gossip differ; cf. Bergmann 139–53, Spacks 13, Haviland 48–66). I assume a common definition of "gossip" as "idle talk or rumor, esp. about the personal or private affairs of others" *(Webster's Unabridged Dictionary)* and so do not adopt a binding distinction between gossip and rumor (cf. Bergmann 70, Rosnow and Fine 81–93). My perspective on the social and cultural function of gossip coincides with that of Schotter and Code (see my conclusions below). I am further indebted to Reumaux for my understanding of rumor and gossip as social phenomena and topics of critical concern. Discussions of Roman gossip are few. Laurence documents the importance of rumor to the overall functioning of the Roman political system. Millar 13–48 discusses a key Roman information network in examining the crowd's experience of the judicio-political system in the Roman forum. Richlin 81–104 describes interchange among the informal discourses of graffiti, gossip, lampoons, and

Cicero co-opts gossip by transforming it. Helped only partially by the teachings of ancient rhetorical theory with regard to *rumores* (about which see below), Cicero backs up his defense of Caelius' character by describing the latter's existence in the closely-monitored elite world of male public life. It is from the perspective of this world, epitomized by the figure of Appius Claudius Caecus, that Cicero launches his attack on the far less public and more vulnerable Clodia. Taking on the *persona* of Appius, Cicero repackages gossip in a manner appropriate to a Roman trial and magnifies Clodia's threat to Rome by allowing the audience to hear, as it were, the ill-report about Clodia through Appius' ears. To guide the audience's perception of the material he presents via Appius, Cicero adapts conventions of Roman public performance. Mime and comedy (emphasized by previous scholars) allow Cicero to represent Clodia's situation as ridiculous and stigmatize the inflammatory rhetoric of Caelius' accusers. But comic allusion alone would do little to make a Roman audience take the gossip about Clodia seriously. Cicero's most significant transformation of gossip in the Appius passage comes through his evocation of other kinds of Roman performance—aristocratic funeral ritual, *carmina*, and historical drama—designed to transmit authoritative (or at least what could be taken as authoritative) information about aristocratic houses and their members. Sponsored and vouched for by the elite, such performance had the advantage of being able to *show* rather than merely *tell* Roman audiences about Rome's illustrious past and about Rome's relationship to that past.[6] And Cicero's own performance as Appius shows us that eliciting solidarity with the dead was an effective rhetorical technique.

But the implications of Cicero's performance extend much further into Roman social, cultural, and ideological domains. Embodying the dependence of

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rhetorical invective (hardly institutionalized in the manner of judicial oratory). For the ethical basis of Roman political invective and its associations with slander, see Corbeill passim.

[6]On the centrality of elite-sponsored spectacle within Roman society, cf. Feldherr, Kyle, Dupont 1985. The ambiguity of the Latin term *fama* suggests that evocation of the illustrious dead was a especially effective way to manage gossip at Rome. *Sermo* and *rumor* regularly signify gossip as a means of information transmission as well as specific topics gossiped about (*OLD sermo* 4, 5; *rumor* 2); *opinio* and *fama* commonly refer to reputation, with *fama* used in particular for rumor, hearsay, and public opinion (*OLD opinio* 5; *fama* 2, 4, 5, 6). *Fama* however, can also be synonymous with *gloria*, and so stands at once for the vagaries of informal speech and its transformation into the institutionalized reputation of the dead (*OLD fama* 7). As does Cicero's Appius Claudius Caecus.

the formal on the informal, the elite on the marginal, Appius illustrates Roman gossip's creative social role in addition to its policing function. Appius represents the apotheosis, so to speak, of many different traditions of elite-sponsored performance within Rome, traditions whose essential part in both reproducing *and* re-creating Roman culture emerges powerfully through him.[7]

With scandalous gossip a key element in the attacks on Caelius as well as in Cicero's own speech, Cicero's strategy in the *pro Caelio* is two-fold: on the one hand, to de-legitimize outright the stories about his client, and, on the other, to re-focus opprobrium onto Clodia, the gossip about whom he seeks to transform and co-opt. These two operations are to some degree temporally distinct, since defusing the gossip about Caelius is among the first tasks Cicero takes up in the speech. A famous distinction between *accusatio* "formal accusation" and *maledictio* "slander" occupies a prominent place early in the *pro Caelio*'s *praemunitio*.[8] Outlining the difference between proper courtroom procedure and the tactics of his opponents, Cicero here insists that *accusatio* demands a charge, the definition of facts, the close consideration of a man's character, and the support of argumentation and witnesses. *Maledictio*, on the other hand, has no other purpose than to insult (6). Cicero later specifies that Caelius' prosecutors have spoken at length of lust, love-affairs, wild parties and the like (35), all material, Cicero implies, that is designed to capture the attention of a curious audience rather than build a solid case. Such techniques, he suggests, are not only misleading but dangerous, since at the most general and unmoderated level of discourse lurks *sermo*, which can proceed from arbitrary sources and attach to people simply by association, as Cicero suggests it has in the case of Caelius himself (18).

Cicero notes that the atmosphere of Caelius' trial has been tainted by the verbal license of the prosecutors and declares his own adherence to the rules of evidence-based procedure.[9] He claims to observe, for example, the discomfort of

[7]In this, Cicero's Appius is illustrative of the broader phenomenon of Roman elite representation of the dead, further aspects of which (in both the late republic and early principate) I address in the larger project from which this essay is drawn. For my understanding of the social function of performance, I am indebted especially to Roach (see p. 135 below).

[8]On the importance of *pro Caelio* 6 for our understanding of republican political invective, see recently Corbeill 17–18.

[9]Cicero's claim may strike us as odd in light of the fact that the republican judicial system did not have formal rules of evidence (Strachan-Davidson 121–24,

his youthful opponent Atratinus with *male dicendi licentia* "freedom of slander" and *libertas verborum* "licence with words" and expresses his mock-sympathetic wish that some more experienced orator had been asked to introduce such material (7–8). Clodia herself is portrayed as both a subject and a purveyor of uninhibited speech—she is *nota* "notorious," she delights in *libertas sermonum* (31, 49)—but Cicero insists that he will say nothing unless for the sake of refuting charges (31). In this way, Cicero claims, he will not be felt to engage in the promotion of hostility (32). Matching matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason, he will stick to *argumenta* and *signa* "arguments" and "proofs" (22). As a corollary to this delimitation of his own comportment, Cicero declares that of the various charges leveled against Caelius, only those pertaining to the gold and the poison are legitimate *crimina*; all the rest is slander (30).

Ancient rhetorical theory would have offered Cicero guidelines for stigmatizing and rejecting informal speech in this way, and Cicero is particularly close to theory when he dismisses what is said about Caelius as mere slander.[10] Following theory's directives, Cicero characterizes loose talk as both a basis of false charges and something capable of moving otherwise impartial parties to believe such charges, thereby eroding the very fabric of the judicial system. Rome itself, Cicero asserts, is already a *maledica civitas* "a slanderous state"

Greenidge 274, Zumpt 245–46). Rhetorical topoi governing Cicero's claim are discussed below.

[10]*Rhet. Her.* 2.12: *Contra rumores dicemus ... si ... aut iniquos nostros aut homines natura malivolos et maledicos confinxisse dicemus ... aut verum rumorem proferemus qui* (sc. *adversariis*) *aliquid turpitudinis adferat, neque tamen ei rumori nos fidem habere dicemus, ideo quod quivis unus homo possit quamvis turpem de quolibet rumorem proferre et confictam fabulam dissipare* "We will speak against rumors ... if ... we say that our enemies or men by nature malevolent and slanderous invented them ... or produce a true report carrying some disgrace [to our adversaries] and yet say that we have no faith in it because any person at all can produce and spread any disgraceful rumor or fictitious story about any other person." The same passage offers arguments for *rumores* in separate circumstances. See further Quint. *Inst.* 5.1.1, which locates *rumores* among the proofs not invented by the orator (cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1355b35–38). *Rhet. Her.* 4.47 describes the duty of a witness as to say "what he knows or what he has heard" and *opinio* is one of the *adiuncta* to the trial that can be useful as a prooimial *locus* (Quint. *Inst.* 4.1.31 referencing Cic. *Ver.* 1). Cicero frequently claims to reproduce the common gossip about individuals as a means of stigmatizing his enemies and opponents (above all, Clodius); cf. Richlin 83–86, Laurence 64. For my discussion of rhetorical theory I have relied especially on Lausberg.

(38), where citizens can be put at judicial peril on the basis of unsubstantiated incriminations, a place where everyone is at risk.

But the handbooks, which offered arguments for and against the use of *rumores* in separate circumstances, could be only partially helpful to Cicero once he had decided, in effect, to accept some rumors (those on Clodia) and reject others (those on Caelius). Cicero's discussion of Caelius' participation in Roman political life, for example, shifts attention away from gossip to Caelius' public *persona*, with the result that the sexual gossip about Caelius is discussed as, on the one hand, that which is said baselessly about any prominent, good-looking young man and, on the other hand, stories of youthful peccadilloes of the sort that are soon outgrown under the tutelage of upstanding public men. Cicero begins this process early in the *praemunitio*, when he suggests that Caelius is being slandered simply for being handsome (6). He goes on to recall that in his own youth, the public's perception that one was, like Caelius, a *vir inter viros* "man among men" ensured the stability of one's *fama* and a reputation for *pudicitia*. Assiduous attention to public comportment was the only way a young man could make certain that *nemo loquebatur* "no one was talking" (11). Cicero points to Caelius' public association with particular upstanding men, such as Caelius' own father and Cicero himself (9), and uses this as the basis of his retort to the charge of Caelius' having been an acquaintance of Catiline (10–15).[11] Cicero insists, in other words, that Caelius has lived in the most closely-monitored arena of elite male political activity and ought to be assessed according to its rules rather than according to the vagaries of gossip over trivial matters.

An emphasis on public life also helps his attack on Clodia because, as a woman, she possesses virtually no public *persona* other than that ascribed to her by word-of-mouth. Any ill-report about Clodia is particularly shocking given the illustrious family of her birth. She is thus far more vulnerable than Caelius to judicial manipulation of gossip about her.[12] Not surprisingly, Clodia's *gens*

[11]Cicero admits to having himself been taken in by Catiline before he achieved an unobstructed perception of Catiline's true nature—before he could rely, that is, on his own eyes to confirm the *opinio* surrounding Catiline's acts (*Cael.* 14). On the importance of a young man's public associations, cf. Vasaly 184.

[12]Indeed, in a notorious sexual double-standard, the example of Roman public figures helps Cicero excuse Caelius' involvement in the affair with Clodia while holding Clodia morally accountable for the same affair. Many, Cicero insists, of the most illustrious Roman men, even in the times of the ancestors, fell victim to *cupiditas* and *libido* in youth, only to have their *virtus* emerge in full force during their

and *fama* figure prominently in the *prosopopoeia* of Appius Claudius Caecus that inaugurates Cicero's attack (*Cael.* 33–34):

> Sed tamen ex ipsa quaeram prius utrum me secum severe et graviter et prisce agere malit, an remisse et leniter et urbane. Si illo austero more ac modo, aliquis mihi ab inferis excitandus est ex barbatis illis, non hac barbula qua ista delectatur sed illa horrida quam in statuis antiquis atque imaginibus videmus, qui obiurget mulierem et qui pro me loquatur ne mihi ista forte suscenseat. Exsistat igitur ex hac ipsa familia aliquis ac potissimum Caecus ille; minimum enim dolorem capiet qui istam non videbit. Qui profecto, si exstiterit, sic aget ac sic loquetur: 'Mulier, quid tibi cum Caelio, quid cum homine adulescentulo, quid cum alieno? Cur aut tam familiaris fuisti ut aurum commodares, aut tam inimica ut venenum timeres? Non patrem tuum videras, non patruum, non avum, non proavum, non abavum, non atavum audieras consules fuisse; non denique modo te Q. Metelli matrimonium tenuisse sciebas, clarissimi ac fortissimi viri patriaeque amantissimi, qui simul ac pedem limine extulerat, omnis prope civis virtute, gloria, dignitate superabat? Cum ex amplissimo genere in familiam clarissimam nupsisses, cur tibi Caelius tam coniunctus fuit? cognatus, adfinis, viri tui familiaris? Nihil eorum. Quid igitur fuit nisi quaedam temeritas ac libido? Nonne te, si nostrae imagines viriles non commovebant, ne progenies quidem mea, Q. illa Claudia, aemulam domesticae laudis in gloria muliebri esse admonebat, non virgo illa Vestalis Claudia quae patrem complexa triumphantem ab inimico tribuno plebei de curru detrahi passa non est? Cur te fraterna vitia potius quam bona paterna et avita et usque a nobis cum in viris tum etiam in feminis repetita moverunt? Ideone ego pacem Pyrrhi diremi ut tu amorum turpissimorum cotidie foedera ferires, ideo aquam adduxi ut ea tu inceste uterere, ideo viam munivi ut eam tu alienis viris comitata celebrares?'
>
> But I would first inquire of the woman herself whether she would prefer me to deal with her in a stern, solemn, antique manner or in a light-hearted, playful, modern way. If in the austere manner, I must conjure up from the underworld one of those bearded men—not wearing a little beard like the one she delights in, but that unkempt beard which we see on antique statues and masks—a man who will upbraid the woman and will speak in my place so

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careers as adults (43). Clodia's virtue as a woman is not subject to a similar recuperation once undermined.

> that she does not happen to become angry at me. Let there rise up someone from this very family—and best of all the famous Caecus. For he will be the least pained since he will not see her. If he arises he will act and speak like this: 'Woman, what business do you have with Caelius, what business with a young man, with a stranger? Why were you either so familiar with him that you would lend him money or so inimical to him that you would fear poison? Had you not seen that your father was a consul, and heard that your uncle, grandfather, great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather, and great-great-great-grandfather were consuls? Were you not, finally, aware, that you had lately been married to Q. Metellus, a man most illustrious and brave and patriotic, who, the moment he set foot out of doors, outdid nearly all other citizens in valor, glory, and esteem? Since you had married from a most distinguished clan into a most illustrious household, why was Caelius so intimate with you? Was he related directly or by marriage, or a close acquaintance of your husband? He was nothing of the kind. What, therefore, was the reason, if not a certain impetuosity and lust? But, I ask, if the masks of our male line did not move you, did not even Q. Claudia, my own descendant, compel you to emulate the achievements of our clan in the renown that is appropriate to a woman? Or the famous Claudia, the Vestal Virgin, who, embracing her father when he was riding in his triumphal procession, prevented him from being dragged from the chariot by his enemy, a tribune of the plebs? Why did the vices of your brother influence you rather than the good traits of your father and grandfather, qualities found since my own time in both our men and particularly our women? Was it for this that I dissolved the peace treaty with Pyrrhus: so that you might daily strike amorous bargains of the most shameful sort? Was it for this that I built an aqueduct to bring water to Rome: so that you might use it for unchaste purposes? Was it for this that I built a road: so that you might frequent it accompanied by strange men?'

Though in effect a public shaming of Clodia, Cicero's performance as Appius nonetheless suggests a private scene of reproof in which Appius has been moved to indignation by what he has heard of his descendant. This suggestion of a private scene helps make the passage especially trenchant as a co-optation of gossip in the circumstances of judicial procedure. Appius' candid *response* to Clodia distances Cicero from the act of *promulgating* gossip about her, while Cicero nevertheless proceeds to do just that.

Appius' lack of ceremony is especially important in this regard. Having arisen, as it were, from the underworld (*ab inferis*), Appius does not state how

he has come to know of Clodia's situation, but gruffly asks her, *Mulier, quid tibi cum Caelio, quid cum homine adulescentulo, quid cum alieno?* The mixture of a colloquial, even conversational tone into the high-flown rhetoric of Appius' diatribe may illustrate, as Geffcken asserts, the "comic principle of incongruity,"[13] but it also serves to transport Appius momentarily out of his public role as censor into a more private context in which he plays the role of an indignant *paterfamilias* anxious about his family's good name in the community at large. Yet, again: for all that Cicero suggests a private scene, he has Appius respond to the story being told about Clodia in court. Why, Appius asks, was Clodia either so familiar with Caelius that she would lend him gold or on such unfriendly terms that she would fear poison?

Wilfried Stroh observed that Appius' apparent "belief" in the personal basis for the charges of *aurum et venenum* allows Cicero to characterize her as the type of woman about whom such things could be believed, before Cicero himself goes on to dismiss these charges, like all the others, as baseless.[14] Inference and hearsay, Cicero thus implies, may be a valid source of information in Clodia's case. But "calling up" the dead Appius from the underworld in which he resides does not only demonstrate his "belief"; the technique also (somewhat humorously) lends weight to the stories about Clodia by suggesting that her ancestor Appius, the personification of the *gens*, has *heard* of Clodia's involvement in Caelius' persecution and is concerned about its implications for the entire family. Appius' concern is evident in his immediate demand as to whether Clodia herself has not *heard* (33 *non ... audieras*) that so many of her ancestors were consuls.[15] His subsequent insistence on the *gloria* achieved by Clodia's husband, Q. Metellus, and her illustrious ancestor Quinta Claudia likewise help frame the report circulating about Clodia as a threat to the good name of the *gens*. Appius' very blindness, which Cicero suggests will prevent him from being "pained" at the sight of Clodia, supports the passage's suggestion that Clodia's *fama* threatens that of the Claudian *gens* itself: deprived of the power of sight, we are to believe, Appius relies on what he hears—and draws ominous conclusions from the ill-report.

Through Appius, Clodia's rampant *libido* appears to threaten not only the Claudii but elite male authority in general. Appius speaks from the heights of such authority: from the perspective, that is, of his brilliant career as a Roman

[13]Geffcken 18.

[14]Stroh 281.

[15]Although he first asks whether she has not *seen* that her father was a consul (*Cael.* 33).

statesman and civic benefactor. Appius demands ironically whether he dissolved the (proposed) peace treaty with Pyrrhus so that Clodia might daily strike "the bargains of her most shameful loves" (34). Did he build an aqueduct to bring water to Rome so that Clodia might use it for "unchaste" purposes?[16] Did he build a road so that she might frequent it accompanied by strange men?[17] Appius thus recasts a set of incriminations based on the hearsay of sexual gossip as evidence of disregard for noble *fama* and disrespect for aristocratic achievement. He presents Clodia's reputation as a detriment to these fundamental elements of institutional authority.

But Cicero's ultimate claim to speak truth about Clodia arises not simply from the concern he has the aristocratic Appius express. Appius evokes elite-sponsored performances with their own claim to "truth" and Cicero benefits from his audience's knowledge of this context. Since previous scholars' emphasis on comic drama is both an essential background to my interpretation of Appius and a perspective whose limitations I hope to reveal, I review it here in offering some additional observations about this aspect of Appius' role. Linking my approach to this earlier perspective is an understanding of performance as a venue for the transmission of social meaning and an essential arena in which such meaning is produced. I diverge, however, from the previous view in that I do not see the primary rhetorical goal of the passage as humor, but as a legitimation of (admittedly, humorous) information about Clodia in the judicial arena.

The conventions of mime and comedy, emphasized first by Katherine Geffcken, help Cicero both to represent Clodia's situation as ridiculous and to undercut the inflammatory techniques of his opponents. Appius' sarcastic humor is his most evident borrowing from the comic stage. But the very act of "conjuring" Appius from the underworld (33 *ab inferis excitandus est*) suggests the para-tragedy upon which mime and comedy depended for so many of their humorous effects. Cicero's own contemporary Decimus Laberius wrote mimes called *Necyomantia* ("*Conjuring*") and *Lacus Avernus*, and ghosts are a memorable feature of Plautine comedy as well.[18] The para-tragic quality of such drama becomes especially evident when one considers the long history of the conjur-

[16]On the scurrilous connotations of Clodia's "unchaste" use of water, see Butrica and Bruun.

[17]On Appius and the via Appia, see MacBain.

[18]For Laberius, see Ribbeck 2: 349, 351; for comic ghosts cf. Pl. *Mos.* 454–531, Riggsby 101.

ing-scene in Greco-Roman tragedy.[19] In Aeschylus' *Choephori*, for example, Orestes and Electra call upon their dead father, Agamemnon, to rise from the ground (e.g., at 138–44). In his *Persians*, the Persians actually succeed in summoning Darius from his grave (623–851). Seneca draws on this technique in the *Oedipus*, with its elaborate description of Tiresias' necromancy of the ghost of Laius, and Medea's invocation of both the supernal and infernal powers, including the *manes*, opens Seneca's *Medea* (Sen. *Oed.* 548–658; *Med.* 10–16). In the *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero himself quotes lines of ostensibly tragic verse that refer to the Italian Lake Avernus as a place where the spirits of the dead *excitantur* "are summoned up" (*Inc. trag.* 39 R^3 *ap.* Cic. *Tusc.* 1.37). Like a scene from mime or comedy, Clodia's situation becomes ridiculous in part because of its contrast with serious situations in which the dead might be "called up" onstage.[20]

But just as comedy parodies tragedy, so Cicero's Appius also parodies the moralizing rhetoric of Caelius' accusers, and in this way prevents Appius' example from reflecting negatively on Caelius, a possibility about which Cicero himself expresses his concern (*Cael.* 35).[21] Scholars have not failed to remark similarities between Cicero's characterization of his opponent L. Herennius and that of Appius. Cicero claims to have noticed in particular the jury's close attention to Herennius' prosecution speech devoted to the themes of luxury, lust, and the faults characteristic of youth (25), which he suggests held the jurors' attention for its flamboyant invective rather than the applicability of the

[19]See Johnston 85 on tragic necromancy.

[20]Direct reference to tragedy also has a place in Cicero's denunciation of Clodia, since it is very much in keeping with the nature of Roman moralizing to treat the chastisement of an errant member of the *familia* as a solemn event, worthy of the pathos of tragedy even if open to the humor intrinsic in blame and invective. The *pro Caelio* as a whole is not without serious, even tragic, effects, as memorably in Cicero's digression on the death of Q. Metellus (*Cael.* 59).

[21]Cf. Gaffney 428. On Cicero's use of the prosecution's arguments more generally, see Gotoff. Appius shields Cicero from the kind of criticisms Cicero directs at Herennius because Cicero can transfer some of the responsibility for what he says to Appius (cf. *Cael.* 33, where Cicero ironically suggests that Appius will speak for him so that Clodia won't become angry with him). Part of Cicero's effectiveness is in distinguishing between those who act like stern fathers in disciplining someone else's child (i.e., the prosecution) and paternal figures who appropriately discipline their own offspring (Appius, and the *lenis* father from comedy in *Cael.* 38) or someone for whom they have a responsibility (Cicero himself as he disciplines Caelius in *Cael.* 37).

individual charges to Caelius (27). Herennius, Cicero maintains, had in contrast to his accustomed personality become *pertristis quidam patruus, censor, magister* "some gloomy uncle, censor, teacher." *Obiurgavit M. Caelium*, Cicero continues, *sicut neminem umquam parens* "he reproached M. Caelius as even a parent has never reproached anyone" (25). It is of course significant that Herennius is said to have acted like a censor, the office Appius actually held, and to have dwelt on the theme of *libido*, a term Appius also employs.[22] Likewise, the verb *obiurgare* signifies both Herennius' and Appius' reproach. The adjective *gravis* and the adverb *graviter* further link the prosecution's treatment of Caelius to Appius' treatment of Clodia: the prosecutor P. Clodius, Cicero claims, spoke *gravissime* in inveighing against Caelius; Appius' *persona* is *gravis* (27; 35).

Cicero's direct references to comedy in the sections of the *pro Caelio* that follow enforce the parallels between the Appius passage and the rhetoric of Cicero's opponents. Such references thus help with Cicero's rejection of what is *too* severe and old-fashioned in Appius' manner by allowing Cicero to present such qualities as an object of derision. Thus Cicero describes the harsh type of father from the comedies of Caecilius as *durus* (37), an adjective he also applies to Appius. Like the *pertristis persona* adopted by Herennius, the Caecilianic father is *tristis* (38) and *ferreus* (37). The lines of Caecilius which Cicero actually quotes create additional parallels. One of Caecilius' fathers says his mind *ardet* "burns"; similarly, Cicero describes the prosecutor P. Clodius as *inflammatus* "inflamed" (27). It is perhaps the same father who asks why his son has chosen to have dealings with a *mulier aliena*; Appius, too, demands what business Clodia has with an *alienus*. Cicero makes his most direct jab at such parental behavior in declaring that fathers like those in Caecilius are *vix ferendi* "scarcely tolerable" (37). The same might be said, Cicero suggests, about the attacks on his client's morals.

Conversely, the *pater lenis* from the comedies of Terence meets with Cicero's approval, while eliciting an imagined reproach that further undermines the moralizing of Cicero's opponents. Cicero quotes from Terence's *Adelphoe*, in which Micio advocates an accepting attitude toward the transgressions of youth. Has a young man, Micio queries, broken down doors? They will be repaired. Has he torn someone's clothing? It will be mended (Ter. *Ad.* 120–21 *ap.* Cic. *Cael.* 38). From the perspective of this kind of father, Cicero insists, Caelius' case poses no problems. For who can blame Caelius for familiarity with a woman like Clodia, who lives in open disregard for societal norms? In anticipation of objections, Cicero notes the rarity of pure devotion to virtue,

[22]Vasaly 181 n. 39.

again contrasting the morals of the past with those of the present. Roman forefathers like Camillus, Fabricius, and Curius may have been capable of high moral standards, but such behavior is scarcely ever found among the present generation. Those who now preach Stoic self-denial and laborious striving after *laus* "renown" have been left *prope soli ... in scholis* "nearly alone in their lecture halls" (38–41).[23] Through such means, Cicero stigmatizes moral rigidity like that advocated by Caelius' accusers as hopelessly outdated, the product of a dry and isolated scholasticism rather than a reflection of contemporary life. Yet, significantly, Appius Claudius Caecus is not among those invoked as *exempla* in this purely negative comparison: *his* speech is far more than an academic lecture.

Or indeed a comic diatribe: evocation of Hellenized comedy alone would hardly make a Roman audience view Appius' presentation of the gossip about Clodia in a serious light.[24] Cicero, further, cannot afford to have gossip degenerate into merely a laughing matter, since a superabundance of laughter might dissolve the distinction he has attempted to make between the stories about Caelius and those about Clodia. Thus, while previous scholars' emphasis on a Roman performance-context has been well-placed, we need to understand how Cicero's Appius evokes other kinds of performance—aristocratic funeral ritual, *carmina*, and historical drama—designed to transmit authoritative "truth" about aristocratic houses and their members. While gossip carried a stigma as an informal and arbitrary type of information-transmission, public performance of the Roman past was a means by which Roman elites hoped to stabilize and fix popular opinion about their families and themselves.[25] Appius enhances Cicero's own claim to be telling the "truth" about Clodia by his very reference to this context, which had the advantage of being able to show rather than merely tell Roman audiences how to think and feel about *fama* and related issues.

[23]For the identification of these persons as Stoics, see Austin 104. The passage as a whole divides attitudes toward pleasure into Epicurean, Academic/Peripatetic, and Stoic camps.

[24]Gossiping old men, we may observe, are a paradigmatic butt of Greco-Roman comedy generally.

[25]Nicolet treats the various formal and informal venues, including the theater, funerals, *contiones*, and more casual meeting-places, available for the expression of popular opinion at the close of the republic. See especially "Escorts and demonstrations" (356–61), "Games, festivals, and theatres" (361–73, detailing Cicero's sensitivity to the responses of theater crowds), and "Trials and lawsuits" (373–81).

The wax *imagines* worn by actors in the aristocratic funeral procession fixed the reputation of the aristocratic dead through their very materiality: they affirmed the dead's exemplary status and were seen as tokens of aristocratic power and prestige.[26] Cicero recalls the *imagines* when he describes Appius' rough, unkempt beard as "that bristling one we see on ancient statues and masks [*imagines*]" (33) and Appius, too, refers to the *imagines* of the Claudian *gens* (34). To evoke the funeral *pompa* with its *imagines* is not simply to create an aura of ethical *gravitas*, although, as recognized already by ancient critics, *gravitas* is one of Cicero's rhetorical goals at this point in the *pro Caelio*. Through Appius, Cicero speaks (perhaps startlingly[27]) as an *imago*.[28] Cicero thereby prepares his audience to regard what he will say as far more than mere gossip but rather as the voice of the aristocratic tradition and of publicly recognized "truth."

Appius' eulogy of Claudian *gens* is similarly transformative in echoing the *laudatio funebris* that formed the climax of aristocratic funeral.[29] Verbalized "truth," in addition to the authoritative imagery of the *pompa*, is thus emphatically signaled as Appius' medium.[30] In the *laudatio*, a member of the family praised the *gens* and presented a list of the deceased's achievements, such as the holding of high office or conspicuous acts of bravery, that would already have been known to many. Cicero's Appius recalls such events in his own life and those of his descendants. Indeed, with its emphasis on images, reputation, and achievements, Cicero's performance collapses the two most public aspects of the aristocratic funeral, the *pompa* and the *laudatio*.

Such clear recollections of aristocratic funerals were also likely to remind a Roman audience of the broader cultural tradition of *carmina*, of which Appius

[26]On the *imagines*, see Flower 1996, Dupont 1987, Lucrezi, Lahusen, Drerup. The ancient *locus classicus* is Plb. 6.52–54.

[27]Diodorus Siculus (31.25.2) suggests the actors' imitation of the dead's bearing and appearance, but neither he nor any of our other sources mention verbal imitations as a part of the republican *pompa*. But cf. Flower 1996: 104 on the speaking actor who played the part of the emperor Vespasian at the latter's funeral.

[28]Cf. Flower (1996: 129 n. 5), who observes that it is possible to interpret Appius' address as "a reversal of the dramatic action of the eulogy," in which a family member addressed an audience of actors wearing the *imagines*.

[29]On the *laudatio funebris*, see Flower 1996: 128–50, Kierdorf, Durry, Vollmer.

[30]Although Cicero himself doubted the credibility of Roman *laudationes* (*Brut.* 62). His vehement expression of such doubt, however, suggests the extent to which funeral eulogy *was* in fact regarded as truth.

himself was remembered as an author.[31] Funeral *laudationes* shared both their purpose and aspects of their presentation with the eulogistic "songs" inscribed on Roman funeral monuments. If inscription ensured the fixity, visibility, and endurance of the *fama* thus transmitted, the *carmen* itself presupposed emphatic performance like that we "see" Appius putting on.[32] Although no eulogistic verse can be associated with Appius' name, the three attributed fragments of Appius' *carmina* deal with ethical issues closely related to reputation: mental discipline as a key to right behavior, social ties as a balm for misery, and self-determination of one's own *fortuna*.[33] The sententiousness, furthermore, of Cicero's Appius' recalls the very nature of his work, described as *sententiae* by Festus.[34] Appius' denunciation of Clodia's behavior can thus be taken to reflect not only aristocratic interests, but also a larger concern with aspects of personal and social comportment on which Appius was regarded as an authority. The tradition of *carmina*, another important means of transmitting aristocratic "truth," lends as well this broader cultural authority to Cicero's words.

The elite-sponsored historical drama of the *fabula praetexta* brought the full resources of theatrical staging to the fixing and perpetuation of aristocratic

[31]Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.4 and [Sal.] *Rep.* 1.1.2. On the fragments of Appius' *carmina*, see below.

[32]Ancient texts were commonly meant to be read aloud, but the stylistic features of *carmina*, including alliteration, assonance, and the *figura etymologica*, made them particularly suitable for oral delivery (see Williams 693). The association of epitaphs with performed *carmina* is underscored by their early adoption of the Saturnian verse form, used likewise for hymns and epic poetry. On the scope of Saturnians, cf. West 175. On the association of epitaphs and *laudationes*, see Flower 1996 passim.

[33]Appius Claudius Caecus, fr. 1–3 Blänsdorf. For interpretation and commentary, including the metrical debate, cf. Marini, Stoessl, Giardina, Tar, Ballaira.

[34]Fest. 317 M. We do not know, of course, whether Appius' work was actually performed in public. Performance, however, attaches to him as a public figure and author of *carmina*. Appius' reputation as a persuasive orator adds further to the authority he is able to bestow on Cicero's own speech. The *pro Caelio* alludes to a specific speech of Appius, his argument against the peace with Pyrrhus, that helped establish Appius' reputation as a persuasive public speaker (cf. *Cael.* 34). A version of this speech was circulating in Cicero's day and available for him to consult. In spite of his skepticism about the charm of Appius' oratory, Cicero concludes that Appius must have been *disertus* "a ready speaker" because he was able to sway the opinion of a Senate leaning toward peace (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 55, 61; *Sen.* 15–16).

fama.[35] In mimicking Appius, Cicero resembles not only an actor wearing an *imago* in procession or the inspired performer of *carmina*, but a stage actor in a *praetexta*, who might have been said, in his own way, to "call up" an illustrious figure from Roman history.[36] Cicero suggests his own similarity to a stage actor when he describes his performance as Appius by saying, *gravem personam induxi* (35 "I have brought a grave character onstage").[37] Quintilian understood the Appius episode as a bravado piece of acting on Cicero's part, and modern critics, following him, have of course been justified in grouping Appius together with the actor-like portrayals of Clodius and of two different types of fathers from Roman comedy that immediately follow.[38] Yet, while Cicero's later allusions to and even quotations from comedy make it tempting to read the Appius passage as primarily an adaptation of comic norms, Appius differs from the *pro Caelio*'s other *prosopopoeiae* in that Cicero explicitly identifies him as a figure from Rome's illustrious past. This is essential to *his* role in the *pro Caelio*, as opposed to the roles of the others.

As Michele Salzman reminds us, the *Ludi Megalenses* during which Caelius' trial took place are known to have involved the perpetuation of aristocratic *fama* through historical drama—an instance that Cicero himself indirectly recalls.[39] The games included a staging of the exploits of Appius' descendant Q. Claudia, famous for having conveyed the Great Mother to Rome in the form of a black stone.[40] Cicero has Appius refer to this Claudia in his eulogy of the *gens* (34 *Q. illa Claudia*) and Claudia's achievement contrasts emphatically with the behavior of Clodia, who, Appius suggests, was unmoved by Claudia's good example. Recollection of the play about Claudia distances Cicero further

[35]On the *praetexta* see Wiseman 1998, Zehnacker, Feldherr 172. The frequency which these plays were actually produced is debated by scholars. For the controversy, see Wiseman 1998: 1–16, Flower 1995.

[36]Cic. *Brut.* 322 recommends a knowledge of Roman history, *ex qua* ... (sc. *orator*) *ab inferis locupletissimos testis excitaret* "from which ... [the orator] may call up the most reliable witnesses from the underworld."

[37]Cf. Geffcken 17 following Austin 94–95.

[38]Cf., e.g., Geffcken 17–18 on Quint. *Inst.* 11.1.39.

[39]Cf. Salzman 301.

[40]Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.326, Prop. 4.11.51–52, Wiseman 1985: 36, Bömer. Wiseman 1998: 3 adds this play to the list of *fabulae praetextae* in Ribbeck's catalogue of the remains of Roman drama (1: 319–31, 335); cf. Flower 1995: 175. Salzman 302–3 reveals further how the myth of the Great Mother and her consort Attis humorously informs Cicero's portrayal of Clodia and her lover, Caelius.

from the perpetuation of common gossip by reminding his audience in still another way of the extent to which the activities of the Claudians are bound up with the history, well-being, and public functions of the Roman state. It is all the more legitimate to consider even casual talk about Clodia as a serious matter in light of the formal staging of Q. Claudia's *fama* that takes place during the Megalensian games. But, still more importantly, the temporally proximate performance of institutionalized "truth" about the *gens Claudia* affords Cicero perhaps his best claim to speak "truth" through Appius. When the Claudians speak from "onstage," they do not relate trivia or falsehood. The existence of the Claudia *praetexta* is especially trenchant proof of the inadequacy of comic paradigms to account for Appius as an aspect of elite strategy.

The diversity of performance traditions embodied by Cicero's Appius suggests an intrinsic affinity between performance and Roman cultural memory, an affinity through which we may understand Appius' function in the broadest socio-cultural terms. Surveying the views of Turner, Bauman, and Schechner, Joseph Roach describes what he sees as their common assumption about the role of "surrogation" in culture's self-perpetuation. "Performance," for Roach, "stands in for an elusive entity that it is not but that it must vainly aspire both to embody and to replace. Hence flourish the abiding yet vexed affinities between performance and memory."[41] The fact that Cicero self-consciously seeks to embody the long-dead Appius while simultaneously attempting to replace him (he is Appius' "surrogate," in Roach's terms) is one of the aspects of the passage with which I have been most concerned here. What is important, finally, is not that Appius speaks, but that Cicero speaks as Appius and seeks to use Appius' *persona* to re-position himself, his opponents, Clodia, and Caelius within the matrix of Roman power relations. The attempt exposes the ambiguous substitution that a scholar such as Roach would see at the heart of performance's social function. In Appius, we observe a process of surrogation enabling the reproduction *and* re-creation of Roman culture. Cicero reproduces many of the cultural values that Appius embodies at the same time that he re-creates gossip as "truth" and these values themselves as open to a newly selective application rather than rigid imitation.

It is from this broad socio-cultural perspective that we can best assess the interaction of Cicero's Appius with another, still more immediate performance-context in which the passage has been read since antiquity: oratory itself and the rhetorical topos of "conjuring" the dead. The Appius passage was regarded as a textbook example of *mortuos ab inferis excitare* by ancient critics (cf. 33 *mihi*

[41]Roach 3.

ab inferis excitandus est).[42] Both Cicero and others use the topos elsewhere in its conventional form, namely, for solemn effects of the grand style especially suitable for the pathetic conclusion of a speech.[43] And yet a survey of surviving examples suggests that Cicero's exploitation of the topos in the *pro Caelio* is decidedly unconventional. The emphasis is usually on Romans who have died fairly recently and whose memory is potentially all the more affecting for being fresh in the minds of audience members. The *pro Caelio*'s use of a figure from more than 200 years earlier indicates the extent to which Appius is a surrogation of all that the Roman past, as embodied by him, represents.

Cicero exploits the solemnity of the topos to illustrate the institutional "truths" of common bloodline and familial *gloria*. In the (now fragmentary) conclusion of the *pro Scauro*, for example, Cicero claims to "see" his client's dead father and calls pathetically upon the dead man to make himself present in the jurors' minds (*Scaur.* 49). The passage apparently included a detailed physical description of the deceased, through which Cicero encouraged his audience to imagine the elder Scaurus present and recalled Scaurus' high standing. It does include the word *species* "appearance" and the proposition *etiam si forte non nosset, tamen principem civitatis esse diceret* "even someone who did not know him would nevertheless have said that he was the leading citizen of the state." In the speeches *pro Sestio* and *post Reditum in senatu habita* Cicero ascribes a similar technique to his contemporary P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.[44] Having come forward in support of Cicero's restitution from exile, Servilius evoked none other than Clodia's former husband, Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, as well as other members of the Metellan *gens*. Cicero reports that Q. Metellus Nepos, his old enemy, put aside all his private antipathies when Servilius, speaking *divina quadam gravitate* "with a kind of divine solemnity," reminded him of the deeds and outstanding qualities of their family line and common blood. Servilius, Cicero insists, had Metellus' dead brother, "as it were, back from the underworld (*ab inferis*) and present at the debate"; he had all the Metelli "practi-

[42]Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.61; Aquila Romanus 3.

[43]On the figure see Cic. *Orat.* 85; Quint. *Inst.* 4.1.28, 9.2.31, 12.10.61; Aquila Romanus 3; Rutilius Lupus 2.6; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 9.2.36. Cic. *de Orat.* 1.245 suggests that either visualization or speech (or both) might be the goal: *patrem eius, ut soles, dicendo a mortuis excitasses; statuisses ante oculos; complexus esset filium, flensque eum centumviris commendasset* "through your eloquence, as you are accustomed, you would have conjured his father up from the underworld, you would have set him before the eyes of all; he would have embraced his son and, weeping, have commended him to the *centumviri*."

[44]Cicero describes Servilius' performance at *Red. Sen.* 25–26 and *Sest.* 130–31.

cally summoned up from Acheron (*ex Acheronte excitatos*)."[45] Such tactics helped ensure that Cicero himself was resurrected from the living death of exile.

Still another republican orator is known to have exploited the topos for solemn purposes in expressing a rather different sort of solidarity with the dead.[46] Valerius Maximus records an especially memorable evocation of the dead by Helvius Mancia Formianus, a freedman's son who in 55 B.C.E. accused the annalist L. Scribonius Libo before the Roman censors.[47] Speaking in Libo's defense, Cn. Pompeius Magnus had remarked that Mancia had been let out of the underworld (*ab inferis remissum*) in order to bring the accusation—a biting commentary on Mancia's low social status. Mancia, however, turned the insult against his attacker in describing his visions *in* the underworld of the ghosts of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, M. Brutus, Cn. Carbo, and Perpenna the praetor, illustrious Romans who died in the civil war of the late 80s B.C.E. in which Pompeius served as one of Sulla's commanders. Apart from the fact that the dead men Mancia describes are emphatically located *in* the underworld (part of their pathos), this is essentially the topos in its conventional form. Mancia puts before his audience's eyes solemn images of the dead, whose appearance and speech he describes in detail: they are in this sense *excitati*. Mancia claims, for example, to have seen Brutus "maimed by the sword, and protesting that it happened to him first by your (i.e., Pompeius') treachery, then by your cruelty."[48] In a twist, however, on the conventional topos, Mancia declares that *he* has indeed come from the underworld as Pompeius insultingly proposed.[49] Yet rather than the lowly, ineffectual ghost of Pompeius' insult, Mancia thus presents himself, as it were, as an avenging spirit of the men for whose deaths Pompeius was responsible.[50]

Cicero's long-dead Appius does far more culturally transformative work than any of the passages just cited; it goes beyond convention in suggesting that the values of the past are open to selection and not merely imitation. And yet the comparanda suggest that the conventions of oratory itself, its reliance on the

[45]Cic. *Red. Sen.* 25; cf. Cic. *Sest.* 130: *omnes prope ab inferis evocasset Metellos.*

[46]Cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 1.245, where Antonius attributes the technique to Crassus.

[47]V. Max. 6.2.8. On the incident, see Gruen 314.

[48]V. Max. 6.2.8: *vidi ... M. Brutum ferro laceratum, querentem id sibi prius perfidia, deinde etiam crudeliate tua accidisse.*

[49]V. Max. 6.2.8: *venio enim ab inferis, in L. Libonem accusator venio.*

[50]Mancia's entire speech thus becomes, in a sense, a *prosopopoeia* of a dead man (himself)!

institutional "truths" of solidarity with the dead, endowed Cicero's Appius with institutional gravity.[51] Oratory itself prepares a Roman audience to hear Appius' words as far more than scurrilous gossip.[52]

Cicero's *pro Caelio* poses gossip as a problem for the orator himself, for his audience, and for Roman society at large. The social aspects of gossip, however, that have often been emphasized by scholars of Greco-Roman antiquity—namely, the definition and enforcement of societal norms—are not the only ones relevant to a full appreciation of the *pro Caelio* in its socio-cultural context.[53] While helping to police society in this way, gossip may also have a more creative function, in that formal societal institutions such as judicial oratory feed off informal practices and draw their strength partly from their ability to co-opt them without seeming to. Indeed, for John Schotter, "humanly *adequate* social orders ... can only be created, sustained, and transformed" by "drawing upon" activities such as gossip, "usually dismissed as a waste of time."[54] Formal institutions, in other words, may explicitly deny the power of the informal practices they co-opt; they betray, however, their dependence on the informal in their attempt to redefine practices such as gossip into a shape that is amenable to their own ends, namely, the support of the existing power structure.

[51]Although Mancia's speech was delivered in 55, his technique suggests a wider use of the topos, as do Cicero's references in *Red. Sen.* and *Sest.* to Servilius' earlier speech (see above). Cicero had previously compared Clodius to Appius Claudius Caecus in his invective *in Clodium et Curionem*. For attestations, fragments, and commentary, see Geffcken 57–89, Crawford 233–69. Crawford 261 also compares Cic. *Dom.* 105, 129.

[52]In the circumstances of Caelius' trial, Cicero's unconventional, self-conscious exploitation of the topos could also generate a useful ambivalence. If the audience regards Cicero as an experienced orator employing a rhetorical topos in its known form, this will help them view Appius as a feature of oratorical *gravitas* and institutional "truth." If, however, the audience is listening more closely for rhetorical parody (Cicero has by this point already described Caelius' accusers as overly "censorious"), then Cicero's signaling of Appius as an irregular example of the topos adds to the sense of parody in his remarks. Of course, both effects are simultaneously possible and beneficial to Cicero's case. Given Cicero's use of the topos elsewhere in his speeches, we may even hear mild self-parody in his introduction of Appius as *ab inferis excitandus*. The benefit of such self-parody would be further to distance Cicero from his opponents' type of censure, delivered in full seriousness (and, apparently, *in propria persona*) against Caelius.

[53]For a full discussion, see Hunter 96–119 with bibliography.

[54]Schotter 150.

Both Schotter and Lorraine Code have called our attention to the way that informal, disorderly social activities are not only threatening but also valuable because of their "resistance to paradigmatic summing-up,"[55] their dissociation from an answerable source. It is this very resistance, we may observe, that allows Cicero to benefit from the "creative" potential of gossip to such a remarkable degree in the *pro Caelio*. In the place of an anonymous *vox populi*, Cicero easily substitutes Appius Claudius Caecus, an arresting figure from Rome's public world of traditional aristocratic spectacle and display.

Faced with the threat of gossip, Cicero turns it to his advantage through the transformative evocation of tradition, a performance that all right-thinking Romans can applaud.[56]

[55]Code 104; cf. Schotter 150.

[56]An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the 131st Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association in Dallas (December 1999). My special thanks to Ron Cluett, who organized, and Andrew Riggsby, who acted as respondent for the APA panel; to Thomas Habinek, who read and commented on an early draft; and to Cynthia Damon. The anonymous readers of *TAPA* will recognize my indebtedness to their many helpful comments and suggestions.

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PETER O'NEILL



Going Round in Circles: Popular Speech in Ancient Rome

Just before dining with Trimalchio, Encolpius and his friends are at the Baths, where according to Petronius they go around in little groups, described as *circuli*, exchanging jokes (*Sat*. 27). This paper examines in some detail these seemingly insignificant *circuli*, groups of people which met, in the city or elsewhere, to talk about matters of interest or to pass the time in some way. Associated with such *circuli* was the figure of the *circulator*, often portrayed as a showman, such as the snake charmers accused by Celsus of drugging their animals or the sword-swallowers described by Apuleius at the start of his novel.[1] By looking closely at how these *circuli* and *circulatores* are represented by ancient authors, I hope to offer some illumination on the importance of a more general culture of popular sociability at Rome. In particular, I will argue that a nexus of anxieties surrounds the mention of *circuli* and *circulatores* in ancient texts, reflecting a concern among members of the Roman elite about the unauthorized nature of these gatherings and those associated with them. And if *circuli* and *circulatores* are often treated in our sources as an insignificant aspect of a debased non-elite culture, this, I suggest, tells us more about the strategies developed by the Roman ruling classes to represent popular activity than about

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1. Celsus *de Med.* 5.27.3c; Apul. *Met*. 1.4. Cf. *Digest* 47.11.11 for more snake charmers described as *circulatores*.

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the nature of the gatherings themselves and the wider culture of which they are a part.[2]

The *circulus* raises the question of how the city population was represented by the Roman elite. It was in the interest of this elite to consider the *plebs* as an undifferentiated body, whose primary function in politics was to legitimate elite rule. However, the notion of an undifferentiated *vulgus* was in practice unsustainable, since at times unauthorized and potentially dangerous combinations of the *plebs* demanded attention. Labeling groups of Romans as *circuli* was one possible representational strategy, allowing potentially troublesome groups to be refigured into a hierarchical scheme of culture, in which the *circuli* were associated with a culture that could be dismissed as trivial by contrast with elite culture. Indeed this denial of the political aspects of non-elite culture and the representation of the *plebs* as subpolitical served as a powerful strategy in the maintenance of the political hegemony of the Roman upper classes. In one sense, then, this paper is a study of social discipline and helps to illuminate how those associated with the ruling classes at Rome excluded a wide range of popular practices from their definition of what counted as politically and culturally important. However, while focusing necessarily on the representational strategies of the Roman elite, I hope also to suggest that *circuli* offer an insight into an important aspect of plebeian culture, which deserves to be viewed by the historian more sympathetically than it was by Roman writers. The *circulus* was not just a rhetorical possibility for those who wanted to depict groups of socializing Romans. It was also a real social institution and a real political entity.

The representation of unauthorized political and cultural activity, then, offers insight into the maintenance of elite political hegemony. For the Roman ruling class to maintain its position, it was important for the definition of what counted as the political sphere to be narrowed sufficiently so that it served its interests. Scholars, reacting against Fergus Millar's revisionist approach to the middle and late Republic, have suggested that the popular participation that Millar stresses in fact served primarily as a means to legitimate an essentially aristocratic government and to reinforce senatorial authority.[3] Here, I hope to broaden the discussion by focusing not so much on the aristocratic manipulation of a populist ideology as on the discrediting of political and cultural interaction that was

2. Because of the scattered references to *circuli* in our sources, this paper inevitably ranges across a broad chronological period. My focus is on texts of the late Republic and of the early and middle Principate, but occasionally I make use of examples from Late Antiquity. My aim here is to examine the marked nature of the *circulus* and the *circulator*; such a study offers an introduction to the contested character of ancient sociability and serves as a general background to investigations I carry out elsewhere which focus more closely on the late Republic.

3. See e.g. Burckhardt 1990, Harris 1990, Gruen 1991: 254, and Hölkeskamp 1993. See also Jehne 1995, a collection of essays by various scholars responding to Millar; note especially Jehne's introductory remarks. For Millar's democracy at Rome thesis, see Millar 1984, 1986, 1989, 1998, and most recently 2002 (especially 135–82). See Mouritsen 2001, challenging this democratic account of the Republic.

not very clearly under elite surveillance and control, with the consequence that alternative kinds of politics were rendered illegitimate. I will also suggest that, not least because the Romans lacked many aspects of a modern society's means of surveillance and social discipline, this project could never be wholly effective.[4] As a result, we can observe evidence of a persistent anxiety about activity that occurred outside the narrowly defined "official" political space of the city.

GOING ROUND IN CIRCLES: *CIRCULI* IN LIVY

The *circulus*, unlike for instance a *contio* or the *corona* at a *iudicium*, was a group of people marked by its informal, unofficial character; nevertheless it does seem to have been an accepted part of Roman life, a recognized social phenomenon to which contemporaries attached significance. Quintilian (*Inst.* 12.10.74) offers two typical locations for *circuli*: the various *fora* and the *agger* of Servius Tullius (*neque aliunde illi per fora atque aggerem circuli*). The demonstrative pronoun here perhaps suggests that *circuli* were a recognized feature of Roman society and signified more than simply groups of people talking.[5] Evidence for *circuli* is scattered throughout a wide variety of authors and across a long chronological period.[6] While this helps to show the long-lasting importance of *circuli* in Roman life, it also makes it difficult to be certain what each author understands by the term. Livy, however, uses the term in the sense we are interested in on seven occasions and an examination of his usage will help make clear what at least one author understood by the term. I will begin, therefore, with an analysis of *circuli* in his narrative. This will then

4. See Nippel 1984 and 1995 for the "policing" of Rome.

5. This is brought out nicely in the old Loeb translation by H. E. Butler: "indeed this is the sole cause of those *familiar* gatherings in the Forum or on the Old Wall" (my italics). Horace confirms Quintilian's picture, telling how the *agger* was a suitable place to take a stroll on a sunny day (*nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque / aggere in aprico spatiari*, *Sat*. 1.8.14–15). See Juvenal *Sat*. 6.588 for fortune-tellers on the *agger*.

6. See *TLL* 3.2 [1909] 1111.69–1112.20 [Bannier] for *circulus* as used in the sense we are interested in here (*coetus vel congregatio hominum*), as opposed to the more frequent geometrical use of the term. Note that the metaphorical meaning which this paper focuses on seems to come into usage in the late Republic / early Principate. The only example cited by the *TLL* from an earlier period is a fragment of Accius (*Bacchae* fr. 250 Ribbeck): *laetum in Parnaso inter pinos tripudiantem in circulis*. But in this instance, it seems possible that *circulis* may in fact be used in the geometrical sense. Apart from this possible instance in Accius and two examples from Martial (2.86.11 and 10.62.5), the expression in our sense is found only in prose writing. Note also the deponent verb *circulor*, used primarily intransitively. See *TLL* 3.2 [1909] 1107.39–52 [Bannier]. The first instance of its use is Cicero *Brutus* 200, again suggesting that the metaphorical use of *circulus* may have become fashionable in the late Republic. For *circulator* and *circulatrix*, see *TLL* 3.2 [1909] 1106.84–1107.30 [Bannier]. Again, the first attested usage is from the late Republic (Pollio at Cicero *Fam*. 10.32.3), and the term becomes more frequent in the early Principate. Like *circulus* and *circulor*, *circulator* is found predominantly in prose writers (but *circulatrix* seems to be favored by poets). Note also the rare adjective *circulatorius* (*TLL* 3.2 [1909] 1107.32–38 [Bannier]) and also the adverb *circulatim* (*TLL* 3.2 [1909] 1106.74–81 [Bannier]).

serve as background for an examination of *circuli* in other sources. We will see that Livy's use illustrates some of the rich symbolic associations of *circuli* and also helps us to consider their broader sociological function. Moreover, Livy's attention to internal strife helps make clear their predominantly popular character.[7]

In Book 3 of his history, Livy describes the internal dissension between plebeians and patricians following the tribune Terentilius' demand for a codification of the laws in the late 460s. An already serious crisis is worsened when the Sabine Appius Herdonius seizes the Capitol. Livy tells how the tribunes call the people away from their military duties in order to take advantage of the crisis, provoked by Herdonius' presence, to get Terentilius' measure through. The consul Valerius Publicola attempts in vain to persuade the assembled people to put aside their grievances and to enlist, and Livy tells us that civil war was imminent. During the night, after the public meeting has ended and the tribunes have departed, the people continue to discuss matters in *circuli*. The patricians, whose appeal to the people in the Assembly has failed, now take the unusual step of infiltrating at night these *circuli* and urge the people who are discussing the matter in these groups to put the national security ahead of their struggle to pass the contested law (*patres circumire plebem inserentesque se in circulos sermones tempori aptos serere; admonere ut viderent in quod discrimen rem publicam adducerent* . . . 3.17.10). On the next day, Publicola is able to prepare an army.[8]

This, like other such episodes, might be seen as a somewhat quaint historical instance illustrating how the initiative of the senators saved the Republic at a time of danger and dissent. However, the episode also offers sociological insight into the dynamics of popular politics, communication and opinion formation in Rome. There is a clear contrast here between the official speech of the consul, which has resoundingly failed, and the unauthorized *circuli* with which the Senate now has to deal. Moreover, the *circuli* that the senators decide to infiltrate take place at night. The paranoia which nightly meetings provoked in the minds of Roman senators is well known. Such meetings seem to have been banned in the Twelve Tables, and Cicero's expression in the *de lege agraria* (2.44), *taetris tenebris*, or foul darkness, captures nicely the attitude in senators' minds towards nightly

7. The relevant examples of *circulus* used in this sense in Livy are: 3.17.10, 7.12.14, 28.25.5, 32.20.3, 34.37.2, 34.61.5, and 44.22.8. Of course there are other uses of the word *circulus* in Livy; for instance it is used of the famous circle that Popilius Laenas draws around Antiochus IV at 45.12.5. Given that the metaphorical usage of *circulus* and of the corresponding verb *circulari* seem to gain currency in the late Republic (see previous note), it seems likely that Livy is retrojecting a term that became fashionable in recent decades onto his account of the early and middle Republic.

8. Ogilvie 1965, commenting on Livy 3.15–18 ad loc., brings out the contemporary resonances of Livy's account: "In recent memory the lower classes had been stirred into insurrection by Catiline. Livy, therefore, introduced Catilinarian overtones to remind the reader of the historical possibility of such insurrections." These historical associations would be reinforced if indeed the metaphorical use of the term *circuli* to describe groups of people became fashionable in the late Republic.

meetings and potential conspiracies.[9] In Livy's passage, the senators are forced to infiltrate the *circuli* to try to reassert control of the situation. Associating with such *circuli* is something the senators would not normally do. It would be considered beneath their dignity, as Porphyrio suggests, commenting on Horace's description of himself passing time with the fortune-tellers in the Forum that "men higher in *dignitas* would almost blush to stand in these *circuli* of the *vulgus*" (Porphyrio on *Sat*. 1.6.114).[10] But the senators, by taking the unusual step, are able to recover their lost authority.[11] There seems nothing in Livy's account to suggest that the senators infiltrated the *circuli* in secret; their identities were presumably known to the people and this enabled their authority to be reasserted.[12]

Senatorial anxiety about the kind of talk that occurred in *circuli* is explicitly brought out in the speech which Livy gives to Aemilius Paullus at the time of the Third Macedonian War against Perseus. Livy tells here (44.22) how in 168 Paullus was allotted Macedonia as his province. After the senatorial resolutions

9. For the Twelve Tables' ban, see VIII.14–15 in the edition of Crawford (*Roman Statutes* vol. 2) with comments at 694–95. Note one of the sources for this statute, the *Declamatio in Catilinam* 65: *primum xii tabulis cautum esse cognoscimus, ne quis in urbe coetus nocturnos agitaret, deinde lege Gabinia promulgatum fuisse, qui coitiones ullas clandestinas in urbe conflavisset, more maiorum capitali supplicio mulctaretur*. For a convenient discussion of Roman suspicions of nightly meetings, see Nippel 1995: 27–30, esp. 27. Also Nippel 1984: 20–29, esp. 24–25. Note also Habinek 1998: 71–72 on the Catilinarians.

10. *porro autem altiores dignitatis homines erubescunt fere in his vulgi circulis stare, quod tamen sibi licere facere Horatius dicit per vitae libertatem, in qua non esset si in senatoria dignitate constitutus esset* (Porphyrio on Hor. *Sat*. 1.6.114).

11. For leading Romans persuading the people directly rather than through political mechanisms such as a *contio*, see for example Plut. *Luc*. 37.1–2 where the Tribune Memmius is opposing Lucullus' Triumph; Plutarch tells how the leading and most powerful citizens mingled with the tribes and by much entreaty managed to persuade the people to grant Lucullus his Triumph (οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δυνατώτατοι καταμίξαντες ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς φυλαῖς πολλῇ δεήσει καὶ σπουδῇ μόλις ἔπεισαν τὸν δῆμον . . .). Similarly, see Livy 5.30.4 (the leading Romans appealing directly to their tribesmen in order to persuade them to oppose the tribunes who were proposing that they move the city to Veii).

12. Note the metaphor *sermones . . . serere* in this passage (the metaphor is also found of speech in *circuli* at Livy 28.25.5 and 34.37.1). *Serere* is perhaps from *sero –ere (ui) sertum* ("I sew, weave, join") rather than *sero –ere sevi satum* ("I sow"). See e.g. Briscoe 1973 on Livy 34.37.1 ad loc. (*circulos serere*), noting that the verb's original meaning of "to weave" is appropriate in a description of something circular in shape and pointing to the Latin term *serta* ("garlands"). See also Oakley 1998 on Livy 7.39.6 ad loc. (*occultis sermonibus serunt*; cf. the expressions at 3.43.2 and 28.24.7) and Austin 1977 on *Aeneid* 6.160 ad loc. (*sermone serebant*), both citing parallel passages. Note especially Varro *de lingua latina* 6.64 where *sermo* is derived from *serie* and *sero –ui*: *sermo, opinor, est a serie, unde serta . . . sermo enim non potest in uno homine esse solo, sed ubi oratio cum altero coniuncta: sic conserere manum dicimur cum hoste*. . . . But one cannot rule out the possibility of a reader interpreting *serere* as from *sero –sevi satum;* indeed Ogilvie 1965, commenting on Livy 2.2.4 ad loc., emends *sermonem datus* to *sermonem satus* on the grounds that this is the natural metaphor with *sermo*. If one reads *serere* at 3.17.10 as "they sowed," the metaphor perhaps suggests that the senators were able to use their authority to plant the seed of a doubt in the people's minds about their actions and then allow this doubt to undermine their resolve. Certainly this metaphoric usage is not alien to Livy's thought, as is shown in Cincinnatus' speech shortly afterwards where he describes the tribunes who had encouraged the people to take no action after Herdonius' seizure of the Capitol as sowers of seeds of discord (*loquaces, seditiosos, semina discordiarum, iterum ac*

were completed, Paullus makes a speech before the people. He thanks the people for its support and then warns them, in a tone of some disgust, not to believe rumors "with no authority" (*quorum auctor nemo extabit*) but to trust only reports that he sends back from Macedonia to the Senate and the people.[13] He complains of idle talk undermining morale and of people who, gathered "in circles and even at banquets," think they are doing the fighting themselves, leading troops into Macedonia (*in omnibus circulis atque etiam, si dis placet, in conviviis sunt qui exercitus in Macedoniam ducant*). Paullus tells the people that there are plenty of other things in the city to talk about and that each man should confine himself to these topics (*sermonum satis ipsa praebet urbs; iis loquacitatem suam contineat*).[14]

This concern over unofficial, unauthorized gatherings is also brought out in Livy's account of the dissent in Rome that arose because of the question of debt. At 2.27–28, Livy graphically describes a period of turmoil at Rome in which senatorial authority is at a breaking point. The people attack the creditors, they ignore the consuls and they refuse to enlist for war against the invading Sabines. Amid a general atmosphere of violence, there is looting and, according to Livy, secession and secret conversations, which, he says, were "much more dangerous" than the violence (*quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque conloquiis*, 2.27.13). The people are described as holding nightly meetings to discuss policy on the Aventine and Esquiline, traditionally plebeian

tertium tribunos, pessimis artibus, regia licentia vivere, Livy 3.19.5). On this speech, see Vasaly 1999: 520.

13. It is perhaps worth comparing the speech of Otho to his soldiers at Tacitus *Histories* 1.83: *imus ad bellum. Num omnis nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia cunctis praesentibus tractari ratio rerum aut occasionum velocitas patitur? Tam nescire quaedam milites quam scire oportet: ita se ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplinae habet, ut multa etiam centuriones tribunosque tantum iuberi expediat.* Also note Suet. *Julius* 66 where there is panic in Caesar's army because of a rumor of the great size of the enemy numbers. Here Caesar did not deny the danger but rather exaggerated it. He tells the soldiers not to ask further questions or make more surmises, but to believe him or else leave: *proinde desinant quidam quaerere ultra aut opinari mihique, qui compertum habeo, credant; aut quidem vetutissima nave impositos quocumque vento in quascumque terras iubebo avehi.*

14. See below for further discussion of this passage. Taylor 1962 illustrates how there was an intermittent interest among tribunes in the conduct of overseas generals after 151; but this episode suggests a public discussion on military competency before this date. Livy is clearly reliant on Polybius at this point in his narrative. Polybius' account deserves to be quoted in full as it brings out clearly anxieties about everyday conversation (παρὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις ὁμιλίας) and, to use Paton's translation, "prating" (εὐρησιλογίας) and "chatter" (λαλιᾶς): ἔφη γὰρ αὐτοὺς μίαν ἔχειν διατριβὴν καὶ παρὰ τὰς συνουσίας καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις ὁμιλίας διοικεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθημένους τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμον, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντας τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν πραττομένοις, ποτὲ δὲ τὰ παραλειπόμενα διεξιόντας· ἐξ ὧν ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδέποτε γίνεσθαι τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασι, βλάβην δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας μεγάλα βλάπτεσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀκαίρους εὐρησιλογίας· πάσης γὰρ διαβολῆς ἐχούσης ὀξύ τι καὶ κινητικόν, ὅταν προκαταληφθῇ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς λαλιᾶς, εὐκαταφρονήτους γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς (29.1). For λαλιᾶς in Polybius cf. 3.20.5. Polybius' text here suggests that already in the mid-second century there was a concern on the part of senators that the people listen to them and give no authority to other discourse; it is thus not simply a case of Livy retrojecting contemporary preoccupations onto an earlier period.

hills,[15] and, when the Senate finds out about these meetings, the response is uproar and indignation. The senators accuse the consuls of lacking authority to deal with the situation, and they lament that the Assembly of the People, over which the Senate could maintain some authority and keep an eye on proceedings, no longer sufficed as the vehicle for popular expression but that instead the state was split into countless groupings: "if there were truly magistrates in the State, there would be no council in Rome except for the Council of the People; but now the state has been scattered and dispersed into a thousand senates and *contiones*" (2.28.3).[16] Here the expression *circuli* is not found, but it seems likely, from Livy's use of the term elsewhere, that it is precisely such gatherings that Livy has the senators refer to sarcastically as *curiae contionesque*.[17] The constitutional language (*curias contionesque*) used to describe these problematic, unofficial gatherings suggests, perhaps, a concern that traditional constitutional mechanisms of debate, over which senators could exercise some control through the presence of a presiding magistrate, were being replaced by extra-constitutional bodies over which authority could not so easily be secured.[18]

Livy also brings out the anger and emotion that could be expressed in *circuli*. He twice uses the verb *fremere*, to roar, of the talk of the *circuli*. At 7.12.14 Livy, describing discontent in the dictator Sulpicius' army, tells how the centurions mingled together with the soldiers and that the men roared in *circuli* (*immiscerique militibus centuriones nec in circulis modo fremere*). And at 34.37.1, the same word, *fremere*, is used to describe the anger, expressed in *circuli*, of the Spartans at the harsh peace terms imposed upon Nabis by Flamininus in 195 BC. This example also brings out the danger, from the point of view of the Roman elite, that talk in *circuli* has the potential to lead to direct action. Livy describes how property owners, ex-slaves, and mercenaries—people of a wide social background—gathered in *circuli* to criticize the treaty. At first these groups discussed their grievances among themselves (*per se*) in their *circuli*, but this discussion is said to have led to a sudden rush to arms, which encouraged

15. For the Aventine's popular associations, see the classic article of Syme 1979: esp. 308.

16. *profecto si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romae nisi publicum concilium; nunc in mille curias contionesque dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam* (Livy 2.28.3).

17. It is interesting to note that J. S. Reid, troubled by the expression *mille curias*, suggested emending *curias* to *circulos* (see Ogilvie ad loc.). The emendation is probably unnecessary, detracting from Livy's ironic language and the Senate's indignation that non-constituitional activity has taken the place of constitutional politics. Ogilvie comments on the passage: "*mille curias* must mean 'a thousand senate-houses,' each secret conclave throughout the city being disparagingly contrasted with the Curia Hostilia."

18. See Pina Polo 1996 for some of the ways in which *contiones* worked to the advantage of the magistrate in charge of the proceedings (e.g. 19 on the political and religious *auctoritas* of the magistrate in charge; 19–20 on how only those called upon by the presiding magistrate might speak; 25 on the raised platform, on the significance of which in the visual economy of Roman politics see Bell 1997: 2).

a more-than-willing Nabis to continue the war.[19] The expression *per se* here perhaps emphasizes that the anger was spontaneous, arising among the Spartans themselves in the *circuli*, and not stirred up by Nabis or anyone else.[20]

The association of *circuli* with anger and emotion is also suggested by the use of the term in the context of military mutiny. At 28.25.5 the *circuli* mentioned are groups of mutinous soldiers in New Carthage in 206. In this instance, the military tribunes, like the senators at 3.17.10, go round the *circuli* talking to the mutinous soldiers about their grievances and attempt to appease their feelings rather than rebuking them: "first they went round the tents, and then in the headquarters and at the general's tent, where they had seen *circuli* of men making conversation with each other, they would address them, inquiring what was the cause of their anger and sudden consternation rather than accusing them for what they had done."[21] Also in a military context, the example describing discontent in Sulpicius' army, mentioned above, shows the potential for *circuli* to act as a venue for resistance to authority and for discussion in *circuli* to lead to direct action. Livy tells here how the dictator C. Sulpicius is given the task of defending the city from the Gauls who have reached Praeneste (7.12). Sulpicius advocates waiting for the right moment before attacking, which leads to unrest in the army. At first this unrest is voiced in conversations in *circuli* but later the centurions get involved too, and there is open dissent before the headquarters and general's tent.[22] Again, there is here an association of *circuli* with non-elites, in this case soldiers and centurions. They are venues for venting anger (as we saw, the verb *fremere* is used) and we see a potential for action to arise out of the *sermo* held in *circuli*; the crowd grows to the size of an assembly and the decision is made to go to the dictator at once (*extemplo*). Livy then tells how that most obedient of soldiers (*oboedientissimum militem*, 7.13.2), Sextus Tullius, recognizing the seriousness of the situation, makes a speech to the dictator telling him that the army wants to fight. Later, in private, Tullius tells Sulpicius that he spoke up because a *multitudo* that is stirred up is like its leader, and he preferred to lead it rather than let it choose someone itself (7.14.2–3). Here we see, then, spontaneous action arising (and we also hear of the

19. *haec inter se primo circulos serentes fremere; deinde subito ad arma discurrerunt. quo tumultu cum per se satis inritatam multitudinem cerneret tyrannus, contionem advocari iussit* (Livy 34.37.1).

20. See Livy 32.20.3 for another association of *circuli* (and *convivia*) with the formation of anger. Livy here makes the Achaean Aristaenus open his speech to the Achaean Council with a complaint about its silence concerning the matter of its policy towards Rome, pointing out that normally the mere mention at *convivia* or *circuli* of Rome or Philip V is enough almost to cause fights to break out: *quibus in conviviis et circulis, cum de Philippo et Romanis mentio incidit, vix manibus temperatis*. See below for the association of *circuli* with *convivia*.

21. *circumeuntes enim tentoria primo, deinde in principiis praetorioque ubi sermones inter se serentium circulos vidissent adloquebantur, percontantes magis quae causa irae consternationisque subitae foret quam factum accusantes* (Livy 28.25.5).

22. *immiscerique militibus centuriones nec in circulis modo fremere sed iam in principiis ac praetorio in unum sermones confundi atque in contionis magnitudinem crescere turba et vociferari ex omnibus locis ut extemplo ad dictatorem iretur* (Livy 7.12.14).

soldiers skirmishing with the enemy against their dictator's commands, 7.14.4–5) without any formal debate in which authority had a chance to be heard.[23] Finally, Livy at 7.38.8 tells of *occultis coniurationibus* in the army, with the soldiers planning to take Capua for themselves. This turns into an extremely serious situation, with a conspiracy being suspected and soldiers being dismissed from duty (7.39.1–2). Livy tells how in the camp some *serunt* secret conversations (*occultis sermonibus*, 7.39.6), and this leads to a near mutiny which forces major patrician concessions at Rome. Here the term *circuli* is not used, but the situation described is the kind of activity that I have been stressing throughout this section.

The above instances in Livy's account bring out some of the various resonances which accompany accounts of *circuli*. They might occur at night, often at moments of great crisis; they might involve great emotion and anger; they tend to be associated with non-elites; they can lead to popular action taking place; and they may bring pressure on members of the ruling class to take unusual action. They are in general extremely political. It is true that this political nature is a result of Livy's highly political narrative and, in particular, his description of the Struggle of the Orders. But I suggest that this politicized presentation of *circuli* reflects the ever-present potential of such unauthorized gatherings to cause problems for a Roman elite concerned, like Aemilius Paullus, to retain authority over the political discourse of the city. This potential should be borne in mind as we see how *circuli* are represented in other accounts.[24]

23. A very similar scene occurs in Caesar's *Bellum Civile* 1.64.3. Caesar, like Sulpicius in Livy, is delaying his advance, fearing to make a river crossing, and all over the camp the troops form *circuli* and lament (*totis vero castris milites circulari et dolere*) that the enemy was being allowed to get away and that the war was being protracted unnecessarily. The troops urge the military tribunes and centurions to act as spokesmen and to tell Caesar their feelings, whereupon Caesar, stirred by their enthusiam (*quorum studio et vocibus excitatus*), orders the army to cross the river and advance.

24. Scholars in general have placed little emphasis on *circuli* in Livy. Oakley commenting on Livy 7.12.14 describes *circuli*, meaning "groups of people conversing," as a usage to which Livy was partial. And they are mentioned briefly by E. Dutoit, in an article on "le vocabulaire de la vie politique chez Tite-Live," in which they are associated with the *comites* of politicians and seen as being on the margin of the political factions in Rome: "A l'intérieur ou en marge des partis se forment des *coitiones*, des ligues (2.35.4; 3.65.8: *coitiones potentiorum*), et des *circuli*, des groupes, des coteries . . . " (Dutoit 1960: 333). It is tempting to think that their importance in Livy's account was noted by Macaulay in composing his *Lays of Ancient Rome*. His Virginia ballad begins: "Ye good men of the Commons, with loving hearts and true, / Who stand by the bold Tribunes that still have stood by you, / Come, make a circle round me, and mark my tale with care, / A tale of what Rome once hath borne, of what Rome yet may bear." If the "circle" has the resonance that *circulus* has in Livy, perhaps Macaulay is alluding to their popular character here. If so, Macaulay's poem offers insight into the potential of such *circuli* to contribute to the formation of a popular historical memory: "Here in this very Forum, under the noon-day sun, / In sight of all the people, the bloody deed was done. / Old men still creep among us who saw that fearful day, / Just seventy years and seven ago, when the wicked Ten bare sway."

THE POLITICS OF *CIRCULI*

Before examining the political nature of *circuli*, it will be helpful to glance at the politics of the *circus*, to which the word *circulus* is related as the diminutive form.[25] The circus was, of course, primarily popular in character, even if, like the *circulus*, it was by no means solely attended by non-elites. The circus along with the theater was, at least in the Empire, the most important venue at which the people met and was increasingly the venue for expressions of popular opinion. As Yavetz says of the theater and circus: "No one can comprehend the prevailing opinion in ancient Rome without a knowledge of the reactions of the masses who gathered in them on 65 days of the year. It was precisely there, according to Tacitus, that the masses gave vent to their insolence. . . . In the circus therefore the people expressed their uninhibited opinion without sparing the feelings even of the emperors themselves."[26] From the point of view of the senators and, in the Principate, the Emperor, the circus and the theater were always potentially troubling, offering a venue for dissent to be expressed. But at the same time such venues could function as a kind of safety valve whereby the people could discharge its anger and emotions in a relatively controlled manner. The much studied carnival of the European tradition is perhaps helpful here. The arena's function as an emotional safety valve might recall the "licensed release" of the carnival which was permitted by the authorities, who "removed the stopper to stop the bottle being smashed altogether."[27] Moreover, just as the topsy-turvy carnival itself, in which the festive people chose and crowned Kings and Queens, in some ways functioned to confirm the status quo,[28] so too the potentially disruptive nature of the arena was perhaps more than balanced by its ideological function of reproducing values and hierarchies essential to the social order.[29] Unlike the circus and arena, however, *circuli* were without a defined space, without governing rituals, and less subject to control. Although *circuli* and

25. As Servius in fact points out in a note on *Georgics* 3.166: *CIRCLOS "circus" est principale, unde fit "circulus" et per synaeresin "circlus."* Also Nonius Marcellus 30 Lindsay: *CIRCUS dicitur omnis ambitus vel goerus: cuius diminutivum est circulu*s.

26. Yavetz 1988: 18. For the games and theater, see Friedländer 1910: 2.293–694. See Yavetz 1988: 18–24 for a general discussion of the importance of crowd reactions at the circus and theatre. Also Cameron 1976: 157–92.

27. Roger Sales quoted at Stallybrass and White 1986: 13.

28. Stallybrass and White 1986: 13.

29. For instance, in a study of the ideology of the arena, Gunderson 1996: 134 points to the role of the *editor* of a show, often the Emperor himself, who has the right to decide on the death of the defeated gladiator and either to carry out or thwart the will of the audience: "The principle of legitimating mediation at once interferes with any conception of a direct enactment of the 'will of the people' or a simple notion of survival of the fittest. Thus the ideologically fictive populus and the constructed space of otherness cannot interpenetrate without the personal intervention of a Roman *nobilis*. Only within such a configuration can the populus be granted a voice. Thus here as well we have a reproduction of an essentialized location for the Roman nobility through whom alone the body politic can legitimately act."

similar unofficial gatherings may not have offered the spectacular opportunities of the arena for group expression, their unlicensed, unofficial, unorganized, and spontaneous nature, largely beyond control or monitoring, seems to have made them a source of anxiety to an elite concerned to know everything that was occurring.[30]

Miriam Griffin has suggested that in the early Principate there was no real threat to the authorities posed by the people. She argues that riots could be controlled by force and that "lampoons and grumbling at street corners, or rather in the large and convenient gathering places in which the poorer inhabitants of a Mediterranean city spent most of their time, were hardly a serious threat."[31] Without wishing to overstate its importance, I would suggest that such "grumbling" should not be so easily dismissed. After all, grumbling at street corners might well contribute to more formal action by the people, action that could be extremely unsettling and even threatening. For instance, the popular protests over Nero's plans to divorce Octavia (Tac. *Ann*. 14.59–61) offer an instance where support for Octavia and criticism of Nero and Poppaea must have been voiced among informal groups throughout the city, probably for an extended period of time, before the people demonstrated (extremely effectively). From slightly earlier in Nero's reign, Tacitus tells at *Annals* 14.22 how popular opinion interpreted the appearance of a comet and other portents as suggesting a change of rule, and he says that Rubellius Plautus was rumored by the people to be the favorite candidate for the Principate. Nero, feeling threatened by this rumor, responded by telling Plautus to leave for Asia in order to get away from the gossipmongers (*prava diffamantibus*). We know from elsewhere that fortune-tellers and astrologers were said to find an audience *in . . . vulgi circulis*, and so only a slight leap of imagination is needed to see the culture of *circuli* as contributing to the kind of extremely dangerous rumors that Tacitus here describes.[32]

If a leap of the imagination is needed to connect these Tacitean rumors with *circuli*, elsewhere the historian is more explicit about activity in *circuli* and its connection with the formation of dangerous rumors. At *Agricola* 43.1, after the death

30. Butler, in a note on Quintilian *Inst.* 12.10.74 in the old Loeb edition, comments on the *circuli* in this passage that the "nearest modern parallel may be found in the 'Hyde Park orator"' (429n.1); this perhaps gives a good idea of the frequently political nature of speech made in *circuli*, although in other ways the parallel is less close. Speaker's Corner is an officially recognized space which the authorities set aside for dissent to be expressed; speech in *circuli*, which might occur anywhere in the city, is by comparison unauthorized. Speaker's Corner is also, unlike the *circulus*, a venue for an essentially unidirectional address to a crowd.

31. Griffin 1991: 40–41.

32. Porphyrio on Horace *Sat*. 1.6.114 for fortune-tellers and *circuli.* Also see the scholion on Juvenal *Sat*. 6.582. For another example, see *Apocolocyntosis* 3, where Seneca has Mercury tell one of the Fates that she should let Claudius die and allow the astrologers to be correct for once; for ever since he became Emperor, the astrologers had been burying him off every month of every year. Again, such rumors and predictions might find an audience in *circuli*.

of Agricola, Tacitus tells how the *vulgus* formed *circuli* to express its feelings on this politically sensitive issue, expressing its grief in the Forum and in *circuli* (*per fora et circulos illocuti sunt*). Tacitus then goes on to comment on a *constans rumor* that Agricola had been poisoned, the kind of damaging rumor, from Domitian's point of view, that we can surely envision being spread through *circuli*.[33]

From a later period, the *Historia Augusta*'s Life of Probus illustrates vividly the potential for *sermo* in *circuli* to lead to political action of the most important kind. Whatever the historicity of this episode may be, it shows the importance of *circuli* in Roman thought. The Life at chapter 10 describes how the army in the East determined to choose the next Princeps rather than allowing the Senate to do so. We hear first of all of *sermo* among the soldiers as to who should be made emperor; the *tribuni militum* suggest to the troops that it should be Probus. We are told that "this was spoken, as is accustomed to happen, among many *circuli*" (*idque per multos circulos, ut fieri adsolet, diceretur*); the very casualness of the expression *ut fieri adsolet* here shows the importance of such groups in Roman popular political discussion. Next we learn that "everywhere, as it were with a divine nod" Probus was acclaimed Emperor by all (*quasi divino nuto undique ab omnibus adclamatum est*, "*Probe Auguste, di te servent!*"). The men run together, build a tribunal from turf and salute Probus, despite his objections, as Emperor and deck him with a purple robe. The comparison of the power of *circuli* here to the "divine nod" is perhaps indicative of how such popular action was seen as extremely alien from official politics. It was viewed as a potentially irrational force, which it was desirable to exclude from the rational body politic.[34]

In these instances as well as in the discussion of Livy, we see the political character of *circuli*. Their public and unauthorized character is also apparent. *Circuli* are associated at times with other aspects of Roman sociability. For instance, Quintilian (*Inst.* 6.3.105), citing Domitius Marsus' treaty on *urbanitas*, which he says was based on the opinion of Cato, speaks of *circuli* alongside other venues for speech, such as *convivia* and *contiones*: "A man will be urbane who utters many good sayings and replies, and who speaks amusingly and with appropriateness in conversation, social gatherings (*circuli*), and din-

33. Cf. how the foreigners (possibly referring to the multi-ethnic *libertini*) in Rome had expressed their grief after Caesar's death: *multitudo circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est* (Suet. *Julius* 84).

34. Also from the Principate, *circuli* are seen in the context of elite politics in Pliny's association of them with confusion and disorder in his description of chaos at an election at *Ep.* 3.20.4: *magni undique dissonique clamores, procurrebant omnes cum suis candidatis, multa agmina in medio multique circuli et indecora confusio; adeo descriveramus a consuetudine parentum apud quos omnia disposita moderata tranquilla maiestatem loci pudoremque retinebant.* Here Pliny is explicitly comparing, unfavorably, this chaotic senatorial election, with its open ballot, to the typical license of the *contiones* (*excesseramus sane manifestis illis apertisque suffragiis licentiam contionum*) and the term *circuli*, used to describe the senators' *indecora confusio*, perhaps carries its derogatory, popular connotations as Pliny condemns the senators for behaving worse than the *plebs*.

ners (*convivia*), and also in public meetings (*contiones*): in a word, on every occasion."[35]

The association of *circuli* here with *contiones* and *convivia* merits attention. How did these terms, describing various aspects of Roman life, relate to each other? The *contio* was an official assembly, called by a magistrate, in which popular feeling could be expressed by the crowd's reaction but where the magistrate controlled who could speak and where usually the authority of the Roman ruling class was respected.[36] The crowd at a *contio* was, in this respect, like the crowd which encircled the orator at a *iudicium*—not a mere *circulus*, but rather a *corona*, whose more splendid name doubtless reflected what was seen as the more dignified nature of the occasion.[37] From the Senate's point of view, it was desirable that all meetings of the people should be, like *contiones* and *iudicia*, presided over by someone with official authority. This was brought out in Aemilius Paullus' speech in Livy which was discussed above. It is made even more explicit through the words of the consul Postumius during the Bacchanalian "conspiracy," where, at a *contio* before the assembled people, Postumius attacks the Bacchanalian gatherings as against Roman tradition:

> Your ancestors did not wish that you should assemble fortuitously and rashly, without good reason: they did not wish you to assemble except when the standard was set up on the citadel and when the army was called out for an election, or when the tribunes had proclaimed a council of the plebs, or one of the magistrates had summoned you to a *contio*; and they held that, whenever a large number collected, there should also be a legitimate director of it (39.15.11).[38]

The lack of such a *legitimus rector* is one aspect which would have set the *circulus* apart from the *contio* or the *corona* at a *iudicium*. The presiding magistrate was the person who determined who spoke at an official assembly, and a gathering without such a figure allowed anyone to have a voice. Moreover, this "legitimate director" was responsible for maintaining order, as Cicero makes clear in the *de Legibus*, where the presiding magistrate is to be held accountable for any disturbance at an assembly on the grounds that he could have dismissed the assembly at the first sign of trouble (*Leg.* 3.11). The Bacchanalian cells over which Postumius expresses anxiety were not, it is true, of the same nature as the

35. *urbanus homo erit cuius multa bene dicta responsaque erunt, et qui in sermonibus circulis conviviis, item in contionibus, omni denique loco ridicule commodeque dicet* (Quint. *Inst*. 6.3.105). The translation is from Russell's new Loeb edition.

36. On the *contio*, see Taylor 1966: chapter 2, Pina Polo 1996, Hölkeskamp 1995: esp. 26–30 and 32–35, and Mouritsen 2001: 38–62.

37. Though *circuli* might form on the fringes of a *corona*. See below.

38. *Maiores vestri ne vos quidem, nisi cum aut vexillo in arce posito comitiorum causa exercitus eductus esset, aut plebi concilium tribuni edixissent, aut aliquis ex magistratibus ad contionem vocasset, forte temere coire voluerunt; et ubicumque multitudo esset, ibi et legitimum rectorem multitudinis censebant esse debere* (Livy 39.15.11).

groups described as *circuli* that I study in this section. They would probably have been held indoors and would have included a ritual element and organization that were surely alarming to the Roman senators. But the general point that Postumius makes does pertain to *circuli*: Roman authority felt threatened by associations unless a *legitimus rector* presided, and, in the case of the Bacchanalians, the Senate insisted that in the future all cells receive official permission from the *praetor urbanus*.[39]

I would suggest that the unofficial nature of *circuli* crucially distinguishes them from *contiones* and made them problematic for the Roman elite. But Domitius Marsus associates *circuli* not only with *contiones* but also with *convivia*. Indeed, over and over again, *circuli* and *convivia* are associated together by Roman writers.[40] Cicero at *de Officiis* 1.132 speaks of the *sermo* of *convivia* and *circuli*, and distinguishes this *sermo* from the more vigorous speech (*contentio*) which he associates with *contiones* and other political speeches (*disceptationibus ... iudiciorum contionum senatus*). Thus *convivia* and *circuli* are seen as belonging in the same category, with both being distinguished from the kind of speech that is associated with official political life of Rome. But despite their frequent association, *convivia* and *circuli* are, in one respect, crucially different. The *convivium* is a locus for private interaction, interaction that generally obeys a set of rules and follows ritualized practices. By contrast, the *circulus* is a space for public, and more spontaneous, interaction.[41] To summarize, speech at *contiones* has connotations of official, political speech; "convivial" speech can be seen as private, generally upper-class speech; and the *sermo* that occurred at *circuli* represents public, generally non-elite speech.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, the Roman upper classes regarded speech in *convivia* as on the whole less dangerous than speech in *circuli*. For instance, Aemilius

39. *ILS* 18 (lines 16–17) for the *praetor urbanus*. Postumius in Livy refers to a *multitudo* and it might be contended that the groups forming *circuli* would not in general have been large enough to be so considered. However, *circuli* could include a large number of people; by their very nature, their size varied. Moreover, it seems certain that they were often larger in size than many of the cells that Postumius and his colleagues were so worried about. See the inscription of the *Senatus Consultum* (line 19) for the number of practitioners allowed after 186 being restricted to five people. Presumably they were more sizeable before, but, given their secret nature, possibly not that much more so. On the Bacchanalian episode, see especially Gruen 1990 and North 1977.

40. For *circuli* associated with *convivia*, see also Cic. *Balb*. 57, *de Off.* 1.132, *ad Att*. 2.18.2; Liv. 32.20.3, 34.61.5, 44.22.8; Tac. *Ann.* 3.54.1; Nepos *Epam.* 3.3; Mart. 2.86.11. Briscoe in his commentary on Livy notes the association and lists some examples without commenting on its significance.

41. This perhaps parallels a division in the political life of the city between the Senate which met in private, in the *curia*, and the political institutions representing the *populus Romanus* which met publicly in the open air. The association of *circuli* with the public sphere seems at first sight to be challenged by Seneca *Ep*. 52.8, where people are urged not to get advice in choosing friends from those who *circulantur* in private: *ex his autem, qui sunt, eligamus non eos, qui verba magna celeritate praecipitant et communos locos volvunt et in privato circulantur, sed eos*.... However, the emphatic *in privato* here may in fact reinforce the view that *circuli* were usually associated with the public realm.

Paullus, in the *contio* discussed earlier, complains to his audience of idle talk undermining morale and of people who, gathered "in circles and even at banquets" (*in omnibus circulis atque etiam, si dis placet, in conviviis*, Livy 44.22), think they are doing the fighting themselves. The use of *etiam* here suggests that *convivia*, with their (in general) more upper-class participants, were seen as more reliable by the Senate and less likely to indulge in such talk. But Aemilius Paullus' speech shows that while *convivia* may have been seen as a less frequent venue for unauthorized speech or dissent than *circuli*, they could still be the venue for troubling speech. Indeed dissent at *convivia* could, because of their private nature, be particularly alarming; such alarm may account for part of the force behind Paullus' interjection *si dis placet*. Certainly, *convivia* were seen as an arena for conspiracy and dangerous speech in the Empire, when the public political culture had changed. For instance, Britannicus' song at the dinner party at Tacitus *Annals* 13.15 shows expression at *convivia* getting out of hand, at least from Nero's point of view, and indeed this episode is presented as precipitating Britannicus' murder.[42]

At other times, *circuli* and *convivia* are seen as equally problematic for Roman rulers. At *Annals* 3.54.1, *convivia* and *circuli* are both described as venues for criticism of Tiberius to be expressed. In this passage Tiberius writes to the Senate about the proposals to legislate against *luxus*, saying that he is well aware that this is an issue attacked at *convivia* and in *circuli* (*nec ignoro in conviviis et circulis incusari ista et modum posci*). *Circuli* and *convivia* are also associated as a venue for political speech by Cicero. In a letter to Atticus of 59, the ex-consul tells how, in this time of oppression, conversation has become freer at "*circuli* at least, and at banquets" (*hic tamen in oppressione sermo in circulis dumtaxat et in conviviis est liberior quam fuit*, *Att*. 2.18.2). In this instance the more unrestrained talk of the *circuli*, which is usually a matter of anxiety, is seen, along with talk at *convivia*, as a sign of hope by Cicero and is approved of as beneficial to an increasingly tyrannized Republic.[43]

This frequent association of *circuli* with *convivia*, private dinner parties, suggests that *circuli* were, like such dinners, a recognized aspect of Roman society. Of course, it is not surprising that people in Rome got together in groups

42. For another Tacitean example, see *Annals* 14.48 where Antistius Sosianus reads out verses satirizing Nero at a *convivium*: *vulgavitque celebri convivio dum apud Ostorium Scapulam epulatur*. Note also the presumably convivial background of the human sacrifice alleged to have been carried out to accompany the oath of the Catilinarians (Dio 37.30; cf. Sall. *Cat*. 22 and Plut. *Cic.* 10.3). For a good example of upper-class gossip and criticism formulated in *convivia*, see Cicero *Att*. 9.1.3 where *boni viri* are said to be attacking Cicero's delay in following Pompey in 49 at *convivia* (. . . *hanc cuncationem nostram non probari multaque mihi et severe in conviviis, tempestivis quidem, disputari*).

43. The *dumtaxat* perhaps shows again that free talk in *circuli* was more usual than in more formalized *convivia*. See also Cic. *Phil*. 2.64: *gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit*. For the contrast between *convivia*, small private banquets, and *epulae* or *cenae rectae*, more formal and, more importantly for this discussion, public banquets, cf. D'Arms 1991: 171.

and talked. But that such groups seem to have been marked as a distinct element of the Roman social system is striking. In general, *circuli* were, as we might expect from the part they played in a public culture, associated with the *plebs*. But any group of people could be labeled a *circulus*. For instance, we find *circuli* used of a group of intellectuals or philosophers. So Nepos, in his life of the great Theban general Epaminondas, tells how "whenever he entered into a *circulus* (*cum in circulum venisset*) in which there was a dispute about the State or where a discussion (*sermo*) about philosophy was being conducted, he never left until the conversation reached its end" (*Epaminondas* 3). Similarly, Aulus Gellius (4.1.1) tells of a large number of men of various orders paying respect to Caesar in the vestibule of the Palace. The crowd includes a "*circulus* of learned men" (*atque ibi in circulo doctorum hominum*), amongst whom is the philosopher Favorinus airing schoolroom trifles (*scholica quaedam nugalia*).[44] The term *circulus* is also used to describe a group of spectators in a law court, an audience that would have been made up of people from a variety of social ranks, including senators. For instance, in a letter to Quintus, Cicero (*ad Quintum fratrem* 3.4.1) tells of Gabinius' acquittal in 54 BC. After the vote was announced, Cato is said to have left the audience (*de circulo subduxit*) and to have gone to Pompey to tell him the news. Presumably, the crowd here would be the remnants of the *corona* that had watched the case, and the *circulus* may have been formed of audience members who stayed behind to discuss the outcome.[45] And at *Brutus* 200, we see that if an orator failed to keep his audience's attention, one result might be that a juror might join in the groups (*circulantem*) which formed, presumably, alongside the main *corona*.[46] In this example, the presence of *circuli* seems to indicate a failure of the predominantly unidirectional orator-*corona* model, as Cicero sees the presence of such *circuli* as a way of judging an oratorical performance. However, Cicero's use of *nonnumquam etiam* here suggests that this failure to maintain authority and attention was somewhat unusual. One further example of elite *circuli* occurs at Cicero *pro Balbo* 57, where Cicero says of those who attack the defendant that "they gnaw in the *convivia*, they pick at them in *circuli*, they carp with a cursing tooth" (*in conviviis rodunt, in circulis vellicant, maledico dente carpunt*).[47]

44. Cf. Gellius 15.9.2 for a *circulo . . . iuvenum eruditiorum*; also Gellius 16.10.2–3. Seneca *Ep.* 88.40 tells how the famous *grammaticus* Apion went around (*circulatus est*) Greece, spreading the kind of knowledge about Homer that was necessary for a liberal education.

45. Although *circulus* might here simply describe the ring of spectators, as seems to be the case at Pliny *Ep.* 6.33.3: *. . . ingens utrimque advocatio et numerosa subsellia, praeterea densa circumstantium corona latissimum iudicium multiplici circulo ambibat.*

46. Cicero tells how a critic can easily tell what an orator is like by observing the situation: *videt oscitantem iudicem, loquentem cum altero, nonnumquam etiam circulantem, mittentem ad horas, quaesitorem ut dimittat rogantem*. For the active role of the *plebs* in oratorical performances (and other public situations), see Aldrete 1999: esp. chapter 4. Also Millar 1998 passim.

47. For the metaphor *carpere*, cf. Pliny *Ep.* 1.9.5: *nemo apud me quemquam sinistris sermonibus carpit.*

CIRCULATORES AND *CIRCULI*: POLITICS AND THE STREET

In the previous sections, I have suggested that *circuli* at times possessed a political nature. Here I argue that *circulatores* too were not without their own political role. *Circulatores* were essentially those who made some kind of a living going around among the people, presumably gathered in *circuli*, providing some kind of entertainment or selling some kind of service. They have attracted some attention recently in the work of Wiseman and Horsfall. Wiseman sees them as storytellers, representatives of the "culture of the unprivileged," while for Horsfall they are entertainers but also contribute towards a basic popular education. But any kind of political role they may have had is usually not emphasized.[48] *Circulatores* were surely closely related to the *circuli*.[49] This is stated most explicitly in a note of Porphyrio on Horace *Sat.* 1.6.114. Here Porphyrio describes the fortune-tellers Horace stood by in the Forum as *circulatores* and describes the groups around them as *circuli* (*in his vulgi circulis*). We have already seen how these *circuli* of fortune-tellers were not without political significance and, in general, I would suggest that the entertainment role of the *circulatores* cannot wholly be divorced from a political aspect and that, like the *circuli*, they were a potential cause of alarm to Roman elites.[50]

A political role is brought out most clearly by the scholion on the end of Persius' first satire (1.134), where *circulatores* are described as disseminating political news, such as imperial and consular edicts, to the people in the morning

48. Cf. Wiseman 1989: 135: "The circulator in foro (Pliny *Ep* iv.7.6) was an itinerant, travelling from village to village and town to town like Autolycus in the *Winter's Tale*." See also Wiseman 1980: 13 on the *triviales ex circo ludios* of Suet. *Aug.* 74: "the sort of 'strolling players' who might perform at a street-corner, among the beggars, parasites and gossiping loungers." See Horsfall 1996: 27 and also 1989: 84: "A *circulus* is a group of spectators and a *circulator* an entertainer who gathers such a group round him by various means." Such entertainments include animal shows (cf. Petronius 47), snake-charming (*Digest* 47.2.2: *circulatores . . . serpentes circumferunt et proponunt*; cf. Celsus 5.77.3 on *circulatores* drugging snakes before putting their fingers in their mouths) and sword-swallowing (Apuleius *Met.* 1.4). Horsfall continues: " . . . but he can also read a book, recite an imperial edict or even *levia carmina*; at this point he seems to shade into the *fabulator*." Cf. also Daremberg-Saglio I.1186 (a-c): "Circulator—Ὀχλαγωγός ἀγύρτης. Charlatan, jongleur, faiseur de tours, qui va de pays en pays et d'assemblé en assemblé, amassant la foule autour de lui." Cf. *RE* 3.2.2570: "Ein Marktschreier, der umherziehend dem Volke allerlei Künste . . . vormacht, Schlangen bändigt . . . Degen verschluckt . . . v. dgl., auch wohl Vorträge oder Vorlesungen hält. . . ." Also A. N. Sherwin-White 1966 on Pliny *Ep.* 4.7 ad loc.: "A circulator is a showman." According to Booth 1980: 166, a *circulator* is simply anyone who attracts a street crowd; he points to Dio Chrysostom *Orat*. 20.9ff. for a vivid description of street life in an ancient city with its crowds and education taking place in the streets. Cf. Wiseman 1980 for Roman street life.

49. Cf. Horsfall 1996: 27: "Il *circulator* è l'intrattenitore che attrae un *circulus*, pure in foro."

50. For the Emperors' attitudes to astrologers (including frequent expulsions) and prophetic writings, see, for example, MacMullen 1992: 128–62, Yavetz 1988: 134–35, Parke 1988: esp. 136–51 and 190–215. For the Republic, note for example Livy 39.16.8, relating how magistrates in the past had been allowed to banish dabblers in sacrifices (*sacrificulos*) and *vates* from the Forum, the Circus, and the rest of the city (*foro circo urbe prohiberent*) and to search out and burn *vaticinos libros*.

before entertaining them with light poems in the afternoon (*circulatores, qui mane edictum consulis vel imperatoris populo recitant, meridie levia carmina dicunt*).[51] Booth, discussing this passage, associates *circulatores* with *praecones* or *apparitores*:

> If these *apparitores* may not be cast in a double role as street-reciters, the *circulatores* may have acted as an unofficial promulgator of edicts, a private but enterprising town-crier, carrying news to—and doubtless taking a collection from—early morning crowds throughout the city. (1980: 167)[52]

However, I would suggest that this minimizes the crucial distinction between the official speech of the *praecones* and the unofficial speech of the *circulator*. The *circulator*, then, may have been involved in the dissemination of unauthorized, unofficial information and, as such, may well have attracted elite suspicions. Comparison with better documented societies suggests that *circulatores* might well have provoked political concern at Rome for such reasons. Adam Fox, for instance, has recently demonstrated the concern of the authorities in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century London with wandering vagrants and beggars, who were seen as a political threat because of a feeling that they were associated with the spreading of rumors and gossip.[53]

But it is the role of *circulatores* in popular entertainments and popular culture that is usually stressed by our sources, not their role in activities that we might like to describe as political. Likewise, *circuli* are often seen as venues for such entertainers and entertainments. These entertainments are often portrayed as a despised aspect of a popular culture which the elite, with its own highly developed and highly exclusive culture, is able to scorn. Doubtless Rome was full of these kinds of street entertainments. But implicating groups of Romans in what is seen as a debased culture was also a powerful representational strategy, well suited to the Roman aristocracy's inclination not to recognize such popular spaces as a legitimate area for political discussion and communication. Of course it may also reflect a profound anxiety about these gatherings of the *plebs*, with no *legitimus rector* to direct what went on. It was, after all, more comforting to think that the person at the center of a *circulus* was a snake charmer than a breeder of sedition.

As a result of this association of *circuli* with popular entertainments, *circuli* are placed at the bottom of the cultural hierarchy. Not only is their potential

51. The scholion is commenting on Persius' line: *his mane edictum, post prandia Calliroen do* (1.134). Booth brings out Persius' disdain here for the implied *circulus*: "the ultimate degradation and final dismissal of the public. It is a tasteless *circulus* attracted by any ruckus from the bellowing of edicts to the chanting of doggerel" (1980: 168).

52. For an interesting discussion of the *apparitores*, see Purcell 1983: 125–73; see 147–48 on *praecones*. For the dissemination of official news at Rome, see White 1997 on Julius Caesar's alleged publication of the *acta*.

53. Fox 1997: esp. 603.

political function ignored, but the kind of culture that they represent is scorned. For instance Martial attacks the *circuli* for being an unsophisticated audience, in a poem attacking verses that had appeared under his name: "let Palaemon write poems for *circuli*; I prefer to please uncommon ears" (*scribat carmina circulis Palaemon, me raris iuvat auribus placere,* 2.86). And Petronius gives us a glimpse of the prejudice held towards these groups, when Encolpius compares Trimalchio's acrobats and pigs to the entertainment of the *circuli* (*ego putabam petauristarios intrasse et porcas, sicut in circulis mos est, portenta aliqua facturos, Sat.* 47.9). It is interesting that, from the later Empire, Ammianus Marcellinus, in his account of the faults of the "lazy and indolent" Roman *plebs* (*nunc ad otiosam plebem veniamus et desidem*, 28.4.28), gives the *circuli* a prominent place among popular recreations:

> These people spend their lives in wine, dice games and bordellos, in pleasures and shows: for them, their temple and dwelling place, their *contio* and every hope of their desires is the Circus Maximus. In the fora, at the cross-roads, in the streets and at meeting-places, you can see many *circuli* gathered together engaged with one another in quarrelsome strife, some defending one thing, as is the case, others another.
>
> (28.4.29)[54]

In a manner not unlike earlier writers, Ammianus goes on to reduce the content of the discussions in *circuli* to arguments about the Games:

> Among them (the *circuli*), those who have lived long enough, who are more influential through authority that comes with long age, repeatedly shout, swearing by their white hair and wrinkles, that the State cannot stand if, in the upcoming contest, the charioteer to whom each lays claim does not jump out of the gates first and round the turning-point clinging close to it, with his ill-omened horses.
>
> (28.4.30)[55]

By focusing on their involvement in a despised popular culture, it becomes easier for the Roman ruling classes to denigrate *circuli*. This denigration is extremely pervasive; indeed the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, at the beginning of the entry for *circulus* used in the sense discussed in this paper, points out that

54. *Hi omne quod vivunt vino et tesseris impendunt et lustris, et voluptatibus et spectaculis: eisque templum et habitaculum et contio et cupitorum spes omnis Circus est maximus: et videre licet per fora et compita et plateas et conventicula, circulos multos collectos in se controversis iurgiis ferri, aliis aliud (ut fit) defendentibus* (Ammianus 28.4.29). The parallelism here suggests that *circuli* were associated with the circus, with both seen as being important elements of non-elite culture.

55. *Inter quos hi qui ad satietatem vixerunt, potiores auctoritate longaeva, per canos et rugas clamitant saepe, rem publicam stare non posse, si futura concertatione, quem quisque vindicat, carceribus non exsiluerit Princeps, et inominalibus equis, parum cohaerentem circumflexerit metam* (Ammianus 28.4.30).

it is used usually with a note of censure, defining it as a *coetus vel congregatio hominum, saepius cum nota vituperationis* (vol. iii cols. 1111 line 69–1112 line 20). My focus so far has been primarily on the social and political. But, of course, disgust and denigration are often theorized on psychological grounds. For instance, commenting on the anti-Semitism that he sees in Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, Theodor Adorno, hinting at Wagner's fears of his possible Jewish paternity, observes: "this idiosyncratic hatred is of the type that Benjamin had in mind when he defined disgust as the fear of being thought to be the same as that which is found disgusting" (1981: 24). Similarly, Stallybrass and White suggest that carnival "encoded all that which the proper bourgeois must strive *not to be* in order to preserve a stable and 'correct' sense of self" (1986: 187). They see this self-formation of the individual as involving the repression of desires which are revealed by the intensity of the attacks on carnival to be central to how the bourgeois imagines himself: "the bourgeois subject continuously defined and re-defined itself through the exclusion of what it marked out as 'low'—as dirty, repulsive, noisy, contaminating. Yet that very act of exclusion was constitutive of its identity. The low was internalized under the sign of negation and disgust. But disgust always bears the imprint of desire" (1986: 191).[56] In these interpretations the psychological is paramount, but in both cases this is clearly connected to the broader political sphere. At Rome too the political need of the Roman elite to differentiate itself from the rest of the population of the city through a rigorous cultural self-disciplining was surely bound up with a concern that it was not in fact that different from the rest of the population. The disgust shown for the world of the *circulus* may well reflect an anxiety that this culture, with its entertainments, recitations, and stage performances, was in many ways not that distinct from aristocratic culture.[57] Barton has shown how the Roman collective psychology was complex, with a kind of terrible fascination for marginalized figures in part compensating for a formal emphasis on control and order.[58] It is not only through the figure of the satirist that we see hints of this fascination and perhaps of an attraction to aspects of the popular culture from which the upper classes have largely excluded themselves.[59]

56. Cf. Theweleit 1987–1989, a ground-breaking and wide-ranging study of the para-military, proto-fascist German *Freikorps*, showing how their writings are full of anxieties about issues ranging from female sexuality to communism. Theweleit argues that images concerning, for instance, flowing and floods reflect a fear of bodily desires which have been repressed in the course of the creation of the bourgeois individual. See Miller 1998 for Roman Satire and its attempt to contain fluids and leaking bodies.

57. Cf. Edwards 1993: 118–19 on the elite's anxiety about actors, whose *levitas* often uncomfortably resembled the *gravitas* of a senator. She adds: "Their manifest dissimulation suggested others, too, might not be what they seemed. Roman Senators considered with some nervousness the similarities between their own profession and that of the actor."

58. Barton 1993: esp. 107–44. Note 132: "The strictures of civilization create monsters, which then serve as remedies."

59. See above for Cicero's letter to Atticus (2.18.2) and Livy's account of the senators infiltrating *circuli* (3.17.10), both indicating a degree of fascination with *circuli*; also some of the more vivid

The figure of the *circulator* is subject to attacks which suggest a greater degree of disgust than even those shown towards *circuli*; and once more the Roman elite hold up these agents of popular culture to comparison with their own culture and, necessarily, find them lacking. For instance, *circulatores* are attacked in our sources for lacking philosophy. Seneca at *Epistle* 29.7 tells how Marcellinus will "throw in his face" certain kinds of philosophers less interested in philosophy than money and whom he describes as *circulatores* (*hos mihi circulatores, qui philosophiam honestius neglexissent quam vendunt, in faciem ingeret*). *Circulatores* are also associated with what are seen to be the lowest elements in Roman society. *Priapeia* 19 speaks of *Telethusa circulatrix*. Richlin translates *circulatrix* here as "the street dancer" which well brings out the associations implicit in *circulatores*.[60] Of course a *circulator* does not by itself mean a dancer. Telethusa certainly is a dancer (note *fluctuante lumbo* in line 4), but it is interesting for the social implications of *circulatores* that a dancer can be described as such.[61] Porphyrio, commenting on Horace *Satire* 1.2, confirms this picture. Horace's satire begins by telling how a variety of the lowest types of people, including musicians, quacks, beggars and jesters, were lamenting the singer Tigellius' death. The inflated language used serves to ridicule any social pretensions these people might have, such as membership in *collegia*: *ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae, / mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne / maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli* (1.2.1–3). Commenting on this passage, Porphyrio tells us that Tigellius, who was linked to Caesar, Cleopatra, and Augustus, was generous and made gifts to musicians and *circulatores*, who were thus sad at his death (*erat autem largitior adeo, ut omnibus musicis et circulatoribus multa donaret; et ideo morte eius tristes illos ait factos esse*). Presumably these people who mourn Tigellius' death at the start of Horace's poem are the *circulatores* whom Porphyrio speaks of and again this shows the low class of people who came to be denoted by the term. Petronius (*Sat.* 68) offers another example of the type of person who might be described as a *circulator*. Habinnas says of a singing slave, who has just performed a composite of Vergil and Atellan farce, that he had had no formal training but rather had been sent to the "pedlars on street corners."[62] As a result, the slave has no equal, whether he wishes to imitate mule-drivers or *circulatores* (*"et numquam" inquit "didicit, sed ego ad*

descriptions of *circulatores* refered to below would reward a psychological reading. Emperors, of course, were expected by the *plebs* to share in its entertainments, and a figure like Tiberius, who shared the cultural sympathies of his fellow aristocrats, would suffer politically if he failed to show sufficient enthusiasm for plebeian cultural practices. Likewise an Emperor like Nero, who fully embraced popular culture, suffered politically at the hands of the upper classes. See Edwards 1993: 120–21 for the differing tastes of elites and non-elites, citing Horace *Ep.* 2.1.182ff. as showing how the tastes of the equestrian rows at the theater differed from the rest of the audience.

60. Richlin 1992: 54.

61. For another *circulatrix*, see Martial 10.3.2f.: *vernaculorum dicta, sordidum dentem, / et foeda linguae probra circulatricis* . . . .

62. Sullivan's Penguin translation.

circulatores eum mittendo erudibam. itaque parem non habet, sive muliones volet, sive circulatores imitari"). Here Habinnas' use of the verb *erudio* in connection with the education that the *circulatores* provided his slave perhaps plays ironically with the more usual comparison between the speech of the *circulus* and the speech of the *eruditus* orator, which we will discuss later. I mentioned earlier Porphyrio's comment on Horace *Satire* 1.6.114 where the *divini sortilegi* are described as *circulatores* and are surrounded by *circuli*. This passage is reminiscent of the scholion on Juvenal *Satire* 6.582. Juvenal here is describing the activity of a non-elite (*mediocris*) woman and how she walks in the Circus, has her fortunes read, and gives in return a smack of her lips (*si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrimque / metarum et sortes ducet frontemque manumque / praebebit vati crebrum poppsyma roganti*). The scholion identifies these fortune-tellers as *circulatores* (*quia circulatores. . . . hoc consueverint adhibere*). Once more, the disgust of the satirist for *circulatores* and those associated with them is apparent.[63]

Another area, in addition to that of culture, in which the *boni* attempted to distinguish themselves from the rest of the city, was that of work and leisure, and here too *circuli* are implicated in Roman elite discourse. The Roman upper classes were, of course, hostile to paid labor, which was seen as dehumanizing. As Veyne says, "no notable or noble was ever defined by what he did. A poor man, on the other hand, *was* a cobbler or a laborer" (1987: 129).[64] Yet despite this scorn for paid work, those who spend time in *circuli* are attacked precisely for laziness, for *not* devoting all their energies to a job. For instance, in his description of the idle man at *de Finibus* 5.56 Cicero tells how such men, endowed with singular indolence, frequent *circuli*, and he associates these *circuli* with *sessiunculas,* a word which he seems to coin to ridicule such groups of idlers.[65] Again it might be possible to identify in the violence of the language here (*inertissimos homines, nescioqua singulari nequitia praeditos*) an anxiety about the fact that these groups of idlers, passing the time in their own way, were not that different from aristocrats at leisure, enjoying a conversation with friends. Hence Cicero needs to stress that these *circuli* lack the "noble delights of learning" that distinguish aristocratic idling from that of other Romans (*cumque non habeant ingenuas ex doctrina oblectationes*). Seneca makes a similar remark at *de Providentia* 1.5.4, making it clear that *circuli* are not attended by the *boni* and that they are very much the province of *otium*. He explicitly contrasts the *circulus* here, frequented by all the

63. However, cf. Cic. *Fam.* 10.32.3, where Pollio has some sympathy for a *circulatorem quemdam auctionum notissimum hominem Hispali*, who has been thrown to the animals by Balbus because of his deformity (*quia deformis erat*).

64. For attitudes to labor, the *locus classicus* is Cicero *de Off.* 1.150–52. Cf. Seneca *Ep.* 88.21–22.

65. *quin etiam inertissimos homines, nescioqua singulari nequitia praeditos, videmus tamen et corpore et animo moveri semper et, cum re nulla impediantur necessaria, aut alveolum poscere aut quaerere quempiam ludum aut sermonem aliquem requirere cumque non habeant ingenuas ex doctrina oblectationes circulos aliquos et sessiunculas consectari* (Cic. *de Fin.* 5.56).

most worthless idlers (*vilissimus quisque*), with the activity of the Senate, where the *boni* labor the whole day long for the good of the Republic.[66] To speak in terms of a Hegelian master-slave dialectic, it seems that there was a concern on the part of those Romans who did not need to work about their dependency on those who did have to work; in order to remain convinced of their superiority, the Roman leisured classes would attack people both for working and, when they were not working, for idleness. And there were doubtless also more practical worries about the *otium* which *circuli* implied. In his discussion of discontent in Rome in 210 BC, when public business was on hold until the absent consul, Valerius Laevinus, arrived in the city to deal with charges against his colleague Marcellus, Livy tells how this leisure stirred up the rumors of the people: *otium, ut solet, excitavit plebis rumores* (26.26.10). The connection between *otium* and *circuli*, then, was potentially alarming. It was better to have people working than idle and interfering in the running of the city and the empire.[67]

INFERIOR SPEECH

It is perhaps impossible to gauge the reality of the threat posed by non-elite communication in *circuli* and elsewhere. Moreover, the political self-consciousness of participants in *circuli* can only be a matter of speculation. However, the extremely negative representation of *circuli* and *circulatores* is in itself telling and indicates that the Roman political class took popular speech and expression more seriously than is sometimes acknowledged. This seriousness was manifested not only in the constant denigration of *circuli* and *circulatores* noted above; it also seems to have led to the development of a sustained attack on the speech, *sermo*, associated with them.[68] By attacking the nature, quality, and style of the kind of speech that was thought to take place at *circuli*, the *boni* defined themselves and their speech as distinct from and as more authoritative than competing forms.

This attack on the speech of the *circulus* and *circulator* formed part of a wider Roman concern with language. Palmer, writing of the late Republic, associates this concern with social changes at Rome:

> Doubtless the rapid growth of the urban proletariat, with immigrants speaking dialect or broken Latin, stimulated the disdain and class-

66. *labor optimos citat: senatus per totum diem saepe consulitur, cum illo tempore vilissimus quisque aut in campo otium suum oblectet aut in popina lateat aut tempus in aliquo circulo terat. Idem in hac magna re publica fuit: boni viri laborant . . .* (Sen. *de Prov.* 1.5.4).

67. But note Cicero at *de Lege Agraria* 2.91, suggesting that the *maiores* deliberately (*ratione et consilio*) set about transforming the Capuans' arrogance and ferocity into a slothful leisure: *itaque illam Campanum arrogantiam atque intolerandam ferociam ratione et consilio maiores nostri ad inertissimum ac desidiosissimum otium perduxerunt* (2.91).

68. For *sermo* associated with *circuli*, see Cic. *de Off.* 1.132 and also several of the examples from Livy cited above.

> consciousness of the ruling aristocracy.... The Roman intelligentsia, standing in conscious superiority over the teeming life of the capital, began a process of linguistic ξενηλασία: the expulsion of the rustic, the provincial, and the foreign.
>
> (1998: 123–24)[69]

Palmer is interested here mainly in a literary phenomenon, which reflects the snobbishness of the elite. However, more overt political factors were surely involved as this elite, in pursuit of a correct form of speech, attempted to exclude from political discourse those who were not in a position to master the discourse now deemed appropriate for serious discussion. Indeed it is striking that Cicero speaks of a *plebeius sermo* appropriate to writing a letter to a friend but inappropriate for speeches in *iudicia* and *contiones* (*Fam.* 9.21). The political aspect to the Roman concern for language has been emphasized by Martin Bloomer: "a linguistic politics developed at Rome which had its own role to play in the evolution of Roman literature, in the developing ideologies of what it was to be a Roman, and in the social and civil strife between Romans of different classes and statuses" (1997: 4); he adds that "sneers and slurs about the language of a political opponent, an underclass, or the opposite gender attempt to reinforce structures of social oppression as natural distinctions of that allegedly transparent and legible expression of identity—language itself" (1997: 5). Bloomer shows how this can be seen clearly in late Republican debates concerning *Latinitas*. While not aimed against popular speech as such but rather elite speech that had become bastardized, the call for a purity of diction was clearly important in the attempt to denigrate those who did not speak in a proper, aristocratic manner.[70] Such linguistic exclusion continued into the Empire. Aulus Gellius at 13.17 has a striking discussion on the meaning of *humanitas*. Those who know Latin well (*probe*), he says, know that the meaning that the *vulgus* attaches to the word is incorrect; it does not mean, as they think, an undiscriminating cooperativeness and benevolence to everybody (*dexteritatem quandam benivolentiamque erga omnis homines promiscam*). Rather it means erudition and learning in the "high arts" (*eruditionem institutionemque in bonas artes*). Only those who desire and seek out such *artes* sincerely (*quas qui sinceriter percupiunt adpetuntque)* can be considered *maxime humanissimi*. Here then we see once more that an important element of cultural capital, *humanitas*, can be acquired only through education

69. Cf. Cicero *de Oratore* 3.44: *Quare cum sit quaedam certa vox Romani generis urbisque propria, in qua nihil offendi, nihil displicere, nihil animadverti possit, nihil sonare aut olere peregrinum, hanc sequamur, neque solum rusticam asperitatem sed etiam peregrinam insolentiam fugere discamus.*

70. Cf. *Brutus* 258 where Cicero has Atticus complain of foreign influences on the Latin language and call for methodical rules to be applied to *sermo* rather than leaving it to the hazards of everyday usage: *quo magis expurgandus est sermo et adhibenda tamquam obrussa ratio, quae mutari non potest, nec utendum pravissima consuetudinis regula.*

and training in the *artes* of the *boni*; merely acting in a kindly and friendly manner to all people alike is not enough and is dismissed as *benevolentiam promiscam*.[71]

Theodor Adorno, in a discussion of what he sees as the Jewish stereotyping of Mime and Alberich in the music and language of the *Ring*, quotes a passage from Wagner's notorious treatise *Judaism in Music*:

> The first thing that strikes our ear as quite outlandish and unpleasant, in the Jew's production of the voice-sounds, is a creaking, squeaking, buzzing snuffle: add thereto an employment of words in a sense quite foreign to our nation's tongue, and an arbitrary twisting of the structure of our phrases—and this mode of speaking acquires at once the character of an intolerable mumbo-jumbo; so that when we hear this Jewish talk, our attention dwells involuntarily on its repulsive *how*, rather than on any meaning of its intrinsic *what*.

Adorno's terse comment is: "Jewish speech is thereby dismissed" (1981: 24). Here I want to examine the repeated dismissal of the speech associated with the *circuli* and *circulatores*. By attacking, rather crudely, the speech of the *circulus* and the *circulator* in general rather than its particular content, the *how* rather than the *what*, the ruling elite attempts to render this whole area of popular speech illegitimate, while preserving its own right to speak authoritatively. In particular, we see in our sources a repeated comparison of the speech of the *circuli* and the *circulatores* with the speech of the trained orator. This comparison is part of a larger elite strategy of formalizing the rules of political speech. Maurice Bloch has shown how such formalization of political discourse can serve as a powerful means of social control (1975: 1–29); as he says of the Merina, a Madagascan tribe:

> The reason why there is such stress on the manner in which things are said rather than on what is said, seems to be that by defining and regulating the manner the content is also, albeit indirectly, restricted. This type of restriction is, as we shall see, much more powerful than a direct attack on content, since it goes right through the whole range of possible responses. (1975: 5)

We have already seen how the verb *fremere* was used to describe speech in *circuli* (Livy 7.12.14 and 34.37.1), a verb which perhaps served to equate speech in *circuli* with the irrational and inarticulate noise of roaring animals. The "manner" of *circuli* speech is also criticized by Seneca at *Ep.* 40.3, where he compares the kind of speech that is appropriate for serious and great subjects with the kind of speech found in the *circuli*: "So consider thus, that that rapid and

71. Note also Fitzgerald 1995: 87–113 for *urbanitas* and the notion of social style as a means of inclusion in or exclusion from the social group. On *urbanitas* in general see Ramage 1973.

overflowing force of speaking is more appropriate to someone going around *circuli* than someone discussing and teaching a great and serious topic."[72] This contrast of the speech of the *circulus* with official, elite speech is also made by Quintilian. At *Inst.* 2.12.10 he speaks disparagingly of the *circulus* in a passage comparing the untrained, gesticulating orator with the learned speaker. By smacking his hands, stamping on the ground, and slapping his thighs, breast, and brow, such an amateur speaker appeals to the *pullatum circulum*, a *circulus* marked by the black clothes associated with poorer Romans.[73] And at 12.10.74, in a passage already referred to, Quintilian again associates the speech of the *circuli* with faulty speech, speech that is not appropriate for the orator. Quintilian tells how any kind of speech, even the faulty and corrupt kind (*vitiosum et corruptum dicendi genus*), pleases many, offering a natural pleasure to the mind, and "there exist for no other reason those *circuli* in the fora and on the Old Wall."[74]

Just as the *sermo* of the *circulus* is condemned by comparison with the serious speech of senators, so too we find the speech of the *circulatores* denigrated and used as a benchmark against which elite oratory can be defined and favorably compared. For instance, we see Quintilian, at *Inst.* 2.4.15, contrasting a correct type of oratory which is carefully composed with the rash and improvised speech and lack of careful thought associated with *circulatores*.[75] And at 10.1.8 Quintilian, discussing the stock of words available to choose from, makes a similar contrast between careful, well-judged oratory with its carefully chosen supply of words and the rashness and volubility of the speech of a *circulator*.[76] Quintilian 10.7.11–13 is also of interest in this respect, although the passage does not talk specifically about *circulatores*. The rhetorical expert discusses here the ἄλογον τριβήν, described as a *usus quidam irrationalis*, which allows those who possess it to perform certain feats that others cannot do. He gives as an example the tricks of the *ventilatores* and of the *pilarii*. But this dexterity, without reflection, is, Quintilian says, of no use to the orator; *ars* must precede this dexterity else it will lead to nothing but bombast and noise (10.7.12).[77] Here Quintilian dismisses

72. *sic itaque habe, istam vim dicendi rapidam atque abundantem aptiorem esse circulanti quam agenti rem magnam ac seriam docentique* (Sen. *Ep.* 40.3).

73. *iam collidere manus, terrae pedem incutere, femur, pectus, frontem caedere, mire ad pullatum circulum facit; cum ille eruditus ...* (Quint. *Inst.* 2.12.10). For the association between dark clothing and lower-class Romans, see Richlin 2001.

74. *quod quidem placere multis nec infitior nec miror. Est enim iucunda auribus ac favorabilis qualiscumque eloquentia et ducit animos naturali voluptate vox omnis, neque aliunde illi per fora atque aggerem circuli* (Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.74).

75. *ita cum iam formam rectae atque emendatae orationis accipient, extemporalis garrulitas nec exspectata cogitatio et vix surgendi mora circulatoriae vere iactationis est* (Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.15).

76. *nobis autem copia cum iudicio paranda est, vim orandi non circulatoriam volubilitatem spectantibus* (Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.8).

77. *sed hic usus ita proderit, si ea de qua locuti sumus ars antecesserit, ut ipsum illud, quod in se rationem non habet, in rationes versetur. Nam mihi ne dicere quidem videtur nisi qui disposite, ornate, copiose dicit, sed tumulari* (Quint. *Inst.* 10.7.12).

a natural genius for speech (or other skills) which does not involve *ars*, and it seems plausible to perceive here an anxiety over the skills of those like the *circulatores* who have a "knack" for stirring up a crowd as well as a trained orator might. By insisting on the need for *ars*, Quintilian wants only those privileged enough to go through the kind of rhetorical education that he provides to be able to speak with authority. This anxiety about people's natural eloquence, which might challenge male elite, acquired eloquence, continues in the next sentence where Quintilian refuses to admire the fortuitous *sermo* which women are said to produce in abundance in the course of quarrels (*nec fortuiti sermonis contextum mirabor unquam, quem iurgantibus etiam mulierculis superfluere video*, 10.7.13).

The younger Pliny, at *Ep.* 4.7, describes how Regulus had become notorious for reading aloud his memoir for his dead son. Pliny suggests that Regulus has been using his force (*vim*) for bad ends, and in addition attacks his stammer and the difficulty he has in finding the correct word. However, his *impudentia* and his *furor* have won him the reputation of an orator:

> He has weak lungs, indistinct articulation, and a stammer, he is slow at finding the right word and has no memory, nothing in fact but a perverted ingenuity, and yet his crazy effrontery has won him the popular reputation of being an orator.[78]

This reputation, Pliny says, was attacked by Herennius Senecio, who, in a parody of Cato's description of the orator, described Regulus as a *malus vir dicendi imperitus.* In this letter in which correct and improper rhetoric and oratory are contrasted,[79] Pliny ends by asking his addressee if he or anyone else that Pliny knows in his town has read out Regulus' miserable book *ut circulator in foro* (4.7.6). Once more speech that goes against rhetorical norms is likened to and ridiculed as the speech of a *circulator*.

In addition to this denigration of the speech of the *circulus* and *circulatores*, we also find suggestions of an awareness of the desirability of controlling the kind of *sermo* associated with *circuli.* At *de Officiis* 1.132, a passage referred to above, Cicero tells how speech has power in two areas: *contentio* and *sermo*. *Contentio*, that is oratory or vigorous speech, belongs to the debates of judges, *contiones*, and the Senate (*disceptationibus … iudiciorum contionum senatus*), whereas *sermo* "should occur in *circuli*, in disputes, in meetings of friends and should accompany even banquets" (*in circulis, disputationibus, congressionibus familiarum versetur, sequatur etiam convivia*). Cicero goes on to complain that there are no teachers of *sermo* in the way that there are rhetoricians for oratory. As with oratory, there is perhaps a wish to make *sermo* a skill, an *ars,* that only

78. *imbecillum latus, os confusum, haesitans lingua, tardissima inventio, memoria nulla, nihil denique praeter ingenium insanum et tamen eo impudentia ipsoque illo furore pervenit ut orator habeatur* (Pliny *Ep.* 4.7.4). I use here Radice's Loeb translation.

79. Note, in the description of Regulus quoted in the previous footnote, Pliny's use of the rhetorical categories of *inventio* and *memoria.*

the elite will be able to master, and we see here an anxiety over unregulated private conversation, the kind of conversation found in *circuli*. Cicero continues his discussion by giving quite restrictive guidelines for *sermo*. It should be gentle, unthreatening and witty (*sit ergo hic sermo ... lenis minimeque pertinax, insit in eo lepos*, 1.134); and, perhaps most relevant given what has been said above of the *circuli*, he emphasizes that anger and sudden emotions should not be aroused. He goes on to say that a speaker should not monopolize conversation and should have a true regard for the subject at hand (1.134). A conversation should not drift from the matter being discussed (1.135); and, once more, Cicero stresses that sudden anger should be avoided (1.136). Cicero goes on to recommend only mild criticism, combined with seriousness, so that the speaker can show severity but not abuse (1.137). Cicero's audience consists here of members of his own class, not the man in the street, and his project is largely an effort to contribute to the self-presentation of the senatorial class. Cicero's project can be usefully compared to the remarks of Thomas Habinek on the sociological function of literature at Rome:

> At Rome literature participates in the "formation" of the aristocracy in both senses of the word, that is, by defining, preserving, and transmitting the standards of behavior to which the individual aristocrat must aspire and by valorizing aristocratic ideals and aristocratic authority within the broader cultural context.
>
> (1998: 45)

In the case of *sermo*, I would suggest that the broader cultural context includes a widespread popular culture of discussion, and that it was important for the Roman aristocracy to define its own *sermo* as distinct from and superior to other competing forms of speech. It is to be noted that Cicero's writings on *sermo* were taken seriously, even in the very different world of the Principate, where we find Quintilian stating explicitly that Cicero should be heeded when he says that *sermo* should never be careless (10.7.28).[80]

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have attempted to see *circuli* and *circulatores* as part of a popular culture of sociability at Rome which was at times political in nature and which at other times had a potential for political action and discussion. I would suggest that such activity merits more consideration by historians than it has received. Discussion of popular politics in Rome has often focused on issues such as the nature of the "democratic" element in the Roman consti-

80. *ne id quidem tacendum, quod eidem Ciceroni placet, nullum nostrum usquam negligentem esse sermonem; quidquid loquemur ubicumque, sit pro sua scilicet portione perfectum* (Quint. *Inst.* 10.7.28).

tution or on the ideology and politics of munificence, of *panem et circenses*; some scholars have been interested in large-scale popular protests and "street politics," while more recently there has been interest in how consensus was achieved (or at any rate expressed) among the various constituencies of the Empire, including the Roman urban plebs.[81] What is often lacking in the study of plebeian culture and politics at Rome is an approach that brings out the politics of everyday practices, showing how these were accommodated within, served to legitimate, or produced tensions in the broader political system.[82] As we have seen, this was not the kind of politics that the Roman elite in general approved of. Part of the success of the Roman governing class in achieving and maintaining political hegemony for so long lay in its ability to maintain an ideology that stressed the theoretical power of the *populus Romanus* while allowing the people only a restricted role in constitutional politics. But the maintenance of this political hegemony also involved rendering illegitimate, in ways that we have been observing, all other spheres of popular political activity, including activity that was closely bound up with popular culture and everyday life.

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81. Fergus Millar is the historian most responsible for emphasizing the democratic element of the Roman constitution and the popular nature of much political activity; see n. 3 above. On the ideology of munificence, see Veyne 1990; also Griffin 1991. For excellent political studies of the relationship of ruled and ruler, see Yavetz 1988 and Cameron 1976. For mass politics in the late Republic, see Vanderbroeck 1987. On consensus, see e.g. Ando 2000: chapter 5 and Rowe 2002: chapter 3.

82. Cf. the research of de Certeau 1984, viewing everyday life, at work, at home and in leisure, as a potentially oppositional space.

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Fig. **1:** Fragment of Attic red-figure kylix. Malibu, California, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.311.

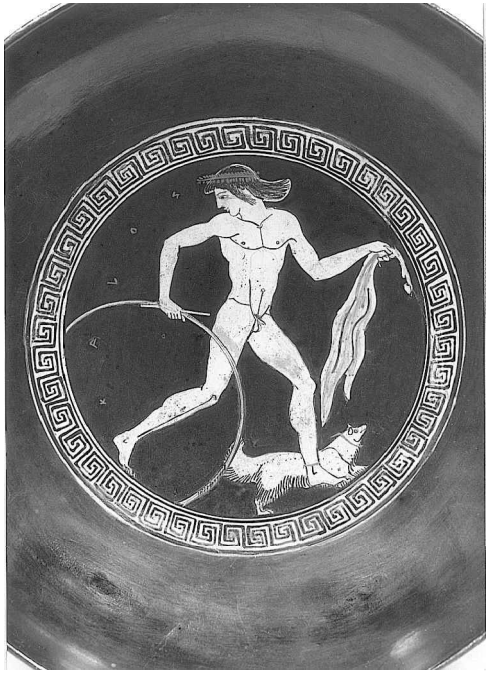


Fig. **2:** Attic red-figure kylix. Interior detail. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2674.

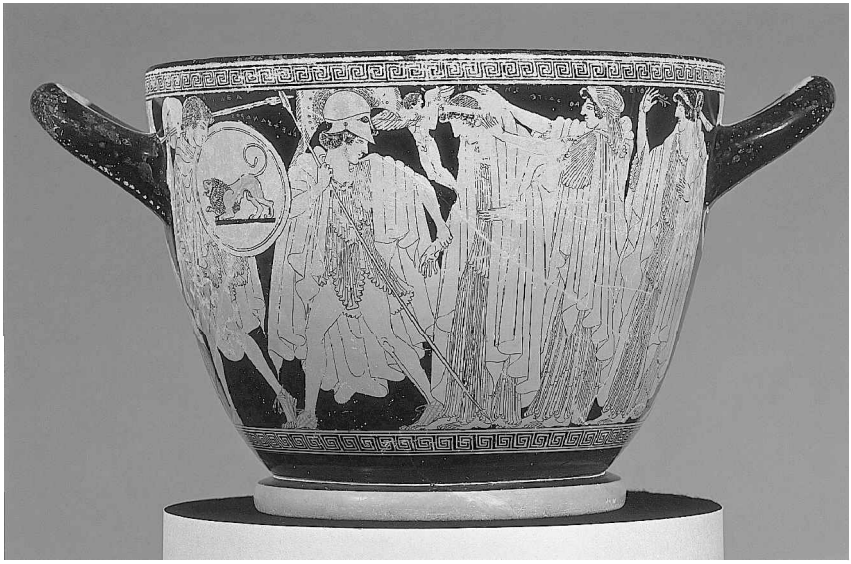


Fig. **1:** Attic red-figure skyphos. Side A: Paris abducting Helen. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.186. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. **2:** Attic red-figure skyphos. Side B: Helen's return to Menelaos. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.186. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

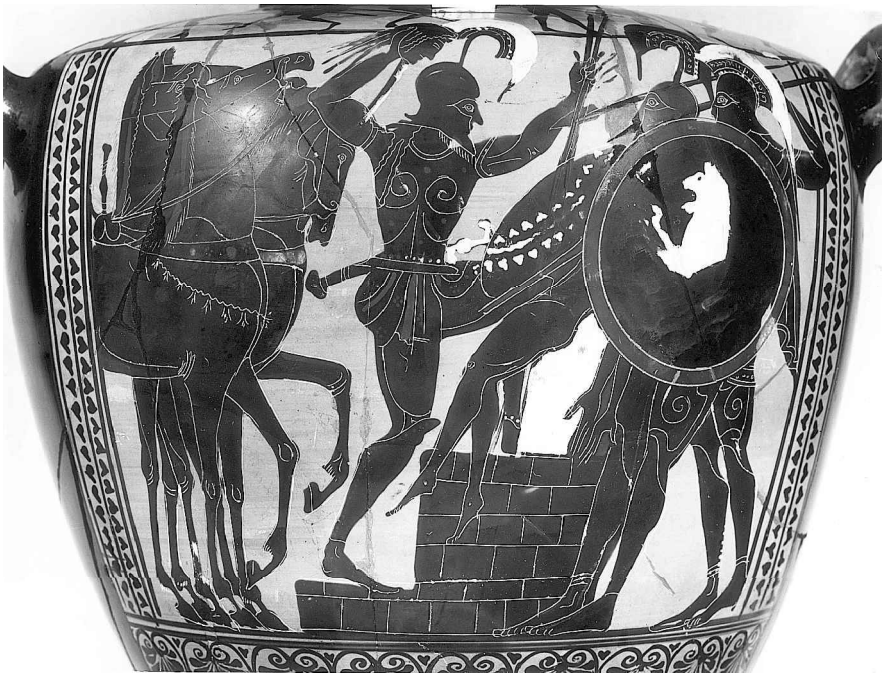


Fig. **3:** Attic black-figure hydria. Detail. London, British Museum B 326. Copyright The British Museum.

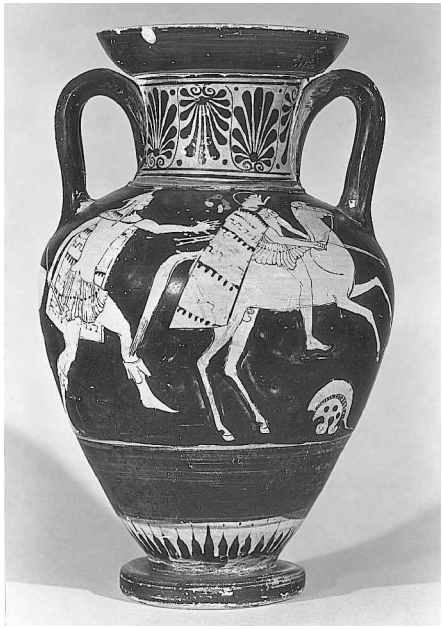


Fig. **4:** Attic red-figure neck-amphora. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung F 3309. Photo: Isolde Luckert.



Fig. **5:** Jan Steen, *Woman at her Toilet*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

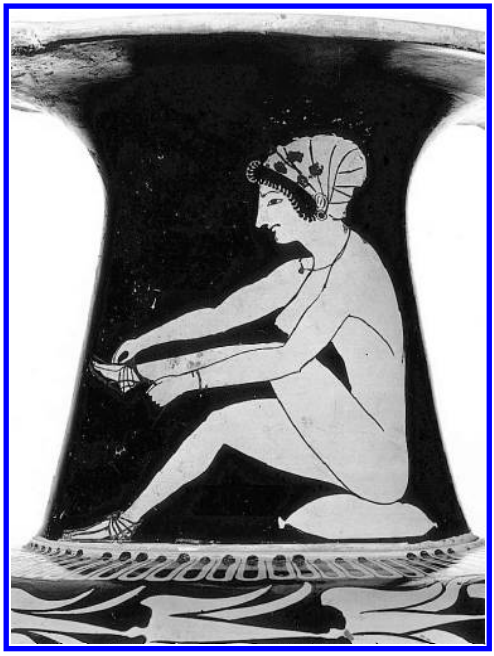


Fig. **6:** Attic red-figure neck-amphora. Detail. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 2. Photo: M. and P. Chuzeville.



Fig. **7:** Attic black-figure hydria. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8125. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. **8:** Attic black-figure hydria. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 61.195. William Francis Warden Fund. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

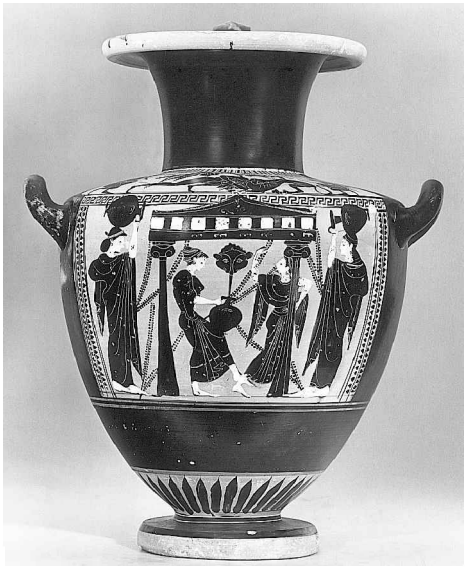


Fig. **9:** Attic black-figure hydria. Würzburg, Universität, Martin v. Wagner Museum L 317. Photo: K. Oehrlein.

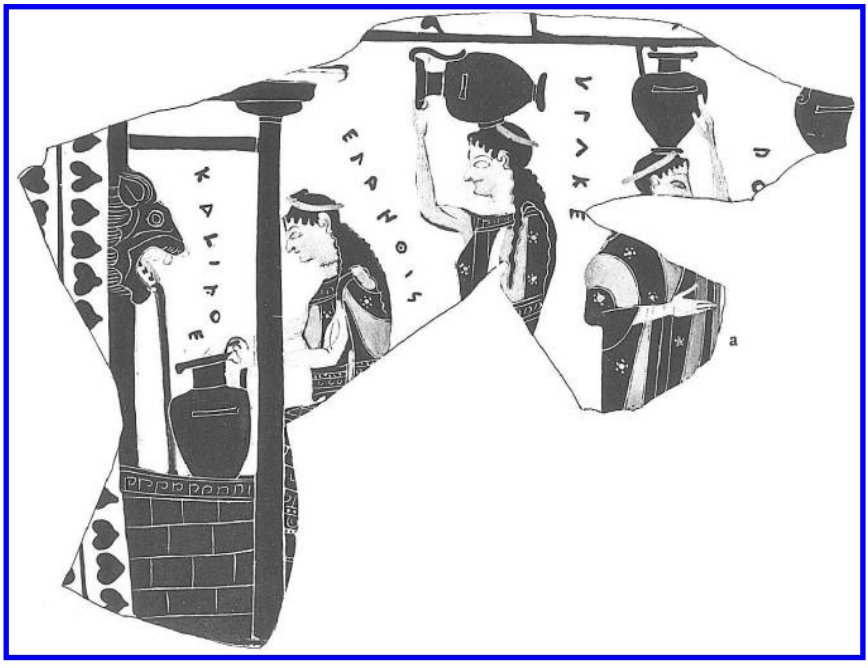


Fig. **10:** Fragment of Attic black-figure hydria. Athens, National Museum, Acropolis 732. After Graef and Langlotz 1911, pl. 47.



Fig. **11:** Attic black-figure hydria. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung F 1908. Photo: Eva-Maria Borgwaldt.

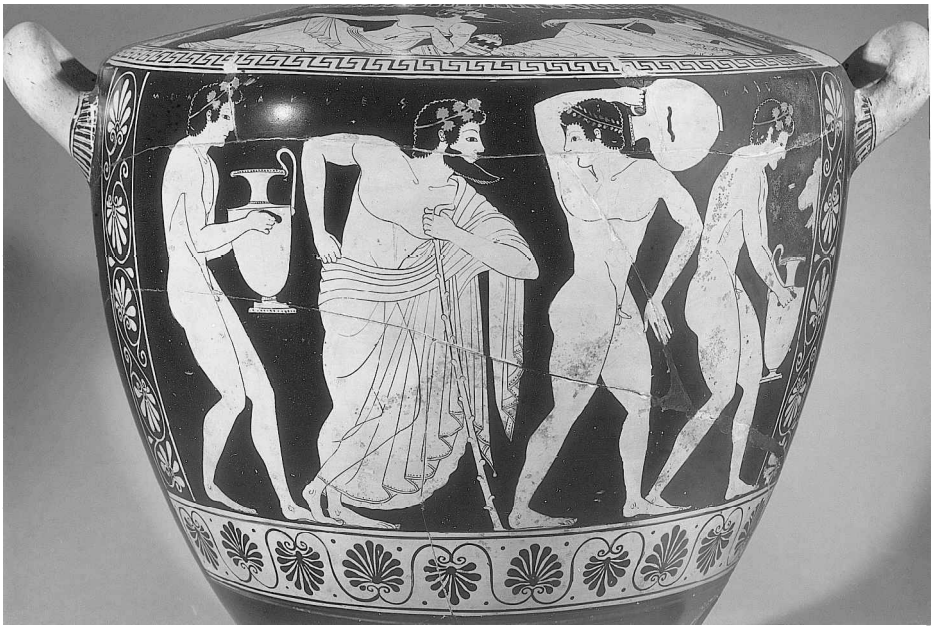


Fig. **12:** Attic red-figure hydria. London, British Museum E 159. Copyright The British Museum.



Fig. **13:** Attic black-figure hydria. Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani 417.



Fig. **14a:** Attic black-figure skyphos. Athens, National Museum 12531.



Fig. **14b:** Attic black-figure skyphos. Athens, National Museum 12531.

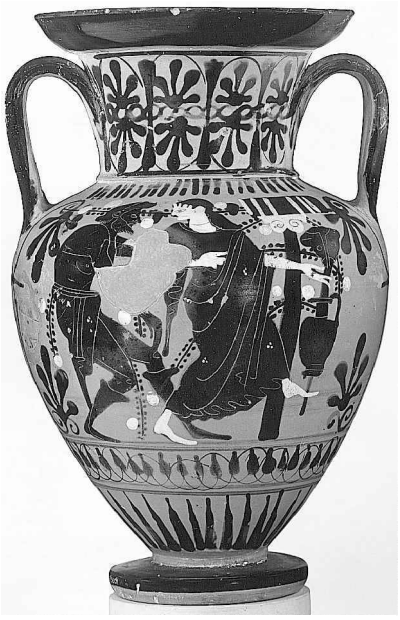


Fig. **15:** Attic black-figure neck-amphora. New York, The Metropolitan Museum 98.8.12, Gift of F. W. Rhinelander, 1898.

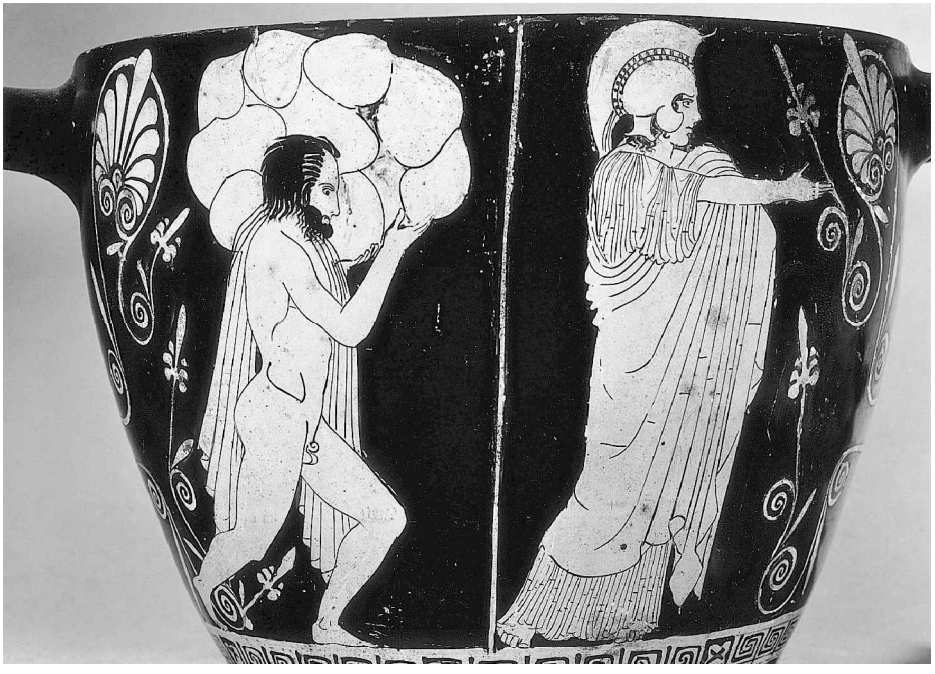


Fig. **16:** Attic red-figure skyphos. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 372. Photo: M. and P. Chuzeville.



Fig. **17:** Jean-Léon Gerome, *The Cock Fight*. Paris, Musée d'Orsay. Copyright Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York. Photo: G. Blot and C. Jean.

VERGILIUS

POSSESSIVENESS, SEXUALITY AND HEROISM IN THE "AENEID"
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POSSESSIVENESS, SEXUALITY AND HEROISM IN THE *AENEID*

As its opening lines make clear with great precision, the plot line of the *Aeneid* is a simple one.[1] The titular hero, exiled from his homeland, Troy, after its defeat by the Greeks, brings his gods and a remnant of his people to Italy where he is to found a city, Lavinium, the precursor of Alba Longa and finally of Rome itself. The epic's story takes us from the horror of Troy's last night, through seven years of wandering from shore to shore, including the hero's dalliance with Dido, until we touch land in Italy at Cumae. After being led by the Sibyl into the Underworld to visit his father, Anchises, and learn of future Roman heroes, he confronts the more immediate challenge of establishing his dominance at the Tiber's mouth. This he succeeds in doing by defeating, and killing in the epic's final lines, the Rutulian chieftain, Turnus, who took to himself leadership of the Latin coalition against the Trojans.

But the epic's opening verses forewarn us that we are to experience far more than a tale of suffering and bravery leading to heroic victory. Take the famous opening phrase, *Arma virumque cano*, whose rendering by Dryden has become standard in English: "Arms, and the man I sing . . ." In his recent version, Robert Fitzgerald translates: "I sing of warfare and a man of war." This no doubt grasps something of Virgil's meaning, with war standing by synecdoche for the weaponry it forces soldiers to use. Yet, though he would have sacrificed the beautiful cadence of the words he actually chose, Virgil could have written *Bella virumque*, "Wars, and the man . . ." He did not. Instead, by putting a single emphasis on arms where Fitzgerald places a double stress on the larger entity, war, Virgil tells us that his poem is to be about the explicit, specific relationship of a man, or men, and the arms they use, for the two are constantly interconnected throughout the poem. His epic is concerned with force and the moral dilemmas its wielding creates.

The poem's opening propounds the thesis. Its conclusion offers the most remarkable instance of this dynamic relationship between heroes, their armory and the ethics of power. In the poem's last thirty-four lines we have no less than four types of arms called into service. First Aeneas seriously but not fatally wounds Turnus in the thigh with his spear. Then, after Turnus has begged him for mercy and for an end to his hatred, he stands over his defeated foe *acer in armis* (12.938). He is fierce in a panoply that includes a shield engraved with major events of Roman history culminating in the battle of Actium and the rout of Antony and Cleopatra. Turnus' words have the effect of restraining Aeneas' hand, but he suddenly sights the sword-belt of the youth Pallas which Turnus had stripped off his body after killing him earlier in the fighting. The appearance of this baldric on Turnus enrages Aeneas and he slays him with his sword.

Each step in this action, each weapon that is called into play, involves emotional and ethical considerations that are crucial to our understanding of the poem as a whole. How we read the ending determines how we read, and tion, is motivated by Aeneas' supposedly guiding abstraction, *pietas*, as some

critics maintain, then the epic ends as we might expect. His deed may seem to go contrary to the first part of his father's injunction in the Underworld to spare the suppliant and war down the proud. Nevertheless, according to this view, sufficient provocation, and excuse, for his action, lies in the "piety" he owes Pallas and his father, Evander, to avenge the son's death. Evander had earlier led us to believe that Aeneas "owed" Turnus to the bereaved parent (11.179).

It is well, in this regard, to examine the actual words Virgil uses to describe his hero before his final brief statement and death-dealing act. They also take us back to the epic's opening and the moral programme quietly announced there. He speaks and acts only

> ille oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
> exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
> terribilis . . .
>
> After he drank in with his eyes the reminders of his ferocious anguish and the spoils, set ablaze by fury and frightening in his rage . . . (12.945-7)

If the opening lines tell us of the difficulties involved in Rome's foundation and of the intertwining of arms and men as this goal is implemented, they also establish one of the major emotional strands of the epic, namely, the hatred of Juno for Aeneas and his goal. The terms in which this hatred is couched by Virgil's narrator are remarkably similar to the way we are made to see Aeneas' reactions at the end. In the first eleven lines of the epic we hear twice of her rage, once of her ferocity and once of her anguish.

In contrast with this concatenation of wildness is the – still unnamed – hero who is styled as "a man outstanding for his piety" (1.10: *insignem pietate virum*). This distinction in ruling abstractions is continued on in the initial dramatic episode which, as critics have long noted, sets the tone for much that follows. We soon learn that the "stimuli for her rage and ferocious anguish" (1.25: *causae irarum saevique dolores*) are her constant companions, and that "inflamed by these" (1.29: *his accensa*) she coopts Aeolus, ruler of the winds, into her design to destroy Aeneas and his fleet through a sea-storm. Virgil is fond of having external nature reflect the inner "weather" of his characters, and it is not hard to see the tempest which Juno's puppet devises as both literal and figurative at once – literal, as the means to annihilate the Trojans, figurative, as a reflection of her deep-seated hatred.

Certainly when her brother Neptune, lord of the sea, senses his realm in turmoil, he attributes the disturbance to the deceits and "rages" of his sister. And, as the episode draws to a close, we are brought back to its beginning, and to the start of the poem, by the extraordinary first simile which compares Neptune's calming influence over his unruly charges to a respected personage who stills a spirited, revolutionary mob. Once more the same dis-

tinctions are operative. The populace "rages" (*saevit*), and we are told that furor lends it arms. The counterposing force is a man "respected for his piety and his achievements" (1.151: *pietate gravem ac meritis*). Neptune and Aeneas are parallel creations. Each endures Juno's frenzy and sets against it – directly in the first instance, presumably in the second – a *pietas* of mind that mitigates the often physical manifestations of its antonym's wildness. Why, then, at the end of the poem is Aeneas made to react like Juno and not like Neptune, like a person given over to private vendetta rather than a public-spirited soul bent on suppressing passion?

One answer lies, I believe, in a strand of eroticism that runs carefully through the poem, knotting its beginning and end together. But before I discuss this I would like to remind us of how mysterious a poem the *Aeneid* is and will always remain. Here are some enigmas, paradoxes, ambiguities that will form part of my argument. I pose them as questions. Why does the golden bough, which Aeneas needs as a passport into the Underworld and into future Roman history, hesitate as Aeneas tugs it off, when the Sibyl has just told him that it will be broken easily by whomever Fate allows? And, allied to this, what are we to think of the Roman mission when we learn from Anchises that time spent in the Underworld serves merely to purge the emotionality rampant in the doings of men while still alive? (Each hero must be made to forget his past, as he prepares to be reborn, and even Aeneas can exclaim to his father on the "dread desire" [6.721: *dira cupido*] that has grasped anyone who wishes to face life again.) My second query: Why is Erato, muse whose name suggests that love poetry is her province, addressed as sponsor of the second half of the epic? And, finally, if the manufacture of arms for the hero is a straightforword, morally praiseworthy enterprise, why, in book 8, does Vulcan hesitate before yielding to Venus' request for them for her son? Why must she resort to her seductive wiles to win him over – and gloat, later, pleased with herself that they had worked – if nothing suspicious lurked in their forging, their use or the deeds of the Roman future which the shield will survey? Does the erotic element that enters into their origination continue in their later employment? Or, using this episode as a synecdoche, in what senses and ways are sexuality and armor, emotionality and warring interdependent as the *Aeneid* presses to a close?

Let me begin a search for answers to these questions by turning to an earlier episode in book eight whose ambiguities have not always received the scrutiny they deserve, namely the fight between Hercules and Cacus. King Evander tells the tale of this half-man, half-beast, whose soil, to paraphrase the narrative, was always warm with fresh slaughter, and fixed to whose haughty portals were hanging visages of men sallow with ugly gore. To the obvious relief of the neighborhood, Hercules strangles the creature to death after he has stolen some of his cattle. It is the memory of this deed that is being celebrated as Aeneas steps ashore at the site of future Rome.

The adventure lends itself easily to a paradigmatic interpretation with clear polarities. The hero, about his task of ridding the world of monsters,

kills a villain, as good triumphs over evil, civilization over primitivism, human over animal. It is an easy jump to find here an example of myth anticipating history as Hercules prefigures the last, triumphant image on the shield of Aeneas: Augustus clearing Rome of Antony, Cleopatra and her grotesque gods. Virgil's narrative elsewhere abets the analogy. In the sixth book he has Anchises announce that the extent of the Roman empire under Augustus surpasses the territory covered by Hercules as he went about his labors (6.801-3). The implication remains that in quality of accomplishment the new emperor surpasses even his Hellenic archetype.

But just as on the shield Virgil subtly elicits sympathy for Cleopatra and Rome's enemies while questioning Augustus' pride,[2] so aspects of Evander's narrative of the Hercules-Cacus story also work against facile allegory. First of all, lexical parallels tend to equate, rather than to distinguish, the two protagonists. Cacus' doorposts are proud with the features of his victims, and Hercules is proud from the slaying and despoliation of Geryon (8.202). Each is associated with fury: the mind of Cacus is wild with fury as he goes about his thievery, while Hercules is first ablaze with fury, then furious, in response. Each takes to himself images of blackness, Cacus spewing black fires from his throat, Hercules reacting with black rage. But it is not so much parallelisms in vocabulary that demean Hercules as questions of motivation and then reaction specifically on his part.

First the reaction. Cicero, in a passage arguing that bravery and frenzy, courage and irrationality are incompatible, asks his interlocutor rhetorically:

> "Do you think that Hercules, who was raised to heaven by that self-same bravery you would consider to be irascibility, was angry when he struggled with the boar of Erymanthus . . .?"[3]

Not at all, is Cicero's point. Yet, if Stoic saints do not yield to hot temper as they go about their endeavors, why is Hercules "swollen with anger" (8.230: *fervidus ira*) as he takes on the monster Cacus? Evander, as created by Virgil, gives us no high-minded, metaphysical reasons for the hero's behavior. We are not told that Hercules took one look at Cacus, sized up his brutishness and killed him to rid the site of Rome of barbarity. Virgil has his death-dealing action motivated purely by Cacus' robbery of the cattle, a deed which Evander calls a *scelus*, crime. He is moved to respond not from larger universal concerns but because of a private hurt and its resultant vendetta. If we are generous to him, we can defend Hercules' anguish (*dolor*) and its consequent rage (*ira*) as a result of a loss of *dignitas*. The cattle of Geryon, in which he takes pride, stand for his *virtus*, criminally assaulted by Cacus. To touch them is to affront his courage and the dignity that results from this heroism.

But Virgil's text gives us little help in defending even such conceptualization. What Evander does tell us is that the cattle were very beautiful:

> 'quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros

avertit, totidem forma superante iuvencas.'

"[Cacus] stole four bulls of supreme loveliness from their steadings, and as many heifers of matchless form." (8.207-8)

We sense why Cacus might like them, but we can also readily imagine their importance to Hercules on a most basic level. They are his possessions and they are very lovely. Their loss is the loss of objects personally attractive to him. It arouses in him anguish, anger and fury, twice emphasized, as we have seen, in the narration.[4]

The latent sexual element in these doings is confirmed if we look back again to the opening episode of book one. There Juno, after commanding Aeolus to strike force into his winds and overwhelm Aeneas' ships, forthwith offers him a bribe:

'sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae,
quarum quae forma pulcherrima Deiopea,
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo, . . .'

"I have fourteen nymphs of supreme loveliness, to the most beautiful in form of whom, Deiopea, I will join you in steadfast matrimony and I will name her yours, . . ." (1.71-3)

Sexual bribery is the means by which Juno stirs Aeolus suddenly to incorporate her rage, and, to storm, with his horse-winds, against the Trojans, in spite of his having to contravene thereby Neptune's direct limitations on his sway. The beautiful possession, momentarily lost this time rather than tantalizingly offered, is also an impetus for irrational wildness on the part of Hercules. His reaction to this deprivation associates him with, rather than separates him from, his antagonist.

In this context it is well to remember the reasons behind Juno's hostility to which Virgil alludes in detail during the epic's opening lines. She "fears" for the ultimate defeat of her favorite Carthaginians at the hands of future Romans and she "remembers" the war she had waged at Troy on behalf of her beloved Greeks. Her first reasoning, in other words, is based on past and future history, on events over or to be anticipated. Next, however, Virgil takes us into her mind and the turbulence there. The motivations for her "rage and ferocious anguish" are all congruent. They are the judgment of Paris (and her beauty scorned), her hatred of the Trojans as a race, and the preferrals granted Ganymede. All are based on sexual jealousy or dissatisfaction, because Paris chose Venus ahead of her and because her husband, Jupiter, granted his favors to Electra, who became mother of Dardanus and hence ancestress of the Trojans, and to the youth Ganymede. As we trace the developing inwardness of these two catalogues, we find her at the start merely anxious and mindful, but by the conclusion – as Virgil uses a metaphor he

will employ at later crucial moments – she has been set aflame.

Both these paradigmatic episodes, therefore, turn on the notion of privation, with implicit or explicit sexual innuendo, and in each case loss breeds a furious reaction. With these moments in mind, continuing the search into the reasons for Aeneas' ferocity at the epic's conclusion, I would like to turn once again to the eighth book and to a close examination of Virgil's treatment of the figure of Pallas. It is received critical opinion to understand Pallas' relationship with Aeneas as an example of *contubernium* whereby the younger tiro learns from the more experienced warrior the ways of battle.[5] This notion receives confirmation in the text in the words of Evander when he hands his son over to his guest's tutelage:

> "under your guidance let him grow used to military life and to the weighty work of Mars, to apprehending your deeds, and let him admire you from his earliest years." (8.515-7)

Also Evander earlier helps us draw an analogy between his own admiring reaction when, as a youth, he met Aeneas' father Anchises, and Pallas' response to Aeneas. Evander says of himself:

> '. . . mihi mens iuvenali ardebat amore
> compellare virum et dextrae coniungere dextram.'
>
> "My mind burned with a youthful love to greet the man and to join right hand with right hand." (8.163-4)

And it was only moments before that Pallas had clasped the hand of Aeneas as he stepped ashore at Pallanteum. Pallas is to look up to and emulate Aeneas as Evander once had Anchises.

But, just as the way Virgil has Evander narrate the tale of Hercules and Cacus or Vulcan depict Augustus and Cleopatra on Aeneas' shield allows us to read each episode in opposite ways, so also the poetry of this crucial meeting itself speaks of a deeper emotionality, first emanating from Pallas, then from Aeneas, as events progress. Let us begin with the initial handshake itself.[6] Virgil's remarkable line goes as follows:

> excepitque manu dextramque amplexus inhaesit.
>
> [Pallas] both grasped [Aeneas'] right hand in his hand and, embracing, clung to it. (8.124)

There are many realized handshakes in the *Aeneid* but no other quite like this one. The line heaps chiasmus on chiasmus to convey, through sound and verbal deployment, the intensity of Pallas' gesture. In fact the verse itself represents graphically the gesture, focussing on the elision between *dextram-*

que and *amplexus*, and from this central point the auditory "embrace" spreads out, beginning with the repetitions on either side of the elision, first of *-am*, then *-ex*, and extending, finally, to the ends of the line and the balancing verbs which form its termini. Moreover, neither *amplector* nor *inhaereo* appears in such a context elsewhere in the *Aeneid*. Virgil in fact uses *inhaereo* only twice elsewhere, shortly later in book 8, as Evander tells of Hercules squeezing Cacus to death (260), and in book 10, as Mezentius clings to the lifeless body of his son Lausus (845). Both, I need scarcely add, are moments of extreme emotionality, whether the feeling expressed be hatred or love. I will examine in a moment other appearances of the simple verb *haereo* in situations that give its compound still further power in the present setting.

The next occasion we are made aware of the physical presence of Pallas occurs the subsequent morning. This also involves the shaking of hands as the two pairs, Evander and Pallas, Aeneas and Achates, converge from their respective abodes. But later in the day we are led to experience another example of the extreme emotionality Pallas arouses, namely the farewell scene, which proves to be their last parting, of father and son. Given the number of embraces in this book, their profusion here is all the more noteworthy.[7] First we have the introduction to Evander's *au revoir*:

> tum pater Evandrus dextram complexus euntis
> haeret inexpletus lacrimans . . .
>
> Then father Evander, embracing the hand of [Pallas] on his going, clings unsated, weeping . . . (8.558-9)

The parallels with Pallas' passionate greeting of Aeneas are clear enough. Here, however, since Virgil never elsewhere connects *complector* with *dextram*, great emphasis is given the latter, with Pallas' right hand standing for his person. This is also Virgil's only use of *inexpletus*, unsated, whose erotic overtones in this setting must not be minimized.[8] And in the course of his brief speech Evander alludes first to the "sweet embrace" (*dulci amplexu*) from which he would not now be torn if his former strength were still with him (a strange, highly suggestive way of saying that father and son would go into battle together!). Then at the end he prays for a self-inflicted death before any wounding news could reach him.

> 'dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas,
> complexu teneo . . .'
>
> "while I hold you, dear boy, my only, my late pleasure, in embrace . . . " (8.581-2)

It is no accident that six lines after the end of Evander's valedictory Virgil offers a simile comparing Pallas, bright in his variegated armor, to Lucifer, the

Morning Star,

> quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis . . .
>
> whom Venus loves ahead of the other starry fires.[9] (8.590)

We may also be meant to think of Pallas as a *contubernalis* of Aeneas, but through metaphor and simile, not to speak of the story line itself, we see him not as an incipient warrior but as an object of beauty given to intensities of his own and capable of arousing them in others.

When next we meet Pallas, metaphor, this time supported by analogy, is again a crucial means for the poet to tell us what his surface narrative need not say. As they make the journey down the Tiber to the final conflict with Turnus, Aeneas, we are told, turns over in his mind the varying events of the war

> . . . Pallasque sinistro
> adfixus lateri iam quaerit sidera, opacae
> noctis iter, iam quae passus terraque marique.
>
> and Pallas, fixed to his left side, inquires now of the stars, of the course of the murky night, now of what he suffered on land and on sea. (10.160-2)

The analogy, of course, is with Dido at the conclusion of book 1. There, now deeply in love with Aeneas through the trickery of Venus and Cupid, the Carthaginian queen first listens to a *De Rerum Natura* sung by Iopas, then to the adventures of Aeneas, on land and sea, as chronicled by the hero himself.

The metaphor in *adfixus* is more complex, but its force here can be approximated by a look at Virgil's other five uses of the verb. In the *Georgics* he applies it to a vine root, to be firmly planted (2.318), and to bees leaving a sting (4.236-8). Early in *Aeneid* 8 we find the faces of the men Cacus has mutilated pierced (*adfixa*) on his haughty doorposts (196). *Adfigo* is combined with another verb of importance to us, *haereo*, in two other contexts. At the end of the fifth book we find Palinurus "affixed and clinging" (852: *adfixus et haerens*) to the helm of Aeneas' ship, soon to tear part of the poop and rudder with him as Sleep plunges him into the water. Finally there is a moment in book 9 where Turnus attacks a defense tower of the Trojans:

> princeps ardentem coniecit lampada Turnus
> et flammam adfixit lateri, quae plurima vento
> corripuit tabulas et postibus haesit adesis.
>
> First Turnus hurled a burning torch and to the [tower's] side affixed its fire which, fanned by the wind, seized the planks and clung to the

doorposts it had devoured. (535-7)

Since this is Virgil's only other juxtaposition of *adfigo* and *latus*, it may be particularly with fire that Virgil means us to associate Pallas, stuck to Aeneas' side. But the destructive elements in the other appearances of *adfigo* should not be minimized. The bees leave poison and make a wound, as they put their life into their sting, and by clutching tightly to his rudder Palinurus maims his ship as he falls. We should also note that the episodes of Palinurus and of Turnus' attack on the tower both contain the verb *haereo*. Palinurus clings, the fire clings, as they mutilate the objects to which they become attached. They both thus serve to remind us of the only other moment in the epic where Pallas actually touches Aeneas, the initial greeting where the boy clings to the hero's right hand. "Clutching" in the early episode becomes the still more violent "piercing" in the later.

Not that these moments stand alone. *Haereo, figo* and their compounds are used frequently throughout the epic in metaphorical contexts that have bearing on the passages under consideration. Here are two examples that extend over stretches of the epic. As Venus prepares to send Cupid to replace Ascanius at Carthage and engineer Dido's romance with Aeneas, she commands her son:

'cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet
occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.'

"When she will offer embraces and plant sweet kisses, you will breathe into [her] hidden fire and deceive her with poison." (1.687-8)

And soon thereafter, as he goes about his deadly work

. . . haec oculis, haec pectore toto
haeret . . .

she holds to him with her eyes, holds with her whole heart. (1.717-8)

At the start of the action she is in one sense positive. She fixes kisses and clings to the love god. By the beginning of book 4, after she has prolonged the night with hearing of his adventures, the metaphors are reversed. As the wound and fire images become hers, she is the one transfixed by Aeneas:

. . . haerent infixi pectore vultus
verbaque . . .

his features and his words cling, pierced in her heart. (4.4-5)

And, in the book's first simile which follows on reiteration of the flame and wound images, maddened Dido is compared to an incautious doe which an ignorant shepherd has pierced (*fixit*) with his arrows. Its last phrase brings the metaphor palpably before our eyes –

> . . . haeret lateri letalis harundo.
>
> And the lethal shaft clings to her side. (4.73)

And we must not forget Juno, the divine force behind much of the poem's irrationality, who begins the first half of the epic "harboring an eternal wound under her breast" (1.25-26) and whom we find, not far from the opening of the second half, still "pierced by sharp anguish" (*acri fixa dolore*).[10]

We must keep the imaginative power of all these images in mind when we seek to interpret the meaning of *inhaesit* and *adfixus* as they bear on the relationship of Aeneas and his protégé. The metaphors which vivify Pallas' effect on Aeneas are drawn from an arsenal of stings, arrows, wounds, fires. The force they exert on Aeneas is not directly apparent in his behavior after Pallas' death. Virgil tells us only that, as he prepares to act, Aeneas thinks of Pallas, Evander, their reception of him in the future site of Rome and right hands clasped in compact. The depth of these feelings, however, is attested by the vehemence of the rampage on which he now embarks. He seizes eight captives to become human sacrifices and kills at least eleven people among whom are a priest and two warriors who pray abjectly for mercy and remind Aeneas of his *pietas*. As his frenzy pursues its course Virgil compares him to the giant Aegaeon who raged against Jove's thunderbolts with a hundred arms and hands, flashing fire from fifty mouths and chests.

At this crucial juncture in book 10 Aeneas only hears news of Pallas' death which is described impersonally as a *malum tantum*, "such a misfortune."(510) Aeneas actually addresses the corpse only at the start of book 11 as preparations are made for the funeral cortege, carrying the body back to Pallanteum. What he is made by the poet to see and do before his speech will help us gauge further his feelings about Pallas. First what he views:

> ipse caput nivei fultum Pallantis et ora
> ut vidit levique patens in pectore vulnus
> cuspidis Ausoniae, lacrimis ita fatur abortis . . .
>
> He, when he saw the pillowed head and features of snow-white Pallas and on his smooth chest the open wound from the Ausonian spear, speaks thus as his tears well up . . .[11]

Two words are gratuitous in this description – *niveus*, snowy, and *levis*, smooth – and both are highly sensual. What Aeneas takes note of is the

adolescent, androgynous beauty of the youth.[12] *Niveus* has nothing to do with the whiteness of death (Virgil would have used *pallidus*)[13] and everything with physical allure. Virgil's only other use of *niveus* in connection with the human anatomy occurs in book 8 where Venus uses her "snowy arms" (387: *niveis lacertis*) to fondle hesitant Vulcan in her soft embrace. Catullus styles the limbs of the virgin Polyxena, slaughtered on Achilles' tomb, as *niveos* (64.364). For Horace the skin color of Briseis, Achilles' slave-mistress, is *niveo* (*C*.2.4.3), and in an elegy of Propertius Adonis, youthful lover of Venus, is characterized as *niveum* (2.13.53). Smoothness of skin is also a mark of youthful beauty – in a late ode Horace describes smooth-cheeked Apollo as *levis* (*C*.4.6.28) – but we must not dismiss the hint of femininity even here. For instance, it has not been long since we were told of Amata's *levia pectora* (7.349), the smooth breasts into which Allecto's snake-madness slips.

Virgil confirms the impression of youthful, partially feminine beauty in a simile subsequent to Aeneas' speech, as the body is loaded on the bier. The narrator compares dead Pallas to a flower, a violet or a hyacinth, nipped by the thumb of a virgin:

> qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
> seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
> cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit,
> non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat.
>
> like a flower reaped by a virgin's thumb, either of a soft violet or a drooping hyacinth, whose brightness and shape have not yet faded, but now mother earth does not nourish it and grant it strength.[14]

From Sappho on, the hyacinth is a symbol for a bride whose "plucking" connotes her deflowering in marriage (105cLP = LGS 225). The irony here is that it is a virgin who violates the flower. For Turnus, killer of Pallas, though he robs the unmarried but attractive youth of life, will himself be killed by, and lose his potential *coniunx* to, Aeneas.

Aeneas performs now one of the most symbolic gestures in the epic. He takes out two robes

> . . . quas illi laeta laborum
> ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
> fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.
>
> which Sidonian Dido, delighting in her task, had with her own hand once fashioned for him and interwoven the web with strands of gold. (11.73-5)

In one of these he swathes the corpse. We never hear of the other, but I presume that he wraps himself in it. If so, he admits the power of Dido in

this, her last direct mention in the poem, by symbolically equating first Pallas, then himself, with her.

The percipient reader would have already felt her presence in Aeneas' earlier look at the young warrior's body. The tag *pectore vulnus*, which ends line 40, occurs three other times in the epic. Two of these instances concern Dido. In the first, shortly before the shepherd-doe simile in book 4, the hurt is metaphorical:

> . . . mollis flamma medullas
> interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
>
> A flame gnaws at her soft inwards, meanwhile, and a silent wound lives under her breast. (66-7)

The second, no longer silent and very real, is the deadly wound of her suicide:

> . . . infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus.
>
> pierced in, the wound hisses under her breast.[15]

Wittingly or unknowingly, Aeneas is the cause of each wound, whether symbolic or actual.[16]

Virgil supports this allusiveness with even more direct attendance to the earlier telling of Dido's story. Line 75 is the same as 4.264.[17]. There the narrator describes a cloak (*laena*) made for Aeneas by Dido which he is wearing when Mercury arrives to recall him to his Roman mission and which therefore is a *monimentum* of the brief period when he and Dido were lovers. More striking still is the equivalence of book eleven's initial line with 4.129:

> Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit . . .
>
> Meanwhile Dawn, rising, left Ocean . . .

The narrator readies us for Aeneas' farewell glimpse of Pallas by reminding us of the moment in book 4 when Dido and Aeneas set out on their hunt. This departure initiates a chain of events leading to Juno's presiding over what Dido "calls a marriage, and with this label cloaked her blame" (4.172).

Such direct verbal echoes suggest again that in Aeneas' relationship to Pallas Virgil means us to observe parallels with Dido and thus to intimate that Aeneas senses for Pallas, virginal flower mowed to death by another virgin who is also soon to die, something akin to his feelings for Dido during the briefly untroubled part of their liaison. The possibility is furthered by a lexical novelty. The verb Virgil coopts to describe Aeneas' covering of Pallas' corpse with Dido's weaving, *obnubere* (77), is unique in his usage and makes here only its second appearance in Latin letters.[18] Since the poet elsewhere

utilizes the verb *velare* to denote ceremonial veiling of the head,[19] the reader rightly speculates on the particular nuances of the Virgilian *hapax* here. Servius' comment touches on what may be the poet's point:

> 'obnubit' autem velavit, translatio a nubibus quibus tegitur caelum: unde et nuptiae dicuntur, quod nubentum capita *obnubantur, id est* velantur.
>
> 'he covers' which is to say he veiled, a figuration from clouds (*nubibus*) by which heaven is covered: whence also wedding (*nuptiae*) derives its name, because the heads of brides (*nubentum*) are covered (*obnubantur*), that is, are veiled.

In pre-Virgilian usage, Varro makes the same connection between *obnubere* and *nuptiae*, and the lexicon of Paulus-Festus states that Cincius and Aelius Stilo, Varro's teacher, did likewise.[20]

Virgil, then, chose a word on the surface appropriate for Aeneas' veiling of the corpse of Pallas in death but which also suggests a deeper symbolism: that Pallas' funeral is also to Aeneas in some sense his marriage, that his funeral *torus* (66) was also a marriage-bed, as it had been for Dido.[21] Using a cloth woven by Dido for her lover, Virgil has Aeneas treat Pallas as a bride in oblique allusion to a ceremony that could no more directly be Dido's than Pallas'.

Through verbal parallels, metaphorical analogy and symbolic gesture, then, Pallas becomes again, as he had during the Tiber journey, another Dido. In a way his deadly wound, like Dido's, was caused by Aeneas' inattention, this time to the youth's activities on the battlefield. But the impact of Pallas on Aeneas is subtly different from that of Dido. We do hear in the fourth book that the hero "with an effort smothered care deep in his heart" and once that he "swayed in his mind from his great love." (332, 398) But in general for such an *histoire passionelle* there is a remarkable absence of the physical details we expect in such circumstances. All frenzy – for love, for revenge, for death – is hers, none his. We know that Dido is beautiful but we learn this from the narrator or from Rumor paraphrased, not from any response on Aeneas' part.[22] By contrast, Aeneas looks closely at Pallas just as he had at Lausus, dead from his onslaught in book 10, and himself creates an analogy between Pallas and a happy Dido, a circumstance of which we hear little or nothing in book 4. Perhaps more important still, the narrator would have us notice, through metaphor, even before the palpability of his response in book 11, that Aeneas is wounded by Pallas in a pattern that begins with the intense hand-clasp of book 8 and continues with the youth "affixed" to the hero's side on ship-board. Pallas is not only the receiver of a physical wound, as is Dido, but also the bestower of a spiritual one in a way which was never allowed to be hers.

The saga of Pallas ends only as the epic ends. Aeneas, contemplating

restraint, sees Pallas' belt on Turnus, goes wild with grief and kills his opponent whose life flees under the shades. I quoted earlier the lines that introduced Aeneas' final words to his foe, to show that someone acting out of fierce anguish, afflamed by furies and terrible in his wrath was not behaving under the influence of *pietas*. My analogy was the conduct of Juno at the opening of the epic, and her opposite there was the suffering hero, enduring rather than acting. But in the last moments of the poem Aeneas turns into Juno, the goddess who at the start is "harboring an eternal wound in her breast" and who, out of sexual jealousy, raises a furious storm against the Trojans that represents her fury. It is the thesis for which I have been offering evidence that the reasons for Juno's behavior are Aeneas' as well, that he, too, is acting out of deeply personal grief, caused by deprivation, and that this drives him, as it does Juno, to a delirium of revenge.

Here are Aeneas' words to Turnus before he kills him:

> . . . tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
> eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
> immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'

> "Are you, clothed in the spoils of my own, to be snatched hence from me? Pallas, Pallas sacrifices you with this wound and extracts punishment from your criminal blood." (12.747-9)

This is not the moment to examine the irrationality of these lines, though we might pause to ask who would be doing the "snatching," that is, life-saving, of Turnus except Aeneas' instinct for *pietas*. What I would like to stress here is the shrill note of possessiveness in Aeneas' language. Ordinarily *meorum*, which I just translated "of my own," would mean "of my people." It cannot have that sense here. What it does parallel closely is its most recent use some sixty lines earlier in the book, where Turnus' loving sister Juturna, anticipating her brother's death, asks

> '. . . quicquam mihi dulce meorum
> te sine, frater, erit?'

> "Will anything of mine be sweet to me without you, brother?"

A comparison of Juturna's words with Aeneas' points up the private intensity in his question.[23] He is like Hercules, given to rage not to rid the world of evil but because of the loss of a possession. His loss, however, is not of cattle but of a boy who now twice over exerts Aeneas' strength to perform the poem's last, most notable act of wounding.

Nor is Dido forgotten in these lines. Aeneas, we recall, is driven to fury only "after he drank in (*hausit*) with his eyes the reminders (*monimenta*) of his ferocious anguish and the spoils (*exuvias*)." The only other context in the

poem where *monimenta* and *exuviae* appear together is in the fourth book where Dido who, in the poet's dramatic image, has just conceived fury, overcome by anguish begins to plot out her suicide.[24] Her words to her sister reach out movingly into the rest of the poem, from beginning (*arma viri*) to end.[25] Build a pyre, she commands,

> '. . . et arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit
> impius exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem,
> quo perii, super imponas: abolere nefandi
> cuncta viri monimenta iuvat . . .'

> ". . . and heap up on it the arms of the impious man, which he left fixed in my bedroom, and all his clothing and the marriage bed, on which I perished: it pleases me to destroy all the reminders of the cursed man." (4.495-8)

In each case the literal *exuviae* are different, being garments in one instance, a sword-belt in the other.[26] But their common symbolic import is confirmed from their joint role as *monimenta* – remembrances of deep psychic travail.

The two books, and the two tales, have also in common the unusual phrase *haurire oculis*, to drink in with the eyes. Dido's final, unheard words to Aeneas are a curse:

> '. . . hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
> Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.'

> "Let the cruel Dardan from the deep drink in this fire with his eyes, and carry with him the omen of our death." (4.661-2)

The Trojans, of course, do see the actual pyre aflame but have only a generalized understanding of its import.[27] But Pallas' effect on Aeneas and Aeneas' subsequent killing of Turnus is her rich revenge. To drink in with his eyes the tokens that remind him of Pallas is to fulfill her curse and to drink in spiritually her fire. The loss of Pallas makes Aeneas suffer the *dolor* she had experienced and act out her frenzy in one last deed of violence. But she is requited in a still deeper sense. Aeneas' last act is not only irrationally violent, it is impious. It goes against his father's injunction to spare the suppliant as well as war down the proud, and sets a pattern for Roman civil war and a century of fraternal bloodshed. By undermining or, better, giving the lie to Rome's ethical pretensions toward *pietas* and *clementia* Dido gains a far more subtle repayment for her suffering than any literal defeat future Romans could inflict on her descendants. The explicit magnetism of Pallas over Aeneas, which, as the poet's verbal echoing suggests, reenacts implicitly the power once exerted by Dido, undercuts any striving on Aeneas' part toward a supposedly "higher," dispassionate heroism of restraint. Dido's strength,

which is the strength of human emotion most readily experienced through the claims of sexuality, lasts until or, better, triumphs at the epic's end. Eroticism and the demands of empire, human realities and human idealism are even, finally, at odds.[28]

We are now in a better position to propose answers to the questions we raised earlier: Why, in book 6, does the golden bough delay at Aeneas' tugging, and the hero himself consider it a "dread desire" to yearn for return to the world above? Why is the muse Erato addressed near the start of the poem's second half? And why does Vulcan hesitate to obey Venus' wishes for arms for her son, necessitating that she use her sexual wiles to assure his positive response?

Let us take the questions in reverse order. The final episode of the poem offers the epic's most vivid example of the interaction of violent feeling and the use of weaponry, but the reader is prepared for their association from the machinations of Venus in book 8. Two scenes are involved. The first, alluded to in my question, is the most explicitly erotic moment in the epic, the seduction of the god of fire by his wife, goddess of love. The metaphorical flame she touches off in her husband soon becomes the actual fire used to concoct Aeneas' *arma*. But sexuality is involved not only in the creation but in the delivery of the arms. The meeting in which mother brings armor to son is the only time in the epic where Aeneas is allowed to embrace a person he has previously loved. But it is important to observe that Venus, not Aeneas, is here the leader. When she saw Aeneas she first "offered herself of her own accord" (*se . . . obtulit ultro*), a phrase Virgil uses elsewhere only of erotic availability.[29] Then, after a brief speech, "the goddess of Cythera sought the embraces of her son" (8.615: *amplexus nati Cythera petivit*). She must seduce Vulcan at the creation, Aeneas at the acceptance, of the arms. As in their final use in the epic, there is something deceitful, something irrational in the initial fortunes of Aeneas' arms and in the pattern this combination of arms and man will set for Rome to come. No wonder Vulcan hesitates.

The invocation to Erato is usually explained by appeal to Turnus.[30] His failure to relinquish his claim on Lavinia, critics argue, is the reason why there must be war in Latium, and twice, once in the words of the Sibyl, once in those of the narrator, she is entitled *causa mali tanti*, reason for such misfortune (6.93; 11.480). But, though Lavinia looms large in the experience of Turnus and figures in his final words, there is never any mention of emotional involvement with her on Aeneas' part as we would expect when Erato is invoked to inspire the second half of an *Aeneid*. But, as we have already seen, Virgil uses the phrase *mali tanti* on one other occasion, to characterize the death of Pallas (10.510). It is a dreadful blow in and of itself, and because it marks a momentary military setback. But its deeper repercussions are to be felt in Aeneas' conduct – in the spate of carnage on which he now embarks, and in the final killing of Turnus, as he thinks of Pallas for the last time in the epic.

Finally, let us look at book 6 and at possible reasons for the hesitation of

the golden bough, Aeneas' passport to the Underworld and, I take it, symbol of his and Rome's future mission. The final thrust of Anchises' long disquisition to his son in that book is to preach a heroism of restraint. His list of future Roman military greats ends with a general who delays, and his last injunction, to spare the beaten, is an admonition to *clementia* in the uses of power. But the most emotional moment in his catalogue is a request to Caesar and Pompey not to turn their strength against their country's inwards. His special prayer is to Caesar:

> '. . . tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo,
> proice tela manu, sanguis meus! –'
>
> "and do you first, do you spare, who claim your descent from Olympus, discard the weapons from your hands, o my blood! –" (6.834-5)

Yet, in spite of Caesar's much touted *clementia*, he used his weapons liberally in the final campaign against his son-in-law and the latter's followers.

Roman civil war finds its archetype in the *Aeneid*'s final scene, but the philosophy or, more precisely, eschatology behind it is presented earlier in book 6 by Anchises. He teaches his son that our souls are made of divine fire, but that it is our bodies which do us harm and foster in us the emotions – he lists fear, desire, anguish, joy – that prevent the soul from achieving its divine potential. Though the evil results of these emotions must be purged in the Underworld after death, nevertheless Anchises' words point only to a renewal of this pernicious cycle even for those now suffering death's refinement. Aeneas might well exclaim on the "dread desire" of those who opt, if such is the word, for rebirth. He is himself at present, even while visiting his father in the Underworld, suffering through the emotional world of the living. His epic story is, finally, a general reminder of life's negative potential as well as a particular acknowledgement that Roman history will continue to recreate the less gentle aspects of human nature.

As Aeneas fulfills his natural response, as he yields to his own living, experiencing self, he undercuts his potential as symbol of Roman idealism to become the embodiment of a very human emotionalism. Perhaps, however, this sudden burst of complex energy on Aeneas' part is a way to claim and hold at least something of the present for himself. He relives now, and psychically extends, an experience which he, or his narrator, could define as his not through the reminiscence of an irretrievable past or the hypothesis of a golden Roman future but by an act of possessive violence, immediate and self-engendered. This anger and the corresponding indignation of Turnus' soul exemplify the *Aeneid*'s final truths.

I have been following out *arma*, arms, as a clue to the *Aeneid*'s meaning, from its beginning to its conclusion. This marvelous circularity makes us also watch carefully the interrelationship between Juno and Aeneas. The charac-

ters who appear as polar opposites at the start of the poem have, by the end, become equivalents. In other words, as Aeneas changes from passive to active, from sufferer of events to their apparent ruler, his enemy proves to be the hero's double, and initial, immediate distinctions between them yield, finally, to a deep-seated affinity.

Moreover, I hope that what I have been saying rings true psychologically. Aeneas' final rage is not motivated through a reasoned application of *pietas* but results from a terrible loss for which he compensates by killing the person who had caused this deprivation. The erotic impulse behind the action we would consider repressed. It is never openly stated by either narrator or his characters and only proposed to us through poetry's indirection. In all this Dido gains a many-sided revenge. First Aeneas now relives her experience and suffers himself the suffering he had caused her by leaving a relationship unfulfilled. Her lack of reciprocity from him is transformed into his loss of Pallas, and the furies of frustration and revenge that drive her to suicide now impel him to kill the killer of his cynosure. Responsibility for death is no longer secondary but direct.

But Dido's revenge has a more Roman side. Aeneas' final act, as I observed a moment ago, gives the lie to the much-vaunted *pietas*, the loyalty to father and to Rome, which the hero had used as his excuse for leaving Carthage and abandoning her. At the last the realism, the humanity of Aeneas displaces the artificial Aeneas, emblem of duty, symbol of *clementia*, of the Romanness that, once the proud have been beaten down, spares them as suppliants. Mindless or, better, passionless, devotion to a heaven-sent ideal yields to a spontaneous emotionality not unlike Dido's response to the hero who left her out of allegiance to a supposedly more estimable goal than loving and living in Carthage. Dido's enmity, of course, will take political shape in the future conflict of Rome and Carthage. Psychologically, however, it is fulfilled within the poem. In fact the metamorphosis of Aeneas into a Juno, or into a Dido who might vengefully kill her hated lover instead of herself, is one of the epic's great acts of emotional completion.[31]

The *Aeneid* does not end the way its models, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, conclude, with a mollification or purgation of vengeance. Its cycle, from the epic's introduction to its finale, is of anger leading to deadly action. By breaking the artistic mold, whether it be of Roman ethical artistry or of generic expectations, Virgil has created a novel poetic artifact with a different, in some respects even richer unity than Homer offers. History never completes itself. It never folds into itself neatly like a work of art. And history's individuals, its creatures, are never finally abstract, mere emblems of some lofty motivating virtue. At the end of the *Aeneid* Virgil sharply and profoundly disavows the linkage between Aeneas and *pietas*. This unmasking of Aeneas as symbol makes his tale truly reflect history itself. His act leaves the *Aeneid* both finished and incomplete. His tale, therefore, is an extraordinary cycle, both emotional and imaginative, yet it is also an open-ended admission that history, by its own continued acts of violence, is forever

fracturing the idealistic models artistry would sponsor for it. The last lines of the poem look not to any new-found sense of order which might have been reached from an ethical use of arms leading to reestablishment of order but to the life of Aeneas' final victim suffering the ultimate indignity of death.

Interpretation of the *Aeneid* has gone through a series of metamorphoses in this century. We have had Virgil eulogizer of empire or proto-Christian. We have seen his epic serve as definition of the classic or, in the aftermath of world war 2, exemplify the victory of light over dark, of reason and culture over violence and barbarism. There is truth, important truth, behind all these appraisals. I have been looking at yet another way of evaluating the epic's force.

Anchises' words about *clementia*, about a civility that spares suppliants, may hint at a higher eros, one that Plato, or Dante, or the aging Freud would have understood. But the tale of Aeneas, from Juno's jealousies to the hero's own final victimization by furies, offers a different, more realistic moral, as well as a more candid, penetrating appraisal of human behavior. This honesty, perhaps even more than its role as encomiast of Roman might, herald of a Christian sensibility, or epitome of the classical, is a major reason why the *Aeneid* continues to speak so forcefully to our time.

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NOTES

[1] This essay is a slightly expanded version of a lecture originally delivered in January, 1985, at the University of Georgia and Agnes Scott College, and, then, in revised form, at the University of Tennessee, as the Russell and Kathryn Rutledge Memorial Lecture, on May 14, 1985. I am particularly in the debt of Froma Zeitlin, for the stimulation of her encouragement at the right moment, and, in recent criticism, to the probing discussion of *Eros and Death in the Aeneid* by Daniel Gillis (Rome 1983).

[2] The figure of the mourning Nile, spreading its garments open to receive back the conquered into its hidden streams, presents a clear contrast to Rome's public rejoicing and to Caesar accepting the gifts of subject tribes. But Apollo's doorposts, to which Caesar affixes the donations, are proud (*superbis/postibus*, 721-2) as those of Cacus had been styled not long before in the narrative (*foribus superbis*, 196). And the last figure on the shield is the river Araxes, *pontem indignatus*, resenting the enslaving bridge built over it just as, in the epic's last line, the life of dead Turnus is *indignata* as it flees under the shades.

[3] *T.D.* 4.50. I owe the reference to Dr. R. O. A. M. Lyne.

[4] It is worth observing that the stag, whose chase "was the first cause of suffering" (*prima laborum / causa*, 7.481-2) "and inflamed the rustic spirits for war" (*belloque animos accendit agrestis*) was equally "of outstanding beauty" (*forma praestanti*, 483).

[5] Cf., most recently, G. Williams, *Technique and Idea in Virgil's Aeneid* (New Haven 1982) 104, 223. It is easy, and usual, to draw an analogy between Pallas and Patroclus whose armor was stripped off and worn by Hector during his final, fatal conflict with Achilles. But there is another Patroclus figure in the *Aeneid*, faithful Achates, who appears on twenty-one occasions in the poem, some of them foçal for the plot, from

the first book to the last. The poem's reader should ask which aspects of the Homeric figure are transmuted into Pallas and which into Achates. If Achates serves as Aeneas' alter ego, fellow voyager to Italy and Pallanteum and occasional surrogate on the battlefield (he is wounded instead of Aeneas at 10.344), what Patroclan part are we to understand Pallas as playing?

[6]Gillis (above, note 1), 56, and note 8, also observes the importance of this particular handshake but treats its symbolism differently, as sign of an incipient friendship that will only bring disaster as Aeneas' progress takes two more victims, a suffering father and a dead son.

[7]More than one quarter of Virgil's uses of *amplector/amplexus* occur in book 8 which also contains four out of the eighteen appearances of *complector/complexus* in the *Aeneid*.

[8]Cf. also Evander's response to the dead body of his son (11.150):

procubuit super atque haeret lacrimansque gemensque . . .

he fell over [the body] and clings, weeping and groaning . . .

[9]The star is of course the planet Venus; "Lo bel pianeto che d'amar conforta" (Dante *Divine Comedy: Purg.* 1.19).

[10]7.291. As one final example of a compound of *figo* used in a context of wounding we might note 9.578-80:

. . . ergo alis adlapsa sagitta
et laevo infixa est alte lateri, abditaque intus
spiramenta animae letali vulnere rupit.

so the arrow glided on its wings and was pierced deep in his left side, and, buried within, it broke with its deadly wound the breathing-passages of life.

[11]11.39-41. Cf. *Ecl.* 6.53 where the bull beloved of Pasiphae takes on feminine attributes, possessed of a snowy flank and pillowed on soft hyacinths.

[12]The name Pallas in Greek, according to Liddell and Scott *s.v.*, meant "prob. orig. *virgin, maiden* . . ." It is cognate with Latin *paelex*, concubine (on which see Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine, s.v.*).

[13]Cf. the appearances of the adjective at 1.354 and 4.644 (Dido *pallida morte futura*, anticipating Cleopatra on Vulcan's shield, *pallentem morte futura* [8.709]).

[14]11.68-71. I will deal elsewhere with the violence implicit in the virgin-killer's act. Suffice it to mention that *demeto* and *pollex* are used by Virgil only here. Neither the action ("mow down" instead of "pluck") nor the instrument ("thumb" insead of "nail") is expected. Each is unparalled in earlier flower similes. (The suggestion of brutality in *demeto* is anticipated by Catullus at 64.354 where the verb is applied to Achilles mowing down the Trojans as if they were rows of grain.) Commentators in general link the simile to *Aen.* 9.435-7 where Euryalus, as his strength ebbs finally away, is compared to a flower dying from a plough's cutting or a poppy, bowed down by rain. But there Virgil is carefully alluding, in the simile's first segment, to Catullus 11.22-4, in the second, to *Iliad* 8.306-8. Here novelty of word usage complements originality of the larger statement. The "world of erotic elegy" into which the simile sweeps us is well described by K. W. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad* (Cambridge 1984) 117-8.

[15]4.689. The third example is Juno at 1.36, *aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus* . . .

[16]Note the homophonic similarity between *pectore vultus* (4, quoted above) and *pectore vulnus*.

[17]The repetition is noted by R. D. Williams (ed., *Aeneid VII-XII* [London 1973]) in his commentary *ad loc.*

[18]The first appearance is in a quotation made by Livy (1.26.6), where the command *caput obnubito* is part of a potential death-sentence uttered by Tullus Hostilius against Publius Horatius. Cf. R. M. Ogilvie (*A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5* [Oxford 1965]) *ad loc.* as well as his comments at 4.12.11 (on the phrase *capitibus obvolutis*) on the ancient habit of enveloping the head before death.

[19]*Aen.* 3.174 and 405; 8.277.

[20]Varro (*L. L.* 5.72): "Neptunus, quod mare terras obnubit ut nubes caelum, ab nuptu,

id est opertione, ut antiqui, a quo nuptiae, nuptus dictus"; Paulus-Festus (174.20L) *s.v. nuptiae*: "*nuptias* dictas esse (aiunt) . . . Aelius et Cincius, quia flammeo caput nubentis obvolvatur, quod antiqui obnubere vocarint." Cf. ibid. 201.4 *s.v. obnubit:* "*obnubit*, caput operit: unde et nuptiae dictae a capitis opertione."

[21] Virgil is the first Latin author to use *torus* as bier (*Aen.* 6.220). The reader of the *Aeneid* would inevitably think of Dido's purposeful combination of marriage-couch and funeral pyre (4.508, 650, 659, 691).

[22] Dido is styled *pulchra* once (by *Fama*, indirectly, at 4.192), *pulcherrima* twice (by the narrator, at 1.496 and 4.60).

[23] We may compare Aeneas' closely parallel language at 11.42-3 and the gratuitous, nearly untranslatable, *mihi* inserted by him into the quasi-formulaic farewell at 11.97. (Cf. also Venus' language at 8.386.) Some of the tone of possessiveness of *meorum* is also captured in the legalistic, bitingly simple, phrase *haec mea sunt* (*Ecl.* 9.4) with which the new owner of the land, backed by the spears of Mars, announces his overlordship to the former inhabitants.

[24] *Concepit furias evicta dolore* (474). This and other parallels between the epic's conclusion and book 4 are discussed in telling detail by Gillis (above, note 1) 105-7.

[25] Dido's near juxtaposition of *arma viri* with *impius* is not without point.

[26] Aeneas' *exuviae* are also mentioned at 4.507 and 651. (For Virgilian usage elsewhere, also in a context of lovers' "spoils," cf. *Ecl.* 8.91.),

[27] Cf. 5.4-7.

[28] Joe Sachs, in one of the most perceptive of recent essays on the *Aeneid* ("The Fury of Aeneas," *The St. Johns Review* [Winter 1982] 75-82), reminds us that "The story of Dido, smaller only in geographical scale, begins where the story of Rome aims" (78). That is, Dido, in the process of "reining in proud races by justice" (Ilioneus' words 1.523) is, in part, creating a working example of Anchises' hopes for future Rome, as it imposes a custom for peace by defeating pride and sparing the downtrodden (6.852-3). Yielding to the heart's madnesses ("*heu furiis incensa feror*!" is her cry at 4.376) spells destruction for Dido's political orderings just as Aeneas' rage at the epic's end (he is "*furiis accensus et ira / terribilis*," 12.946-7) will invalidate his potential as paradigm for Roman impersonal statesmanship. The *Aeneid* is no exception to the common ancient proposition that self-discipline is a *sine qua non* for the governing of others whereas a ruler's inner decadence anticipates the disintegration of his public world.

[29] With 8.611 cf. *Ecl.* 3.66 (*At mihi sese offert ultro, meus ignis, Amyntas*). Contrast the more matter-of-fact epiphany of Venus to her son in book 1 (314: *cui mater . . . sese tulit obvia*).

[30] The apostrophe is modelled on the address to Erato which initiates the second half of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (3.2f), dominated by the figure of Medea and her relationship with Jason. Cf. M. Hügi, *Virgils Aeneas und die Hellenistischen Dichtung* (Bern-Stuttgart 1952) 57 and 75, and G. Zanker, "The Love Theme in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica," *WS* 92 (1979), 52-75. Zanker (64) presumes that the muse invoked at *Arg.* 4.2 is also Erato. Both addresses are innovations of Apollonius who is imitated first by Virgil, then Ovid (Zanker, 71, n. 62).

[31] The constant association throughout the epic of sexuality and irrational, destructive violence, which I have only touched on here, deserves separate study. An important investigation into another figure in the epic whose sexuality foments violence, Helen, has been made by K. Reckford ("Helen in *Aeneid* 2 and 6," *Arethusa* 14 [1981] 85-99), but a general discussion of the interconnection still remains necessary.



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MASCULINITY AND MONUMENTS IN PROPERTIUS 4.9

TARA S. WELCH



Abstract. In elegy 4.9, Propertius connects the story of Hercules' transvestism to some of Rome's most ancient and venerable sites: the Ara Maxima, the subject of the poem's *aition*, and the sanctuary of the Bona Dea, where the poem's action takes place. These locations resonate with Rome's traditional gender roles and with the Augustan urban renovation. This essay argues that Propertius' use of monuments in 4.9 responds to and challenges the Princeps' use of Roman places as a means to solidify his position in the new Rome, thereby establishing the poet as the Princeps' rival in creating urban meaning.

INTRODUCTION

PROPERTIUS 4.9, AN ELEGIAC VERSION OF HERCULES' ADVENT IN ROME, has enjoyed considerable scholarly attention in the past fifty years. Until a few decades ago, critics read this poem in a political light. Since Augustus and his wife had revived ancient rituals and restored dilapidated shrines and temples, Propertius' celebration of religious *arcana* was seen to endorse and to congratulate the Princeps.[1] Later interpretations read the poem as a generic tour-de-force, whose dazzling and recondite details broadcast the poet's virtuosity and his redefined elegiac poetry.[2] More recent critics of this poem have focused on Hercules' alterity—particularly his transvestism—and how it unsettles the hero's place in the national canon.[3] Whether Hercules' transvestism confounds traditional gender categories (Janan 1998, 2001) or reaffirms those categories (Cyrino 1998), whether it questions the very means for defining gender identity (Lindheim 1998), whether it calls into question Roman imperialism (Fox 1998) or historicism (Fox 1999), or whether it creates

[1] Grimal 1953; Holleman 1977; Coli 1978.

[2] McParland 1970; Pinotti 1977; Warden 1982; Cairns 1992; DeBrohun 1994; Anderson 1964, 1992.

[3] Janan 1998, 2001; Lindheim 1998; Cyrino 1998; Fox 1998, 1999; Spencer 2001.

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broader epistemological problems (Spencer 2001), critics agree that Propertius' Hercules makes an important contribution to Rome's evolving sense of itself during the transition from Republic to Principate.

In this essay, I analyze Propertius' use of Roman monuments in the poem. I ask what it means that Propertius connects the story of Hercules' transvestism and his re-emergent masculinity intimately with some of Rome's most ancient and venerable sites: the Ara Maxima, for which his poem is an *aition*, and the sanctuary of the Bona Dea, at which most of its action takes place. Hercules differs from the feminized elegiac lover whose ambiguous gender identity is ubiquitous. In this poem, in contrast, Propertius locates Hercules' gender play in specific Roman locations—locations that resonate both with traditional gender roles and with the Augustan urban renovation.

I argue that Propertius' use of monuments in his elegy on Hercules responds to and challenges the Princeps' use of Roman places as a means to solidify his position in the new Rome. In so doing, the elegist establishes himself as a rival to the Princeps as a creator of urban meaning. My aim is not only to illuminate how polemical Propertius' fourth book is but also to explore to what extent Rome's people considered monuments subject to interpretation. Art historians and archaeologists of the Augustan age, such as Zanker and Favro, have been concerned with understanding the monuments of Augustan Rome as a form of imperial propaganda.[4] With his program of urban renewal, Augustus eased the transition between Republic and Principate, inviting Romans in his day to consider themselves and their new state as the destined and deserving inheritors of Rome's glorious legacy. His attention to the Ara Maxima and Livia's restoration of the sanctuary of the Bona Dea, both old monuments associated with traditional gender roles, cast that legacy as one indebted to prescribed masculine and feminine behavior. This message was also encoded in other instruments of imperial ideology such as the *leges Iuliae*.[5]

Archaeology, however, can tell little about how this message was accepted by Rome's citizens or even how it was intended to work upon them. Propertius' poem offers a glimpse of how Romans reacted to the city around them, revealing that he interpreted these newly imperial monuments as attempts to coerce morality and identity into forms more in tune with the new state. Like other topographical poems in Book 4,

[4] Zanker 1988; Favro 1993, 1996.

[5] The *leges Iuliae* prescribed appropriate conduct for women (marital fidelity and childbirth) and their husbands (punishment of adulterous wives). See Raditsa 1982.

this poem offers a way of looking at the monuments that differs from the way Augustus intended.[6] By reading Propertius' poem as a response to the changing cityscape, we begin to understand the Augustan monuments not so much as propagandistic statements by the emperor but as part of a dialogue with Roman citizens about the evolution of their state and their collective identity.

My approach is heavily influenced by two studies that appeared in the last decade on the interaction between Roman texts and monuments. Vasaly's *Representations* (1993) demonstrates how Cicero's speeches employ space as a rhetorical device to aid persuasion, not only by exploiting the connotations of the monuments in view, as Cicero delivered his speeches, but also by evoking preconceptions about places not immediately visible to the audience, places both inside and outside Rome. Cicero uses what Vasaly calls a "metaphysical topography: that is, the meaning those places would have held for a Roman audience in Cicero's time."[7] Edwards in *Writing Rome* (1996) examines the conceptual city in Latin literature and the ways Latin texts have informed the Romans' and our own opinions about the great city, i.e., "the literary resonance in the city and the city's resonance in literature."[8] These approaches form a complementary pair: while Vasaly searches for the influence of monuments—or, better, of monuments' metaphysical topography—on texts, Edwards focuses on the influence of texts on the metaphysical topography of monuments.

Recent studies of Propertius, however, have largely omitted systematic discussion of Propertius' Roman places, an omission I seek to redress. Two notable exceptions are the similar analyses of the pastoral landscape in Book 4 by Kenneth Rothwell (1996) and Elaine Fantham (1997). Rothwell traces the lack of a romanticized Golden Age and the persistence of nature as linked themes in the topographical elegies, concluding that for the poet, nature is a force that can—and will—overpower any of man's achievements in the physical world, which were never laudable in the first place. Fantham offers a more optimistic view, arguing that Propertius' depiction of Rome's untamed early landscape overshadows the city's contemporary manufactured splendor and indicates

[6] See, for example, O'Neill 2000 on elegy 4.2. O'Neill connects Vertumnus' own mutable gender with the mutable monument to this god that stood at the Forum's edge. Like elegy 4.9, the Vertumnus poem questions Augustan moral propaganda through the use of Roman monuments.

[7] Vasaly 1993, 41.

[8] Edwards 1996, 2.

the poet's preference for the lost innocence of Rome's distant past.[9] I see Propertius' portrait of early Rome as neither naturalist nor nostalgic; on the contrary, I argue that the elegist's ancient landscape is already darkened by the shadow of what it will become—an emblem of a state that demands too much conformity from its citizens. Propertius' elegiac discourse on Rome resists the presence of an intrusive state by resisting the invited perspective on Roman identity and behavior.

MONUMENTS AND MORALITY: THE PRINCEPS, HERCULES, AND THE ARA MAXIMA

Elegy 4.9 is an *aition* for the Ara Maxima, Hercules' largest Roman shrine, located in the Forum Boarium on the banks of the Tiber. The association of Hercules and the Princeps was forged on August 12, 29 B.C.E. On that day, the anniversary of Hercules' advent in Rome, Octavian celebrated Hercules' rites at the Ara Maxima.[10] The very next day Augustus began his triple triumph for his recent victories over the Illyrians, the Egyptians, and over Antony's forces at Actium.[11] Hercules had long been a favorite of triumphators, and Octavian's scheduling was deliberate and shrewd.[12] Servius calls it εὐσύμβολος (=*feliciter*, *ad. Aen.* 8.102), and Donatus tells that Octavian delayed his entry into Rome by linger-

[9] Fantham 1997, 132. Edwards 1996 discusses the resistance that elegiac texts pose to the public concerns that are manifest in the city and how those texts problematize Roman urban identity, but her discussion of Propertius' poetry is very brief.

[10] This date is attested in the Fasti Amiterni (=*CIL* 1^2.244):

HERCVLI•INVICTO•AD•CIRCVM•MAXIM

"Rites to Hercules Invictus at his sanctuary next to the Circus Maximus."

[11] For the triple triumph, see the Fasti Antiati (=*CIL* 1^2.248):

AVGVST[VS]•TRIVMP[HAVIT]

"Augustus celebrated a triumph."

See also the Tabula Barberiniana (=*CIL* 1^2.77):

IMP•CAESAR•DE•DALMA[TI]S•EID•SEX
TRIVMPH•PALMAM•DEDIT
IMP•CAESAR•[EX•AEGY]PTO•XIIX•K•SEPT
TRIVMP{H} AVIT

"Imperator Caesar celebrated a triumph over the Dalmatians on the Ides of Sextilis (August). He offered the palm branch. On the 18th day before the Kalends of September Imperator Caesar celebrated a triumph over Egypt."

[12] Triumphators even clothed one of the Forum Boarium's many statues of Hercules in triumphal garb for the procession, and victors sometimes dedicated new statues or altars to the god. See Coarelli 1988, 165, for a discussion of the role of Hercules in the triumphal celebration, and Fox 1998 for a discussion of Hercules as a model imperialist.

ing for four days in Atella while Vergil read the *Georgics* to him.[13] The delay ensured that Octavian would reenact Hercules' advent into Rome. According to the prevailing legend, the Ara Maxima commemorated Hercules' defeat of the outlaw Cacus and so solidified not only the hero's martial prowess but also his role as a civilizing agent in a time of lawlessness. This was a useful image for the Princeps, who had just restored peace to Rome after the civil wars. The association of triumphal Octavian with Hercules thus lent a veneer of legitimacy to Octavian's defeat of Antony. It also invited into Octavian's own personal pantheon the hero-god who had been Antony's favorite. The *gens Antonia* enjoyed an ancestral relationship with Hercules through Anton his son.[14] Antony had especially cultivated this relationship, both to win prestige in Rome in the years after Caesar's death and to develop his persona abroad; Hercules provided Antony with a linkage to Alexander, the East's great divinized king, who had himself cultivated an association with the hero who became a god.[15]

After defeating Antony at Actium, the Princeps sought to recuperate Hercules for the Roman cause and for his own. Though Hercules was not the most pervasive god in the imagery of the Principate, his appearances are telling. He is featured prominently, for example, in the decorative program of the Temple to Palatine Apollo, dedicated on October 9, 28 B.C.E., just a year after the triple triumph. The temple complex boasted representations of myths of vengeance mingled with notions of the dangerous foreigner—images that subtly reflected the Princeps' Actian victory.[16] Among them on the terra-cotta Campana-style reliefs appears

[13] Donatus *Vit. Verg.* 91 = Suetonius *Vit. Verg.* 27. See Grimal 1988 for a discussion of Octavian's possible motives in timing his triumph thus.

[14] Plut. *Antony* 4.

[15] See Zanker 1988, 44–45, and Gurval 1995, 92–93, for a collection and discussion of the sources for this association. The connection between Antony and Hercules appears in ancient literary sources (Appian *Bellum Civile* 3.16–19 and Plutarch *Antony*, *passim*), on coinage (*RRC* 494.2, with Antony on the obverse and Anton on the reverse), and in sculpture (preserved in a carved ring from Pompeii and perhaps at play in the lost *De Antoniis statuis* of Messala Corvinus, partisan of Octavian in the thirties; see Zanker 1988, 58). Though Gurval argues that the connection was within the bounds of Roman tradition and need not imply any political aims, I agree with Zanker that the cultivation of the association, particularly its Alexandrian precedent, was politically motivated.

[16] See Strazzulla 1990, Kellum 1993 (1986), and Zanker 1983 for discussion of the potential Actian imagery in the temple complex (Strazzula is the most conservative of these three in evaluating the Actian imagery). The porticus that surrounded the temple was adorned with statues of the Danaids, Egyptian women who spelled disaster for their lovers and were thus evocative of Cleopatra. The temple doors boasted representations of the

Hercules facing Apollo over the Delphic tripod. The calm posture of the two gods suggests not hostility but rather negotiation—that is, the relief depicts the moment of reconciliation and resolution after the struggle for the tripod.[17] The symbolism is clear: like Apollo reconciled with Hercules, the Princeps' new order resolves the previous conflict between Roman forces. The Ara Maxima goes one step further. While on the Palatine reliefs Hercules and Apollo remained separate but reconciled, the correspondence between the Princeps' official celebration of his victory in the civil wars and the anniversary of the foundation of the Ara Maxima marks a total integration of Rome's two opposing camps.[18]

It should be noted too that, while women seem to have worshipped Hercules freely elsewhere in Italy and even in Rome, his worship at the Ara Maxima was restricted to men only.[19] The exclusion of women from worship at the Ara Maxima may have been linked to the fact that the cult was celebrated *ritu Graeco*, in the Greek fashion, and it may have been linked with the cult's original aristocratic flavor.[20] Augustus' activities at the Ara Maxima thus signal not only his new political role but also his participation in a club of elite Roman men. The coincidence of rites and triumphs in 29 B.C.E., celebrated in the public Fasti, marks a crux in imperial ideology. On the one hand, it looks back to the images of the civil wars and puts a symbolic end to the propaganda war against Antony. On the other hand, this event also looks forward to the tenor of the new regime in the way it links imperialism with the established and traditional masculinity of Hercules' worship at the Ara Maxima. This connec-

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Gauls cast down from Parnassus and the death of Niobe's children, both victories of the righteous over the hubristic. Against this interpretation, see Gurval 1995, who does not see pervasive Actian imagery or a clear Actian message in the temple decoration, and Huttner 1997, who denies an official or deliberate connection between the Princeps and Hercules.

[17] See Galinsky 1996, 222–24. I am grateful to John Pollini for pointing out to me that previous representations of this episode show the demigod running away with the tripod, such as is seen on the red figure vase from Vulci by the Berlin painter, or on the relief from the Siphnian treasury at Delphi. See Flacelière and Devambez 1966, 93–95, with figs. XI (1) and XI (2). Hercules' revised pose and calm stance in these Campana-style reliefs suggest reconciliation rather than opposition.

[18] It is even possible that the Princeps restored the Ara Maxima in the early 20s B.C.E. among the 80-odd other unnamed shrines he mentions restoring in *RGDA* 20.4.

[19] Schultz 2000. For other restrictions at the Ara Maxima, see McDonough 1999.

[20] In *Origo Gentis Romanae* 8.5, the exclusion of women from worship at the Ara Maxima is coextensive with its control by the patrician Potitii and Pinarii. According to this source, Appius Claudius Caecus used bribery to change both restrictions. This account suggests that at some time the stricture against women was lifted. See Schultz 2000, 296, with n. 23.

tion between imperialism and masculinity would appear broadly in Augustan architectural programs for the next thirty years, culminating in the sculptural program of the Forum of Augustus.[21]

However direct the Princeps was in cultivating a relationship with Hercules, by 16 B.C.E., when Propertius' poem was published, the association would have been clear thanks to Vergil's *Aeneid*. In *Aeneid* Book 8, Evander tells Aeneas the story of Hercules and Cacus and of the resultant foundation of the Ara Maxima. Vergil's narrative connects epic heroism, traditional masculinity, and Roman nationalism in the figure of Hercules, locating this vortex of Roman virtue at the Ara Maxima.[22] Vergil also makes clear that Aeneas repeats Hercules' advent into Rome and that Augustus will be the next great hero in the series of Rome's founders.[23] Vergil seems to have taken his cue from the Princeps' activities in 29 B.C.E., for in Book 8 Augustus-as-Hercules appears at the climax of the shield ekphrasis, celebrating his triple triumph. Hercules' victory and the Ara Maxima begin Book 8, and Augustus' triple triumph ends it.[24] Aeneas' chummy partnership with Evander throughout the episode and the conspicuous lack of women who participate in their encounter (the book's featured woman is Cleopatra on the shield) make Book 8 into its own sort of men-only club that repeats and enforces the strictures of the Ara Maxima.

The connection between Augustus and Hercules also appears in Livy's account of Rome's origins. Though Livy's history does not champion Augustus' cause, it is clear that the historian's national pride lends emphasis to Rome's many founders. Each founder of Rome adds something in Livy's account, and Rome is thus the product of combined, rather than individual, efforts.[25] Hercules' defeat of Cacus and his subsequent

[21] See most recently Fredrick 2002 about the connection between masculinity and nationalism in Augustan images. For another version, see Kellum 1997.

[22] Janan 1998 demonstrates this connection in Vergil's aition of the Ara Maxima, and see also Fox 1998 for the linkage of Hercules with masculinity and imperialism in other Augustan sources.

[23] Hercules in the *Aeneid* is well studied. In addition to Janan's 1998 study, see Galinsky 1972, 153–66, and his 1984 entry in the *Enciclopedia Vergiliana*, s.v. Hercules. Grimal 1988 discusses the political nuances of Vergil's narrative sequence.

[24] Galinsky 1972, 241, curiously mentions this relationship in the reverse order: "it is hardly accidental that Octavian scheduled his great triple triumph on the day of the official annual festival of Hercules at the Ara Maxima . . . it is exactly on this day that Vergil has his Aeneas arrive at the site of Rome and, on that occasion, he develops most extensively the analogies between his own hero and the greatest hero of the Greeks."

[25] Miles 1995, 220–24, and cf. Konstan 1986 who explores the tension between individuality and plurality from a different angle.

apotheosis make him a fitting model for Romulus, himself destined to be deified for his achievements. Augustus is subtly included in this Herculean nexus of foundation by the simple adjective Livy uses to describe the hero: "formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem *augustioremque* humana intuens" ("seeing that the physique of the man was somewhat grander and more august than the human physique," 1.7.9).

Horace, too, took inspiration from Octavian's activities in 29 B.C.E., and the lyric poet's association of Augustus and Hercules stands out in the third book of that collection. *Odes* 3.3 links Augustus with Hercules because they both are reliable and righteous men (*iustum et tenacem . . . virum*, 3.3.1) who will enjoy the pleasures of eternal life (*quos inter Augustus recumbens / purpureo bibet ore nectar*, 3.3.11–12: "reclining between them [Hercules and Pollux], Augustus will drink nectar with his purple-stained mouth"). Again, in *Odes* 3.14 (*Herculis ritu . . .*), the poet explicitly compares Augustus' triumphant return from Spain to Hercules' arrival from Spain so long ago. Military conquest and victory over death align Horace's hero and the Princeps. Such was the climate of the decade after Actium. Sparked by the Princeps' own actions at the Ara Maxima and fueled by the poets of the twenties, Propertius could rely on a firm and popular connection between Rome's first founding hero and its latest, a connection linking triumph and traditional masculinity and focused on the Ara Maxima.

MONUMENTS AND MORALITY: LIVIA, WOMANHOOD, AND THE BONA DEA

The other place featured in Propertius' elegy is the sanctuary of the Bona Dea Subsaxana at the foot of the Aventine where Hercules takes his drink (*femineae loca clausa deae fontisque piandos*, 4.9.25).[26] Though many shrines to the Bona Dea have been identified in Rome by clusters of inscriptions, the sanctuary on the Aventine remained her largest and was the locus of her official urban cult.[27] The Bona Dea's rites were celebrated twice annually in Rome. Calendars record a celebration to Bona Dea on May 1, the anniversary of Claudia Quinta's dedication of her Aventine sanctuary.[28] Little is known about this observance. More

[26] All citations are from Barber's 1960 text.

[27] Brouwer 1989 is a convenient collection of all the sources regarding this goddess and her worship.

[28] Ovid *Fasti* 5.147–58 and Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.12.21.

notorious and better documented is the nocturnal celebration that took place each December at the home of the chief Roman magistrate or priest. These were state rites performed for the well-being of the Roman people as a whole, but they were performed in secret by aristocratic women and were strictly forbidden to men.[29] The nocturnal mysteries were hosted by the wife or mother of the magistrate or priest and involved music, dancing, drinking, and revelry. The infamous Clodius scandal in 62 B.C.E. is particularly telling in this context. Clodius had dressed as a woman harpist and broken into the rites when they were being hosted by Caesar's wife Pompeia—an action that combined sacrilege, adultery, and sedition.[30] Cicero's prosecution of Clodius for his infiltration of the Bona Dea's rites and Caesar's resultant divorce of Pompeia reveal the ideological force of the Bona Dea's cult at Rome: that proper female—and male—behavior was required for the proper working of the state.

The sources for the cult of the Bona Dea are problematic; literary and material sources for the cult offer very different pictures about the cult's appeal and practice. Inscriptions from all periods reveal that at Rome and elsewhere, the Bona Dea welcomed celebrants of both genders from all social classes. The literary evidence for this goddess, however, reveals a strong gender bias: she is a goddess for Roman aristocratic *matronae* of good standing in society and of good morals. The discrepancy can be explained in a variety of ways: by differences in her cult in and outside of Rome,[31] the influence of Cicero's bias on the literary sources,[32] or a transition in the way she was worshipped and conceptualized

[29] Flory 1984, 318, n. 29, suggests that the women had to be *univirae*, but it is unlikely that this is so. Livia, for example, would thus be excluded.

[30] Social status may also have motivated Clodius' intrusion; he may have wished to assert his rights as a patrician (which he still was) or to curry favor among plebeians. See Brouwer 1989, 263; Tatum 1999, 85–86; and Fox 1998, 15, for speculation as to Clodius' motives. Tatum's discussion leaves in no doubt how serious Clodius' offense was.

[31] At Rome, her primary sanctuary was restricted to women, as was the official nocturnal celebration, but elsewhere it was not. Roman literary sources therefore reflect the Bona Dea's official Roman rites rather than her broader, unregulated worship.

[32] For Cicero, according to Brouwer, the Bona Dea is guarantor of all that is holy and right about Roman tradition—all that Clodius violated, while the dedicants of inscriptions were not concerned with the goddess as a political symbol but with her ability to help and protect individuals. See Brouwer 1989, 260, for Cicero's influence and 396 for non-political responses to the goddess. Leach 2001 adds to Brouwer's conclusions the Roman cultural primacy of the masculine; Cicero used Clodius' cross-dressing as a way to effeminize his opponent and thus devalue his political authority.

in the first century B.C.E.[33] I believe that the tension in the evidence for this cult is to be explained by the shifting paradigms of morality and identity at the crux between Republic and Principate. Cicero in his invective against Clodius, accuses Clodius of violation of gender roles combined with religious transgression and political insurrection. His comments betray deep and expanding fissures in Roman mores—especially those that govern gender roles.[34] The powerful female and aristocratic slant seen in Cicero's words about the Bona Dea marks an attempt by the orator to examine and understand this rupture of values, even to contain it. As Rome fell further under the control of dynasts at the Republic's end, Cicero's emphasis on female *probitas*, as required by the cult of Bona Dea, expands responsibility for the health of the state to the personal realm, not just the political realm.[35]

The Bona Dea's sanctuary was no less important to the imperial family than the Ara Maxima. Confirmation is found in Ovid's *Fasti*:

> interea Diva canenda Bona est.
> est moles nativa, loco, res nomina fecit,
> appellant Saxum, pars bona montis ea est.
> huic Remus institerat frustra, quo tempore fratri
> prima Palatinae signa dedistis aves.
> templa patres illic oculos exosa viriles
> leniter adclini constituere iugo.
> dedicat haec veteris Clausorum nominis heres
> virgineo nullum corpore passa virum.

[33] For Bömer 1957 *ad* 5.147, the discrepancy between the archaeological sources and literary sources results from a transition in the goddess' worship in the first century B.C.E. from a strict, aristocratic, and gender-specific following to a gender inclusive and socially diverse following. It is possible that the impetus for such an expansion of the goddess' appeal was perhaps the influx of foreign religious beliefs and practices in the first century B.C.E.

[34] Cicero's strongest vitriol seems to me to come in his *De Haruspicum Responsis*. See, for example, DHR 44: *P. Clodius a crocata, a mitra, a muliebribus soleis purpureisque fasceolis, a strophio, a psalterio, a flagitio, a stupro est factus repente popularis* ("Clodius has cast off his yellow robe, his headband, his delicate sandals and his violet stockings, his bra, his harp, his debaucheries, his adultery, and he has suddenly become a man of the people"). Similar strong language is used in the fragments from *In Clodium et Curionem*, particularly fragments 5 and 23 with Crawford's commentary (1994, loc. cit.).

[35] The shift from political to personal responsibility is marked at the end of the Republic and accompanied by a shift in the semantic range of words and ideas such as *concordia*, *libertas*, and *amicitia*. For *Concordia/concordia*, see Flory 1984, 315; for *libertas* and *amicitia*, see DuQuesney 1984 and Kennedy 1992; and for the general trend of semantic and moral transition, see Wallace-Hadrill 1997.

Livia restituit, ne non imitata maritum
esset, et ex omni parte secuta <virum>. (5.148–58)

Meanwhile I should sing about the Bona Dea. There is a natural rock; this feature generated the name for the place: they call it the Rock (Saxum), and it makes up the better part of the mountain. On it Remus stood in vain, when you birds of the Palatine gave your signs to his brother Romulus first. The founding fathers built a temple on the gently-sloping cliff, a temple that is taboo to men's eyes. The heir of the ancient family of the Clausi dedicates this sanctuary, a girl who had never permitted the touch of any man on her virgin's body. Livia restored it, lest she fail to imitate her husband and follow his lead in every way.

Ovid places Livia's activity at this sanctuary within the context of the goals of Augustus' program of moral and urban renewal: her civic activity supported the same goals, and by the same means, as his. Indeed, Livia actively sponsored places and rituals that supported traditional female morality: marriage, fidelity, and childbirth.[36] In keeping with her other urban activities, Livia's attention to the Bona Dea's cult advertised her status as a *matrona* and a sponsor of *matronae*, the bulwark of female morality in Rome.[37]

Kleiner has recently argued that Livia's urban activity may have served more complicated political goals.[38] Not only did her building projects promote the importance of traditional female behavior in a successful Rome, they also buttressed the importance of traditional social roles in that success. Her restoration of the Bona Dea's sanctuary reinforced the moral code so important in the Princeps' design for a new Rome. It placed Livia in a patrician context; she was, after all, of the *gens Claudia* and brought that higher status to her husband, by birth not as noble as she.[39] It recalled the old-style religion that featured so prominently in Augustus' rule. Most importantly, it imprinted all these ideas

[36] The force and focus of Livia's urban activity is well discussed by Kleiner 1996 and Flory 1984. Livia restored the shrines of Pudicitia Patricia and Pudicitia Plebeia (28 B.C.E.), Fortuna Muliebris (7 B.C.E.), Concordia (15–7 B.C.E.); the latter is linked by its date of dedication to Mater Matuta, Fortuna Virgo, and the Matralia—festivals for married women and *univirae*.

[37] To be sure, one inscription even attests that the women of Forum Clodi took Livia's sponsorship of family values so seriously that they celebrated her birthday at the sanctuary of the Bona Dea. See Brouwer 1989, 104–5 (=*CIL* XI.3303), and Flory 1984, 320. See also Purcell 1986.

[38] Kleiner 1996, but see Flory 1984 for a different view.

[39] See above, n. 30, for Clodius' possible patrician motivation. Whatever his intention, Livia repopulates the goddess' rites with the better sort of Claudian devotee.

(nobility, feminine decorum, religious traditionalism) into an urban site meant for women only—attesting the importance to women of all these factors as well as the part they played in them.[40] Finally, Livia's activity in the cult of the Bona Dea was an attempt to stabilize Roman values after their upheaval in the final years of the Republic—a response to the same crisis of morality that prompted Cicero to such strong invective against Clodius. Livia's intervention into the crisis of the Bona Dea reflects the imperial attempt to stabilize Rome's shifting paradigms of morality.

As the wife of the first man in Rome, Livia would surely have hosted the goddess' December rites. Livia's restoration of the sanctuary might have provided incentive for Propertius' poem. Ovid gives no indication of the date of Livia's restoration, but it is reasonable to suppose that she restored it before 16 B.C.E. when her husband was so active in temple restoration and when the campaign of moral and religious renewal was at its strongest. Augustus and Livia, therefore, in their activity at the Ara Maxima and the sanctuary of the Bona Dea, encouraged fixed and conservative gender roles as a means to guarantee Rome's well being. Even if her restoration postdates our elegy, the meaning of the monument is clear: the Bona Dea's shrine, like the Ara Maxima, reinforces traditional Roman gender roles and their complicity with public success. In fact these two monuments support the same message as Augustus' moral legislation of 18 B.C.E., the sweeping set of laws that regulated families by encouraging marriage and penalizing adultery, and the boldest statement yet of the importance of proper gender roles to the health of the state. The message? Appropriate roles for women and men in a successful Roman society are prescribed and discrete. In the new Roman state, mapped onto the monuments sponsored by the Princeps and his wife, gender was prescriptive: men should be men, women should be women, and never the twain should meet except in legitimate marriage.[41]

[40] The shrines to Pudicitia Patricia and Pudicitia Plebeia speak clearly to this aim. Livia dedicated her shrine to Concordia on the site of the extravagant villa of Vedius Pollio, willed to Augustus in 15 B.C.E.. The return of this land to public use was a marked political statement against the excesses of the late Republican aristocracy. Her act thus supported Augustus' sumptuary law, the *Lex Iulia de modo aedificiorum urbis*, passed at the same time as the moral and marriage legislation. The porticus was dedicated on the heels of Tiberius' victorious return from Germany; it is possible that he co-sponsored the dedication (Dio 55.8.1). Livia's sponsorship of this site, therefore, reinforced traditional social roles, traditional gender roles, and Augustan dynastic succession. See Kleiner 1996, 32, and Flory 1984, 329, for details about these other possible motives for her dedication.

[41] See Kleiner 1978 for this dynamic on the Ara Pacis panels. Kleiner argues that the Ara Pacis casts women in traditional female roles, i.e., wives and mothers. Kampen 1988 and 1991 discusses the same message as seen in Severan art and other Augustan art.

MONUMENTS, MORALITY, AND PROPERTIUS' POEM

The aforesaid constraints were not so in Propertius' poetic city. The elegiac lover's refusal to conform to prescribed or rigid gender roles in his love poetry is well known;[42] in Book 4, the elegist also refuses to succumb to the roles that are encoded in the city around him. Hybridized or problematic gender roles pervade Book 4 and are often connected to urban places: Vertumnus' monument is both male and female (4.2); warrior Cynthia wages battle on the Esquiline (4.8); and feminine Tarpeia exposes the cruelty of masculine ideology and makes her monument a testament not to her shame, but to her resistance against it (4.4). Elegy 4.9 likewise participates in the disruption of traditional gender roles.

This elegy purports to explain the origins of the Ara Maxima and the sanctuary of the Bona Dea. In doing so, the poet takes great liberties with the myth of Hercules' arrival, with the cults of Hercules and the Bona Dea, and with the cityscape. He therefore makes sport of all aspects of his chosen poetic topic in Book 4: *sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum* (4.1.69). Propertius' light treatment of places and myths of the Forum Boarium at once proves that he is the Roman Callimachus (4.1.64), author of refined and learned poetry. Propertius' landscape is a masterpiece of mannered sophistication, full of erudite details that stem from the Varronian, rather than Vergilian, tradition. For example, the poet in 4.9.1–6 offers etymologies for the Palatine (from *pecus*, evoked in *pecorosa*, 4.9.3; see Varro *DLL* 5.53) and Velabrum (*velificabat*, 4.9.6, and cf. Varro *DLL* 5.44) as well as a possible *aition* for the cult name of Hercules at the Ara Maxima (Hercules Invictus, evoked in *invictos montis*, 4.9.3).[43] Later in the poem, Hercules himself voices an amusingly bookish gem when he negates local legend and names the Forum Boarium after his cows (4.9.19–20: *arvaque mugitu sancite Bovaria longo: / nobile erit Romae pascua vestra Forum* ["cows, hallow with your prolonged mooing the Boarian fields; your pasture will be the noble forum of Rome"]; cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.582). This playful and nontraditional landscape continues with Hercules' remarkable sensory feats: though he

[42] Gold 1993 explores the way Cynthia's many roles in Propertius' poetry—e.g., as as lover, critic, friend, and topic—inhibits any simple understanding or classification of gender. For other explorations of gender *aporia,* see Greene 1995, Wyke 1987, Janan 1989, 1998, 2001, Lindheim 1998, and Miller and Platter 1999, among others.

[43] Pinotti 1977 discusses these details. I add to Pinotti's list a possible allusion to the etymology of the Aventine from *adventus* (Varro *DLL* 5.43) at 4.9.3 (*venit ad . . . montes*). *Invictos* in 4.9.3 is attested in late manuscripts; the line is corrupt.

is a half a mile away or more, and though his cows are engaged in prolonged mooing, nevertheless, the burly hero hears girls laughing behind the far-off closed doors of the Bona Dea's sanctuary (4.9.19–23). Likewise, the landscape is aquatically fickle: watery one moment (4.9.5–6), arid the next (4.9.22).

More important, however, is the commentary Propertius' poem offers on the way the urban landscape contributes to Roman constructions of gender. Antiquarian inquiry of any sort was morally and politically charged in the late Republic and early Principate, an era when the past was used to valorize the present.[44] The tradition of the Ara Maxima was especially loaded. Not only does Hercules in the Forum Boarium endorse imperialism, he also endorses traditional masculinity. Consequently, as Beard, North, and Price note, "when the antiquarians, historians, and poets of the late Republic and early empire speculated on the myth and ritual of this particular cult site at the Ara Maxima, more was involved than the simple physical **location** of the cult. In this case, ideas of **place** lead straight to ideas of demarcation of **gender**, that is, to rival claims about the religious **place** of women. Stories of Rome **situated** the Roman system of cultural norms and practices."[45] The same can be said for late Republican/early imperial interest in the sanctuary of the Bona Dea. Through Hercules' actions at the Bona Dea's shrine and the manner of his foundation of the Ara Maxima, Propertius offers a serious social commentary that also touches on the first family's public activities and goals, disrupting both the Princeps' and his wife's urban activity.

As has long been recognized, Hercules' speech at the threshold of the sanctuary is a *paraklausithyron* in the best tradition of the elegiac lover, feminized and unconcerned with the state.[46] At the very least, Hercules' appearance as an *exclusus amator* lightens the tone of the poem and, with it, the poem's places:

[44] Rawson 1985, 236: ". . . it is always at least worth inquiring whether a Roman antiquarian has political views." See also Wallace-Hadrill 1997. For a slightly less charged interpretation of Propertius' antiquarianism, see Feeney 1998, 117 (". . . the category of 'ritual' does not constitute a focus of inquiry for him as it does for us: he has his eye on gender and genre, and is making these cults and myths work within that framework"). Even further away from politically motivated antiquarianism is Cairns 1992, 66 ("Propertius 4.9 is an elegy, not a piece of scholarship").

[45] Beard, North, and Price 1998, vol. 1, 174 (the emphasis is theirs) and cf. the first chapter of Staples 1998.

[46] Anderson 1964.

et iacit ante fores verba minora deo:
"Vos precor, o luci sacro quae luditis antro,
pandite defessis hospita fana viris." (4.9.32–35)

And before the doors he flings words inferior to the god: "I beg you, you who play in the sacred hollow of this grove, open your sanctuary as a shelter for weary men."

This encounter at the doorstep certainly undermines the solemnity of the hero's advent into Rome. He utters, after all, words that are inferior to his divine status (*verba minora deo*); he prays, after all, to girls (*precor*, 4.9.33). More important for the present argument, his performance of the *paraklausithyron* transforms the hallowed sanctuary of the Bona Dea, locus of aristocratic feminine virtue, into an elegiac bedroom, the realm of erotic sport (*luditis* and cf. *ridere*, 4.9.23) that is temporarily off-limits to the lover who waits at its doorstep. Like the erotic threshold, it is decorated with garlands of a sort (*vittae*, 4.9.27) and incense (*odorato igne*, 4.9.28).[47] Likewise, Hercules' words and actions transform the venerable priestess who guards the sanctuary doorway into the elegiac *lena* who guards access to the *puellae* within[48]—who promotes behavior antithetical to Augustan moral goals by fostering promiscuity among noble, unmarried women.

Indeed, Propertius conflates the May rites at the sanctuary of the Bona Dea with those held in December at the home of the chief magistrate in order to eroticize the city's public landscape. By setting Hercules' *paraklausithyron* in a public place, Propertius participates in one major ideological trend of the Principate: he blurs the distinction between private and public. The city of Rome had always served as the background for Propertius' amatory activities. In elegy 2.31, the newly opened Temple to Palatine Apollo provides the poet an excuse for being late to meet his mistress. In 4.8, Cynthia forbids Propertius to flirt in the Theater of Pompey or the Forum (4.8.75). In 1.16, the Capitoline hill (not primarily a residential area), more specifically the temple to Fides, is the setting for a *paraklausithyron*. As in poem 4.9, the *paraklausithyron* of 1.16 presents a remarkable overlay of erotic concerns onto public and venerable space.[49] The whole city is a playground for elegiac lovers.

[47] Compare the *corollae* and *faces* of 1.16.7–8.

[48] The celebrants are called *puellae* by the poet at 4.9.23, by the priestess at 4.9.59, and by the hero at 4.9.69. Everyone involved agrees on who they are. Anderson 1964 discusses the effect of the *paraklausithyron* on the characters of the poem but not on its places.

[49] Corbeill, forthcoming.

The sanctuary of the Bona Dea, secluded and open to women only, lent itself especially to such amatory diversions, and other elegiac poets seized the opportunity to exploit the sanctuary's erotic possibilities. For Tibullus, the Aventine shrine is the setting for adultery when he warns Delia's husband to beware a wife who goes to participate in the Bona Dea's rites (1.6.21–24). It is a pretext, Tibullus explains: she is merely using her participation in the rite as an excuse to meet up with a lover:

> exibit quam saepe, time, seu visere dicet
> sacra Bonae maribus non adeunda Deae.
> at mihi si credas, illam sequar unus ad aras;
> tunc mihi non oculis sit timuisse meis. (1.6.21–24)
>
> As often as she goes out, beware, or if she says she is going to witness the rites of the Bona Dea that no man may attend. But if you trust me, I alone would follow her to the sanctuary; then I would not have to fear for my eyes.

Tibullus, like Delia's husband, is jealous of her current lover. In offering to accompany Delia to the sanctuary, Tibullus hopes to rekindle their affair.[50] Ovid makes the connection between the Bona Dea's Aventine sanctuary and adultery even more explicit. In a discussion on deceiving a husband, he urges women to use the city's monuments. Theaters and circuses are crowded enough to allow for foul play, and the Bona Dea's temple offers a sure-fire escape from a protective husband:

> quid faciat custos, cum sint tot in urbe theatra,
> cum spectet iunctos illa libenter equos,
> cum sedeat Phariae sistris operata iuvencae
> quoque sui comites ire vetantur, eat
> cum fuget a templis oculos Bona Diva virorum . . .
> (*Ars Amatoria* 3.633–37)
>
> What is a guardian to do, when there are so many theaters in this city, and when she goes readily to the races, when she sits worshipping with the sistrum of the Pharian heifer, when she goes where her escorts are forbidden to go, when the Bona Dea puts to flight the eyes of men from her temples . . .

[50] Shades of adultery color the other mention of the Bona Dea's rites in the Tibullan corpus. At 3.5.7–8, the dying Lygdamus contrasts himself to friends who sport at Baiae (notorious as a place for liaisons) and then protests that he has not revealed the Bona Dea's secrets—i.e., he has been discreet about affairs.

In Propertius' poem, therefore, as in the elegiac tradition, the sanctuary of the Bona Dea spells elegiac—that is, adulterous—love. In Propertius' urban landscape, Livia's matronal decorum is incapacitated and Augustus-as-Hercules is put in the position of the excluded paramour.

Moreover, Hercules' foundation of the Ara Maxima is not, in Propertius' poem, the commemoration of victory over an enemy, as it had been in Vergil's and Livy's accounts and, indeed, in the Princeps' own "reading" of the monument. Rather, in the elegy, the foundation of the Ara Maxima is the jealous act of a spurned lover.[51] Hercules and the priestess—and through them Augustus and Livia—adopt elegiac roles, while Rome's monuments, so important in the new regime, become the setting for an elegiac lovers' dispute.

Given Hercules' historic association with Antony, Propertius' eroticisation of the urban landscape is more than a playful elegiac trope. In elegy 4.9, the poet imbues Hercules with strong Antonian overtones that disrupt the "Augustan" meaning of the poem's monuments. Here, Hercules argues that he should be admitted to the all-female sanctuary because he has experienced life as a woman, in submission to the Lydian queen Omphale:

> "sin aliquem vultusque meus saetaeque leonis
> terrent et Libyco sole perusta coma,
> idem ego Sidonia feci servilia palla
> officia et Lydo pensa diurna colo,
> mollis et hirsutum cepit mihi fascia pectus,
> et manibus duris apta puella fui." (4.9.45–50)
>
> "If my face and the mane of this lion and my hair burned with the Libyan sun should frighten anyone, I have also performed the servant's duties wearing a Sidonian cloak and turned the daily wool at the Lydian distaff, and a soft band has covered my hairy chest, and I was a suitable girl for all my strong hands."[52]

As mentioned above, Antony had claimed descent from Hercules through the hero's little-known son Anton and had used Hercules' iconography—the lion-skin and the club—in his own self-promoting images. This ancestral relationship backfired in the later years of civil wars, when the story of Hercules and Omphale was used as anti-Antonian propaganda

[51] Anderson 1964, 9.

[52] I read the adjective *duris* with concessive force in the ambiguous line 50. The contrast with *mollis* in line 49 seems to point to such a reading.

against Rome's wayward general and his own foreign queen.[53] Hercules and Omphale, each in the other's clothes, appeared in Augustan art as an indirect way to criticize Antony and the luxury, corruption, and desire that threatened Rome and its moral foundations.[54]

Submissive Hercules brings Antony into this poem—all the more so because of the strong verbal resonance between Hercules' cross-dressing episode in 4.9 and the same episode in 3.11, the famous Cleopatra elegy:[55]

> Omphale in tantum formae processit honorem,
> Lydia Gygaeo tincta puella lacu,
> ut, qui pacato statuisset in orbe columnas,
> tam dura traheret mollia pensa manu. (3.11.17–20)
>
> Omphale advanced to such a degree of honor for her beauty, a Lydian girl bathed in the lake of Gyges, that the man who had set up his columns in the world he has pacified was working supple wool with his oh-so-hard hands.

Elegy 3.11 draws an implicit parallel between Hercules and Antony.[56] Yet, in poem 3.11, Hercules' servitude to Omphale and Cleopatra's mastery over Antony are not symbols of moral decay or of political decline.

[53] Plutarch's *Antony* might exaggerate Antony's Herculean affinity (see Gurval 1995, 92, n. 14), but the abundance of details suggests some truth. *Antony* 4 tells us that Antony enhanced his natural physical resemblance to the god by dressing in a low-belted tunic with a heavy cloak and by swaggering; at *Antony* 36, Antony uses Hercules' polygamous example to defend his own promiscuity; and at *Antony* 60, the destruction of a temple of Hercules by lightning was considered a prodigy against Antony.

[54] Kampen 1996a and Zanker 1988, 58–59. Since Roman ideology posited a connection between Roman success and Roman morality (i.e., behavior appropriate to one's gender and social status), sexual deviance and political instability formed a mutually reinforcing set of ideas. See Edwards 1993 for the best expression of this connection. Kampen 1996a demonstrates that after the Augustan age, as the East began to lose its negative resonance, Omphale and Hercules began a gradual shift toward respectability, appearing in funerary sculpture and on coins.

[55] Both passages mention the specific feminine duties Hercules performed while in service to Omphale. The coincidence of the words *mollia*, *dura*, and *pensa* in each passage, combined in one sentence, with the hands being *durus* in both cases, cements the allusion.

[56] Though Antony's name is left unspoken in 3.11, I disagree with Gurval 1995, 195, that his example does not figure prominently in Propertius' poem. To be sure, Propertius' focus in 3.11 is the power of women and not the defeat of men. Nevertheless, Antony's subjugation is hinted at in 3.11.29: *quid, modo quae nostris opprobria vexerit armis* ("what about the woman who recently brought such shame upon our army?"), and he is unmistakably evoked at 3.11.31–32: *coniugi obsceni pretium Romana poposcit / moenia* ("she sought the city of Rome as the fee for her unclean marriage").

The elegist does not condemn Hercules and Antony but acquits them for falling prey to a woman. Indeed, the warning in the poem's opening (*exemplo disce timere meo*, 3.11.7) suggests not shame or censure for the man who succumbs to a woman but, rather, acceptance of her inevitable power. Thus, far from condemning Antony, Propertius' poetry shows a broad affinity for the defeated man whose public reputation of devotion to a woman at the expense of the state made him an attractive model for the elegiac lover. Propertius' use of Antony as an example for his own situation does not, as some have suggested, imply that Propertius was Antony's political partisan.[57] The elegist, after all, focuses not on Antony's political opposition to Octavian's regime but rather on the tension between Antony's private affairs and Rome's public goals.[58]

In elegy 4.9, Antonian, personal, luxurious Hercules arrives at Rome and founds the Ara Maxima, a monument Octavian linked to his own defeat of Antony at Actium. Hercules' self-satisfied acceptance—even boast—of his Antonian past sneers at the Princeps by bringing to mind not only the Roman general vanquished in the battle of Actium but also the incompatibility of Antony's "elegiac" values with the new Roman cityscape. Indeed, Hercules' approach to the Bona Dea's sacred spring—to drink it dry (*exhausto flumine*, 4.9.63)—is typically Antonian; Caesar's friend was notorious for his excessive drinking.[59] Antonian Hercules thus challenges and casts doubts on Augustan Hercules, and Octavian's triumphal Ara Maxima becomes anything but: it becomes a monument that memorializes not the victor and his triumphant mores but rather the victim and his suppressed mores.

The incompatibility of cross-dressed Hercules with the new Augustan city is set into high relief by the state's recent attempt to regulate male–female relationships and the first family's interest in these sites as a way to order gender. If Livia's restoration of the sanctuary predates Propertius' poem, as I believe it does, the repeated use of forms of the word *claudo* in this poem (*inclusas*, 4.9.23; *clausa*, 4.9.25; *clausisset*, 4.9.44; *clausa*, 4.9.62) not only emphasizes Hercules' status as *exclusus amator* but also reminds the reader that this closed-off place is a Claudian place, that is, associated with Livia's *gens Claudia*.[60] The word simultaneously

[57] Griffin 1977 suggests this, but Gurval's 1995 argument to the contrary convinces.

[58] This is the basic thesis of Stahl 1985, 234–47.

[59] Plutarch *Antony* 2.4 and cf. Cicero *Philippics* 2.44–45. Krostenko 2001, 293–96, discusses the political importance of Antony's display.

[60] It is tempting also to see an allusion to Appius Claudius Caecus, the censor linked with the history of the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima: he transferred jurisdiction over this cult from the patrician Potitii and Pinarii to the state. He also built Rome's first

evokes Livia's less upstanding Claudian relation Clodius who also had something to do with the Bona Dea. Hercules, with a cross-dressing history and in his breaking into the Bona Dea's sanctuary, certainly recalls the scandal of 62 B.C.E. and brings Clodius anew into the respectable world of the Bona Dea's rites—this time, shaming Livia at her shrine rather than Pompeia at her own house. In this poem, Propertius debunks Livia's attempt to restore both Claudian decorum and the Bona Dea's traditional respectability. Likewise, where the Princeps had used the Ara Maxima to define and encourage the sort of masculine behavior that would build the new state, Propertius sabotages the Princeps' gendered urban message by temporarily transforming Hercules into a man-woman, unable to be defined by the cityscape and unclassifiable in the Julian laws.[61] Elegy's systematic *aporia*, therefore, momentarily takes over the Roman landscape.[62]

Yet the elegiac effect on the city does not last. The priestess reaffirms Augustan principles and forbids Hercules' entry into the sanctuary because she denies his womanhood. Temporary feminization does not a woman make, and men are forbidden from the Bona Dea's sanctuary: *interdicta viris metuenda lege piatur / quae se summota vindicat ara casa* ("this altar which protects itself in this remote shelter is forbidden to men and hallowed by a law not to be ignored," 4.9.55–56).[63] She cites Tiresias as an example of the dangers of intruding into a sacred space:

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aqueduct, called the Aqua Appia. Perhaps *non clausisset aquas* in 4.9.44 hints at this public work.

[61] Though his emphasis is not on the poem's monuments, Fox 1998, 15–16, reaches the same conclusion in his study of Hercules' transvestism. Touching upon Livia's restoration of the sanctuary, he writes: "Such an aggressive display of gender disorder is out of accord with the emphasis on harmonious state and family relationships to which Livia's proximity to the poem appeals . . . Hercules is here acting as a symbol of resistance to any kind of ritually enforced socio-sexual order."

[62] Miller and Platter 1999, 453–54, note how elegy draws attention to tensions and anxieties in Roman beliefs and behaviors as one of its primary generic strategies: "Augustan elegy is therefore an oppositional discourse, not so much because it represents a determined univocal opposition to a given set of values—Augustan or otherwise—but rather in the sense that it is constructed out of values whose inherent contradictions make conflict between elegy and Roman ideology a necessary condition of the genre's existence." For elegy's most pervasive *aporetic* notion, i.e., gender roles (which are not simply inverted but rather are hybridized or otherwise made ambiguous), see n. 42.

[63] For Lindheim 1998, Hercules' and the priestess' differing views of how to define gender constitute another layer of this elegy's *aporia*. It asks the question, is gender constructed (i.e., defined by behavior and appearance—this is Hercules' method), or essential (defined by anatomy—the Priestess' method)?

"magno Tiresias aspexit Pallada vates,
fortia dum posita Gorgone membra lavat.
di tibi dent alios fontis: haec lympha puellis
avia secreti limitis unda fluit." (4.9.57–60)

"At great cost to himself the prophet Tiresias caught a glimpse of Pallas Athena while she was bathing her strong limbs and had set aside her aegis. May the gods grant you other fountains: this liquid flows for girls only, this pathless trickle of a secret threshold."

The priestess here alludes to the subject of Callimachus' fifth hymn, the so-called *Bath of Pallas*, in which Tiresias unwittingly stumbles into the bath of the goddess and is blinded as a punishment. While the reference certainly serves to anchor this poem in the context of Alexandrian poetic techniques and to prove Propertius indeed to be the Callimachus Romanus (4.1.64), it also adds to the commentary on gender and space that the poem's primary *aitia* generate. A variation on the topos of "intrusion into the goddess' bath," Callimachus' hymn itself subverts expected gender roles. This topos, involving the unauthorized glimpse of a nude goddess, is much more suited to Artemis than to Athena.[64] Callimachus' innovation is in assigning a myth that highlights feminine chastity to the most masculine of goddesses.[65] Yet in citing this version of the myth, the priestess is suppressing—and so, evoking—the more popular tradition about Tiresias: namely, that he was himself cross-gendered.[66] In his intrusion, his indeterminate gender, and his Alexandrianism, Tiresias thus serves as an *exemplum* for Hercules at the doors of the forbidden sanctuary.

Tiresias is a topographical *exemplum* as well. At issue in both Propertius' poem and Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* is access to forbidden spaces. In both poems, these spaces are remote, unurban. In Propertius' poem, the Bona Dea's sacred space is far off (*procul*, 4.9.23), enclosed (*inclusas*, 4.9.23; *clausa*, 4.9.25), off the beaten path (*devia*, 4.9.27),

[64] Haslam 1993, 124, with n. 28, suggests that the topos may have originally been assigned to Artemis.

[65] Depew 1993, 66–69, traces the masculine outline of Callimachus' Pallas.

[66] In the context of Hercules' transgendered experience, the name Tiresias also recalls an older version of his myth from pseudo-Hesiod's *Melampodia*. Ovid preserves the tale at *Metamorphoses* 3.316–38. Tiresias, experienced as both a man and as a woman, was punished for his extra knowledge. To be specific, Hera blinded Tiresias for asserting the supremacy of women in attaining sexual pleasure. In this version, the gendered implications of Tiresias' punishment are even stronger: not only has the seer blurred the boundary between male and female—a threat to discrete gender roles—but he has also valued the female over the male experience, thus upsetting the hierarchy normally resident in the binary system.

secluded (*summota*, 4.9.56), and hidden (*secreti*, 4.9.60). Propertius' landscape is also undeveloped:

> lucus ubi umbroso fecerat orbe nemus,
> femineae loca clausa deae fontisque piandos,
> impune et nullis sacra retecta viris,
> devia puniceae velabant limina vittae,
> putris odorato luxerat igne casa,
> populus et longis ornabat frondibus aedem . . . (4.9.24–29)

> Where a grove with its shady head had made a dell, there are the enclosed places of the women's goddess and fountains that must be revered, and rites disclosed to no man without punishment. Purple garlands drape over her remote threshold, the smoky house had gleamed with perfumed fire, and a poplar tree decorated the shrine with its long branches.

The setting of Athena's bath in the Callimachus hymn is similarly untamed and remote. The goddess bathes at the spring of Hippocrene on Helikon, where the water flows beautifully Ἑλικωνίδι καλὰ ῥεοίσαι, *Hymn* 5.71). The hour is noon and quiet stills the remote landscape (μεσαμβριναὶ δ' ἔσαν ὧραι, / πολλὰ δ'ἀσυχία τῆνο κατεῖχεν ὄρος, *Hymn* 5.73–74). The natural locale is especially appropriate for the goddesses; not only are such wild places conducive to divine epiphanies, but more importantly, these parallel places are situated so as to protect the goddesses from the intrusion of profane visitors.

Hercules and Tiresias both approach these hidden and forbidden springs thirsty, but there the similarity ends. Tiresias stumbles innocent and unwitting upon the forbidden sight:

> Τιρεσίας δ' ἔτι μῶνος ἁμᾶ κυσὶν ἄρτι γένεια
> περκάζων ἱερὸν χῶρον ἀνεστρέφετο·
> διψάσας δ'ἄφατόν τι ποτὶ ῥόον ἤλυθε κράνας,
> σχέτλιος· οὐκ ἐθέλων δ'εἶδε τὰ μὴ θεμιτά. (*Hymn* 5.75–78)

> Tiresias, as yet alone with only his dogs, with a beard just darkening his cheeks, turned toward the sacred place. Feeling an unspeakable thirst, he turned toward the trickle of the stream, wretch: unwillingly he saw what was unholy to see.

Hercules, on the other hand, seeks out the secluded sanctuary by choice: *huc ruit in siccam congesta pulvere barbam* ("he rushes to this place with dust matted into his dry beard," 4.9.31). What is more, Hercules enters the forbidden area deliberately, having been warned in advance about the place's restrictions:

. . . ille umeris postis concussit opacos
nec tulit iratam ianua clausa sitim.
at postquam exhausto iam flumine vicerat aestum,
ponit vix siccis tristia iura labris . . . (4.9.61–64)

. . . He shook the impenetrable portal with his shoulders and the door, though closed, wasn't able to withstand his aroused thirst. But after he had conquered his burning heat and the river was dried up, he utters these dread oaths with lips barely dry . . .

His intrusion is laced with erotic nuance: *aestum* and perhaps *sitim* evoke sexual desire, desire that Hercules sates by draining the dregs of the river (*exhausto iam flumine vicerat*, 4.9.63).[67] Having stretched his role of *exclusus amator* to its literal bursting point, Hercules uses force to break into the sanctuary—an action akin to rape and dependent on strict gender difference. He petulantly commemorates his return to amorous proactivity by establishing his own monument to rigid gender roles, the Ara Maxima for men only.

While Hercules' return to an active role may seem to reassert his more traditional, even excessive, masculinity,[68] the hero nevertheless remains ridiculous. The elegiac Hercules misinterprets himself and his role in the world and in the Roman city. In breaking into the sanctuary, Hercules seeks to demonstrate what he has argued earlier in the poem—that he is master of all places, from the heavens to the underworld:

"audistisne aliquem, tergo qui sustulit orbem?
ille ego sum: Alciden terra recepta vocat.
quis facta Herculeae non audit fortia clavae
et numquam ad vastas irrita tela feras,
atque uni Stygias homini luxisse tenebras?"

"Angulus hic mundi nunc me mea fata trahentem
accipit: haec fesso vix mihi terra patet.

[67] *Sitis* appears with a sexual connotation at Ovid *Remedium* 247; for *aestus*, see, e.g., Propertius 2.33.43. See Anderson 1964, 12, with n. 26–27 for this and further erotic nuances in Hercules' actions.

[68] To Cyrino 1998, this emergence is the purpose of the transvestism. Hercules' transvestism is an experiment that, functioning like a carnivalesque diversion, confirms the re-emergent masculinity of the hero. Such diversions, popular in Roman rituals and discourse, release the tensions that build up in Rome's highly stratified daily life. She discusses both Achilles' and Hercules' cross-dressing myths in detail and concludes that only the manliest of men could dress in female clothes and remain masculine: the transvestism of each hero ". . . serves primarily a conservative function: to reaffirm his high-octane sexuality" (217).

Maxima quae gregibus devota est Ara repertis,
ara per has" inquit "maxima facta manus,
haec nullis umquam pateat veneranda puellis,
Herculis aeternum ne sit inulta sitis." (4.9.37–41, 65–70)

"Have you heard about the man who bore the world on his back? I am that man: the earth that I took up calls me Hercules. Who has not heard the brave deeds of Hercules' club, and about the arrows never hurled in vain at huge beasts? Who has not heard about the one man for whom the shadows of Styx brightened?"

"This corner of the world receives me as I carry out my destiny. This land scarcely lies open for me when I am weary. Let the Greatest Altar, which has been vowed upon recovery of my herd, the Altar made greatest," he said "through these hands, never be open to girls for worship, lest the thirst of Hercules remain ever unavenged."

With his claim of supremacy over all places (*orbem, terra, tenebras*), Hercules casts the earth itself as passive (*terra recepta*, 4.9.38). His violent entry into the Bona Dea's sanctuary reveals that he sees himself as master of both feminine and masculine places (4.9.69–70). Hercules also desires to control sacred as well as secular space. Though he is a self-styled mortal and treated like a man by the priestess (*homini*, 4.9.41; *viris*, 4.9.55), he establishes an altar to himself (4.9.67–68), tacitly asserting himself to be a god. He thus attempts to write his own apotheosis into the landscape.[69] As he confidently asserts, he is leading his fates along (4.9.65)—not the other way around.[70]

We can hardly take this boastful Hercules seriously, and the poem ends ironically as the elegist's voice reemerges and casts doubt on Hercules' topographical pretensions:

hunc, quoniam manibus purgatum sanxerat orbem,
sic Sanctum Tatiae composuere Cures.
Sancte pater salve, cui iam favet aspera Iuno:
Sancte, velis libro dexter inesse meo. (4.9.73–74, 71–72)[71]

[69] Ovid's Hercules does the same. At *Fasti* 1.581, Hercules himself founds the Ara Maxima, thus styling himself a divinity. As this *aition* immediately precedes Augustus' appearance in the *Fasti*, Barchiesi 1997, 97, finds Hercules' proactivity pointedly ironic.

[70] Cf. Livy 1.7.15: *eum sua fata ducebant*, "his fates were leading him."

[71] I agree with Barber's (1960) rearrangement of the last four lines of the poem; see Camps 1965, *ad* 4.9.73 ff. for explanation. Richardson 1975, ad 4.9.73–74, does not transpose the couplets as do Barber and Camps but admits the sequence in the manuscript is awkward.

> This one, since he had sanctified the world that had been purified by his hands, the Romans of Tatius' line style "Sanctus." Hail, father Sanctus, whom harsh Juno now favors. Sanctus, may you wish to enter my book favorably.

The mention of purification, linked with an etymology for Hercules' Sabine epithet (4.9.73–74), flies in the face of his violation of the sanctuary of the Bona Dea. The verb *composuere* highlights the fact that this epithet is a subjective interpretation—one with which the elegist apparently disagrees. The poet even states the patently false: that Juno herself now favors the god. To clinch the poem, Propertius prays for the god's quiet and propitious entry into this poem: may Hercules not enter Propertius' poem as he did the Bona Dea's sanctuary.

Though Hercules' final actions—his forced entry into the Bona Dea's sanctuary and his establishment of his own exclusively male shrine—attempt to reinforce a traditionally masculine control over the Roman landscape, this poem will forever link the Ara Maxima with indecorous, transvestite behavior coupled with the excesses of passion and the unmanly petulance of the god. In the end, Propertius has exerted more control over the interpretation of the Ara Maxima than has Hercules. The perfumed scent of the god's feminine boudoir lingers in the Roman monument.

CONCLUSION

Propertius' poem blends genre and gender with political innuendo and Roman monuments in a provocative response to the Princeps about the new Roman landscape. In the imperial building program, the Ara Maxima and the sanctuary of the Bona Dea served to redefine Roman morality and, more importantly, Roman self-perception. By linking Roman tradition with gender roles, the Princeps redefined the successful Roman as one who acted like an old-style man. As Elsner has said about the Roman visual arts, a work of art both relies on the viewer's prior knowledge and experiences (that is, reinforces who he thinks he is) and adds something to his knowledge and experiences (that is, redefines who he is by adding something new).[72] These monuments reorient the Roman viewer to the new Rome and to his place in the new Rome. The Ara Maxima had always encouraged traditional male values; Augustus inserted

[72] Elsner 1995, 4–5.

himself into that picture as a paragon of those virtues and their protector in the civil wars against Antony, who conspicuously had not maintained that traditional male role. Augustus' actions regarding the Ara Maxima are complemented by Livia's restoration of the decorum of the *matrona* via her restoration of the Bona Dea's shrine.

In paying attention to these urban sites, the Princeps and his wife tacitly acknowledge the power of place to define identity. Gaze theorists might explain this phenomenon in a different way: that the viewer, rather than controlling what he sees and desires, is on the contrary transformed by the object of his gaze.[73] Augustan monuments, according to this view, make the Roman viewer passive, enacting upon him some message that informs, or rather, transforms him. The power of images in this poem is enough to transform Hercules from an elegiac lover into a traditional Roman man.

Nevertheless, Propertius' poem breaks the hold those monuments have over the viewer by reorienting the viewer's perspective. One might say that Propertius thus returns the Roman viewer to a more active role in looking at Roman places by providing alternative ways of interpreting Roman monuments. Playing with Hercules' gender allows Propertius to redefine the evolving Augustan city and to interrogate the gender associations emphasized in certain places by the Princeps, by his wife, and by other literature of the day. The elegist's poem on the origins of the Ara Maxima challenges traditional Roman mores as much as Propertius' earlier love poetry had done, and what is more, in writing a new Rome, challenges Augustus' authorship of the new urban landscape. The Ara Maxima stands not as a monument to the new regime, but as a monument to the elegiac lifestyle. With his small voice, the poet answers back to the silent city.[74]

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[73] Miller 2001, and see also Kampen 1996b, 20–21.

[74] An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the January, 2000 meeting of the APA at a panel entitled "Gendered Dynamics in Latin Love Elegy." I am grateful to the organizers and participants of that panel, especially Ellen Greene, and to all those who offered comments. I owe special thanks to David Konstan, Natalie Boymel Kampen, Brian Walters, Stanley Lombardo, and Anthony Corbeill, who were kind enough to comment on written drafts. Finally, I am indebted to the editors and anonymous readers of *AJP* for their careful and insightful comments.

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BISEXUAL ORPHEUS: PEDERASTY AND PARODY IN OVID

Vergilian in inspiration, Ovid's tale of Orpheus is, on the surface at least, a story of marriage between husband and wife and of the triumph of conjugal love over death. Yet, in what is one of Ovid's most striking divergences from his antecedent in *Georgics* 4, bisexuality in the form of pederasty comes in for considerable highlighting. For not only does the principal undergo a psychological change of sex, as we are explicitly told at 10.83–85, but also his narrative within the poet's own develops at some length the theme of Greek love among the gods. An analysis of Book 10 will show that homosexuality is no mere isolated detail of Orpheus' characterization but that the motif underlies much of the narrative's diction, imagery, and use of literary reminiscence. For example, the theme serves to explain in part the framing of Book 10, since the Iphis story with its elaborate disquisition on homosexuality (9.726–63) stands in immediate juxtaposition to the tale of Orpheus, husband and pederast, while the death scene in Book 11 is motivated by a misogynist's contempt for women. In effect, we may consider the narrative from 9.666 to 11.66 as the *Metamorphoses'* homoerotic or bisexual sequence. This is interesting because, in contrast, Vergil does not breathe a word on the subject of homosexuality, even though he was certainly aware of the Hellenistic tradition that made Orpheus the father of Greek love. Ovid's emphasis on homoerotic motifs warrants a closer look, especially as it may prove useful in determining the tone and purpose of the narrative and in illuminating salient features of composition. For the Orpheus story has always elicited a wide range of reactions, among them the deeply moved (Primmer), the utterly cynical (Anderson), the frigidly indifferent (Fränkel), depending on whether the reader sees in it pathos, bathos, or simply inferiority to Vergil.[1]

[1] A. Primmer, "Das Lied des Orpheus in Ovids *Metamorphosen*," *Sprachkunst. Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft* 10 (1979) 123–37; W. S. Anderson presents a consistently skeptical reading in his "The Orpheus of Virgil and Ovid: *flebile nescio quid*," in J. Warden, ed., *Orpheus. The Metamorphoses of a Myth* (Toronto 1982) 25–50,

With Ovid laughter is never very far away, and there is every possibility that, despite the tragic nature of the raw material, Ovid is exploiting his Vergilian model for the sake of parody and comic effect. Thus, C. Neumeister, for example, comparing the diction and imagery of *Georgics* 4 and *Metamorphoses* 10, sees an ironic Ovid distancing himself both from Vergil and the values of Augustus.[2] This study will further the argument for reading the Orpheus story as parody by focusing on how Ovid exploits the subject of bisexuality as well as related issues of gender for the sake of humor and satire.[3] Of relevance here will be recent studies on ancient homosexuality which have examined both the attitudes of historical Romans, including Ovid's, as well as the handling of homosexual themes among the poets.[4] This paper will analyze Ovid's literary

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in his commentary to *Ovid. Metamorphoses, Books 6–10* (Norman, OK 1972), and more recently in "The Artist's Limits in Ovid: Orpheus, Pygmalion, and Daedalus," *Syllecta Classica* 1 (1989) 1–11; H. Fränkel, *Ovid. A Poet Between Two Worlds* (Berkeley 1945) 219 n. 69. Brooks Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet* (2nd ed. Cambridge 1970) 74 cautions against reading the story as evidence of "Ovid's woeful inferiority" to Vergil but rather as a study in differing poetic values. C. Segal, *Orpheus. The Myth of the Poet* (Baltimore 1989) in characteristic fashion argues for ambivalence of tone. Insightful discussion is also to be found in G. K. Galinsky, *Ovid's Metamorphoses: An Introduction to the Basic Aspects* (Berkeley 1975) and in J. Solodow, *The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Chapel Hill 1988). M. Janan, "The Book of Good Love? Design Versus Desire in Metamorphoses 10," *Ramus* 17 (1988) 110–37 covers much of the same ground as this paper but from a very different perspective, that of eros in relation to the character of the narrators. The most exhaustive study, of course, is the commentary of F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso. Metamorphosen. Buch X–XI* (Heidelberg 1980).

Recent discussion in The Forum of *The Classical Journal* 90 (1995) indicates that the question of how to read Ovid's Orpheus is the subject of a lively debate sparked by the inclusion of the author on the Advanced Placement syllabus. See especially the contributions of W. S. Anderson, "Aspects of Love in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," 265–69 and S. Mack, "Teaching Ovid's Orpheus to Beginners," 279–85.

I cite from W. S. Anderson, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoses* (Leipzig 1977).

[2] C. Neumeister, "Orpheus und Eurydike. Eine Vergil-Parodie Ovids (Ov. *Met.* X.1–XI.66 und Verg. *Georg.* IV.457–527)," *WJA* 12 (1986) 169–81. See also C. M. Bowra, "Orpheus and Eurydice," *CQ* (1952) 113–24, who posits a literary source common to Vergil and Ovid. For two very different analyses of Ovid's debt to Vergil, see Anderson, *Orpheus* (above, n. 1) and Segal (above, n. 1).

[3] On the importance of the connection between sexual identity and metamorphosis, see B. R. Nagle, "*Amor, Ira*, and Sexual Identity in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *CSCA* 3 (1984) 236–55 and G. Nugent, "This Sex Which is Not One: De-Constructing Ovid's Hermaphrodite," *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 2 (1990) 160–85. For an examination of the religious and psychological significance of the ambiguity of gender in a number of Ovidian tales, see S. Viarre, "L'Androgyne dans les Métamorphoses d'Ovide," in *Journées Ovidiennes de Parménie* (Brussels 1985) 229–43; and L. Curran, "Rape and Rape Victims," *Arethusa* 11 (1978) 213–41.

[4] The two most important studies are those of S. Lilja, *Homosexuality in Republican*

exploitation of homosexuality in explicit statements, such as at 10.83–85, in his manipulation of literary antecedents, and in his diction and imagery and, in the process, argue that Ovid's purpose here is to undermine the Vergilian characterization of Orpheus by satirizing him as an effeminate, gynophobic pederast.[5]

Although the literary tradition usually paints a positive picture of Orpheus as the tragic lover, consummate musician, and eponymous founder of the Orphic mysteries, other views were current among the ancients, not all of them flattering.[6] There is also a consistent and long-standing tradition attributing to Orpheus either pederasty or misogyny or both. Plato's *Symposium* (179D), for example, dismisses Orpheus as a typical citharoedus, that is, an effeminate musician and a craven unwilling to die for his wife, while the *Republic* (620A) tells of his hatred for the female sex.[7] Orpheus as homosexual first appears in the third-century elegist Phanocles,[8] who in his *Ἔρωτες ἢ Καλοί* narrates the story of Orpheus' love for his fellow Argonaut, the tender Calais. The same text tells of him as aetiological founder of Greek love and of his distaste for women, which led to his death:

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and Augustan Rome (Helsinki 1983), esp. 79–81 and E. Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World* (New Haven 1992), esp. 136–39. An earlier study is that of B. C. Verstraete, "Ovid on Homosexuality," *CN & V* 19 (1975) 79–83, who has a good discussion of the evidence for Ovid's views on homosexuality, though his conclusions about the theme in the Orpheus sequence are at variance with my own.

[5] Anderson, *Orpheus* (above, n. 1) has noted Ovid's negative treatment of Orpheus' pederasty and factors it into his overall analysis of Book 10. This paper owes much to his reading but differs by seeking a closer focus on the homosexual theme itself and its larger implications for the structure, tone, and imagery of 9.666–11.66.

[6] J. Heath, "The Failure of Orpheus," *TAPA* 124 (1994) 163–96, challenges the notion that the characterization of Orpheus as unsuccessful is of late, that is, Hellenistic provenance and in the process adduces a great deal of ancient evidence contradicting the conventional view of Orpheus as idealized lover.

[7] Scholars now recognize that the tradition of Orpheus' "unmanliness" predates Plato, on which see D. Sansone, "Orpheus and Eurydice in the Fifth Century," *C&M* 36 (1985) 53–64, esp. 60 n. 30. See Heath's discussion (above, n. 6; 180–81) of the scholiast on Apollonius *Arg.* 1.23, who remarks on the incongruity of the weakling Orpheus consorting with the heroes of the Argo. The cliche of lyre-playing as effeminate occurs also in fragments 184 and 185 (Nauck) of Euripides' *Antiope*. On the subject of gender-based puns on Orpheus in Plato, see F. M. Ahl, *Metaformations. Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets* (Ithaca 1985) 190–91.

[8] The most convenient discussion of the Phanocles fragment is found in N. Hopkinson, *A Hellenistic Anthology* (Cambridge 1988) 177–81. M. Marcovich, "Phanocles ap. Stob. 4.10.47," *AJP* 100 (1979) 360–66 argues that Phanocles' version of the Orpheus story with its pederastic motif is derived from earlier sources, and also that this version was much more common than previously thought.

τὸν μὲν βιστονίδες κακομήχανοι ἀμφιχυθεῖσαι
ἔκτανον, εὐήκη φάσγανα θηξάμεναι,
οὕνεκα πρῶτος ἔδειξεν ἐνὶ Θρήικεσσιν ἔρωτας
ἄρρενας, οὐδὲ πόθους ἤνεσε θηλυτέρων

The Phanoclean tradition is consistent with what appears in the Orphic fragments and in the mythographers, the sources giving various specifics about what galled the maenads who murdered Orpheus: he spurned the love of women, or he refused to share his rites with the female sex, or he had seduced husbands away from their wives and taught them to follow his example of loving boys.[9]

Against this background, it is instructive to compare how Vergil and Ovid handled the issue of Orpheus' pederasty and misogyny. Vergil's familiarity with the homoerotic element in the Orpheus legend is clear from the subtle but unmistakable traces at *Georgics* 4. 516, *nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei,* and at 520, *spretae . . . matres.* These, however, are merely vestigial hints from earlier sources, as Vergil chooses, in effect, to suppress the specifics of homosexuality and misogyny. This suppression may come as a surprise, given that Vergil himself was no stranger to Greek love either in his personal life or in his other poetry, but it is completely understandable in light of his thematic purpose in the Orpheus narrative, which he casts as tragedy of the highest order.[10] Thus, at the end of the tale, when the maenads kill Orpheus because he disdained them, our distinct impression is that this disdain was not due to hatred of women in general but that it was merely the shadow side of Orpheus' love for Eurydice, which after her death remained exclusive and, needless to say, heterosexual.

What Vergil suppresses Ovid not only spells out in explicit fashion but treats with such fulsome elaborateness that the reader must be either amused or embarrassed.[11] For one thing, Ovid reduces

[9] Bömer on 10.83 and 11.1–66 has a full treatment of the pre- and post-Ovidian sources of Orpheus' bisexuality. Evidence of Roman familiarity with this version shows up in the Vatican Mythographers (1.76), where we hear of Orpheus as *perosus omne genus femineum,* and in Hyginus (*Poet. Astr.* 2.7): *Nonnulli aiunt, quod Orpheus primus puerilem amorem induxerit, mulieribus visum contumeliam fecisse; hac re ab his interfectum . . . Cuius caput in mare de monte perlatum, fluctibus in insulam Lesbum est reiectum; quod ab his sublatum et sepulturae est mandatum. Pro quo beneficio ad musicam artem ingeniosissimi existimantur esse.*

[10] On Vergil's use of homoerotic themes, see J. Makowski, "Nisus and Euryalus: A Platonic Relationship," *CJ* (1989) 1–15, esp. n. 32 for the evidence on Vergil's own life.

[11] Anderson, *Orpheus* (above, n. 1) 36–39 presents a convenient list in columnar fashion of the key elements of the Orpheus story as told by Vergil and Ovid. For an

Orpheus' period of mourning for Eurydice to seven days (Vergil's had mourned seven months), and then adds that within two years he forsook the love of women entirely (*Met.* 10.79–85):

> omnemque refugerat Orpheus
> femineam Venerem, seu quod male cesserat illi,
> sive fidem dederat; multas tamen ardor habebat
> iungere se vati: multae doluere repulsae.
> ille etiam Thracum populis fuit auctor amorem
> in teneros transferre mares citraque iuventam
> aetatis breve ver et primos carpere flores.

Ovid unsettles our belief in Orpheus' devotion by arousing our cynicism with the disjunctive alternatives in the *seu . . . sive* clauses, which leave us to question the operative motivation here: Orpheus' fidelity to Eurydice or his failure as lover of women?[12] Before we can wonder too long, in an intertextual corrective to the *Georgics*, Ovid, as it were, "outs" his own character and informs us in dead-pan fashion of Orpheus' misogyny and pederasty. All of this is done in the delicate diction and preciosity of Alexandrian pederastic poetry: the phrase *teneros mares* is suggestive of Greek *paidika* and Roman *deliciae*, some even seeing it as a periphrasis for *mascula scorta*.[13] The mention of youth, springtime, and the flower of youth are all standard homoerotic stuff.[14] Within the space of a few short lines Orpheus has gone from tragic lover of Eurydice to trivial pederast worthy of inclusion in Strato's *Musa Puerilis*. The sudden transfer of sexual energy to the male, the revulsion toward the female, the total obliviousness towards Eurydice, who will not be mentioned again for some seven hundred lines as Orpheus concertizes on pederastic and misogynist themes, is telling and invites a closer look at Ovid's estimation of Greek love.

Although Ovid, the most heterosexual of the Augustan poets, has less to say on the subject of homosexuality than his counterparts,

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examination of Ovid's parody of Vergilian diction and narrative technique, see Neumeister (above, n. 2). P. Knox, *Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Traditions of Augustan Poetry* (Cambridge 1986) 48–64 analyzes Orpheus' story from the perspective of Ovid's art of allusion in the Callimachean mode.

[12] Anderson, *Orpheus* (above, n. 1) 44 cites this passage as Ovid's "insidious 'improvement'" on Vergil and says that it raises "the spectre of an egoistic husband who literally blames his wife for dying, even though he has been the cause, and then decides that marriage isn't worth the trouble."

[13] So Bömer ad loc.

[14] See S. Taran, "ΕΙΣΙ ΤΡΙΧΕΣ: An Erotic Motif in the *Greek Anthology*," *JHS* (1985) 90–107.

there is enough in his works to form a clear picture of his views. On the basis of the evidence, recent studies, most notably those of Lilja and Cantarella, concur that Ovid's attitude toward homosexual love was less than positive.[15] The poet's most explicit statement on his aversion to pederasty is in the *Ars Amatoria* (2. 683–84):

> odi concubitus, qui non utrumque resolvunt:
> hoc est cur pueri tangar amore minus.

Ovid objects to man/boy love on the grounds that it does not give equal satisfaction to both partners, since, according to the classical and idealized ethos of pederasty, the boy was thought to experience no pleasure.[16] The statement is clearly derogatory, even though the objection rests on grounds of personal preference rather than on philosophical grounds of morality or naturalness. Further corroboration of Ovid's bias against men who lust after males appears elsewhere in the *Ars*: *si quis male vir quaerit habere virum* (1.524) and *forsitan et plures possit habere viros* (3.438).[17] Consonant with Ovid's attitude toward homosexuality is his view of effeminate males, whom he subjects to a good dose of censure and ridicule (*A.A.* 1.505ff). Female homosexuality gets no more positive treatment, as indicated by *Heroides* 15, where we can infer a negative view of lesbianism from Sappho's letter to Phaon: *quas non sine crimine amavi* (19) and *Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis amatae* (201).[18] Thus, both from the "personal" poetry and the fictional we see a consistent view which may be summed up by the statement of Peter Green: "Ovid's general attitude toward adult homosexuality is casual, pragmatic, and dismissive."[19]

However, it is the *Metamorphoses* which contains Ovid's most damning denunciation of homosexuality. This occurs in the story of Iphis, in its denouement a happy story of marriage, but at heart a

[15] Lilja (above, n. 4) 79–81; Cantarella (above, n. 4) 136–39.

[16] Lilja (above, n. 4) 79–80 also points out that these lines may contain an ambiguity as to whether Ovid rejects pederasty absolutely or merely as less preferable to the love of women, depending on whether one takes *minus* to mean "not" or "less." P. Green, trans., *Ovid. The Erotic Poems* (Harmondsworth 1982) 211 captures the line very well: "I hate it unless both lovers reach climax: / That's why I don't much go for boys."

[17] See also *Tr.* 2.409–412, where Ovid speaks of the shamefulness of a poet (probably Sophocles) portraying a *mollem Achillem* in tragedy.

[18] For Ovid's views on lesbianism, see H. Isbell, trans., *Ovid. Heroides* (London–Harmondsworth 1990) 132.

[19] P. Green (above, n. 16) 355.

tale of lesbian passion, confusion of gender, and trans-sexualism. It is no accident that the episode with this complex of motifs stands in immediate juxtaposition to the Orpheus story. The centerpiece of the Iphis story is the monologue on the pathology of homoerotic love (9. 726–63), a speech remarkable both for its rhetorical display and for its insistence on the unnaturalness of homosexual passion. The maiden Iphis, having fallen in love with Ianthe, soliloquizes on her obsession (9.726–30):

> "quis me manet exitus" inquit,
> "cognita quam nulli, quam prodigiosa novaeque
> cura tenet Veneris? si di mihi parcere vellent,
> parcere debuerant; si non, et perdere vellent,
> naturale malum saltem et de more dedissent!

For Iphis the passion of a female for another female is both a *cura prodigiosa* as well as a *cura novae Veneris*.[20] Love as a care is a convention of Roman poetry from Lucretius on down, but this *cura* goes beyond anything felt by even the most tortured of heterosexual lovers. The word *prodigiosa* is significant as it connotes a type of love not wondrous but rather monstrous in the same sense that freaks of nature are monstrous. Iphis even draws analogues from the animal kingdom that underscore the unnatural character of this passion lower than that of beasts (731–34):

> nec vaccam vaccae, neque equas amor urit equarum;
> urit oves aries, sequitur sua femina cervum;
> sic et aves coeunt, interque animalia cuncta
> femina femineo correpta cupidine nulla est.

The lines with their juxtaposition of male/female polarities, elaborate use of assonance, alliteration, and play with polyptoton and grammatical gender (*vaccam vaccae . . . femina femineo*) effectively express mock abhorrence of same-sex unions.[21] The monologue reaches an outrageous rhetorical climax when a *reductio ad absurdum* extols even bestiality as preferable to homosexuality, as Iphis cites

[20] Bömer ad loc. well analyzes the complex of "angst" and unnatural love in the Iphis episode.

[21] Of course, the speech of Iphis will receive shocking reinforcement later at 10.320ff., where Myrrha looks to the animal kingdom as precedent for her passion. For an analysis of similar diction and themes in the Salmacis story, see J. Lepick, "The Castrated Text: The Hermaphrodite as Model of Parody in Ovid and Beaumont," *Helios* 8 (1981) 71–85.

the exemplum of Pasiphae's passion for the bull as more natural than her own, since at least it had the virtue of being within the heterosexual norm (735–38):

> "ne non tamen omnia Crete
> monstra ferat, taurum dilexit filia Solis,
> femina nempe marem: meus est furiosior illo,
> si verum profitemur, amor."

The speech ends with a rhetorical question underscoring the irony of the situation in which the gods of heterosexual marriage Juno and Hymenaeus are to bless a wedding that has no groom but rather features two brides (762–63):

> pronuba quid Iuno, quid ad haec, Hymenaee, venitis
> sacra, quibus qui ducat abest, ubi nubimus ambae?

The story, of course, has a happy ending engineered by the divinely ordained sex-change, itself a comment on the superiority of heterosexuality over homosexuality and of marriage over tribadism.

The story of Iphis, thus, stands as frame and proleptic comment on the forthcoming tale of Orpheus.[22] Ovid's technique in the narrative of toying with gender and sexuality sets the tone for the Orpheus story that opens Book 10. For, the story of Iphis begins as a tale of impossible lesbian passion resolved by heterosexual marriage, while the Orpheus tale begins with a marriage but one that will leave the husband a pederast. Also, Iphis' denunciation of same-sex love in Book 9 stands as a preemptive comment on the type of love Orpheus will turn to after the death of Eurydice and prepares us for the gender play that will permeate much of Book 10.[23]

Ovid injects no overt negative comments on homosexuality into the Orpheus sequence, as further remarks on unnatural passion

[22] Many commentators have noted parallels between the two stories, for example, Galinsky (above, n. 1) 86–92, who discusses the affinities of the Orpheus story to both the Iphis tale as well as to those in his own song. See also Otis (above, n. 1) *passim* 166–230, and J-M Frécaut, "Les Transitions dans les *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide," *REL* 46 (1968) 247–63, who comments on the humorous function of the Hymenaeus transition between Iphis and Orpheus.

[23] It may be objected that Iphis denounces only lesbian passion rather than homosexuality in general, and certainly in the historical realm, a man like Martial was capable of embracing pederasty while satirizing female homoeroticism. But given what we know of Ovid's own attitude toward pederasty, coupled with the parodic treatment of Orpheus' homosexuality, there is every reason to think that Ovid was equally disdainful of both male and female homosexuality.

would be redundant with Iphis' monologue still fresh in our ears. However, if this reading of the Iphis story is correct, and if we keep in mind Ovid's statements on homosexuality from his other poetry, we may see a far more devastating critique of Orpheus' homoeroticism.[24] This undermining is evident in the catalog of trees, in Ovid's parody of Vergil's stag from *Aeneid* 7, in the tales told by Orpheus, and finally in the closing frame for Book 10, the death of Orpheus at the hands of the maenads.

The humor of the catalog of trees, with its exaggeration and parody of earlier literature, has long been noted.[25] We should underscore, however, that this catalog itself contains a number of mythological undercurrents which alert us to Ovid's concerns with issues of gender and sexuality.[26] It has been noted, for example, that *innuba laurus* alludes to the Daphne story; so also the *aquatica lotos* recalls the grotesque metamorphoses of Dryope in 9, another love object of Apollo, the father of Orpheus and himself the subject of two pederastic tales soon to come. At line 99 we hear of the ivy and elm—an echo of the same imagery found in Catullus' epithalamion (61.106–109). Following these allusions to tales centering on virginity and marriage comes at last the reference to the pine tree (103–105):

> et succincta comas hirsutaque vertice pinus,
> grata deum matri, siquidem Cybeleius Attis
> exuit hac hominem truncoque induruit illo.

The placement of the pine tree at the very end of this dendrological catalogue dense with mythological subtext and right before the cypress with its homoerotic associations is not without humorous intent. The diction of line 103 is ludicrous, as the phrases *succincta comas* and *hirsutaque vertice* suggest an elaborate and very fussy

[24] I cannot agree with Verstraete (above, n. 4) 80, who sees Ovid's handling of Orpheus' homosexuality in terms of "pathos and delicacy" with no trace of perversion, nor w➞ C. Segal, "Ovid's Orpheus and Augustan Ideology," *TAPA* 103 (1972) 473–94, when he says 477–78 that Orpheus' homosexuality is a "realistic note and a humanizing correction of Vergil."

[25] See, for example, Anderson, *Commentary* ad loc. (above, n. 1) and Galinsky (above, n. 1) 182–83. For another view, see Segal, *Landscape in Ovid's Metamorphoses: A Study in the Transformation of a Literary Symbol* (Wiesbaden 1969) 80. On *umbra* as a possible joke, see W. Stephens, "Descent to the Underworld in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *CJ* 53 (1953) 180.

[26] Viktor Pöschl, "Der Katalog der Bäume in Ovids *Metamorphosen*," in *Medium Aevum Vivum. Festschrift für Walter Bulst*, ed. H. R. Jauss and D. Schaller (Heidelberg 1960) 13–21.

hair-do which would look eccentric even on a woman.[27] But then in line 104 we find out that the pine tree, even though feminine by grammatical gender, is no mythological heroine as we might expect but rather a male of sorts, the self-emasculated, metamorphosed Attis. So the pine tree is really a foppishly coiffed eunuch.[28] The notion is preposterous and occurs at a very significant juncture in the text as a prelude to the tale of Cyparissus, the first extended homoerotic narrative of Book 10, the overture, as it were, to Orpheus' own song.

The parodic nature of the Cyparissus tale has not escaped critics, who, for example, have seen the boy's excessive grief for the deer as a humorous comment on Orpheus' supposed grief for Eurydice.[29] Here more needs to be said on the deer from the perspective of Ovidian manipulation of gender. Even though the passage's parody of Vergil has long been noted, some critics, for example Fordyce, have either lost their patience with Ovid for not leaving well enough alone or have been puzzled by the overly detailed description of the beast.[30] The passage is worth looking at closely (10.110–16):

> ingens cervus erat late patentibus altas
> ipse suo capiti praebebat cornibus umbras;
> cornua fulgebant auro, demissaque in armos
> pendebant tereti gemmata monilia collo;
> bulla super frontem parvis argentea loris
> vincta movebatur parilique aetate, nitebant
> auribus e geminis circum cava tempora bacae.

The contrast with Vergil's creation could not be greater. The deer in *Aeneid* 7.483–92 is described with economy and a rustic charm that borders on the humorous. Seeing the potential for comedy, Ovid presents his own "improvement" on the deer with a congeries of details that overwhelms: first come the preposterous horns, large enough to provide their owner's head with a private source of shade, and no ordinary antlers, these are gilded, while hanging from

[27] Anderson, *Commentary* (above, n. 1) ad loc. appropriately translates *succincta* as "girdled."

[28] What Ovid thought of Cybele's transvestite eunuchs is readily apparent from his satire of male effeminacy in *A.A.* 1.507–508.

[29] So Anderson, *Metamorphoses* (above, n. 1) ad 10.86–147.

[30] See Fordyce in his commentary on *Aen.* 7.477. C. Connors, "Seeing Cypresses in Vergil" *CJ* 88 (1992) appreciates the comic effect of Ovid's deer but does not consider its thematic implications.

the deer's neck are jeweled necklaces, and a *bulla*, that is, a locket or amulet conventionally presented to a child on his birthday.[31] Then, as if this frippery were not enough, Cyparissus himself leads the deer to exotic foods and garlands it with multi-colored flowers and reins it in with a purple halter—this last detail being one that inspired a satiric epigram of Martial.[32] Consistent with the precious imagery surrounding the deer is the overwrought diction of line 125 *mollia purpureis frenabas ora capistris*—noteworthy in that a golden line is expended on the most trivial of details. The conclusion is inescapable: this outlandishly caparisoned beast is a fop, if not a cross-dresser. With its suggestion of transvestism the passage is one of high literary humor, as Ovid here makes comic allusion to the *Aeneid* within a larger passage playing on the *Georgics*.

With the arrival of the cypress tree, Orpheus is ready to begin his musical recital, but not before sounding the strings: *sensit varios, quamvis diversa sonarent, / concordare modos* (146–47). We may certainly take these lines as reflective of Orpheus' pomposity as a musician, but there also may be a subtle but significant allusion. Ovid's words are almost an exact translation of Heraclitus' τὸ ἓν γάρ φησι διαφερόμενεν συμφέρεσθαι, a quotation cited by Eryximachus, the most pedantic of the speakers in Plato's *Symposium* (187A5), who himself expatiates on musical theory in a most boring and garbled fashion. This allusion to esoteric theories of music at the point where Orpheus is about to open his mouth in song is a brilliant touch of pedantry on Ovid's part and underscores the character of Orpheus, who, satisfied with the fine tuning of his lyre, now begins. Philosophical allusion gives way to literary allusion, this time to Apollonius, whose Orpheus had sung a spell-binding song on cosmogonic and theogonic themes (1.494–525). Any notion that Ovid's Orpheus will follow suit or perhaps even sing of Eurydice is rudely shattered when Orpheus, after making brief reference to Homeric and Hesiodic themes, only to reject them, abruptly announces his subject—pederasty and female immorality (152–54): *puerosque canamus / dilectos superis, inconcessisque puellas / ignibus attonitas*. Hence the abrupt change from high epic style to the lighter lyre (*leviore lyra*) in the mode of Alexandrian poetry, as Orpheus rhapsodizes on the boy-love of Jupiter and, in what is surely meant

[31] Cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 1171 *bulla aurea est pater quam dedit mi natali die*; Pliny *HN* 33.10 *unde mos bullae duravit, ut eorum, qui equo meruissent, filii insigne id haberent*; also Paulus-Fest. 36M.

[32] Martial 13.96 *Hic erat ille tuo domitus, Cyparisse, capistro / An magis iste tuus, Silvia, cervus erat?*

by Ovid as a lapse in good taste, on his own father's catamite, Hyacinth (*te meus ante omnes genitor dilexit*, 167).

The tone and function of Orpheus' tales of pederasty and misogyny have been well analyzed by W. S. Anderson, who says that "as the stories unfold, Ovid's inescapable conclusion forces itself on us, if not on silly Orpheus, that boy-love ranks far below heterosexual love in terms of affection, mutual concern, and chances for extensive happiness."[33] To be sure, the tale of Hyacinth, like that of Cyparissus, closes with the death of the beloved and the frustration of the lover, while the upshot of the Ganymede story is the trouble that pederasty brings to the domestic life of Jupiter and Juno. The balancing stories of misogyny also undermine Orpheus' announced intention of exposing women punished for their illicit lusts, since the stories of Pygmalion, Myrrha, Venus and Adonis, and Atalanta all in the end fail to prove his point and show, again in the words of Anderson, that "girl-love refuses to be reduced to a simple formula of libido and punishment."[34]

The closing frame of Book 10 narrates the death and decollation of Orpheus. The scene is violent and gruesome, and, understandably for that reason, few in number are the critics who have seen the black comedy of the situation. Solodow, however, is on the right track when he writes: "The terrible scene of Orpheus' death at the hands of the bacchants is not without its lighter touches."[35] Indeed, the scene is funny as the misogynist slanderer of women receives his comeuppance. Irony underlies the situation in which the voice once capable of moving all of nature is overwhelmed by the cacophonous racket of the maenads, and where Orpheus, once the focus of an audience of trees, birds, and animals, now becomes the focus of a very different type of theater, namely, the gladiatorial arena, as the owl/stag simile makes clear.[36] Operative here also is the humor of gender, as the effete rhapsode becomes the victim of what is usually the gentler sex. In keeping with the Euripidean

[33] Anderson, *Orpheus* (above, n. 1) 45. For a more "sincere" reading of Orpheus' situation and its relation to the other tales, see S. Viarre, "Pygmalion et Orphée chez Ovide," *REL* (1968) 235–47.

[34] Anderson, *Orpheus* (above, n. 1) 46. For a very different interpretation of the purpose of Orpheus' *puellae* tales, see Galinsky (above, n. 1) 90.

[35] J. B. Solodow (above, n. 1) 103; see also J-M. Frécaut, *L'esprit et l'humour chez Ovid* (Grenoble 1972) 169–70 as well as the commentary ad loc. of G. M. H. Murphy, *Ovid. Metamorphoses Book XI* (Oxford 1972).

[36] J. Miller, "Orpheus as Owl and Stag: Ovid *Met.* 11.24–27," *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 140–70 remarks that "the bird/owl simile ironically reconfigures the scene that the Thracian women are in the process of destroying."

tradition that depicted the maenads' violence against men, Ovid has the women scare off the sweaty, muscle-bound farmers (lines 32–36), seize their hoes and mattocks, and in an orgy of violence dismember first the cattle and then the delicate rhapsode. The black humor of the epilogue is appropriate, as the maenads, in one of Ovid's more grotesque metamorphoses, receive their punishment by being transformed into trees and so serve to remind us of the trees at the beginning of Orpheus' song.

Sustaining to the end his intertextual play on Vergil, Ovid saves his most delicious parody for the very moment of Orpheus' death, which elicits from him a very Vergilian and very fulsome apostrophe (11.44–47):

> te maestae volucres, Orpheu, te turba ferarum,
> te rigidi silices, tua carmina saepe secutae
> fleverunt silvae; positis te frondibus arbor
> tonsa comas luxit.

Vergil, it will be remembered, had used very similar vocabulary with a quadruple anaphora of *te* to describe Orpheus' cosmic hymn of grief for Eurydice at *Georgics* 4.465–66: *te, dulcis coniunx, te solo in litore secum, / te veniente die, te decedente canebat*. This reminiscence of Eurydice in a cosmic lament for Orpheus who has forgotten his wife is a splendid piece of irony, especially coming, as it does, after the description of Orpheus' last breath in a parody of heroic epic diction: *in ventos anima exhalata recessit* (43).[37] This irony is further heightened in the description of Orpheus' singing head. For where Vergil made Orpheus' head call out the name of Eurydice to the echo of the river banks, Ovid's Orpheus is capable of no more than an inarticulate weepy something or other: *flebile nescio quid queritur lyra, flebile lingua / murmurat exanimis, respondent flebile ripae* (52–53). Appropriately, the last we see of Orpheus' head is as the quarry of a petrified snake, while his soul goes to Hades. There, after acting like a tourist revisiting familiar haunts (*quae loca viderat ante, / cuncta recognoscit*, 61–62), Orpheus is reunited with Eurydice in a scene reduced to utter triviality: the couple is now free to stroll at their leisure (for that is the connotation of *spatiantur* at 64), and Orpheus may with impunity look at his wife whether she walks behind, in

[37] By Ovid's time the expression was formulaic if not hackneyed. Cf. *Aen.* 2.791 *tenuesque recessit in auras*; 4.705 *in ventos vita recessit*; 5.526–27 *tenuesque recessit / consumpta in ventos*; 10.819–20 *vita per auras / concessit*; 12.952 *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*. For further examples, see Bömer ad loc.

front, or along side. In the end, like the audience of Euripides' *Alcestis*, which is left wondering what the wife might say to the husband who broke his every promise to her, the reader of Ovid is left to imagine the reunion of Eurydice with her bisexual husband, who consigned her to oblivion in favor of man-boy love.[38]

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Before the Name: Ovid's Deformulated Lesbianism

AT THE CONCLUSION OF BOOK 9 of the *Metamorphoses,* Ovid tells the story of Iphis and Ianthe, the poem's only tale of female same-sex desire and its sole instance of female transvestism. Iphis's imminent birth has just set the story in motion, when a paternal order of female infanticide threatens to shut down the narrative prematurely. With divine inspiration from Isis, however, Iphis's mother Telethusa averts the infanticide by disguising her daughter as a boy. Thirteen years later, Iphis falls in love with and is betrothed to her girlhood friend Ianthe, who reciprocates her love under the impression that Iphis is a young man. Although she remains firm in her desire, Iphis can find neither a precedent nor a language for what she feels, and so she laments her predicament and the impossibility of consummating her love with Ianthe. Fearing that her bodily identity will be revealed once she and Ianthe wed, Iphis visits the temple of Isis with her mother to pray for help. The goddess answers their prayers by transforming Iphis into a man, effectively resolving the crisis and enabling the marriage between Iphis and Ianthe to take place.

Before this dénouement, however, Iphis anticipates a wedding at which there will be no groom, "just two brides" ("qui ducat abest, ubi nubimus ambae," 9.763), and she confronts the intractable problem of comprehending a nameless desire.[1] Despite her undeniable emotional and erotic attraction to Ianthe, Iphis is confounded in her efforts to represent or express what she feels. The difficulty she faces should be a familiar one, though, for it is not unlike the problem that we encounter when reading her story, especially if we try to understand the elusiveness of her desire in an historically sensitive manner. Such representations of "lesbianism" in classical texts have frequently been characterized by critics in terms of "invisibility." While it is relatively effortless for us, as modern persons, to perceive female same-sex desire in certain premodern texts, the texts themselves almost always find such a desire incomprehensible outside of a phallocentric and penetrative model of erotic activity, that is to say, *the* model of erotic activity. Most of these texts treat sex between women as a poor imitation of male-centered eroticisms, the effect of which is to render invisible any vestige of lesbianism that may have been conceptually or practicably independent of the masculine model.

[1] All translations follow Allen Mandelbaum, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid,* whose page numbers I cite since his lines are unnumbered. The corresponding Latin quotations are from William S. Anderson, ed., *P. Ovidii Nasonis:* Metamorphoses.

Bernadette Brooten explains, for example, that in order to rescue Sappho's poetry from her renowned homoeroticism, writers throughout history have displaced her desire and affection for women either onto a depraved prostitute of the same name or into a heteronormative conversion of sorts, in which she fell in love with a ferryman named Phaon, because of whom she then committed suicide. In either account, Sappho's lesbianism is made safely to disappear (*Love Between Women* 38).[2] Judith Hallett similarly demonstrates that elite Latin writers in Rome, with the exception of one satiric example, obscured the existence of contemporary female homoeroticism by masculinizing, Hellenizing, and anachronizing its representation: "female homoeroticism was an undifferentiated, unassimilated conglomeration of alien and unnatural Greek behaviors, which did not really take place in their own milieu or—if it did occur—did so in a completely unrealistic way" (223). And despite many theoretical and institutional strides that have helped to uncloset the alterity of classical erotics, Ann Pellegrini believes that even "this new generation of classical scholarship suggests how queering the canon may not go all that far to redress lesbian invisibility" ("There's No Place Like Home?" 73).

But most critics likewise warn that the enterprise of distinguishing lesbianism's spectral shape in classical texts confronts not just an authorial masculinization of the women and a denial of the existence of female same-sex desires and practices. Such an enterprise also runs the critical risk of reading in modern categories of sexuality, on which classical writers and their conceptions of eroticism did not and could not depend. So how might we identify or name what we perceive to be a distinct lesbian desire in texts that seem to refuse, on every level, any such designation? Does not such an identification or description impose onto classical texts its own patterns of invisibility? And what is it, then, that we see when we say we see something like lesbianism in a classical text? Such questions of course have been durable ones, if only for the most fundamental of reasons that there exists no common erotic vocabulary between—or even among—the ancients and the moderns.

Like other classical texts, Ovid's tale of Iphis and Ianthe (*Metamorphoses* 9.666-797) refuses to make what we would now call lesbianism at all visible, intelligible, or nameable, even though it is demonstrably the most extensive treatment of female same-sex desire in the extant literature of the period. Yet rather than suggesting here, somewhat tautologically, that Ovid provides one historical location for either the development or the invisibility of lesbianism, I want to argue that his narrative merely formulates the thought of the possibility of lesbianism, a sort of shadow without an object to cast it. If *this* formulation happens to be unsatisfying, then I have achieved the same effect that Ovid does in his tale. For although the story's central conflict objectively involves the emotional attachment and erotic desire of one young woman for another, strikingly depicted from an embattled personal perspective, Ovid furnishes both his character and his

[2] As an inhabitant of the isle of Lesbos, Sappho was of course Lesbian in a geographical sense; for a discussion of the history of the word *Lesbian*, see Brooten, *Love Between Women* 4-5 and 17-23. The Sappho and Phaon story can be found in Ovid, *Heroides* 15; cf. Nagy. For a variety of recent work on Sappho, see Greene's two edited volumes, and Snyder.

reader with only one erotic paradigm—a phallocentric one—while leaving the existence of homoeroticism, of any kind, completely undepicted and unnamed.[3]

I use "lesbianism," therefore, as a deliberate misnomer, a way of thinking about the identification of a desire that *only gets thought* in the narrative—though the text is especially thorough about deformulating that thought. If Ovid's story fails to represent and name a lesbian desire, it does imagine a desire for a knowledge of lesbianism, as well as for a language in which to embody it. Instead of naming a discrete desire, in other words, the narrative intimates the desire for locating a desire that we would now probably conceptualize and characterize as "lesbian." Although the problem of Iphis's same-sex desire tends to disappear into the Roman cultural codes that govern gender, gender's own vicissitudes leave remnants of that desire and reveal an irrefutable lesbianism that is nonetheless impossible to account for—historically, conceptually, semantically—before the name.[4]

The problem of invisibility, in whatever historical period, entails a special kind of politics whose dynamic is not one of overt domination or prohibition, since it is itself so often structured by an active ignorance, as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick so elegantly points out: "Insofar as ignorance is ignorance *of* a knowledge—a knowledge that may itself, it goes without saying, be seen as either true or false under some other regime of truth—these ignorances, far from being pieces of the originary dark, are produced by and correspond to particular knowledges and circulate as part of particular regimes of truth" (*Epistemology* 8). The privilege of espousing ignorance enables one to establish not only what is and is not recognizable as a tangible truth or a physical reality, but also what counts as a culturally intelligible phenomenon. The power of ignorance has its shadowy effects on both material and linguistic levels. "Lesbianism is not explicitly prohibited," Judith Butler writes, "in part because it has not even made its way into the thinkable, the imaginable, that grid of cultural intelligibility that regulates the real and the nameable" ("Imitation and Gender Insubordination" 20).[5] Yet if the "imaginable [. . .] regulates the real and the nameable," then how might we know whether

[3] Because Ovid's story employs no erotic vocabulary, I anachronistically use "lesbian" and "lesbianism" to describe female same-sex desire, but I do not mean to attach a modern subject position or an identity-formative power to these words within the story's classical context. I also use "heteronormative" to name a structuration by which opposites or complements are drawn together (and not just of an erotic variety), though it coincidentally possesses in this story deep affinities with patriarchal authority and patrilineal descent. For discussions on terminology related to erotic practices, as well as cautions regarding the collapsing of practices into identities, see Brooten, *Love Between Women*, particularly 4-9 and 17-26; Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* 15-40; and Williams 3-14. But see also Lisa Auanger's important essay "Glimpses Through a Window," in which she suggests that "The [female] homoerotic aspects of [Roman] life were so engrained, so much a part of everyday life and ritual, that they were not at all strange, which may help explain the paucity of the literature on the topic" (243). Hallett opposes the use of "lesbian" in a Roman context, preferring *tribas*, which "is a purely Greek formation, from *tribein* 'to rub,' 'to wear down'" (213). She explains that "*tribas* is the only noun employed by Roman authors to designate women who engage in same-sex love" (213), and argues (rightly, I think) that "the connotations of Latin *tribas* are both far more limited and far more negative than those of English 'Lesbian'" (224 n.1).

[4] I take my title from a recent *GLQ* forum that addresses this very issue: "Lesbian Historiography Before the Name?" Centered on Brooten's *Love Between Women*, the forum includes an introduction by Elizabeth A. Castelli, commentaries by David M. Halperin, Ann Pellegrini, Ken Stone, Natalie Boymel Kampen, and Deirdre Good, and a response to these commentaries by Brooten herself.

[5] It should be noted that Butler's subject is not specifically lesbianism in a classical context.

something like lesbianism has not *already* entered this imaginary order, only to be refused recognition through the workings of an active ignorance? The answer to this question, I will argue, may be found in the story's own imaginary, a space where the text invites the reader to see female homoerotic desire while simultaneously disavowing its existence.

A text that never explicitly depicts or names female homoeroticism as a phenomenon while still allowing it to be sensed noumenally exempts itself from the very knowledge that it inspires in its reader's imagination. For Ovid's tale, I do not want to categorize or essentialize Iphis's desire *qua* homosexuality, nor am I promoting "the *need*," as Lee Edelman writes, "to construe an emblem of homosexual [or homoerotic] difference that will securely situate that difference within the register of visibility" (194). In other words, my goal is not to demonstrate that Iphis is in fact a lesbian, or to suggest that if we view Ovid's text or Iphis's body with just the right cock of the head we will find lesbianism to have been there all along. Rather, I am proposing to outline the operation by which this particular text both gives *and* revokes something like lesbianism, while interpolating its reader into that operation. In *S/Z*, Roland Barthes describes this give-and-take effect in terms of "connotation":

> in the hermeneutic system, the connotative signified occupies a special place: it brings into being an insufficient half truth, powerless to name itself: it is the incompleteness, the insufficiency, the powerlessness of truth, and this partial deficiency has a qualifying value. [. . .] The connotative signified is literally an *index*: it points but does not tell; what it points to is the name, the truth as name; it is both the temptation to name and the impotence to name. (62)

The ambivalence of such a textual operation is important to recognize because it coincides precisely with the critical challenge of "seeing" and naming female homoeroticism in an historically responsible way, just as it coincides with Iphis's inability to comprehend her desire, a desire that is compounded in her mind by an exemplary and semantic deficit.

What Iphis does comprehend is that, while she is a boy to everyone else in the story, she is a girl who desires another girl. But calling Iphis's desire "lesbian" is highly problematic—especially considering how well she has learned to inhabit her boyhood masculinity—just as calling her desire heterosexual would be equally inaccurate—in spite of that masculinity. Furthermore, if associating her desire with *both* lesbianism *and* heterosexuality would be nonsensical to modern readers since these terms typically define one another oppositionally, then affiliating her desire with *neither* lesbianism *nor* heterosexuality deprives us of even a workable vocabulary. Bisexuality also fails as a category because it cannot account for the contradictions in experience that she feels and tries to alleviate; the story does not bear out anything like a butch/femme dynamic, which in itself tends to presuppose a same-sex identification anyway.

Describing a desire that thus resists interpretation and naming compels us—and Iphis—to *misdescribe* it by excluding its uncomfortable or inassimilable aspects—a misdescription that indicates both a semantic and conceptual inadequacy, exemplifying the differential between the signified that we believe we perceive and the signifiers that lie at our disposal. "Even though the connotation may be clear," writes Barthes, "the nomination of its signified is uncertain, approxima-

tive, unstable: to fasten a name to this signified depends in large part on the critical pertinence to which we adhere" (190-91). To name Iphis's desire heteronormative or heterosexual would thus privilege her socially constructed masculine identity and diminish the significance of her body. But to name her desire lesbian would give a deterministic value to her body and naturalize the feminine gender that attaches to it.

If the acts of identifying and naming necessitate a radical exclusion of other possibilities, as Butler argues,[6] then Iphis's struggle dramatizes a process of disintricating simultaneous but incompatible gender positions, the desires of which follow their own paths and logics. But Iphis's drama is instructive for it is coextensive with our own. As David Halperin expresses it: "The real issue confronting any cultural historian, and any critic of contemporary culture, is, first of all, how to recover the terms in which the experiences of individuals belonging to past societies were actually constituted and, second, how to measure and assess the differences between those terms and the ones we currently employ" (*One Hundred Years* 28-29). Even though she does not succeed in comprehending her desire, what Iphis will teach us is to divide our critical pertinence and to occupy more than one position at a time, so as not to blind ourselves to elements of classical eroticisms which the singularity of modern terms would render invisible. Such an interpretive move, in Teresa de Lauretis's words, begins to answer "the difficulty in devising strategies of representation which will, in turn, alter the standard of vision, the frame of reference of visibility, of *what can be seen*" (171). If we read between the lines of her story, Iphis instructs us both to preserve a strong sense of alienation from her desire without fetishizing or exoticizing it, and to cultivate a deliberate sense of acquaintance without appropriating or assimilating it. Iphis teaches us, in other words, to sacrifice a stable and comfortable vocabulary and to read in her story what Sedgwick might call the "fractures" of the text: "the lines along which quantitative differentials in power [or desires, or erotics, or bodies] may in a given society be read as qualitative differentials with some other name" (*Between Men* 10).

"o Iphis," says the narrator, "you who were a girl so recently/are now a boy" (Mandelbaum 321; "nam quae/femina nuper eras, puer es," 9.790-91). And, indeed, by story's end, the goddess Isis has transformed Iphis's anatomy, thereby resolving all of the obstructions that have prevented her and Ianthe from coming together in marriage and in body. Yet, before the happily-ever-after, Iphis voices a long and grief-stricken lament. She speaks of the intensity of her desire for the girl Ianthe, but she can only understand that desire in terms of a heteronormative logic of physical complementarity. Because it cannot be consummated in a penetrative fashion, Iphis's desire confounds both cultural and natural intelligibility. During her soliloquy, she reasons:

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[6] See especially chapter 3 in *Bodies That Matter.*

> Cows don't love cows, and mares do not love mares;
> but sheep desire rams, and does are drawn
> by stags. And birds, too, follow that same norm;
> among the animals, no female wants
> a female! Would I could annul myself! (Mandelbaum 319)[7]
>
> nec vaccam vaccae, neque equas amor urit equarum;
> urit oves aries, sequitur sua femina cervum;
> sic et aves coeunt, interque animalia cuncta
> femina femineo correpta cupidine nulla est.
> vellem nulla forem! (9.731-35)

After turning to the animal world for heteronormative evidence to level against her desire for Ianthe, she invokes the story of Pasiphaë's sexual intercourse with a bull and decides that "even that is less/insane than what I feel; for, after all,/ she was a female longing for a male" (Mandelbaum 319; "femina nempe marem: meus est furiosior illo,/si verum profitemur, amor," 9.737-38).[8]

Despite such rigid logic and the perceived inadequacies of her body, Iphis makes the ironic observation that her social status as a young man actually promises to bring her and Ianthe together in marriage, where she expects that all but one of her desires will be granted. To describe and interpret the apparent erotic incompatibility between the two thirteen-year-old girls, both the narrator and Iphis rather predictably use a rhetoric of nature and culture, and, for the moment, cultural norms seem less inflexible than natural ones:

> Even now there's no
> desire of mine that's been denied; the gods
> have been benevolent—they've given me
> as much as they could give; and what I want
> is what my father and Ianthe want,
> and what my future father-in-law wants.
> It's nature, with more power than all of these,
> that does not want it: my sole enemy
> is nature! (Mandelbaum 320)
>
> nunc quoque votorum nulla est pars vana meorum,
> dique mihi faciles, quidquid valuere, dederunt,
> quodque ego, vult genitor, vult ipsa socerque futurus;
> at non vult natura, potentior omnibus istis,
> quae mihi sola nocet. (9.755-59)

Nature serves in this context as an unchanging origin for cultural meaning, a material index to existing social structures. Such a process of harvesting cultural meaning from the natural world, however, elides that earlier season of cultivation, as it were, in which social norms have already been planted into what is now

[7] John F. Makowski observes that these "lines with their juxtaposition of male/female polarities, elaborate use of assonance, alliteration, and play with polyptoton and grammatical gender (*vaccam vaccae . . . femina femineo*) effectively express mock abhorrence of same-sex unions" (31). For discussions addressing the self-evidentiary argument in which animal behavior in nature is used to govern human behavior in culture, see Bagemihl, especially 9-42; Boswell 137-66; Brooten, *Love Between Women* 267-80; and Williams, "Appendix 1: The Rhetoric of Nature and Same-Sex Practices," 231-44.

[8] For the brief account of Pasiphaë and the Cretan bull, see Mandelbaum 252; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.131-37; and Apollodorus 3.15.8. Diane T. Pintabone offers a sensitive reading of Pasiphaë in Iphis's soliloquy (268-69), as well as a careful consideration of the Iphis story within the larger erotic context of Ovid's poem (271-75).

viewed as a prediscursive domain.[9] The nominal dissociation between the categories of nature and culture in the story likewise elides the uniformity of the logic that dictates eroticism in each. The complementary relationship between nature and culture is homologous to the apparent complementarity of women and men in sexual intercourse, which is the tale's model of erotic intelligibility.

So what exactly in this tale is unintelligible? "Sexual relations between women," writes Brooten about Roman culture, "confounded societal categories of gender that classify all females as passive, subordinate recipients of penetration" (*Love Between Women* 241). As Iphis eagerly anticipates joining with Ianthe in the cultural institution of marriage, she agonizes about her inability to perform and consummate that institution in the natural act of opposite-sex sex. Without the natural anatomical accouterment—without a penis, in short—Iphis believes that in their physical bodies neither of them can be satisfied, and thus the marital institution that would sanction their erotic relations will likewise remain unsatisfied and incomplete:

> Why then not summon all your mettle, Iphis?
> Return to your own self; extinguish this
> flame that is hopeless, heedless, surely foolish.
> For you were born a girl; and now, unless
> you would deceive yourself, acknowledge that:
> accept it; long for what is lawful; love
> as should a woman love! (Mandelbaum 319)
>
> quin animum firmas teque ipsa reconligis, Iphi,
> consiliique inopes et stultos excutis ignes?
> quid sis nata, vide, nisi te quoque decipis ipsam,
> et pete, quod fas est, et ama, quod femina debes.
> (9.745-48)

Thus her entire self-castigation hinges on female same-sex desire, and the ability to conceive of either an end to or an achievement of that desire remains just out of sight. While the desire itself is pointedly *not* nonexistent, its sustainability is made contingent by their supposedly incommensurable bodies. Hallett demonstrates that the Graeco-Roman noun *tribas* was a prevalent and opprobrious word used to describe mainly one partner in female homoerotic sex, and that it was "associated with women who appropriate masculine behavior by seeking physical gratification not merely by rubbing, but by penetrating, as one would with a male organ, the orifices of other females" (213). Yet, while Iphis surely derogates the "unnaturalness" of her own erotic desire for Ianthe, *tribas* would not be an adequate term here since she never entertains the thought of rubbing or of penetrating Ianthe with anything but a real penis. As she reminds herself, "you were born a girl" (Mandelbaum 319)—or, in a more literal translation of the Latin that focuses the reader on what is and is not visible, "See what you were born" ("quid sis nata, vide," 9.747).

The gender confusion that female-female erotic desire occasions in Iphis's thinking has no equivalent in certain scripted male-male situations of the period, though the organization of gender roles within male homoerotic relation-

[9] The anthropological work on these issues is of course extensive. See, for example, Lévi-Strauss 3-11; MacCormack; and Ortner.

ships helps to explain the reasons for her confusion. Homoerotic activity between Roman males was reckoned not in terms of object-choice but according to the erotic roles performed, which were gendered masculine for the penetrator, feminine for the penetrated. If lesbian desire finds visibility and intelligibility only in terms of gender roles, then at least one of them must imitate either a male bodily form or a masculine erotic activity.[10] Unlike the dominant modern notion that sexual object-choice defines an individual as either homosexual or heterosexual —bisexuality often being too unruly a concept—"there just aren't classical equivalents for [these] modern categories of sexuality" (Pellegrini, "There's No Place like Home?" 73). Instead, Roman erotic activities were caught up in a "social articulation of power," as Halperin explains: "The result [of this articulation] was a social-conceptual-erotic grid that aligned masculinity, activity, penetration, and dominance along one axis and femininity, passivity, being penetrated, and submission along another. Those two axes corresponded to, but could function independently of, gender differences" ("Lesbian Historiography Before the Name?" 561).[11] With its modern identity-formative associations, then, the abstract question of "homosexuality" obtains neither in this Roman context nor in the *Metamorphoses*. Rather, the practical question of who penetrates whom—or who can penetrate whom—organizes and tends to *organicize* gender as well as the erotic roles performed.

Wholly conscious of *both* her girlhood and her boyhood, however, Iphis exhibits a pluralized sense of gender, with which she wrestles when thinking about her marriage to and erotic relations with Ianthe. She soliloquizes: "Now the longed-for moment nears,/my wedding day is close at hand: Ianthe/will soon be mine —but won't belong to me." And she concludes with wrenching regret: "With all that water, we shall thirst indeed," an image of fluidity that accentuates the phallocentric non-rigidity of their bodies, which makes ingesting or engulfing "all that water" impossible (Mandelbaum 320; "venit ecce optabile tempus,/luxque iugalis adest, et iam mea fiet Ianthe—/nec mihi continget: mediis sitiemus in undis," 9.759-61).[12] Realizing the irony of her situation, she muses to herself:

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[10] As Pintabone observes: "Iphis' logic runs along these lines, that if both partners are passive and receptive (i.e., female), how can one of them 'enjoy' (*frui*) the other?" (267).

[11] Williams likewise explains that "Roman assumptions about masculine identity rested [. . .] on a binary opposition: *men*, the penetrators, as opposed to everyone else, the penetrated. The penetrated *other* included women, boys, and slaves" (7). K.J. Dover details a similar arrangement in archaic and classical Greek erotic practices: "in Greek homosexuality [. . .] the distinction between the bodily activity of the one who has fallen in love and the bodily passivity of the one with whom he has fallen in love is of the highest importance" (16). For a critique of "sex" as a necessarily male "activity," see Frye. Despite Iphis's limited reasoning, not to mention her rather limited imagination, classical female homoeroticism involving penetration was not unheard of. In his *Epigrams*, for instance, Martial writes: "That Lesbian Philaenis 'pokes' the boys, and, fiercer than a husband in his stiffened lust, she 'cudgels' eleven girls every day" ("Pedicat pueros tribas Philaenis/et tentigine saevior mariti/undenas dolat in die puellas," vol. 1, 7.67.1-3); see also vol. 1, 1.90 and 7.70; and Seneca's *Controversiae*, vol. 1, 1.2.23.

[12] Auanger reminds us that "Eros was a keeper of a torch, and Plutarch (*Roman Questions* 1 and 2) tells us that torches are lit in marriage rites and that fire and water are both part of the ritual, fire representing the masculine element and water, the feminine" (228). Accordingly, Ovid emphasizes Iphis's "masculine element" at the conclusion of the story when she is transformed and "marriage flames were lit" (Mandelbaum 321; "ad ignes/conveniunt," 9.796-97).

> No guardian keeps you from her loving touch;
> no jealous husband keeps a sleepless watch,
> and no harsh father; nor would she herself
> deny you what you seek; yet you cannot
> possess her. (Mandelbaum 320)[13]
>
> non te custodia caro
> arcet ab amplexu nec cauti cura mariti,
> non patris asperitas, non se negat ipsa roganti;
> nec tamen est potiunda tibi. (9.750-53)

The marital institution's dependency upon male-female intercourse is especially visible here. Iphis's assertion that "Ianthe/will soon be mine" suggests that she does have the ability to fulfill the symbolic function of a husband, that she could assume a certain phallic authority simply by coming to possess Ianthe as a wife through the cultural practice of marriage. But she undercuts that symbolic position and possession by insisting that Ianthe "won't belong to me" in the sexual sense in which men physically take ownership of and stake their claims in women.

Here we see a significant space or fracture open up in Ovid's text. No one in the story questions Iphis's maleness or her masculinity (which suggests that it might be as genuine as any other boy's), and her social status as a young man poses no threat to her marriage with Ianthe—in fact, it enables it. In this brief moment, then, she can imagine that cultural practices have the capacity to change through reinterpretation. Sexual practices, however, she consigns to the natural order, with which she then circumscribes the limits of culture. The space between the potential marriage she initially imagines and the prohibitive conclusion to which she finally comes is thus a critically productive one. For it is here that we see the process by which nature, far from dictating human conduct, is actually *subjected* to interpretation and fashioned by culture into a foundation for its own normative practices. Shilpa Raval argues that "Although Iphis puts great stock in nature and the natural, her words reveal that the category of the 'natural' is in fact a cultural construct, and desire a force that is culturally mediated" (162). Like Ovid's story, Iphis first gives then revokes the possibility of female homoerotic desire: she gives it in an imaginary form, as the invisible antithesis of normative gender roles, and she withdraws it because a semantic deficit makes the notion inarticulable. Within this space, the text desires the reader to imagine not lesbianism *per se*, but instead an erotic situation between two young women of which the nature/culture dyad insists on remaining ignorant—thereby deformulating the possibility of the notion in Iphis's mind. The desire, nonetheless, remains.

Yet even before she imagines herself as Ianthe's husband, Iphis in fact possesses a significant phallic authority by virtue of patrilineal continuity. Indeed, the narrative opens before Iphis's birth by describing the socio-economic status of her father Ligdus, whose pregnant wife Telethusa is on the eve of her delivery.

[13] The possessive distinction that Iphis makes falls between a cultural and legal ownership of Ianthe, which she proleptically imagines, and a carnal possession, which cannot occur according to her phallocentric erotic model. William S. Anderson likewise notes "the nice distinction in 760-61 between legally owning Ianthe and erotically possessing her" (*Ovid's* Metamorphoses 471), and Stephen M. Wheeler also remarks on this passage: "The verb *potior*, in particular, is significant because it is a euphemism for the act of intercourse" (198).

The narrator explains: "Though the son/of humble parents, Ligdus was free-born./And like his lineage, his property/was modest" (Mandelbaum 316; "progenuit tellus ignotum nomine Ligdum,/ingenua de plebe virum; nec census in illo/nobilitate sua maior," 9.670-72). The heritage that Ligdus receives from his lineage places him and his wife in neither an aristocratic nor a slave class: they neither own great property nor are they owned as human property. One of the advantages that Ligdus enjoys at this social level is enough economic stability to hire a nurse and, presumably, to educate a son, but the limits of that economic stability in effect socially unlevel a daughter since he cannot provide her with a dowry. Hence Ligdus decides that if Telethusa bears a girl, then the child must be put to death. In pronouncing his daughter's death even before her birth, Ligdus exercises his *patria potestas*, or "power of a father," to dispose of his property at his liberty, a liberty which depends entirely, ironically, on his own freedom from ownership.[14] But the threat of female infanticide that initiates the story also arises out of Ligdus's liminal socio-economic condition, which excessively values the lives of male children by denying some female children any value at all. Because of Telethusa's religious devotion, however, the goddess Isis visits her in a dream, telling her: "there is no need to heed your husband's order./[. . .]/don't hesitate to let your newborn live" (Mandelbaum 317; "mandataque falle mariti;/nec dubita [. . .]/tollere, quidquid erit," 9.697-99). She therefore dresses the newborn girl as a boy, countermanding Ligdus's order of female infanticide while also giving him a "son."

Telethusa's success in cross-dressing the child and avoiding the infanticide relies on creating and maintaining Iphis's masculine appearance, but it also depends on undermining the authority of her husband (although Isis's instructions to deceive Ligdus lend the act a competing authority). When he hears that his wife has given birth to a boy, "Ligdus thanked the gods, and to the child/he gave the name of Ligdus' father: Iphis" (Mandelbaum 318; "vota pater solvit nomenque inponit avitum:/Iphis avus fuerat," 9.708-09). In naming the child after his own father, of course, Ligdus invests Iphis with a masculine privilege that spans multiple generations. Stephen Wheeler also notes that the name Iphis is etymologically linked to *vis*, which translates as "force," including "the sense of 'force directed against someone,' i.e., 'violence.' It is for this reason that Romans often etymologize *vir* ["man," "husband"] with reference to *vis*, since it is the male who characteristically initiates violence" (195).[15] With this patronymic investment, Iphis is divided between a natural, physical body that is female and a strong patriarchal identity that the parents have, at a very literal level, socially constructed as male. Leonard Barkan believes that "there is a manifest destiny of masculinity within Iphis": "All these signs of masculinity bespeak a deeper accuracy about Iphis's identity than the fact of her sexual anatomy, suggesting that one can earn

[14] *Patria potestas* in the early Roman republic extended beyond that of Greek fathers (who possessed the legal right to dispose of their children only at birth) to include the power over life and death of their children at any time. For more on these fatherly rights and the uneven social developments around them in the republican period, see Harevan; Lacey; and Saller, especially 102-32.

[15] Wheeler examines the onomastics throughout Ovid's story, but for an extension of Wheeler's argument see Raval 164.

the right to a transformation that makes one's physical identity accord with the spiritual" (71). But I would argue that both the natural and the cultural signs that indicate Iphis's sex and gender immediately begin to blur, implying that destabilizing forces are already at work within those signs.

While "Iphis" is thought to continue a masculine tradition, the patronymic itself breaks down as an indicator of the child's sex. About Ligdus's naming of Iphis, the narrator says: "Telethusa was most pleased with this:/it was a name that suited male or female—/a neutral name, whose use involved no tricks" (Mandelbaum 318; "gavisa est nomine mater,/quod commune foret nec quemquam falleret illo," 9.709-10). Within the name that perpetuates Ligdus's patrimony resides a neutrality whose association with gender in the narrative is finally only arbitrary. And if the self-evidence of Iphis's sexual anatomy threatens to expose the disguise, then *her other, equally important physical characteristics* should protect her. For even when "She dressed/her Iphis as a boy [. . .] whether one/assigned them to a daughter or a son,/the features of the child were surely handsome" (Mandelbaum 318; "cultus erat pueri, facies, quam sive puellae/sive dares puero, fieret formosus uterque," 9.712-13). The masculine clothes might temporarily stabilize Iphis's socially constructed gender, but her nonconstructed physical appearance has the potential to go either way. Her appearance in fact *must* carry the potential to go either way in order to certify for the reader the discontinuity between her "natural" sex and her masculine gender. In Iphis's physiology, the natural signs of gender fluctuate, becoming just as problematic as the cultural signs of dress and name that determine both her sex and her patrimony.

Ovid finesses these multiple referents of appearance within his poetic language —which also begins to blur and double—by describing Iphis and Ianthe with the pun *forma*, meaning both "beauty" and "form." Between lines 713 and 718 in the Latin text, the word occurs three times, its appearances following a dialectical pattern: the first describes Iphis as a beautiful newborn, the second praises Ianthe's beauty, and the third brings their beauty together: "Iphis and she were equal in their age,/their beauty" (Mandelbaum 318; "par aetas, par forma fuit," 9.718; also, 9.713 [*formosus*] and 9.716 [*formae*]). And the resemblances continue:

> the two of them were trained
> by the same tutors; they had learned—together—
> the basic rudiments of arts and letters.
> In sum, they had shared much; and so when love
> had struck their unsuspecting hearts, they both
> shared one same wound. (Mandelbaum 318)

> primasque magistris
> accepere artes, elementa aetatis, ab isdem;
> hinc amor ambarum tetigit rude pectus et aequum
> vulnus utrique dedit. (9.718-21)

In the pun on *forma*, Barkan explains, Ovid "ostensibly means to say that they are equal in beauty, but reminds us that they are identical in form" (70-71), a likeness also mirrored by their equal acculturation. Ovid further emphasizes the similarity of their physical form by pressing the love "wound" (translating *vulnus*) that Iphis and Ianthe share into double service to suggest also the mutuality of

their sexual anatomy. Since the verb form of *vulnus* was often used as a metaphor for male-on-female intercourse, "often associated with the deflowering of a bride" (Adams 152), the word is ironic in this context because neither Iphis nor Ianthe would seem able to "wound" the other sexually.[16] The sequential arrangement in which the three instances of *forma* appear in these six lines—a dialectical pattern culminating in a pun—epitomizes both the problem of female homoeroticism and the shape of its resolution within the tale's heteronormative economy.

Calculated by this penetrative sex, the problem that female homoeroticism confronts is the achievement of the desired object, of a consummation, a "natural" synthesizing of two bodies, necessarily non-identical. This is the logic of the dialectic, but it is also that of heteronormative complementarity. After *forma* first describes Iphis and then Ianthe, the punning endpoint of the dialectic in the line: "Iphis and she were equal in their age,/their beauty" brings them together while refusing to synthesize their two bodies into one. The pun forms instead a category—not a coition—of individuals to which Iphis and Ianthe belong: the female. Just as the culminating pun motions toward a bifurcation (that is, toward the two separate referents "form" and "beauty"), *forma* likewise points to two separate persons: Iphis and Ianthe. *Forma* describes them both as *both* beautiful and anatomically similar (a non-identical sameness), ironically yoking them through the comparative construction, while asserting that their bodies *cannot* merge physically. The reverse-dialectical structure of the pun demonstrates at once their similarity (at the level of category) *and* their incommensurability (at the level of conjugation), since, Barkan maintains, "the couple cannot be joined if they are already identical" (70).

According to this complementary dialectic, Iphis and Ianthe can become commensurable only when they are differentiated *in form.* Making one (or both) of them male seems to be the only way of facilitating the natural kind of penetration that governs Iphis's thinking: "Nothing," she says, "—no learned art—can ever make of me/a boy. And it cannot change you, Ianthe" (Mandelbaum 319; "num me puerum de virgine doctis/artibus efficiet? num te mutabit, Ianthe?" 9.743-44). In contrast, if the pun on *forma* expresses the supposed inability of two women to merge sexually, then the story's final line makes it clear that penetration has at last been achieved: "the boy Iphis made Ianthe his" (Mandelbaum 321). Discussing this final line—"potiturque sua puer Iphis Ianthe" (9.797)—Raval keenly observes that it "not only portrays the marriage of Iphis and Ianthe, but represents the institution in terms of its consummation [. . .]. The text accentuates the physical aspect of the coupling through word order: the nesting of *puer Iphis* within the phrase *sua Ianthe* suggests that the boy Iphis has successfully penetrated Ianthe" (166-67).

Faced with strictures that prevent both the fulfillment and the articulation of her desire, Iphis settles on a description that tries to make it intelligible precisely through its unintelligibility: "'What end awaits me now?'/she says. 'I am possessed by love so strange/that none has ever known its monstrous pangs'" (Mandel-

[16] For more on *vulnus*, see Adams 152.

baum 319; "'quis me manet exitus' inquit,/'cognita quam nulli, quam prodigiosa novaeque/cura tenet Veneris?,'" 9.726-28).[17] Hallett notes that, for the rare Latin word *prodigiosa* (translated here as "monstrous"), the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* "lists no attestation earlier than the passage at *Metamorphoses* 9" (Hallett, 226n16; *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1472). Iphis deems her same-sex desire *prodigiosa*, beyond any logical comprehension, and yet her experience of it—"'I am *possessed* by love'"—remains indisputable. (That the first extant appearance of the word *prodigiosa* coincides with what Iphis believes to be the first appearance of female same-sex desire is a trick of history too extraordinary to leave unobserved.) Significantly, however, no matter what logic Iphis reasons from, her desire remains consistently trained on Ianthe, suggesting that her desire, her object-choice, will finally be what determines the gendered place from which she will do that desiring. Since the goddess Isis eventually transforms her body into a man's, the narrative in fact legitimizes Iphis's desire for Ianthe, but it does so by eradicating the possibility of naming that desire "lesbian" or "same-sexual" or even "tribadic."

Although Iphis has passed as male for thirteen years, the bodily transformation she undergoes requires more than the subtraction of a vagina and the addition of a penis.[18] The penis of course might be viewed as an essential accessory to the degraded female body, but the narrative curiously insists on overdetermination, supplementing her penis with other signs of superadded masculinity. When "the mother/left the temple," the narrator reports,

> Iphis walked behind her, but
> her stride was longer than it was before,
> and her complexion darker; she was more
> robust; her features had grown sharper, and
> her hair was shorter, without ornaments.
> You are more vigorous than you had been,
> o Iphis, when you still were feminine—
> for you who were a girl so recently
> are now a boy! (Mandelbaum 321)
>
> mater abit templo, sequitur comes Iphis euntem,
> quam solita est, maiore gradu; nec candor in ore
> permanet, et vires augentur, et acrior ipse est
> vultus et incomptis brevior mensura capillis,
> plusque vigoris adest, habuit quam femina. nam quae
> femina nuper eras, puer es. (9.786-91)

All of these masculine additions and distinctions can no doubt be read as merely supplementary embellishments to the female body; it is odd, though, that the narrator now accentuates her feminine (*femina*) attributes when she has managed to pass as male for so long. But these masculine traits more importantly suggest that the male appendage—which has structured Iphis's thinking and the intelligibility of erotic desire throughout the story—is not, in itself, sufficient to

[17] Pintabone writes that "her use of *Veneris* to name the troublesome matter may further suggest that she specifically means the sexual aspects of their love" (264).

[18] Wheeler discusses the Latin poetic conventions that prevented Ovid from referring directly to the anatomical details of Iphis's transformation, arguing that the tale's predominant "etymologizing wordplay enables him simultaneously to disclose and conceal the unmentionable" (200). This disclosure and concealment is yet another example of the textual give-and-take I have been discussing.

denote her newly acquired manhood. The penis here is frightfully needy, requiring a host of masculinized features with which to distance not only the femininity of her former body, but also its androgyny. Yet if we consider Iphis's success in passing as male as well as her masculine patrimony, identity, and education (which the girl Ianthe also shares), then these qualities all verify that the possession of a penis is ultimately just an arbitrary determinant of social status. But this is indeed an old story.

In its resolution, Ovid's tale favors a heteronormativity that preserves itself through marriage and patrilineal succession. Big surprise. Much more interestingly, though, when this heteronormativity and the desire she harbors for Ianthe come into conflict in Iphis's mind, the reproductive logic of male-female intercourse overrules the unfathomable logic of female homoeroticism. The story begins, after all, in the midst of a pregnancy, and it ends just prior to a marriage between a man and a woman. Because female same-sex eroticism cannot "naturally" perpetuate itself by recreating its own relational structures into the future, it must be eclipsed, the story implies, by the culture-sustaining ability of male-female intercourse and reproduction. But since we are attempting to discern the *textual process* by which the story renders lesbianism invisible, we would do well not to overweigh its heteronormative conclusion, because doing so would be to participate in the very same reproductive logic that forestalls Iphis's thinking. If heteronormativity conceives of itself as a closed and therefore teleological system that it replicates by perpetuating cultural practices exemplified primarily by natural bodily reproduction, then to interpret the story only in terms of its conclusion would be to endorse a kind of plenitude that creates itself through the illusion of inevitability. In other words, the conclusion should not be allowed to totalize the story's meaning, since it "both overturns and affirms readers' expectations through the possibility of various, even contradictory, interpretations" (Pintabone 280). If we read it from a different point of view, the story does not depreciate women and female homoeroticism through a perceived bodily lack, nor does it honor the possession of a penis as the simple sign of bodily plenitude.

Discussing other stories of female homoeroticism that end in heterosexual unions, Valerie Traub warns against "our formalistic inclinations to privilege [. . . a] final heterosexual teleology" (80)—inclinations that tend to neutralize transgressive, subversive, or otherwise non-normative desires and behaviors. Writes Traub: "The final closure of these erotic incidents, and the dominant [heteronormative] economy of desire [. . .] do not cancel out the erotic attraction between some female characters" (77). Thus, although the story "emphasizes the way in which the social institution of marriage with its reproductive *telos* limits gender performance" (Raval 159), we should not simply grant the conclusion of Ovid's tale the kind of formalistic plenitude that such a *telos* underwrites. To do so would create a complementary lack in its women and in its female homosocial and homoerotic desires more generally. That men are chiefly marginal and passive in the narrative, whereas women are central, active, and exercise the greatest agency, also suggests that the story's conclusion should not be interpreted as merely sanctioning heteronormativity. Even Ligdus functions largely as a patriarchal place-holder, appearing at the narrative's opening as the *paterfamilias* who

cannot afford a daughter, and then only twice more: for naming Iphis and for arranging the wedding with Telestes, Ianthe's father. Furthermore, Ligdus's actions are entirely unimaginative and predictable, and while they do initiate the various conflicts, they contribute little to the narrative's events. By contrast, Iphis, Telethusa, and Isis orchestrate and speak most of the story's action, within which an unnamed nurse as well as the goddesses Juno, Lucina, and Venus occasionally appear.[19]

Saara Lilja sums up her short consideration of Ovid's tale by stating: "The story of Iphis, then, is to be regarded as another negative comment on lesbianism" (80), and John Makowski writes that the story is "Ovid's most damning denunciation of homosexuality" (30).[20] But Hallett argues that "Ovid's narrative displays immense sympathy with Iphis' plight, a sympathy contrasting to Iphis' own self-condemnation and negative view of female homoeroticism" (217). "As a matter of fact," she continues,

> the transformation of Iphis from human female to human male stands out conspicuously among the changes undergone by characters in the *Metamorphoses*. Here Ovid does not resolve a painful human dilemma in his typical fashion, by turning this particular human into a vegetable, mineral or subspecies of animal. Rather, Ovid accords Iphis' story an unusually happy ending—inasmuch as Iphis, unlike many others in the *Metamorphoses*, need not relinquish her living human identity and even improves upon the one the gods have created for her. (217)

Even if female homoeroticism fares disastrously through her physical transformation, the narrative certainly does end happily insofar as it aligns itself with Iphis's desire. The story thus endorses both the desire and its object, however necessary it might still be for Isis to reshape—or perhaps deform—the desire's morphological source. Whereas the sex-change clearly demonstrates Isis's power, it also implies that nature resists transformation less than cultural practices and institutions might: once again, nature bends to suit cultural needs.

Despite its appreciable scope, then, female power to escape or evade male authority still has its limits, and it takes the authority of a deity to resolve the story's various conflicts. Yet the intimacy, dedication, and affection that characterize the female homosocial and potentially homoerotic bonds constitute the only meaningful relationships in the tale, as opposed to the purely functional ones that the males fulfill. The story is about women who strengthen one another, who negotiate problems, and who elude many of the dictates of patriarchy, all of which occur through the narrative process. Rather than at its conclusion, in other words, it is in the midst of the story—when outcomes are uncertain and

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[19] When Isis visits Telethusa before she gives birth, her train of male deities—Anubis, Bubastis, Apis, Osiris's son (probably Harpocrates, not Horus), and Osiris himself—stands at silent attention while she speaks directly to her devotee. That Isis exhibits probably the greatest agency, female or male, in Ovid's tale is of great significance, especially considering her relationship with Osiris, her brother and husband. In his *Moralia*, Plutarch tells how their brother Typhon murders Osiris and, after his body is rescued by Isis, he then dismembers it into fourteen pieces, scattering them about Egypt. Isis recovers all of the parts except for "the male member, for the reason that this had been at once tossed into the river. But Isis made a replica of the member to take its place, and consecrated the phallus, in honour of which the Egyptians even at the present day celebrate a festival" (vol. 5, 45, 47). Isis's motivation in endowing Iphis with a penis recalls and even supplements her inability to restore Osiris's, for which she can only create a phallic replica or effigy.

[20] Others who briefly address this story include, besides Brooten (*Love Between Women* 44), Cantarella (167), Delcourt (34-35), Foster (26-27), and Hallett (213-14, 217).

where the narrative is still determining a language with which to constitute itself —that the text encourages the reader to imagine the many alternatives that may arise out of its conflicts. This medial narrative space, which we occupy during the reading experience, is an imaginative one not only in the sense of its *mythos*, but also as a place where new thinking and possibilities emerge. Iphis may ultimately fail to achieve an understanding of or a language for the desire she feels, but in the declaration of her desire for Ianthe she begins to come to terms with it. I would argue that grappling with the complexity of her desire and, simultaneously, *not* fully coming to terms with it is, at least for us, a critically productive move, because simply naming it lesbianism irresponsibly forecloses its many meanings.

Formulated under the rule of both nature and culture, the tale's problematic of gender manages to make the issue of female homoeroticism disappear by refusing to understand that issue in/on its own terms. Lesbianism is deformulated because the problem can be addressed more intelligibly through the phallocentric gender system of Augustan Rome. But, *contra* this system, if Iphis lacks anything here, it is precisely *her own terms* through which she might be perceived in all the complexity and even contradiction of her desire in its historico-cultural context. Iphis's challenge of describing and naming her desire continues to remain our critical challenge, not just for premodern cultural contexts but for modern ones as well. The historical and semantic obstacles to naming Iphis a lesbian likewise obtain when the complexities of desire are uncritically homogenized into a generic term like *lesbianism*, however politically useful such terms might be. Conferring the name lesbian—or any other word that may be assigned to an identity or to a social or political position—runs an exclusionary risk because the word all too easily becomes what Edelman calls a "homograph," "a signifier whose apparent self-identity occludes internal difference" (201). Internal difference, in other words, is a feature of lesbianism not only before the name, but within the name as well.

At the story's closure, which coincides with the closure of Iphis's sexual morphology, the narrative attempts to unify its own internal differences and the contradictions brought about by her unnamable desire, all in the figure of a divinely bestowed penis. Thankful for Isis's bountiful wedding gift, Iphis brings to her temple offerings and a votive tablet on which she has inscribed these words: "These gifts, which Iphis pledged/as girl, are paid by him as man," and so "the boy Iphis made Ianthe his" (Mandelbaum 321; "DONA • PVER • SOLVIT • QVAE • FEMINA • VOVERAT • IPHIS," 9.794; "potiturque sua puer Iphis Ianthe," 9.797). But, even in these closures, I like to imagine that there's a bit of the girl still visible in the boy.[21]

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Female Desire and the Discourse of Empire: Tacitus's Messalina

Sandra R. Joshel

> What a pigmy intellect she had, and what giant propensities! How fearful were the curses those propensities entailed on me! Bertha Mason, the true daughter of an infamous mother, dragged me through all the hideous and degrading agonies which must attend a man bound to a wife at once intemperate and unchaste. . . .
>
> Disappointment made me reckless. I tried dissipation—never debauchery: that I hated, and hate. That was my Indian Messalina's attribute: rooted disgust at it and her restrained me much, even in pleasure. Any enjoyment that bordered on riot seemed to approach me to her and her vices, and I eschewed it. (CHARLOTTE BRONTË, *Jane Eyre* [1847] 1984, 334, 338)

JANE EYRE, OFTEN READ as a feminist text, recounts a woman's attainment of selfhood within a particular imperial moment. The morally healthy empire of the present, associated with the civilizing mission in India, is distinguished from the corrupt empire of the past, associated with the plantation system in the West Indies. Images of women participate in the construction of this distinction. Jane belongs to the moral empire of her present. The creole Bertha Mason, the debauched, mad wife of Edward Rochester, marks the corrupt empire of the past. Historical imagination and the Roman empire provide the means for evoking the "giant propensities" of the creole. Using the name of the third wife of the Roman emperor Claudius, infamous for her sexual depravity and violence, Rochester calls his own wife

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"an Indian Messalina"—a Messalina from the West Indies (Brontë [1847] 1984, 338). Brontë associates the British imperial past with Rome, which in the imagination of the mid-nineteenth century was seen as the corrupt root of Western civilization. In Brontë's collapse of discrete imperial moments, her nineteenth-century female representative of the decadent planter class in Jamaica is conflated with a first-century Roman empress. The name of a particular woman, Valeria Messalina, becomes the proper name for an uncontrolled female sexuality that can be specified by an adjective of place or race.[1]

Yet, as Peter Brooks notes, "all tales may lead back not so much to events as to other tales, to man as a fiction he tells about himself" (1985, 277). Indeed, a search for the Roman Messalina turns up little that fits modern notions of historical facts, not even her precise age. When Claudius married her in 39 or 40 C.E. (A.D.), he was forty-eight and she was fourteen by some calculations and eighteen by others. She bore him two children, Octavia and Britannicus. The latter was heir to the throne until, after Messalina's death and Claudius's remarriage to Agrippina, the emperor adopted Agrippina's son Nero. Messalina was killed in 48 C.E. for an involvement with the noble Gaius Silius that Roman authors describe as a sexual liaison and modern historians as a political one. What we can know of the affair and her other deeds must be read through stories in which her chief features are unbridled sexuality, violence, and ferocity.[2] Messalina is not alone in this: adulterous, ferocious, deceitful women populate the ancient Roman sources and modern images of Rome. Along with gladiators, elaborate banquets, and legions, these women belong to a popular imagination about the Roman empire nurtured by Baroque opera, Enlightenment history, French revolutionary literature, and Robert Graves's novels ([1934] 1989, [1935] 1989) and their dramatization by the BBC, aired in turn on U.S. public television.[3]

[1] Bertha Mason, daughter of a merchant-planter, is a decadent white. Whereas in Jamaica the term *creole* applied to the native-born population of both African and European origin, in England it was used as "a derogatory name for the West Indian sugar plantocracy" (Sharpe 1993, 45–46).

[2] For Messalina in Roman imperial literature, see Seneca *Apocolocyntosis* 11, 13; Seneca *Octavia* 10–17, 257–72, 536–37, 947–51; Tacitus *Annals* 11.1–4, 12, 26–38, 12.7.5–7, 13.11.2, 13.19.2, 13.43.1–5; Juvenal 6.115–32, 10.329–45; Suetonius *Claudius* 26.2, 29, 36, 37.2, 39.1, *Nero* 6.4, *Vitellius* 2.5; Pliny *Natural History* 10.172, 29.8; Cassius Dio 60.8.4–5, 14, 15.5–16.3, 17.5–18, 22.2–5, 27–28.5, 29.4–6[a], 30.6[b]–31.5. On her age at marriage, see Syme 1958, 437; 1986, 150; Meise 1969, 152 n. 122. All otherwise unidentified references in this article are to Tacitus's *Annals*.

[3] For bibliography on women in Tacitus, see Wallace 1991. Roman imperial women in Baroque opera: Monteverdi, *Incoronazione di Poppea* (1642); Pallavicino, *Messalina* (1680) (and derived from it, Vivaldi, *Ottone in villa,* 1713; Vivaldi's and printer's errors call Ottone "Claudio" and Cleonilla "Messalina"; see Hill 1983, xviii–xxi); Handel, *Agrippina* (1709). On Roman imperial women in Baroque opera, see Heller 1993. On associations of Marie Antoinette with Roman imperial women, see Hunt 1991. In his

All tales may lead back to other tales but not always to "man as a fiction." I follow the tale of Bertha Mason's prototype, Valeria Messalina, to woman as a fiction, focusing on one Roman account of Messalina, that of the historian Tacitus in book 11 of his *Annals,* a history of the Roman empire from 14 C.E. to 68 C.E., written sixty to seventy years after Messalina's death. Tacitus's writings have shaped European perceptions of Rome; between 1580 and 1680 interest in Tacitus as a stylist, moralist, and historian became a movement and a fashion, and his works remain part of a canon of authors from classical antiquity and a major source for modern historians of imperial Rome (Burke 1966, 1969). Rather than trying to uncover the actual woman beneath Tacitus's narrative, I read his Messalina as a fiction for the terms through which the Romans experienced their own present and its history. I am concerned with the writing of history, not with history as a set of events. The issues, it seems to me, are these: How is the imperial past represented, and what role does Messalina play in that representation? What are the implications of that representation for our ability to talk about Roman women and the uses to which images of women are put? What are the politics of a particular intersection of gender and empire? I shall argue that modern historians' attempts to define Messalina's agency as a historical figure cannot escape Tacitus's construction of her excessive desire that produces chaos and emasculates, of her violence, and of her ambiguous voice that moves the narrative but is essentially mute. Like Brontë's Bertha Mason, Tacitus's Messalina is a representation that enables the historian to draw a difficult distinction between present and past, good empire and bad.[4] As such, Messalina functions as a sign in a discourse of imperial power that simultaneously informs, if not determines, her image. I contend that this paradox is the result of a double move made by Roman imperial discourse: woman figures empire, and yet, at the same time, empire becomes woman.

Tacitus's narrative of Messalina

As an introduction to Tacitus's account of Messalina in the *Annals,* I want to locate that account in its Roman context by commenting on Roman imperial history, Tacitus's place in that history, and the aspects of

studies of atavistic physiognomy, the late nineteenth-century scientist Cesare Lombroso identified Messalina's features as exemplary of a criminal type: "Messalina . . . offers many of the features of the criminal and born prostitute—having a low forehead, very thick, wavy hair, and a heavy jaw" (Lombroso and Ferrero 1899, 98).

[4] I use woman to mean "the historically specific representation of the female that mediates the relationship of women and men to every individual, concrete woman" (Poovey 1990, 29; see also de Lauretis 1984, 5; 1987, 1–30).

Claudius's reign that concern ancient authors and modern scholars. Messalina belongs to a history of empire in the sense of one state's ruling distant states, peoples, and territories and to a history of imperial power in a particularly Roman sense concerned with the power of the emperor. Tacitus's political career made him familiar with both. In the early second century, Tacitus looked back over more than a century of the Principate, the rule of one man whom we call an emperor and whom the Romans called a princeps. The Principate was a military dictatorship dressed in republican form by its founder Augustus in the late first century B.C.E. (B.C.). In the Republic, the senatorial class had ruled Rome, Italy, and an empire. In the Principate, the senate met and magistrates were elected, but effective power, especially control of the legions and provinces, was in the hands of the princeps. It took nearly a century of struggle with the princeps for the former ruling class to find its political place in the new order as civil servants. The original republican families died or were killed off; increasingly, the emperor drew on new men from Italy and the Romanized elites of the provinces to be senators, magistrates, and commanders. Many were ready to uphold the ancient tradition of service to the state while lacking either the experience or family history of political dominance. Tacitus, a provincial from Gaul or Northern Italy, came from such a background. Without the Principate, he would not have become a senator, a well-known orator at Rome, a consul, or a provincial governor. (On Tacitus's life, see Syme 1958, 59–74; Martin 1981, 26–38.) When Tacitus recounts the history of the earliest generations of the Principate under Augustus's successors in the *Annals,* he does so from the complex point of view of a senator, a member of the ruling class whose actions and speech were constrained by the power of the princeps, and of a provincial whose very position as senator depended on the institution of the Principate.

In his account of Claudius, the fourth emperor, Tacitus worked within a senatorial tradition that depicted Claudius as a fool and a pedant, either ignorant of the machinations of his freedmen and wives or else subservient to their wishes (Suetonius *Claudius* 29; Cassius Dio 60.2.4, 2.6, 8.4–6). Yet even hostile accounts implicitly acknowledge the growth of an imperial state under Claudius. Claudius's invasion of Britain in 43 C.E. extended the boundaries of empire. His generous grants of citizenship to Romanized provincials and extension of senatorial status to the upper class of Gallia Comata spread membership in the imperial state and its elite to those who had been conquered in the Republic. Although a subject of scholarly debate, Claudius's administrative changes and absorption of public responsibilities enlarged the reach of imperial government and perhaps represented a realignment of state power at the expense of the senate. The freedmen who play an important role in Tacitus's

narrative of Messalina should be considered in this context, for they were administrators, not domestic servants. Like other Roman nobles, the emperor relied on his slaves and freedmen to manage his property and business affairs. In the emperor's case, they became the nucleus of a bureaucracy, dealing with matters of public administration and finance. Although the Roman sources' emphasis on ex-slaves and wives present the emperor as ruled by those he should rule within his household, it also highlights the domestic setting of the emperor's exercise of power within the dominating metropolitan center of empire, a concern that figures importantly in Tacitus's history of the Principate.[5]

Tacitus's *Annals* for the first six years of Claudius's reign have not been preserved. Tacitus's remaining account of Claudius, and hence of his wife Messalina, opens in 47 C.E. with the trial of the noble Valerius Asiaticus in the emperor's bedroom with his wife present. Messalina has pushed the senator Suillius and her son's tutor, Sosibius, to accuse Asiaticus of various crimes, ostensibly because his power and wealth threaten the throne. Messalina's motives, the real motives in Tacitus's account, are jealousy and greed. She believes that Asiaticus is a former lover of Poppaea Sabina, who had had an affair with one of Messalina's lovers, an actor and ex-slave named Mnester. She also wants some gardens that Asiaticus is refurbishing. Just when Asiaticus's speech in his defense moves Claudius, she urges another senator, Vitellius, to act, and he convinces the emperor of Asiaticus's guilt. Asiaticus is allowed to commit suicide; Messalina goes off to drive Poppaea to suicide. Two men who had lent their house to Poppaea and Mnester are also killed on the pretext that they had had an inauspicious dream about Claudius.

Tacitus's story continues with Messalina's affair with Gaius Silius, consul-elect and the most handsome young noble in Rome. Because of this "new and almost mad love," Messalina drives out Silius's wife and claims this now unmarried lover on whom she lavishes riches and honors. Claudius, preoccupied with his duties as censor, knows nothing of the affair. Silius proposes marriage: he offers to adopt Messalina and Claudius's son, Britannicus, heir to the throne, and assures Messalina that she would have the same power as before. When Claudius goes to the port city of Ostia, sixteen miles from Rome, to perform a sacrifice, Messalina celebrates all the solemn observances of marriage with Silius, implicitly divorcing the emperor.[6]

[5] Hostile senatorial tradition on Claudius's acts: Seneca *Apocolocyntosis* 3; Tacitus *Annals* 11.5.1, 11.23–25.2, 12.60, 13.29.2; Suetonius *Claudius* 24.1–2; Cassius Dio 60.10.3–4, 17.5–8, 24.1–2. For the controversy on Claudius's acts, see Scramuzza 1940; McAlindon 1956; Momigliano 1961; Levick 1978, 1990, esp. 81–91; De Vivo 1980; Griffin 1982; Wiseman 1982; Millar 1992, 74–77. On the importance of Claudius's freedmen administrators, see Levick 1990, 83; Millar 1992, 70, 74–77.

[6] Although a woman whose father had died could dissolve her marriage unilaterally, the marriage to Silius and proposed adoption of Britannicus present legal problems: see Levick 1990, 67, with references.

According to Tacitus, the emperor's household is frightened by what appears to them as a coup d'état. The historian refers to the emperor's freedmen administrators, although he ignores their official posts, recounting only their activities in the domestic sphere or commenting on the inappropriate power and influence of what for him are merely ex-slaves. Claudius's freedmen arrange to have him told of Messalina's marriage to Silius by his mistresses during his stay at Ostia. Claudius is "so overwhelmed by terror that he ask[s] again and again 'Am I still emperor? Is Silius still a subject?' " (11.31.3).

Tacitus's narrative cuts back and forth between husband and wife. Claudius returns to Rome, avoids a direct confrontation with Messalina on the road, visits the camp of the praetorian guard to reaffirm his position with the army, views Silius's house, and then presides over the summary trial of Messalina's associates and former lovers. Finally, he returns to the palace and drinks too much. Narcissus, one of Claudius's freedmen, gives the order to have Messalina killed. Messalina, for her part, is having a wild party, celebrating the new vintage. When the news arrives of Claudius's return, the guests scatter, and Messalina is abandoned. With only three companions and on foot, she walks from the gardens of Asiaticus, near the modern Piazza del Popolo, to what is now the Porta S. Paulo, finding only a cart for garden rubbish to carry her out of the city. On the road between Rome and Ostia, Messalina encounters the emperor, but outmaneuvered and shouted down by a freedman, she finds Claudius's ears closed to her. She ends up lying on the ground in the gardens she had taken from Asiaticus—crying, complaining, and helpless. Her mother, with her at the end, urges Messalina to commit suicide and seek "dignity in death," but, according to Tacitus, her corruption left her without honor (11.37.4–5). Soldiers sent by Narcissus break through the gates. Surrounded by them and insulted by a freedman, Messalina can only stab ineffectually at her throat and breast until the blow of a tribune pierces her through. When Claudius is informed of her death, he finishes his meal without asking how she died. In the following days he shows no signs of any human emotion.

The problems of reading Messalina

In these chapters about Claudius's reign, an adulterous, rapacious wife and anxious, bossy freed slaves determine events. Passive, manipulated, or befuddled, the emperor seems incapable of independent action; senators are objects of female desire or toadies. Although other accounts suggest that Messalina's involvement in Asiaticus's fall and her marriage to Silius were well-established in Tacitus's sources (Juvenal 10.329–45; Suetonius *Claudius* 26.2; Cassius Dio 61.29.4–6[a], 61.31.3–5), the historian crafts his own narrative within the senatorial tradition hostile to Claudius (Martin 1981, 144, 150–51). Some scholars have assumed that

this narrative contains a core of pure political fact encrusted with sexual disinformation that can be removed by the application of common sense. As I shall argue, however, the sexual clings to the political.

Attempts to write about Messalina's words, motives, and actions encounter a general problem of interpretation familiar to classicists: the actions assigned to agents in ancient sources depend on the rhetorical strategies of male authors (Baldwin 1972; Rutland 1978; Kaplan 1979; Syme 1981; Vinson 1989).[7] Especially important for understanding Messalina, the ancient sources are unreliable on sexual misconduct. Adultery is a commonplace of political invective, sexual deviance a trope of satire (Richlin 1981, 1983, 1984, 1992a; Vinson 1989; Edwards 1993, 35–36, 57). Exposing the incongruities and logical flaws of the Roman sources, scholars have teased from scattered items in the sources a story that satisfies a modern canon of objectivity. In some cases sexual activity has been translated literally into political activity: "alleged lovers" have been read as political "allies" (Levick 1975, 33; see also 1976). When not dismissed as pure invective, female lust has been explained as political manipulation, as by Barbara Levick, who rejects the image of Messalina as "an adolescent nymphomaniac" and asserts that "in the main she used sex as means of compromising and controlling politicians" (1990, 56). Yet this process entangles modern historians in problems of agency in their own narratives as they assign actions and motives to historical figures constructed by discourses of sexuality and power. Without attention to such discourses in imperial literature, reconstructions of events continue to work within sexual terms or those that make women passive victims or active villains.[8] Levick, for example, still represents Messalina in terms that tie women to their bodies. Her Messalina remains within a discourse that makes her either controlled (a captive of her desires) or controlling (a manipulator of others' desires).

Indeed, rhetorical strategies that serve Tacitus's discourse of imperial power also shape the raw material of modern constructions of agency. Messalina belongs to Tacitus's efforts to create a weak Claudius, the effects of which trouble historical interpretations of Messalina. Tacitus's Claudius perceives neither Messalina's manipulation of the men who persuade him nor her rather public affair with Silius. In every episode

[7] I follow Mieke Bal's definition of narrative agency as "Who does what?": "The activities distinguished are speech, vision and action. Speech includes all utterance by a linguistic subject . . . ; vision includes perception and thought, feeling and memory; action includes any activity involving a change in the situation between actions in the diegesis" (1984, 348).

[8] On stereotyping and the politics of representation of female sexuality in Roman imperial literature, ➞ Rutland 19 ➞ Richlin 1981, 1984, 199 ➞ Vinson 1989; Santoro L'hoir 1992, 1994; Edwards 1993; Wyke 1994. Compare the use made of Clodia in the late Republic: Skinner 1983; Richlin 1992b, 1327–29. For attempts to distinguish practice and discourse, see Hallett 1984; Hillard 1992.

involving Claudius's wife or freedmen, Messalina's agents or his own freedmen put words in his mouth. His wife's adultery frames Claudius's censorship so that his official acts appear trivial (Ryberg 1942, 404, n. 83). The emperor-censor, the arbiter of public morals, harbors immorality at home; he displays his knowledge of Rome's past but is ignorant of affairs in his own home (11.13–15, 24–25). Appropriately, the narrative bears the stamp of comedy with Claudius in the stock role of the old man deluded by an adulterous wife and outwitted by his clever servant (Vessey 1971; Dickison 1977). In "an intricate set of reversals," then, agency belongs to those who should be ruled—wives and ex-slaves (Dickison 1977, 636).

Tacitus's effort to transfer agency from the emperor to his wife and freedmen produces tropes, improbabilities, and nonsensical elements that constitute key aspects of his characterization of Messalina (Colin 1956, 29–30; Mehl 1974, 35–37; Seif 1973, 111; Levick 1990, 61–67). To establish Messalina's motives for accusing Asiaticus, Tacitus must string a convoluted line of who had sexual relations with whom: Asiaticus is the former lover of Poppaea who had an affair with the actor Mnester who had an affair with Messalina. To exemplify Messalina's greed, Tacitus describes her desire for the elaborate gardens of the man she was trying to have killed. He uses a metaphor, *hortis inhians* (her mouth opening in hunger for [Asiaticus's] gardens, 11.1.1), that he will repeat verbatim about Claudius's next wife, Agrippina, who reprises Messalina's role in Asiaticus's demise with a different noble (12.59.1). *Hortis inhians* is not simply "suitably applied" to Messalina, as one modern scholar contends (Syme 1981, 48), it is a trope—for imperial rapacity. Messalina's obsessive returns to these gardens construct a fantastical itinerary, especially as some of it requires Messalina to travel back and forth across the entire breadth of the city on foot: from the party to the gardens, across Rome to the Ostian road, back to Rome, and across the city again back to the gardens. Messalina's "marriage" to Silius is so unbelievable that Tacitus himself calls it *fabulosus* (story-like, theatrical). He then recounts a sensational tale of her supposed marriage and a wild party, disclaiming the effects of his own narrative devices with an appeal to the sort of evidence that, elsewhere, he evaluates critically (1.76.6–7, 3.16.1–2, 4.10–11. 4.57, 13.20, 14.2, 14.58.1–2, 15.53.4–5): "Nothing is written for the purpose of amazement, but in fact I have related and shall relate what was heard and written down by older men [men of an earlier generation]" (11.27.2). By anticipating his readers' disbelief, Tacitus's aside solicits their faith in his own story and its representation of Messalina's desire.[9]

[9] Messalina's liaison with Mnester, ex-slave and actor, is also a trope: → Richlin 1981, 2 → Vinson 1989, 440–45; Edwards 1993, 52–53. Note, too, the incongruity between the public manner with which Tacitus's Messalina conducts her affair with Silius (11.12.4) and his subsequent suggestion that they make it public (11.26.1–2).

The sexuality of Tacitus's Messalina haunts modern interpretations of the marriage as a plot, led by Silius or Messalina, to overthrow Claudius and put Silius in his place, in some versions as regent for Britannicus (see Levick 1990, 64–67). Although in Tacitus's narrative Messalina initiates the liaison with Silius, her agency consists of sexual obsession. This structuring of the narrative produces a contradictory Silius, passive and resigned as a lover, yet active and bold as the proposer of marriage. For a coup d'état, the conspirators—Silius, Messalina, and friends—are strangely unprepared and unconcerned. Instead, Tacitus describes a wild Bacchic fete that furthers his depiction of Messalina's license and, by implication, of her incompetence. Tacitus's narrative and his Messalina trouble even Levick's interpretation of the marriage as a political ploy with more limited aims (1990, 66–67). She suggests that a struggle within the court led Messalina to ally herself with a group of senators and equestrians who together sought to regain influence with Claudius, not to assassinate him. According to Levick, the marriage ceremony was only a "charade" to prove Messalina's commitment to her senatorial allies represented by Silius. Levick's examples of other such charades, Nero's marriages to two male freedmen, strain credulity; the ceremonies, in which Nero took the role of wife with one freedmen and husband with the other, are used by ancient authors as examples of the emperor's depravity (Tacitus *Annals* 15.37; Suetonius *Nero* 29; Cassius Dio 62.28.2–3, 63.13.1–3).

Although Levick usefully uncovers the limits and inconsistencies of Tacitus's account, her discussion assumes that there are political facts buried in Tacitus's narrative of sexual relations and that the political can be disentangled from the sexual. Like other political reconstructions of Tacitus's sexual narrative, Levick's cannot interrogate the discourse that shapes the raw material of the political story—the affair, the marriage, and Messalina's agency. Her method implicitly creates Messalina as an agent whose rationality consists in political calculation. Where Tacitus's Messalina desires but does not calculate, Levick's Messalina calculates but does not desire. This writing of history cannot "accommodate, on the one hand, female power and desire, and, and on the other, gender restrictions and sexual subordination" (Sharpe 1993, 11). It omits what feminist scholars have pointed out: that Roman women in the upper classes had wealth and influence but, at the same time, no public political roles and limited legal rights and were, moreover, the objects of a misogynist invective and an ideology that rewarded female subservience. Without attention to agency in representations of women, we reinscribe the villain/victim dichotomy in our attempt to uncover the lived reality of Roman women and cannot observe how representations of women serve male discourse, sexual, political, and moral. In Messalina's case, wom-

an's vision, action, and voice function as a discursive screen that displaces female agency (see Bal 1984). Ironically, Messalina may be more absent than if she was not in the narrative at all. In her place, a figure of desire becomes woman's desire whose most powerful representation is sexual.

Tacitus's construction of a desiring, savage woman

As in other imperial representations, the desire of Tacitus's Messalina is excessive.[10] That excess consists of more than a list of individual lovers. Sated by simple adulterous acts, Tacitus's Messalina wants to expand pleasure beyond illicit sexual relations per se. Bored by the very ease of committing adultery, his Messalina is "flowing out into untried lusts" (*ad incognitas libidines profluebat,* 11.26.1) when Silius, her lover, proposes marriage. In rather tortured logic, Tacitus attributes her acceptance of his proposal to a desire beyond that for the individual man, for a married life with her lover, or even for the power Silius promises in what amounts to a proposal to overthrow Claudius. She assents, in Tacitus's view, because "she desired the name of wife on account of the magnitude of the *infamia* [infamy, evil reputation] which is the last source of pleasure for the licentious" (11.26.6).

Tacitus here stretches to depict excess by switching cause and effect. His Messalina does not simply engage in sexual affairs that bring disgrace; she seeks the resulting disgrace of adultery rather than adultery itself, even at the moment when marrying Silius would legitimize their adulterous liaison. His representation turns on the Roman legal concept of *infamia.* Certain crimes or occupations (actor, gladiator, pimp, prostitute) brought *infamia;* it diminished a person's status among his or her fellow citizens and meant real legal disabilities. A woman condemned for adultery incurred *infamia* as a legal penalty, yet the quest for *infamia* motivates Messalina's acceptance of Silius's marriage proposal (*Digest* 22.5.28; Gardner 1991, 129). The very ease of illicit sex acts has sated Tacitus's Messalina. Seemingly, she can only find pleasure in the effects of illicit relations: unlike the female stereotypes of satire, this adulterous wife wants not an actor or a gladiator but their social condition and that of the prostitute, a role she plays in other authors as well (Juvenal 6.115–32; Cassius Dio 61.31.1; Pliny *Natural History* 10.172). Such excess connotes a collapse of social categories as well as epistemic ones: the top

[10] Other representations of Messalina's desire: Pliny *Natural History* 10.172; Juvenal 6.115–32; Cassius Dio 60.8.5, 17.8, 18, 22.4–5, 31. Tacitus draws on tropes of Roman moralizing rhetoric: uncontrolled female sexuality and social disorder; unfaithful wives and politically weak husbands; luxury, pleasure, and fluidity; immorality and looseness of the body; satiated libertines who crave wrongdoing (see Edwards 1993). The issue here is what he does with them in a history of empire and how his formulation works within a discourse of empire (cf. Martin 1981, 11).

of society becomes the bottom, and the object of illicit desire is conflated with its results. Confusion infects the senses, property and symbols, family and class distinctions, and the constitution of the woman herself in Tacitus's construction.

Drawing on a commonplace of Roman moral rhetoric that associates uncontrolled female sexuality with chaos, Tacitus creates an adulterous wife whose desire creates disorder in the family, household, and social hierarchy (Edwards 1993, 43). Messalina's desire takes her across the boundaries between households and between families. She leaves her own home and comes frequently to Silius's, carrying with her gifts—slaves, freedmen, and the emperor's furniture—objects that are also signs of the rank and dignity of the princeps (11.12.3–4, cf. 11.30.3). Later, when Narcissus, Claudius's freedman, opens Silius's house to Claudius's gaze, the objects Narcissus displays are the heirlooms of the Drusi and Nerones, Claudius's family (11.35.2). She has taken Claudius's family signs into another family's home, and the marks distinguishing families are mixed; in Tacitus's words, family signs have been degraded by becoming the price of scandal (*in pretium probri*). By failing to act as a proper limit for her husband's desires, Messalina allows transgression within the family: her crimes and consequent removal open the way for Claudius to "burn" for an incestuous union with his niece Agrippina (11.25.8). Nor do her adulteries observe class lines: the lovers named in the *Annals* include senators, equestrians, and a freedman.[11]

Messalina's desire itself is chaotic. In Tacitus's description her desires and aversions are equally capricious (11.36.4).[12] Tacitus's Messalina lacks anything that could be named a proper order (*honestum*): "There was nothing honorable present in a heart corrupted by lusts," comments Tacitus on her inability to kill herself (11.37.5). In a metonymy that slips from the woman who crosses social and familial boundaries to her means of transportation in the narrative, Tacitus recounts that the only vehicle she can find to ride in after Claudius's freedmen stir him to action is a cart "by which the rubbish of gardens is carried off" (11.32.6); he uses a verb (*eripiuntur*) that usually conveys a fraudulent or forceful seizure of property. The woman who carried imperial goods and signs into a private

[11] Cassius Dio also names Sabinus, prefect of the German body guard (60.28.2), and Claudius's freedman Polybius, adviser on literary affairs and "Patronage Secretary" (60.31.2).

[12] This assessment (*paribus lasciviis ad cupidinem et fastidia*) comes in a brief notice about Traulus Montanus, who is listed among the lovers and associates of Messalina tried before Claudius: the modest young man was called to the palace and dismissed in a single night by Messalina. *Fastidia* in the sense of aversions produced by being filled up (cf. 11.26.1) echoes Tacitus's comment on the effects of power:. "There comes a satiety, sometimes to the monarch who has no more to give, sometimes to the favorite with no more to crave" (3.30.7; translation from Loeb Classical Library). In Tacitus, the only element named as organizing Messalina's desire is good looks (11.12.2; 11.36.4).

household and who took her husband's family images into another family's home now occupies the place of discarded objects. This detail reverses Messalina's expropriation of Asiaticus's gardens: having taken the gardens, she now becomes their filth that is forcibly carried off. The sexual desire that constitutes the perception and thought, feeling and memory, of Tacitus's Messalina creates disorder in the historian's narrative world and "dirties" the female agent herself.

Tacitus also associates Messalina's desire with violence. Indeed, one of those typically unnamed Tacitean speakers later calls her a "savage whore" (*saevienti impudicae,* 13.43.5). In the Asiaticus affair, three men and one woman lose their lives to her lust for bodies and things (generalizations on her savagery: 11.28.2; 11.32.6; cf. Cassius Dio 60.8.5, 14.3, 15.5, 18, 22.4–5). Tacitus represents Messalina's desire for Silius in violating terms: she burns for him, drives out his wife, and takes possession (*exarserat ut Iuniam Silanam . . . matrimonio eius exturbaret vacuoque adultero poteretur,* 11.12.2). Her ex-lover, Mnester, the actor and freed slave, bears the marks of a convertible exchange of desire and violence in the scars of floggings apparently administered by Messalina (11.36.1–2).

With one exception, male agents in Tacitus's narrative do not actively desire Messalina in return. Mnester's scars testify to the necessity of submission to her lust. Tacitus's Silius does not want Messalina, the woman. He thinks of the affair's political rewards and knows that in any case his refusal means his destruction. Neither freed actor nor consul-designate can fend off Messalina's attentions. This inability may be appropriate for an ex-slave whose sexual vulnerability is a commonplace in Latin literature; it is not for a noble. Reducing noble to the position of ex-slave, Messalina's sexuality effects a social castration. Significantly, cataloged with Messalina's adulterers and associates is Suillius Caesonius, who took a woman's sexual role, presumably at Messalina's wild party (*passus muliebria,* 11.36.5). While we do not have to make Messalina the penetrator, Caesoninus's presence among her named lovers like Mnester, the ex-slave who must submit, and a modest young man who was summoned and dismissed in a single night by Messalina signals the implications of Messalina's desire and the male inability to refuse her: men become women. A male loss of agency is figured by imagining that, like woman, he is penetrable.[13]

[13] The affair catches Tacitus's Silius in a double bind of sex or death (cf. Juvenal 10.329–45); he chooses the former and tries to grab as much as he can. For the sexual vulnerability of freedmen, see Seneca *Controversiae* 4.praef.10. On penetration and masculinity, see Edwards 1993, 70– → Richlin 1993. On the seemingly inconsistent charge that effeminate men are adulterers, see Edwards 1993, 64. The party is a sort of celebration of the rites of Bacchus, the Roman equivalent of Dionysus, the Greek god of wine and ecstatic religion; cf. Livy's description of the introduction of the rites to Italy and their suppression in 186 B.C.E. (esp. 39.13.10, 15.9, 15.13–14, 16).

Claudius, the one male in Tacitus's account who is genuinely attracted to Messalina, is emasculated, too. Claudius's freedmen connect his dull-wittedness and lack of energy to his relations with his wife, and there is a sense that she has tied him up and subjugated him (*hebetem . . . et uxori devinctum,* 11.28.2). Indeed, the paralysis of Tacitus's Claudius results not only from his anxiety about the throne, but from an oscillation between anger at his wife's crimes and fond thoughts of married life and children (11.31.3, 11.34.1). Later, once his power is secure, Claudius, heated with wine, grants Messalina a hearing. His freedman Narcissus, seeing the return of Claudius's love for Messalina, fears the emperor's memory of Messalina's bedroom, apparently because the image of her as a sensuous woman will soften Claudius's anger and inhibit his punishment of her (11.37.3). According to Tacitus, the freedman must step in and order her death. The only moment of hardness for Claudius comes after Messalina's death, when he neither asks how she died nor shows any emotion, even in response to his tearful children (11.38.2–3).[14]

Claudius's lack of agency is Messalina's gain; the result, however, is a contradictory agency for Messalina. For the freedmen, Claudius's weakness and attachment to Messalina are associated with the many murders perpetrated at her order (*multasque mortis iussu Messalinae patratas,* 11.28.3). These murders are a result of what Silius calls her *potentia* or power (11.26.4). As it is acquired by force or improper influence, *potentia* is used by Tacitus as a pejorative synonym for legitimate authority (*auctoritas*) (Syme 1958, 413; Benario 1964, 100–101); Messalina's *potentia* ensures the submission of any object of her sexual desire, yet, as noted above, when her adultery with Silius develops into a marriage with its implications of a coup d'état, it is Silius who is the agent of change. He, not she, proposes marriage and outlines its political implications. In Tacitus's narrative, Messalina's action is constituted only as a consent figured as insatiable desire. Her collapse into a passive, helpless, tearful woman lying on the ground at the end of Tacitus's narrative suggests the fragility of her power. It depends on a husband with eyes and ears open to her attractions and on other male agents who, acting on her behalf, influence Claudius. The truth of the social intrudes on Tacitus's tale: in reality, only men can exercise *auctoritas,* so to move the narrative, Tacitus's Messalina must move men.

[14] The representation of Claudius's weakness requires his surrender to his desire for his wife. The figure of the powerful freedman by itself does not demonstrate Claudius's weakness, as Tacitus's account of Agrippina, Messalina's successor in the marital bedroom, makes clear. If in Tacitus's story of Messalina's fall "everything obeyed a freedman" (11.35.1), with Claudius's marriage to Agrippina "everything obeyed a woman" (12.7.5).

Messalina would seem to influence male agents by speech. Claudius's freedmen fear the power of her voice, coupled with her physical presence, to move him (11.32.4, 11.28.3). Silencing her is their key to bringing her down: the emperor's ears must be closed to her voice. In the confrontation between husband and wife on the road into Rome, therefore, Claudius's freedman Narcissus intervenes and literally shouts her down (11.34.3–4). Yet Tacitus's narration oscillates between his need for a powerful female voice and his reluctance to describe or quote female speech. Tacitus's story cannot work without indicating the power of Messalina's voice: it is necessary to his depiction of social castration, to his portrait of Claudius, and to his representation of the Principate itself under Claudius. Nonetheless, his narrative reduces female speech to a minimum and to its effects.

In the fall of Asiaticus, Messalina's voice operates through other men whose speech (on political matters) achieves what she wants (satisfaction of her greed and sexual jealousy). She has Suillius accuse Asiaticus and Sosibius outline the threat that Asiaticus presents to the emperor. And when Asiaticus's words in his own defense soften Claudius, Messalina sets in motion the voice of Vitellius to maneuver Claudius in the direction she wants him to go. The relation between female desire, male speech, and violence is elongated but direct. The emperor has the authority to give orders that make violent action happen. He is moved by the talk of men, and they are moved to speech by Messalina.

Yet Tacitus's representation of Messalina's speech exposes his fiction making and ideological bias, for her speech is banished to the interior spaces of his narrative world and interiorized in the historian's rhetoric. Except for the confrontation of husband and wife on the Ostian road, all instances of Messalina's speaking take place in private, as with the trial of Asiaticus in Claudius's bedroom. In that confrontation on the Ostian road, Tacitus reduces her words to noise—she clamors (*clamitabat,* 11.34.3).[15] More often, he simply collapses Messalina's words, her cadences, and her tone into verbs of motion. She "sets on" Suillius to accuse Asiaticus and Poppaea (*immittit,* 11.1.1); Sosibius "is added" (associated with Suillius in attacking Asiaticus [*adiungitur,* 11.1.2]); "persons are introduced/set up" by Messalina to push Poppaea to suicide (*subditis,* 11.2.5). Tacitus's representation of other events fails even to substitute such verbs of motion for those of speech, although the events he recounts make no sense without assuming that Messalina spoke. Her supposed seduction and affair with Silius, for example, cannot have taken place

[15] Other verbs of speech: at the trial of Asiaticus she warns Vitellius not to let Asiaticus off (*monet,* 11.2.4); preparing to meet her husband, she beseeches the senior Vestal Virgin to ask for a hearing from Rome's chief priest (*oravit,* 11.32.5). On noise, cf. her tears and ineffectual protests before her murder (11.37.5).

without her speech (11.12), yet, in the critical scene where Messalina decides to marry Silius, Tacitus represents what he says (in indirect discourse) but what she thinks (in omniscient narration).

In contrast, in his depiction of two other powerful female agents, Poppaea (wife of Nero and daughter of the Poppaea destroyed by Messalina) and Agrippina (great granddaughter of Augustus, niece and next wife of Claudius, and mother of the emperor Nero), Tacitus represents the women's speech in indirect discourse. As the mother of Nero, his Agrippina speaks directly. Neither Poppaea nor Agrippina is chaste, but their difference from Messalina lies in the nature of their sexuality—their use of their bodies. Tacitus's Poppaea, never mastered by either her own or her lovers' desire, transfers her affections to the man from whom she has the most to gain (13.45.3). His Agrippina, austere in her public behavior, is unchaste only where it is expedient for power (12.7.5–6). Desire and lust are said to master Messalina, however. According to Tacitus, she plays with state affairs not for political ends but to satisfy her wantonness. If the female body is deployed for political gain, a goal outside its own pleasure, the utterance of the female voice in Tacitus is allowed a representation similar to that granted to male agents. But where the female body serves only its own pleasure, the female voice, though necessary in a narrative that seeks to displace male agency, expresses no specific thoughts: it simply moves men to speak or makes noise.

It is in these terms that we should consider an elision of Messalina's mouth and her vagina in Tacitus's characterization of male mouths who speak at Messalina's behest. Tacitus's Asiaticus announces that he was destroyed by female deceit and by Vitellius's shameless (or foul) mouth—*impudicum os* (11.3.2)—evoking the sense of the term observed by Richlin of a mouth stained by oral sex (1983, 26–29). Indeed, the equation of political enemies and informers with men who perform oral sex is a commonplace of Roman invective (Skinner 1982, 204; Richlin 1983, 99, 151). Although cunnilingus is not always the mode of sex invoked, the association of female deceit with a fouled male mouth, where the man has listened to a female mouth and done its bidding, suggests that Vitellius's mouth becomes *impudicum* apparently because it has served a woman, and a woman in whom many men have had their penises. The instability of the meaning of a female mouth open in greed for luxurious gardens and ready to toy with state affairs to satisfy lust is furthered by Tacitus's account of an attack on Messalina's agent Suillius during the reign of Nero. When Suillius is blamed for the destruction of prominent men and women under Claudius, he claims that he acted under orders from Messalina (after Nero disallows his claim that he acted on Claudius's orders). Why, asks an unnamed speaker, was no one else selected to put his voice at the service of the "savage whore?" (13.43.5). Seemingly,

speaking for or at the order of a "savage whore" stains the male mouth by an association with cunnilingus. Listening to the utterance of a woman characterized by her voracious sexuality becomes attention to her female body: her mouth is equated with her vagina.[16]

The historian's project and the senator's agency

The excess of Messalina's desire and Tacitus's tendency to substitute motion for her speech translates into an elision of body and voice that augments his construction of Messalina as a figure of unconstrained desire. His depiction of a former empress who enacts her desire recurs in a political context in which his own actions as a Roman senator were constrained by the power of the emperor and by his own recommended code of senatorial self-control. In effect, Tacitus projects onto Messalina the power and action he lacks as a senator, though he structures a narrative in which she is silenced and hunted down. In doing so, I argue, he figures the relation between his imperial present and its past, achieving through his writing of history an agency he lacks in politics. Tacitus's representation of Messalina's agency, of her body and its uncontrolled desires, allows him to speak as a critical commentator on the forces that have silenced good men.

The change of regimes that marked the beginnings of Tacitus as a writer threw into high relief senators' loss of agency in their dealings with the princeps. Tacitus testifies to their encounter with the undisguised despotism of Domitian, the last Flavian and the very emperor who had advanced Tacitus's own political career: they witnessed "the extreme of servitude, when the work of informers deprived us even of the exchange of speaking and hearing. We should have lost memory itself as well as voice, if we had been as able to forget as to be silent" (*Agricola* 2.3). When Tacitus hails the present under Nerva and Trajan ("the dawning of a most happy age"), he praises the reconciliation of *principatus* (sovereignty of the princeps) and *libertas* (freedom of the senator) (*Agricola* 3). Now, men can feel what they wish and say what they feel, he claims in his first historical work (*Histories* 1.1). In terms of narrative agency, Domitian appropriated senators' action and speech, leaving them only vision (perception and thought, feeling and memory) (Bal 1984, 348). Although Tacitus claims that the new regime had restored speech, aligning it with action, we should (as Ahl points out) "beware of taking Tacitus 'at his word' " (1984, 207).

The realities of power under Trajan limited senators' speech as well as their actions, making a distinction between present and past problematic.

[16] On associations of the female mouth and vagina in ancient medical writers, see Hanson 1990.

The difference between regimes lay in the style in which emperors exercised their absolute power. Tacitus's fellow senator Pliny makes this clear when he celebrates Trajan: "You order us to be free: we shall be; you order us to speak what we feel in public: we shall express ourselves" (*Panegyricus* 66.4). The ambiguity embedded in the notion of acting freely and speaking openly on demand preserves both senators' dignity and the imperial appropriation of their agency. The potential conflict between the senatorial tradition of achievement and the princeps' power is negotiated by Tacitus's promise of renown to senators who combined deference and restraint (*obsequium ac modestia; Agricola* 42.4) with activity and vigor (*industria ac vigor; Agricola* 42.4). In a system openly acknowledged as autocratic, a senator advanced his own career by serving the emperor and state (Martin 1981, 33–35). *Obsequium,* however, Tacitus's term for deference, also referred to the compliance, maintained by threat of force, that freed slaves owed their ex-masters. The compliance of the ex-slave, which included speech as well as behavior, finds an echo in the limits on the voice of the senator. He could speak ill of the past, but "for the current regime only praise was permissible, in Trajan's time as in Domitian's" (Waters 1969, 399). In this context, figuring the difference between past and present might present difficulties for senators who, as slaveholders, knew this meaning of *obsequium* from the other side.

Tacitus's words about his immediate past—"We should have lost memory itself as well as voice, if we had been as able to forget as to be silent"—are significant in terms of the writing of history. Without imputing a systematic program to Tacitus, it may be said that he undertook an extensive project of remembering. His texts map an imaginary construction of empire in time and space. Beginning with his own genealogy, a biography of his father-in-law Agricola, he recounted the story of a good man under a bad emperor as a model of senatorial service and rectitude, commenting along the way on the imperial project at the frontier (*Agricola*). From family, he turned exclusively to the frontier: an ethnography of the Germans describes people outside the empire (*Germania*). Then came a shift from the boundaries of empire to its center and from present to past. From a history overlapping his own lifetime (*Histories*), he moved back toward a place of origins, the earliest generations of the Principate, which include the reign of Claudius (*Annals*).

By writing of the Principate's beginnings, Tacitus is able to represent the genesis of the current imperial order and to differentiate that order from preceding ones. According to Michel de Certeau, history makes the relations of past and present ambiguous because it separates the present from the past and, at the same time, draws a determinative connection between them.

> If, in one respect, the function of history expresses the position of one generation in relation to preceding ones by stating, "I can't be that," it always affects the statement of a no less dangerous complement, forcing society to confess, "I am other than what I would wish to be, and I am determined by what I deny." It attests to an autonomy and a dependence whose proportions vary according to the social settings and political situations in which they are elaborated. In the form of a "labor" immanent to human development, it occupies the place of the myths by means of which a society has represented its ambiguous relations with its origins and, through a violent history of Beginnings, its relations with itself." (1988, 46)

Tacitus's writing displays this tension. The record of imperial despotism and senatorial servility under the first emperors that Tacitus recounts in all its bloody detail in the *Annals* offers the senatorial historian and his senatorial readers a field in which to explore the practice of power and the behavior of senators like themselves. On the one hand, Tacitus disassociates his imperial present from this early history of the Principate that included the reign of Claudius. The events' distance from his own day allows the historian's famous contention that he spoke without anger or partisan spirit (*sine ira et studio,* 1.1.6). Yet, on the other hand, his claim that the past provides lessons for the present establishes a continuity between past and present (4.33.2–4). Beyond the traditional Roman view that history establishes a range of behaviors to be followed or avoided, Tacitus offers the very process of history as an object lesson for what the future can inflict on the present—"the dread of posterity and infamy for debased words and deeds" (3.65.1, cf. 4.35.6–7). How senators judge their predecessors in relation to former emperors suggests how succeeding generations may regard them in their relation to their present rulers. This threat makes an observed similarity between present and past especially disturbing: "Though the families themselves may now be extinct, you will find those who, because of a similarity of conduct, will think that another's crimes are cited to condemn them; even fame and virtue have enemies, condemning their opposites by too close a contrast" (4.33.4). The historian could distinguish constitutional forms, state institutions, and the practices of daily life; his problem seems to have been the sameness of past and present.[17] An agent like Messalina in the

[17] Histories of constitutions, law, institutions, and luxury: *Annals* 1.1–3, 3.26–28, 3.55, 4.33, 11.22. Yet Tacitus himself shows how histories can be self-serving (2.22, 14.21). His repeated comments on the emperor's power and the senators' sycophancy, the disguise of freedom and slavery, the safety of the present and acceptance of autocracy suggest an attempt to figure how his present was different (*Annals* 1.2, 1.81, 2.32, 2.38, 3.65, cf. *Agricola* 2.3 and *Histories* 1.1).

narrative of the past helps to disrupt the isomorphism of imperial past and imperial present.

History, empire, and wives

The figure of excessive desire that circulates in the person of Messalina gives Tacitus an opportunity to express both the present's difference from and its similarity to the past, thus representing his society's "ambiguous relations with its origins and . . . its relations with itself." I argue that the historian's desiring, savage Messalina enables him to distinguish his present from a corrupt imperial past in which a woman is empowered to enact her desire; at the same time, as the desiring woman signals any and every exercise of imperial power, she allows him to recount the growth of the emperor's power, acknowledged as autocratic at his moment of writing. The distinction between present and past is a distinction between good and bad empire, and, as in *Jane Eyre,* the difference between imperial orders is represented by figures of woman, especially as wife. Messalina's desire makes her a bad wife; its effects produce a bad empire. In contrast, images of the virtuous wife inscribed across the map of empire constructed by Tacitus's works suggest what is necessary for good empire: Tacitus's German women depict good wives at the frontiers of empire and the Roman women in his own family represent good wives within the empire.[18]

Tacitus's report on the severe marriage code of the Germans (*Germania* 18–19) describes female bodies under male control and wives who live for and in terms of men. Wedded to considerations of manly virtues and the fortunes of war, a German wife shares her husband's labors and dangers. In Tacitus's view, the marriage transaction firmly guards women's chastity, and, with sexuality controlled, other dangerous pleasures—the allurements of spectacles and the stimuli of banquets—are foreclosed. Adultery is rare, and apparently only women are guilty of it, for Tacitus reports only the punishment of the wife, offering his readers a graphic representation of the punished, unchaste female body, expelled from home, stripped of clothes, head shaven, and flogged. In effect, Tacitus's discourse associates desire with women and then displays the male control of that desire. Tacitus's German wives can then serve their husbands' preeminent interest—war making. Wives under male control contribute to the *virtus* (manliness, courage) that makes the Germans formidable in war; they make men toughened warriors.

[18] The discussion here is only suggestive. A full analysis of the good wife requires further consideration of Tacitus, Juvenal, and Pliny, e.g. See Boatwright 1991 for the "domestic and submissive roles embodied by the Trajanic and Hadrianic imperial women" (540). On the Roman ideal of marriage, see Treggiari 1991.

Tacitus makes a contrast between the decadence of Roman society and the uncorrupted mores of barbarians—between the self and the externalized other, as it were—and sees in that other the persistence of archaic Roman virtues (Dudley 1968, 221; Dorey 1969, 14; Martin 1981, 49–52). Tacitus's ethnocentricism and misunderstanding of certain practices in effect create an imperialist erasure of difference (Martin 1981, 51–52), inscribing upon an external other what Roman marriage and wives are imagined to have been. The erasure of cultural difference allows for the importation of images from the border to the center of empire to serve as an object lesson in the control of internal others—Roman women. Examples of such control appear in his biography of Agricola, his father-in-law and his model of the virtuous imperial senator. These Roman wives are as subservient to the interests of sons and husbands as are the historian's German women. Julia Procilla, a virtuous and affectionate mother, acts only to stem a son's inappropriate ardor for philosophy (*Agricola* 4.2–3). Domitia Decidiana, a wife of illustrious birth advancing a husband's career, appears to live in harmony and mutual affection with Tacitus's hero Agricola and then disappears from the story (6.1). Tacitus's own wife, Agricola's daughter, who gave the historian his link to his model, remains nameless.

Borrowing Tacitus's words to describe the relations between the model emperor and the current imperial wife (Bruère 1954, 163), Pliny, Tacitus's contemporary, presents the vision of the good wife at the center of empire that was publicly disseminated at Tacitus's moment of writing. In his *Panegyricus,* a speech delivered in the Senate and then published, Pliny follows a celebration of the emperor's physical prowess and self-control with a picture of a devoted, modest, and unassuming wife (*Panegyricus* 83–84; see Temporini 1978, 177–80). She is her husband's subject, taking orders rather than giving them. Pliny is careful to remark on the wife's silence (83.8), and he himself does not name her. Controlled, the wife signals and indeed reproduces the husband-emperor's power over himself and others. Pliny is quite explicit about this: "Many distinguished men have been dishonored by an ill-considered choice of wife or weakness in not getting rid of her; thus their fame abroad was damaged by the loss of reputation at home, and their relative failure as husbands denied them complete success as citizens" (83.4).[19]

It could be objected that Tacitus and Pliny simply draw on an ancient tradition of wifely virtues or that, in the case of the biography of Agricola, women are not central to the career of a consul, provincial governor, and successful general. But that is precisely the point. Banished to the sidelines, women are subsidiary to or excluded from public and

[19] Translation from Loeb Classical Library.

political arenas. The exclusion of women constructs these activities as male ones; women become merely ideological capital in a political discourse of empire. The image of the good wife is central to the depiction of good empire as one that is militarily strong, served by selfless administrators, and ruled by a princeps who has reconciled his own sovereignty with the freedom of senators. Good wives submit to their husbands' control and lack desire, or at least any desire of their own. Messalina, the desiring woman out of male control, epitomizes the bad wife. She belongs to Tacitus's hostile portrayal of Claudian Rome, which must be seen in terms of the geography and economy of imperial power generated by Tacitus's Augustus, founder of the Principate. Moving from the outside in, "the State organized under the name of the princeps" consists of boundaries, provinces, capital; within, all things (legions, provinces, fleets) are linked (*Annals* 1.9.6). In the center of Tacitus's map is the city of Rome and the princeps who has drawn to himself the functions of Senate, magistrates, and laws (1.2.1). Around the princeps is his household (*domus*): hence, in Tacitus's view, the importance of his strength and fitness to maintain himself, his household, and the peace—that is, order within the empire (*seque et domum et pacem,* 1.4.1). Power is pulled in; its administration flows out from the man, the household, and the city to the provinces. In this structure, it may be said that German wives indicate what is necessary to maintain the frontiers of empire; Agricola's women what is required inside; Trajan's wife what is vital at the center.

Plotted on the Augustan map of *ego, domus, pax* (the emperor's person, his household, the empire), the Claudian economy of power appears deformed. Like the founder of the Principate, Claudius is said to have drawn to himself all the functions of laws and magistrates. But by doing so he opens up the opportunity for plundering (11.5.1).[20] The emperor's submission to his wife's attractions dissolves the boundaries of *ego;* power flows to contingent others within the imperial *domus*—women and freedmen. Men's property is devoured, and they are dragged into the imperial household on female whim. Violence and violation proceed from lust, greed, and the most petulant motives. Where Claudius consumes state power, Messalina expends honors and wealth on a lover. The signs of imperial rank pass carelessly from one house to another. A wife's desire creates a crisis in the very geography of imperial power. Who is citizen and who emperor? Which house is the imperial *domus?* Who holds the city (11.31.3, 12.4, 30.5)?

The implications for *pax* are made clear by Tacitus's depiction of affairs at the borders of empire. The kingdom of Parthia on Rome's

[20] The statement comes as an introduction to a new episode, following the fall of Asiaticus, but it perfectly describes an exercise in power "in the bedroom . . . with Messalina present" (11.2.1) and property left open to imperial plundering.

eastern frontier had long been troubled by dynastic struggles. The language in Tacitus's account of Parthian political chaos and its placement in his narrative of Claudius's reign draw an analogy between disorder at the edge of empire and disorder at the center (11.8–10). Similar clusters of words characterize both Parthian princes and Claudian wives (Keitel 1978, 462–66). The uncontrolled extravagance and savagery of the Parthian princes wreak havoc at the edge of empire and portend the destruction of the Roman order by uncontrolled wives. In a convoluted account of affairs at the German frontier, Tacitus uses the successful Roman general Corbulo to show up the timidity of Claudius (11.18–19). Although Corbulo's restoration of ancient military discipline strikes fear in the Germans and inspires the *virtus* (manliness, courage) of his own men, Claudius halts attacks on the Germans and pulls the Roman forces back across the Rhine. Tacitus's Claudius, who fails to exert self-control and lacks *virtus* himself, endangers the German border and dooms imperial expansion.[21]

Woman becomes empire

It is within this economy of imperial power that we can fully observe how Tacitus's construction of Messalina's agency functions as a discursive screen. Obsessively desiring and savage, Messalina serves as a device to comment on imperial power and empire. Although Tacitus represents a specific woman, his representation refers to something other than a particular female subject or even a culturally defined femininity. In Tacitus's account of the Claudian principate, the flow of Messalina's desire signals corruption and disorder across the Augustan geography of empire. In a discourse of imperial power, Tacitus's Messalina functions as a sign of the imperial household, the city, and the emperor's power. Tacitus's representation of Messalina and his construction of her agency serve this signifying process. Woman becomes empire or, more precisely, elements of imperial geography and imperial power itself.[22]

[21] Yet this was the same emperor who ordered the invasion of Britain, extending the boundaries of empire. Tacitus's narrative in which Claudius gives in to his wives reverses public portrayals of his control over the edges of empire in the form of gendered allegorical representations that show Claudius standing above and holding down a prostrate woman, a figure for Britannia (Smith 1987, 115–17, pl. 6).

[22] On woman as a sign, see Cowie 1978: "While the form or rather *signifier* of the sign . . . is the actual person, woman, the substance or meaning of the sign, its signified, is *not* the concept woman" (56). As Blassingame 1979 and Carby 1987 suggest with stereotypes, a sign works in relation to other signs. Here, woman-wife should be considered in terms of the ex-slave. Together, they effect the carnivalistic inversion of the Saturnalia, a Roman holiday of reversals where masters and slaves exchanged places (see Dickison 1977).

With Messalina, we are dealing very specifically with woman as sign. Tacitus implicitly codes her behavior as feminine in contrast with that of Claudius's next wife. As noted in the earlier discussion of Messalina's voice, Tacitus contrasts Messalina, who plays with matters of state to satisfy her lust, with Agrippina, whose liaisons serve political ends and whose unchastity in the service of power he sees as an almost masculine subjection (12.7.5–6). The male historian posits a gendered relationship between means and ends: when the ends are political, the agent's behavior is comprehensible and at least male-like, as opposed to Messalina's chaotic and implicitly female fooling around.

In a metonymic slip, woman-wife becomes the inner sanctum of the imperial household, the space at the very center of Tacitus's map of empire. The freedmen of Claudius's court observe that, when an actor danced in the emperor's bedroom (clearly a reference to Messalina's sexual relations with Mnester), it brought dishonor but not the ruin threatened by Messalina's marriage to a noble (11.28.1). The issue turns not only on who is in the imperial bedroom but also on who is in the woman. An unchaste woman, like a room, can be entered, and entrance—penetration—brings shame. Woman's body is equated with male space (here, his bedroom); her unchastity represents an alien invasion of that space (Joshel 1992). The desiring woman invites traffic, so to speak. She turns the household into the street, conflating the imperial household and the imperial city.

Similarly, woman stands in for the city of Rome. Narcissus tells Claudius, "unless you act at once, the [new] husband holds the city" (11.30.5). In this equation of woman and city, female desire again has its signifying uses. Tacitus uses images of flow to describe Messalina's desire and the resulting disorder, echoing his image of Rome under the Julio-Claudians.[23] Messalina's "flowing out into untried lusts" before Silius's marriage proposal is reinforced by Tacitus's vivid description of the wild party that follows the marriage. This celebration of the new vintage invokes the traditional sins of the Roman wife—unchastity and wine drinking. Everyone and everything are out of control. Messalina is never freer, looser, more fluid in extravagance (*non alias solutior in luxu,* 11.31.4): wine, and Messalina's hair, flows. Likewise, Tacitus's comments on society in the capital note its extravagance (3.53–54; 14.58.2; 15.42.1), loose morals (13.25.1; 14.15.4–5; 14.20–21), and corrupt sexual standards (2.85; 14.35); money, goods, and bodies flow. At the center of empire, "all that is horrible and shameful flows together and flourishes" (15.44.4).

[23] Desire is also typically expressed in metaphors of madness and burning; see Walker 1952, 63, 65, n. 1.

Of course, at another level, Narcissus's statement and indeed the entire story work on a simple logic: the man who holds the woman holds the power. In Tacitus's telling, Silius, the imperial freedmen, and Claudius all understand Messalina's marriage as a transfer of power, indeed, as a coup d'état. Here, it is wife as mother who is important. Silius's marriage proposal comes with the plan to adopt Britannicus; in her confrontation with Claudius on the Ostian road, Messalina demands to be heard as the mother of Britannicus and Octavia. Where succession is dynastic, woman's body is a vehicle for the transmission of power: woman's reproductive capacity reproduces power. Home and public life, husband and public man (citizen) are dependent terms, as we have seen in Pliny's depiction of the correct relations of the successful Trajan and his wife. A husband must rule his wife's body at home to rule others outside it. The instability of Messalina's affections, the excess of her desire, and, indeed, her disinterest in marriage proper make the holding of woman and power unstable. She may reproduce her husband in producing the heir, but she does not reproduce her husband's control over city or empire. Messalina displays Claudius's failure to hold power in the Augustan formula—*ego, domus, pax* (the emperor's person, his household, the empire).

Yet the desiring woman who gets what she wants, seizes property, deals with men in the inner sanctum of the palace, calls and dismisses them on whim, and levels social distinctions between men is a sign of the nature of imperial autocracy. Although Tacitus's depiction of these actions is pejorative, they are all possible behaviors for any princeps in firm control of the legions. Of course, from the point of view of the senator, actually taking such actions is a "bad" exercise of power. It does not allow for the reconciliation of *principatus* (sovereignty of the princeps) and *libertas* (freedom of the senator) that allows men to feel what they wish and say what they feel. *Obsequium* as the rational deference to authority that Tacitus recommends for the senator only too easily becomes the required servility of ex-slave for former master. Tacitus is not merely blaming Messalina for the events of husband's reign. Rather, she functions in his narrative as a sign both of the concentration of state functions in the person of the princeps that Tacitus attributes to the founder of the principate and to Claudius (1.2.1, 11.5.1) and that belonged to Trajan and of the corrupt exercise of that power. Thus, ultimately woman and her desire serve to represent in negative terms an exercise of male power disapproved by Tacitus as senator and historian: the emperor's power appears as a voracious female desire that drags in men and property and flows out to create a mess in the family, the social order, and the empire.[24]

[24] Tacitus's narrative also seems to contain an apprehension of a feminized empire: the operative fear is the rule of women, empowered to pursue their desires. If the em-

The polyvalence of the sign of the desiring woman, representing both bad empire and imperial power itself, serves to separate Tacitus's present from the earliest generations of the principate and to affirm his generation's dependence on and continuity with the past. As a sign of the corruption of power, the desiring woman participates in the disassociation of present and past produced by the writing of history. Trajan's silent, obedient wife marks the present. Messalina, the unchaste, savage woman, belongs to a story of origins; she signals the corruption, decadence, and dangers of that past from which Tacitus would distinguish his present. The work of narrative effects the disassociation by tracking and killing a sign of "bad" empire. In contrast to other authors (Suetonius *Claudius* 26.2, 36; Cassius Dio 61.31.3–5), Tacitus expends considerable detail elaborating not only Messalina's fall but also her descent into inanimate matter. His narrative achieves its closure only when it can name her a corpse (11.38.1). In the process, as author of the narrative of empire, the senatorial historian garners a particular agency for himself in terms of the action and speech that were unavailable to senators under Trajan. The work of narrative asserts a senator's efficacy (in the writing of history at least) against an emperor's failure. Tacitus gets rid of Messalina, as his Claudius could not. If Tacitus could not control the present as senator, he could control the narrative of origins as historian.

At the same time, as a sign of imperial power itself, Messalina also participates in the continuity between present and past established by the writing of history. Although he could be accounted a failure as a husband, Claudius participated in the growth of the princeps' power and the development of an imperial state, conditions that determined the historian's moment of writing. Even by the evidence of the hostile senatorial tradition, Claudius extended Roman citizenship to many provincials, brought the Romanized elite of Gallia Comata into the Senate, and strengthened the imperial bureaucracy, augmenting imperialinstitutions.[25] In important ways, Claudius contributed to the making of Trajan, and Messalina is a sign of that making. She stands as a sign not of Claudius's acts but of the growth of the emperor's power and the development of an imperial state that are the effects of those acts. In other words, Messalina figures in a story of an accumulation of power

peror draws power into the imperial *domus* and if he is ruled there by wives and freedmen, then in Suetonius's words (*Claudius* 29.1), the *studia* (mania) and *libidines* (desires) of women and ex-slaves are determinative. For what the male and upper-class Tacitus imagines about women, see *Annals* 1.4.4–5, 1.33.5, 2.85, 3.33–34, 4.3.3, 4.39.1, 4.40, 6.25.2–3, 6.49, 12.2, 12.64, 13.13.1, 14.4.2 (cf. Baldwin 19 → Rutland 1978; Kaplan 1979; Richlin 1992b; Santoro L'hoir 1992, 1994); about freedmen, see 15.54–55.

[25] See n. 5 above.

determining Tacitus's present in which the emperor orders senators to be free.

Echoes of the past in the present perhaps added an urgency to Tacitus's deployment of woman as a sign to distinguish his generation of the Principate from its origins and yet to figure a history of the present. While the image of the martial Trajan forms a stark contrast to the limping, scholarly Claudius of tradition, we can observe similarities in imperial practices, policies, and projects. Both emperors expanded the boundaries of empire with new conquests—Britain under Claudius and Dacia under Trajan. Like Claudius, Trajan enlarged the responsibilities of the imperial bureaucracy. Involvement in the details of imperial administration and paternalistic care for the ruled, depicted as ridiculous pedantry and interference in Claudius's case, characterized both emperors. Their special concern for Italy extended to work on the harbor at Ostia to insure Rome's grain supply, a project begun by Claudius and renewed by Trajan.[26]

The expansion of external boundaries and the breaking down of internal boundaries mark the material moment of Tacitus's use of the desiring woman as sign. Trajan's conquests pushed the boundaries of empire that separated Roman from non-Roman. Inside the empire, the extension of an imperial bureaucracy and its responsibilities and emperors' intervention in municipal governments and finances broke down the old hegemonic division between Italy and the provinces. The Romanization of the provinces, the wide extension of citizenship to propertied provincials, and the inclusion of the provincial elites in the Roman senate furthered the process, making distinctions of class more important than those of location. I want to consider Tacitus's politics of representation in terms of these developments, which are generally discussed as male or without attention to gender (cf. Richmond 1944, 44).

Klaus Theweleit's observations on the social changes and ideological developments of European capitalism offer a paradigm for considering the use made of the representations of women in the context of Roman imperial expansion and the breakdown of older political and social distinctions inside the empire: "As social structures expand and become more mobile, the system of external limitations and constraints begins to lose its force. At this point, the social framework comes to need internal boundaries for streams of desiring production to wash up against:

[26] Even Levick, who diminishes Claudius's accomplishments, sees him as a predecessor of Trajan for his participation in the invasion of Britain (1990, 140). On Claudius's pedantry and interference, see Seneca *Apocolocyntosis* 7, 12; Tacitus *Annals* 11.13–15; Suetonius *Claudius* 14–15, 16.5; Cassius Dio 60.4.3–4, 6.7, 10.3–4, 24.1–3, 26.1. On Trajan's conquest of Dacia, policies, and image, see Syme 19 → Garnsey 1968; Waters 1974, 1975; Paribeni 1975. On the harbor at Ostia and Claudius and Trajan's concern for the grain supply, see Meiggs 1973, 149–71; and Rickman 1980, 73–79, 85–91, 213–17.

reservoirs, canals, drainage systems. In other words, if people are to perform the new functions required of them—but are to remain at the same time capable of being subjugated—they have to be given new bodily boundaries" (1987, 311). Theweleit here borrows a conceptual vocabulary from Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. "Desiring production" refers to human energy that seeks to act in the world (or the unconscious understood as a productive force). The expansion of human productive capacity brought by industrial capitalism loosened traditional political and social structures, enlarging the possibilities of "desiring production" in a process Deleuze and Guattari call "deterritorialization." At the same time, a process of "reterritorialization" limited the possibilities by inscribing new social controls that render people capable of being ruled (Deleuze and Guattari 1983, 33 ff.; Theweleit 1987, 264). Theweleit traces the deployment of women, especially upper-class women, in Western culture to establish new boundaries and make people capable of subjugation (1987, 229 ff.). Men construct a chaste, undesiring high-born woman who can be celebrated, admired, and even worshipped and a sexual woman who can be persecuted by turning her into a prostitute and then killing her. "Meanwhile lack is maintained in relationships with their own (child-bearing and asexual) women through their exclusion (as nameless wives) from social productions and from the confraternities of men" (367). This system requires the accessibility of female bodies from conquered nations or races and from the upper classes, yet "for the great mass of men, images of women sacrificed in this way are all that is needed" (370).

Quite obviously, we cannot talk about Roman industrial capitalism, but in the developments mentioned above the external boundaries of empire expanded and older internal political and social boundaries were opened up and crossed in a process of deterritorialization. In Tacitus's account of Messalina, empire is mapped on the uncontained, overflowing body of a woman. Its lack of limits echoes the extension of the geographic boundaries of empire as well as the long-held Roman vision of empire as boundless (Nicolet 1991, 29–56; Edwards 1993, 19–20). As the imperial wife at the center of empire whose desire takes her across family and class boundaries, she figures a process of deterritorialization, not in terms of industrial capitalism but in terms of the blurring of older distinctions between conqueror and conquered, Italian and provincial. The loss of constraints provided by these older distinctions is patrolled by a narrative that halts the chaos of Messalina and by the figures of good wives. Tacitus seems to participate in the sort of deployment of woman for reterritorialization described by Theweleit. The Roman historian inscribes the Roman ideals of control on the female bodies of external others and praises but silences the internal others of his class. In a history

of origins, he puts on display woman's voracious desire and savagery at a moment of decadence and danger for men of his class. He makes available to the gaze of his male readers the all-encompassing wickedness of the castrating woman. Fear evoked by the image is relieved by a narrative that hunts her down. Step by step, Tacitus drains her of sexuality and life until she becomes a corpse.

Empire becomes woman

The modern historian's search for the "real" Messalina encounters Tacitus's representation of a sexually voracious, savage woman. As an unified agent, however, this Messalina is a pretense. She functions as a sign in a Roman imperial discourse that fragments woman, distributing her across the tensions between the private and public spheres, between the city and the provinces, and between the sovereignty of the princeps and the freedom of the senator. As such, woman figures empire good and bad, present and past. The discourse of empire and the work of history effect a further displacement. The desiring woman figures the exercise of imperial power, but the exercise and the always threatening excess of imperial power become woman. In the process of displacement, her body becomes what she signifies (Douglas 1984, 115; Butler 1990, 131–34). The process, evident in the narrative idiosyncrasies that result from Tacitus's ideologized construction of Messalina's desire, violence, and voice, is transparent in the roughly contemporary *Sixth Satire* of Juvenal (115–32). As the climax of a catalog of unchaste wives, Juvenal's Messalina epitomizes woman's desire that is not appropriately wifely. Identified only by a reference to her husband, this Messalina is the imperial whore who leaves her bed in the palace for a mat in a brothel. Donning a blond wig, she puts on the hair of a barbarian captive from northern Europe. Removing her clothes, she reveals her nipples and the belly that gave birth to the heir to the throne. Under the name of Lyscisa—evoking, through the Greek *lukos,* "wolf," the Roman slang for prostitute, "she-wolf" (*lupa*)—she services all customers without a break. Tired but so unsatisfied she burns with a "woman's erection," she returns to the palace. Her darkened cheeks are filthy with the smoke of the brothel lantern; she carries the stink of the brothel to her imperial couch.

Juvenal's Messalina belongs to an account of women's flaws, not, as in Tacitus, to a history of the Principate. Yet the satirist's whore is imperial not only because she is identified as an emperor's wife but also because Juvenal projects elements of an imperial discourse onto her. He puts on a pornographic display of the body that in Tacitus stands in for the emperor's household, his city, and his power. The corruption and decadence of the latter become the prostitute's body, or rather her vagina

where penises, not the signs of families, are mixed.[27] Although she takes her body outside the palace, the "traffic" remains inside. Yet the move from the home, where access to the wife should be limited to husband, to the brothel, where access is open to all men, produces extreme disorder or disorder of imperial proportions.[28] Juvenal literalizes the heterogeneity that results from crossed boundaries in images of dirt—the smoke and smell of the brothel that stains her body and the palace couch to which she returns. The imperial dimensions of insatiable lust are conveyed in the body of a prostitute who outlasts customers, pimp, and other prostitutes. Wig and name associate her with the barbarian and the bestial. The frontier and nature are imported to the center of empire and Roman culture, collapsing the distinction between Roman and barbarian, empire and its frontier.

More than ten centuries of repetition of imperial discourse shape Bertha Mason, Brontë's Indian Messalina. An imperial Messalina becomes a "majestic" Bertha. As with her Roman predecessor, words of savagery and dirt cluster around Bertha. She is a "wild beast" and a "monster" (Brontë [1847] 1984, 336). The wolfish name becomes in Bertha "wolfish cries" (335). She is a "filthy burden," "gross impure, depraved" (334, 336). Feeling "covered with grimy dishonor" in the eyes of others, her husband "resolved to be clean in [his] own sight." Unlike Tacitus's Claudius, this husband "repudiated the contamination of [a wife's] crimes" and locked her up in the inner recesses of his home (334). Where the Roman Messalina burned with her own desire, the creole Messalina burns her husband's home and leaves him blind.

The discourse of empire that employs woman as sign leaves its mythic mark. It culturally produces woman as a creature whose desires are inordinately large and dangerous: let loose, they overwhelm and violate men. In male imagination, women do to men what men do to women, and the pursuit of desire results in a flow that produces dirt. Removed from its original signifying system, the figure of woman still carries with it the vast desire that, though it came from empire, will be mythically imputed to women.

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[27] As Kate Gyllensvard has pointed out to me, the prostitute participates in the exchange of both women and money. Juvenal literalizes this double system of exchange by graphically representing the sexual transactions of a woman whose image appeared on coins that passed from one hand to the other (Mattingly 1923: Claudius, no. 242, pl. 34.8; and Mattingly and Syndenham 1923: Claudius, no. 59): "Sweetly she received those entering and asked for money" (6.125).

[28] Juvenal's text reproduces access. Although his narrational voice expresses disgust and poses as critic, his text makes Messalina's body available to the gaze of any man who can read.

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PLUTARCH ON SEX[1]

By PETER WALCOT

I

One of the less expected treatises included in Plutarch's *Moralia* consists of the nine books of 'Table-talk' or topics suitable for discussion by the participants at the strictly male and private drinking party or symposium (612C ff.). But even when the association of symposium and the erotic is acknowledged or we note the interest of ancient philosophers in the general area of eugenics (e.g., Arist. *Pol.* 1334b29 ff. and Plutarch on the Spartan marriage, *Lyc.* 15.3-9) or we identify the type of prejudice which later led Christians to believe that a child conceived on a Sunday will be a leper or epileptic, the sixth question analysed in Book 3, 'the right time to make love' (653B ff.), is perhaps considerably more surprising. The conclusion eventually reached, however, will occasion no alarm: the right time for men and women to sleep together would appear to be at night when it is dark (cf. 654D–E) – after all, we are busy and preoccupied throughout the day and are not animals like the cock eager for sex first thing in the morning. But in the evening we are relaxed and at our ease, and so the time is right provided, of course, we have neither eaten nor drunk to excess. This is hardly a conclusion, however, to be warmly welcomed by the sexually liberated for whom intercourse is there to be enjoyed wherever, and at whatever time of night or day, excitement mounts. But when it comes to sex, Plutarch is no revolutionary keen to experiment. In fact he clearly shares the long-established and common Greek prejudice whereby sexual activities are thought something essentially 'dirty', forced upon man by a combination of biological necessity and an inability to resist feminine wiles, and something, therefore, to be experienced rather than enjoyed, not spontaneously but at a set and regular time, in total privacy and without excessive passion. In his account of the symposium in which the Seven Wise Men participated, Plutarch has Cleodorus deliver the opinion that the most just pleasure for the body is that derived from food and drink, as is proved by a common and open participation in the symposium. Compare sex – this is performed at night and shrouded in great

darkness, since we regard the sharing of such a pleasure to be shameless and animal-like (158F). Apparently Cleodorus would have us believe that sex is to be endured as much as it is to be a source of pleasure – as it still is to be endured today among the Sarakatsan shepherds of contemporary Greece for whom 'it must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body.'[2]

Such a description of the sexual mores of the Sarakatsan shepherds, and especially the final remark, that it is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body, makes one think at once of a reference made by Plutarch to female nudity and the sense of shame it caused. The reference is to be found in his story about the young women of Miletus, included in his collection of tales about valiant women (249B–D; see also Fr. 175). Here we learn that these women, for some unknown reason, started to hang themselves and could not be deterred from suicide until a proposal was advanced that women who hanged themselves should be carried out for burial through a public place, the agora or market (cf. 291F for the agora as the place where the 'guilty' are exposed), *in the nude*. The effect was immediate: the disgrace which would now follow their deaths soon put an end to the spate of suicides, for Greek women were required to be decorous in death and certainly not to be conveyed naked where all might see them – so much so that, for example, in Euripides' *Hecuba* Talthybius the herald reports how, when Polyxena was slaughtered, this woman 'even in death had the great foresight to fall *decently, concealing what ought to be concealed from the eyes of males*' (568–70).[3] We might think such a comment incongruous, even absurd, but not an ancient Greek: thus, in his biography of Cleomenes, Plutarch is careful to describe how the wife of Panteus did her best to lay out her executed companions and only then did she let down her own garment and gallantly died *needing no one to cover her up after death* (*Cleom.* 38.5–6; cf. also 253E and *Agis* 20.4). According to the *Moralia*, the most serious consequences followed the death of the virgin Helvia who was struck by lightning when riding a horse and subsequently found naked, her tunic having been pulled up as if on purpose from her 'privy parts' (284A–C). An exception, as so often, is offered by Sparta, an exception to test the rule that the female body was viewed with horror, since Spartan girls, like the young men of that state, paraded in the nude and with the young men looking on (*Lyc.* 14.2 and 15.1; see also *Comp. Lyc. and Num.* 3.3–4 and 227E), but there was nothing, we

are assured, disgraceful in this particular display of the female body (cf. 14.4). A visitor to Greece today, especially to Athens or some other major centre, may well be surprised by the contrast in dress between the young and obviously unmarried woman and the mature matron, a difference also marked in ancient Sparta where girls went unveiled in public but married women veiled, the former in order to find husbands and the latter to keep husbands (232C). In spite of draped female but nude male statues, even naked men are not acceptable when there are women present to see them: among the many concessions recorded by Plutarch as allowed the Sabine women by their Roman captors was included a provision that no man be seen naked by them (*Rom.* 20.3; see also on male nudity *Dio* 35.4, *Cat. Ma.* 20.5–6, and *Aem.* 31.6), and that a male body when it is that of an old man and, furthermore, befouled with slime should be exposed without any form of covering is a deep humiliation (cf. *Mar.* 38.2). And what is it that ought not to be on view? The answer is supplied by an anecdote about Philip of Macedon preserved by Plutarch: once, while prisoners were being sold off, Philip was sitting with his tunic pulled up 'in an unseemly manner'; one of the prisoners asked to be spared as a friend of Philip's father and when Philip proceeded to question him, requested a private word with the king and then told Philip to pull his clothes down for, by sitting this way, he was exposing himself, and this piece of advice won the captive his freedom (178C–D). One is immediately reminded of the approval of the youths of yesteryear voiced by the Just Argument in Aristophanes' *Clouds*: they used to sit modestly exposing nothing and when they got up, they took care to leave behind no impression of their genitals to excite their lovers (973–6).

The strength of the pollution associated with women's sexual organs is revealed by Bellerophon's retreat because of *aischynê* ('shame') back to the sea when approached by women who were exposing themselves (248B). Is it also significant that men, but not women, are liable to search (cf. 248F)? Plutarch's contemporary and fellow Greek, Dio Chrysostom, in illustrating the good order and sobriety (*sôphrosynê*) for which the city of Tarsus and its citizens were celebrated in earlier days, points out that many traces of such behaviour still survive and cites one example, the clothing adopted by women: apparently the women of Tarsus wore clothes of such a kind that no one saw any single part of them, any part of their face or the rest of their body, nor did the women themselves see anything 'off the road', and there is no suggestion that this was an 'oriental' rather than a Greek mode of attire (33.48). And in

considering this a Greek style I have in mind a statement made by a pupil of Aristotle and an author who had no mean influence on Plutarch, Dicaearchus of Messana, a statement that the women of Thebes veiled their heads in such a way that only their eyes were visible, the rest of the face being covered.[4] Equally Greek, I would suggest, is the best-known story related by any Greek about the sense of shame aroused if a man saw a woman naked. I refer to Herodotus' story of king Candaules, a monarch so smitten by his wife's beauty that he insisted that his bodyguard Gyges conceal himself so as to be able to see the queen in the nude. The story is too well known to demand more than the briefest of summaries: Gyges protested but was forced to agree; he saw the queen naked but she also saw him; she thereupon gave Gyges a choice – kill Candaules, become king in his place, and marry her or die – and Gyges preferred to live. Ironically, the queen repeated her husband's trick of concealing Gyges and in the same place, thereby securing her revenge (1.8–12).

As Gyges said, 'a woman sheds her modesty when she sheds her clothes' (1.8.3). But we have yet to consider what evidence there is for Plutarch's attitude to sex in the discussion of the right time for intercourse from the third book of 'Table-talk'. In what way does the *Moralia* passage reveal a conviction that sex is 'bad', sex is 'dirty'? Our passage begins with a report that some young men were pulling Epicurus to pieces for having introduced into his work the *Symposium* 'an ignoble and unnecessary debate' about the right time for sexual intercourse. 'For, they maintained, that an older man should talk about sex at dinner in the presence of young men and assess whether love was to be made after or before the meal, was the height of licentiousness' (653B–C). But a defender of the philosopher and an expert on his writings, the physician Zopyrus, pointed out that Epicurus was attempting to check young men from their passions on the grounds that sex is always (mis)leading us into disaster and is worst when you are eating and drinking. In fact, the symposium is just the appropriate occasion to discuss this kind of question: the philosopher to be blamed is the one who considers such a subject during day-time teaching when a large and diverse audience is present. But at the symposium, held among intimates and friends, how is it shameful to say or to hear anything helpfully expressed on the topic of intercourse? For Zopyrus medical opinion supported Epicurus in the belief that to rush into sex after dinner is not without danger: the combination of undigested food and agitation resulting from intercourse threatens to double the harm

(653C–654B). The discussion continued with Olympichus quoting the Pythagorean Clinias who, when asked the best time to approach a woman, replied 'whenever you most happen to want to suffer harm' (654B). When it comes to sex, it seems, it is best to claim it's too early when you go to bed and too late when you get up! But, another speaker argued (654C ff.), there *has* to be sex and night *is* the time for Aphrodite or intercourse, since it is a good thing to draw darkness as a veil over such an activity and not to expel modesty by performing in the light (cf. 1129B); sight, it would seem, is the sharpest of sensations (cf. 681A–D; see also Fr. 138 and cf. *Crass.* 23.7), whereas 'night diverts by removing the insatiate and craziest of deeds and lulls one's natural inclination' (654E) or, as the Cyrenaic philosopher believed according to Plutarch, one ought not to indulge in love-making when there is a light but to draw forth a veil of darkness in order to curb the frequent appetite of the mind inflamed by receiving distinct images of the deed through sight (1089A; see also 1129B). To prefer sex with a wife during the day in the middle of business or in the morning is senseless as evening is when work ends and we can relax whereas work begins in the morning. No, sex after dinner is the answer, given a modest meal and not too much wine (cf. 1D–2A), a word of wisdom put into practice, for example, by the Spartans (cf. *Lyc.* 15.3) but not by Alexander the Great whose excessive imbibing did not benefit his love life (cf. 623E)! Such arguments can also be reinforced by a 'scientific' gloss, and so it is claimed that heat enhances generative power but wine is cold with the result that heavy drinkers are poorer lovers and their seed weak (652D; cf. 653F–654A); and, it must not be forgotten, it is uncontrolled intercourse which follows a lawless meal (997C)! There is the further point that it is when you are busy that sex can be harmful. We are not all like Epicurus, that is, at peace and ease. You ought not to expose your body to life's trials when it is weakened by the madness of sex. Have sex and then, after a good night's sleep, get up refreshed and restored, ready to face a new day. And we ought to remember from elsewhere in the *Moralia* the salutary example offered by the Roman Lucullus: in his old age he surrendered himself to soft, and therefore the wrong kind of, living, and what did this comprise? Baths, banquets, and sex 'in daylight hours' (785F; see also *Arat.* 6.5). Nor should we also forget, by way of contrast, Plutarch's story of how a virgin belonging to a distinguished family was ordered to his bed by the Spartan king Pausanias, and how the girl approached the bed of the sleeping monarch 'in darkness and in silence' after she had asked for the light to be removed (*Cim.* 6.4). The

Sarakatsan shepherds would approve the woman's action if not that of the unscrupulous Pausanias!

As one reads through this somewhat pompous debate or notes the lurid language in which much of this discussion is couched, one is less and less persuaded to describe Plutarch's attitude to sex as anything other than heavily prejudiced and grossly inhibited. Nowhere is an impression conveyed that sex is there to be thoroughly enjoyed rather than a danger inviting inevitable disaster. One thinks of Plutarch's reference to the athlete Clitomachus who was admired because, at the mention of sex, he got up and left (710D–E). What a splendid example of self-control! The authority of Homer is cited when daytime sex is condemned: just a single hero is depicted by the poet as making love during the day, the despicable Paris, and that, moreover, after the goddess Aphrodite, his protectress, had had to intervene and rescue her favourite from the cuckolded husband Menelaus (*Iliad* 3.373 ff.), 'implying that lack of self-control during the day is characteristic not of the husband but of the insane adulterer' (655A; see also 18F). A reference to Homer, firstly, suggests what a wider examination will soon show to be true, that Plutarch's inhibition towards sex represents a common attitude on the part of the Greek male and, secondly, it reveals that it is an attitude which can be traced back as far as our earliest source. That this is indeed the case may be seen from the *Iliad*: in that poem Hera 'seduces' her husband Zeus (14. 292 ff.), but when the king of the gods demands immediate sex, Hera expresses horror that Zeus should be contemplating intercourse 'on the crests of Ida with everything in plain view' (332). The dilemma is neatly solved – Zeus' insistence is met and Hera's modesty safeguarded – when Zeus wraps the pair of them in a substitute for night, a golden cloud which even the Sun cannot penetrate (343–4 and 350–1). Comparable is the story known from a fragment of Plutarch according to which Zeus abducted the maiden Hera and Cithaeron, presumably the mountain of that name, provided as a natural bedroom a 'shady recess', another location removed from spying eyes and protected by secrecy (Fr. 157.3). In fact, whatever the circumstances, sex is likely to be thought unclean by a Greek: according to the poet Hesiod, one ought not to expose genitals, when befouled with semen, inside the house near the sacred hearth (*Works and Days*, 733–4); Plutarch's Soclarus warns us against sacrificing only shortly after having had sex (655D). But much dirtier is sex which is 'open' in the sense that no effort is made to observe the proprieties and to perform behind closed, if not locked, doors. The

unknown author of the *Dissoi Logoi* or 'Twofold Arguments' writing about 400 B.C. tells us that sex 'outside' where someone will see you is foul (2.4 Diels). After all, it is barbarians or non-Greeks who flaunt their sexuality quite shamelessly: and so Herodotus reports that the natives of the Caucasus region copulate *in the open* like animals (1.203.2), while the Auses of North Africa hold women in common and intercourse is casual and, again, like that of animals (4.180.5). If we may believe Xenophon's *Anabasis*, it was normal among the Mossynoeci to indulge in intercourse publicly, this being a people reputed to be the most barbarous and most unlike Greeks, who in a crowd did as men would do when alone but, when alone, what men would do when with others (5.4.33–4; see also Apoll. Rhod. 2.1015–25; Dio. Sic. 14.30.7; Artem. *Onir.* 1.8). But not all non-Greeks were quite as bad, however outlandish their sexual habits: discussing the 'asexual' Amazons, the geographer Strabo claims that for two special months in the spring, they go up into the mountains with the Gargarians and have intercourse – but in secret and in darkness (11.5.1). And some Greeks could behave no better than barbarians: denouncing his opponent Aeschines, Demosthenes, understandably, attacks his mother as this was the deadliest of insults, and, in doing so, asks whether he should mention how Aeschines' mother practised daylight 'nuptials', i.e., prostitution, though he does add 'in an outhouse' (18.129). Apollodorus, too, claims that Phrynio brought the notorious Neaera to Athens, lived with her in the most indecent and reckless way, and took her everywhere with him to dinners where there was drinking; she was with him at all the riotous parties and he had sex with her *openly* whenever and wherever he fancied ([Dem.] 59.33). Then again, according to the Platonic *Greater Hippias*, everyone admits that intercourse ought to be enjoyed only where there is no one to see because it is most disgraceful when on public display (299a5–6). Significantly Theophrastus' Slanderer's insults include the accusations that women snatch men off the streets and, even more to the point, that the saying is not nonsense, the saying that they have intercourse in the streets just like bitches (*Char.* 28.3). After all, a distinction is to be drawn when it comes to sex between animals and sex between humans: the former feel no shame and are willing whereas the latter both feel shame and are unwilling (cf. Dio Chrysostom 7.134).

Equation with animals (cf. also Plut. 338C where we have not only a comparison with horses but also a reference to 'days being spent' among 'herds' of women) and heavy emphasis, all make for forcible language

but the views expressed from Homer on are in no way out of step with the views which we encounter in the third book of Plutarch's 'Table-talk', and, as we shall now proceed to see, these views are also to be found in other parts of Plutarch's writings, the *Lives* as well as the *Moralia*. A casual comment can sometimes be especially significant as when, in his advice to bridegroom and bride, Plutarch urges the couple to keep their differences to themselves and not to rehearse them in public just as they are to keep their sexual activities and feelings of affection secret (139E–F). Plutarch's opinion of sex is neither enlightened nor liberated and in being neither enlightened nor liberated is typical of classical antiquity. Sex is thought to be a trap set for men by women, and a very dangerous trap at that, and its tendency is to corrupt. Commenting on Theseus' harsh treatment of his son Hyppolytus, Plutarch refers to very few having escaped the effects of love, jealousy, and a woman's slanders (*Comp. Thes. and Rom.* 3.2); better presumably is the Spartan custom reported by Plutarch whereby the Spartan visited his new bride secretly, and time – even considerable time – will have passed before the Spartan saw his wife by daylight (*Lyc.* 15.4–5). Too much sex, it seems, just dulls the appetite.

II

In his 'Roman Questions' (263D ff.) Plutarch attempts to explain a variety of Roman customs including the practice by which the husband first has sexual relations with his bride not 'with a light' but in darkness (279E–F). Is it, Plutarch asks, because he feels shame, reckoning his wife to belong to another before they have slept together? Or is it because he is accustoming himself to approach even his own wife with *aidôs* or a sense of shame? Or is it in case there is something peculiar or offensive about her body and one wants it concealed? Or is it a condemnation of unlawful sex since *aischynê* or shame, disgrace, attaches itself even to legitimate intercourse? All these suggested answers are significant: sex involves *aidôs* or shame; a wife is an 'outsider'; the female body may be offensive; sex is bad whether outside or inside marriage. But more evidence is to follow when different prohibitions associated with the Flamen Dialis or High Priest of Jupiter are considered: why is the priest, for example, forbidden to touch or even name the dog and goat (290A–C)? Loathing for the goat may be because of its lack of sexual restraint (or evil odour or its proneness to disease).

Perhaps the dog is less active sexually, but there are some, we are told, who maintain that a dog may enter neither the Acropolis of Athens nor the sacred island of Delos because it engages in open intercourse. In fact, Plutarch rejects this explanation, preferring to argue that the dog is savage and therefore likely to deter suppliants seeking a place of refuge or sanctuary (see also *Comp. Demetr. and Ant.* 4.2).

But what is sex really like in the opinion of Plutarch? One of the slighter pieces featured in the *Moralia* is an amusing discussion between Odysseus the Greek hero and a certain Gryllus, a man transformed into a pig by the witch Circe, a discussion in which Gryllus tries to convince Odysseus that his present existence as an animal is better than his previous life as a human (985D ff.). It is the opinion of Gryllus that, whereas the desire to eat and drink is at the same time natural and necessary, the pleasures of sex, while they find their beginnings in nature, have been called natural but not essential (989B–C). Elsewhere in the *Moralia* we find listed as 'unnatural' acts (18A–B) Medea's murder of her children, Orestes' murder of his mother, the pseudo-madness of Odysseus, *and* the unrestrained association of women with men. Women and sex can appear in lists coupled with wine, foolish talk, licentiousness, sloth, failure to take exercise, and too many baths or too much unseasonable food (52D–E and 69B; cf. 136D). *Erôs* or sexual desire is madness and love blind as we are repeatedly informed (cf. 43D and 54C; 48F, 90A, 92F, and 1000A = Plato, *Laws* 731E). Sophocles, Plutarch relates, said that, in his old age, he was glad to have escaped *aphrodisia* or sexual pleasures, a savage and crazy tyrant (788E; see also 525A and 1094E). Lovers lose all judgement, even converting disadvantages into merits, for love, like ivy, is terrible at attaching itself to any excuse (44F–45A; cf. 56D–E and 84F). The pleasures bestowed by love may be exaggerated (cf. 1094A and C) and, as the experience of Sophocles shows, eventually wither away (cf. 525A) or, as Euripides puts it, 'Aphrodite is vexed with the old' (285B, 786A, and 1094F). At the same time we also read elsewhere that *erôs*, when it has gripped the soul, long remains there; it does not relax in some grown old but still flourishes and is fresh and youthful when hairs are grey (Fr. 137).

Erôs may assume a variety of shapes and Plutarch's knowledge of the byways of sex is impressive: thus he refers to love bites and their effect – they arouse and titillate one's sense of pleasure by pretending to cause pain (61B), though I suspect that actual pain was not always absent (cf. *Pomp.* 2.2); to sex stimulants (126B); to obscene letters (*Pomp.* 37.2) and pornography carried in the luggage of Roman officers on active

service (*Crass.* 32.3; see also 19A–20A); to a parent prepared to act as pimp (*Thes.* 3.4 and *Pomp.* 36.3–6) and a husband also (759F–760B; cf. 860D); to possible incest (cf. *Cim.* 4.5–7, *Per.* 13.11, and *Cic.* 10.3 and 29.4–5) and actual incest (cf. 310B–C, 311A–B, 312C–D, and 736E–F); to wife swapping (*Cat. Mi.* 25 and 52.3–4 and *Lyc.* 15.6–7); to toy boys (*Sol.* 20.40–5); to homosexual marriage (*Galba* 9.3); to a *ménage à trois* (144B–C and *Dio* 3.1–2); to lesbianism (cf. *Lyc.* 18.4); to sado-masochism (cf. 972E–F); to anal penetration (126A and 705E; cf. 858C and 863B); to buggery (cf. 149C–E, 312D–E, and 990F); to masturbation (cf. 1044B); to Oedipal dreams (*Caes.* 32.9; cf. 364A); and even, possibly, to foot massage (*Ant.* 58.5). Is a touch of male bravado on Plutarch's part being displayed when it is pointed out how very tempting it is for us to enjoy what is denied to others as in the case of 'notorious' women? Even though men's bodies may not be up to it, a high-class prostitute or *hetaira* like Phryne or Laïs is preferred to a beautiful and loving wife because of an empty reputation: Phryne, in fact, now an old woman, used to claim she sold the dregs at a higher price on account of her reputation (124F–125B). The spurious biography of Hyperides provides an apposite example, since it relates how this orator was partial to sex to the extent that he threw his son out of the house and brought in Myrrhine the most expensive *hetaira*, kept Aristagora in Piraeus and the Theban Phila on his estate at Eleusis (849D; cf. 839A–B on Isocrates, who did not marry when young, kept a *hetaira* when an old man but subsequently married). He seems to have been no less a sexual athlete than the legendary Theseus (see *Comp. Thes. and Rom.* 6.1–2)! Hyperides also defended Phryne against a charge of impiety, presumably because he had been her lover, and when she was on the point of being found guilty, he brought her forward into the middle of the court and, tearing off her clothes, exposed her breasts. And when the jurymen gazed at her 'beauty', she was acquitted (849E), a verdict which will not surprise us when we remember how, according to Euripides' *Andromache* (629), Menelaus threw away his sword when his treacherous wife Helen exposed her breasts.

We learn from the biography of Alcibiades how the Athenian, in spite of his wife being virtuous and loving, was always carrying on with *hetairai* – to such an extent that she left him and went to live with her brother. Alcibiades was happy enough until the wife tried for a divorce. He then carried her off back home (*Alc.* 8.3–4). This, of course, was typical of his scandalous behaviour at all times (cf. *Alc.* 23.7 and *Ages.* 3.1–2). Also, according to his biography, notorious for his mistresses

(*Demetr.* 14) was Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, his major passion being reserved, somewhat perversely, for the appreciably older Lamia (16.4), though whether she was old enough to qualify as his mother is another matter (cf. 27.3–4). Ambassadors sent by Demetrius to his fellow-king Lysimachus were treated to the sight of scars from wounds inflicted on Lysimachus by a caged lion, but reacted with laughter, declaring that their own monarch carried on *his* neck the bites of a fearful wild beast, a Lamia (27.3) or ghoul, that is, a mythological monster which fed on man's flesh. There is also the story of how Antigonus went to visit his supposedly sick son Demetrius and encountered a beautiful woman at the door; he went in, took a seat beside his son, and felt his pulse; when Demetrius said that his fever had now left him, Antigonus replied, 'No doubt – I met it departing at your door' (*Demetr.* 19.5). Equally dissolute sexually, even as an old man, was the Roman Sulla (*Sull.* 2.3–4). When he married Valeria, it was not from any temperate or worthy motive – he was led astray like a stripling, by looks and impertinence, through which the most disgraceful and shameless emotions are naturally aroused or so Plutarch would have us believe (35.5; see also 36.1). But among the Romans, as lover and as adulterer, Antony was very much in a class of his own even before he met the Egyptian queen Cleopatra (see *Ant.* 4.3; 6.5; 9.3, and 24.1), though it will be noted how he exploited a double standard, one for himself and the exact opposite for his wife, from whom absolute fidelity was demanded (9.1–2; cf. *Rom.* 22.3), and, strangely perhaps, how he showed himself to be at the beck and call of a strong woman (see 10.3), first of all his wife Fulvia, who was 'by nature' an interfering and forceful woman (*Ant.* 30.2) and later Cleopatra. Certainly Cleopatra was considerably more than a pretty face or even a woman practised in the art of seduction; her linguistic ability also suggests no mean intellect (*Ant.* 27.2–4), and she needed all her gifts in order to compete against the very different Octavia, a woman of beauty, presence, and intelligence (*Ant.* 31.2), the sister of the future emperor and inferior to Cleopatra neither in beauty nor in youthfulness (*Ant.* 57.3). Comparing Demetrius and Antony, Plutarch states that the former did not allow his pleasures to prevent him from undertaking necessary action, whereas Antony neglected everything so that he might 'wander about and sport' with Cleopatra. 'And, in the end, like Paris (see p. 171), he ran away from battle and sank into her bosom' (*Comp. Demetr. and Ant.* 3.3–4). Not untypically, Antony could quote his 'ancestor' Heracles who was not content with one woman but gave free rein to 'nature' (36.4), and

this was a not inappropriate comparison, since Cleopatra played the role of the dominant queen Omphale to Antony's version of the Greek hero.

Surveying the evidence offered by the *Lives* we should finally ask whether Plutarch does dwell a little too longingly on, or betrays too great an interest in, the sex lives of his subjects in general or, in particular, the admittedly exotic marriage practices of the Spartans as instituted by Lycurgus (*Lyc.* 15.3–10). Is this the fascination of the prurient? The Spartan bridegroom, it will be noted, came to his bride at night 'not drunk nor shattered but sober, having dined as always among his messmates' and then quickly returned to his bachelor quarters, and continued to follow this practice (15.3–4). Sexual relations as a kind of reward for initiative would, obviously, restrict opportunities or, as Plutarch expresses it, 'meetings in this way not only allowed the exercise of self-control and restraint (= *sôphrosynê*), but led husband and wife into partnership when their bodies were fertile and their affection fresh and not stale, not when they were satiated and pale from unrestrained sexual activity' (15.5), an observation reminiscent of Victorian warnings against indulging in sex on too regular or frequent a basis. Just as Victorian is the opinion advanced slightly later that, generally, the seed of those uncontrolled in their enjoyment of sex is sterile and fruitless (19.1). 'Prudery, a repugnance for sexual contact, the denial of female sexual pleasure, cold functional sexual relations inside the bourgeois marriage, complemented for men by necessary liaisons with mistresses or prostitutes, comical efforts to mask public sexuality and nudity' have been claimed to form part of a perception of Victorian life,[5] and it is clearly a perception which finds abundant echoes in the *Moralia* and the *Lives*.

III

The evidence provided by anecdotes, and there are plenty of anecdotes in the *Moralia* as well as in Plutarch's *Lives*, is to be handled with discretion, and we must always take into consideration the reasons why anecdotes have been cited by an author. The anecdote is not so much a source of positive information as an example of illustrative material serving a moral purpose.[6] Originating often as gossip, it is more indicative of attitudes or prejudices than it is of hard fact; it will hardly be a surprise then that, like gossip, many anecdotes illustrate an individual's sexual habits. The impossibility of resisting the trap set

by women and sex, whatever the male victim's age, experience, or station in life, is heavily stressed in anecdotes throughout the *Moralia*. Even the innocent woman may cause disaster. One such story, a famous one apparently, tells how a living virgin was to be offered as a sacrifice to the sea-goddess Amphitrite and the Nereids (163B–C). The sacrifice was duly chosen and lavishly bedecked; but a not ignoble youth happened to be in love with the girl and he, in a desperate desire to help her in her present misfortune, seized her in his arms and threw himself into the sea with her (cf. 984E). There is also the legendary Soloïs who fell in love with Antiope the Amazon, and when Antiope failed to respond, drowned himself in his despair (*Thes.* 26.3–4), while Cyanippus and Aemilius committed suicide when their wives were torn apart by their dogs (310E–F). Suicide can in fact either be a way out, an escape mechanism as it is here or might have been for the son of Seleucus who fell in love with his father's wife (cf. *Demetr.* 38.2), or a means of avoiding disgrace, the 'fate worse than death' say, and there are examples of this too in Plutarch (e.g., *Demetr.* 24.2–3). More elaborate, and so more informative, is an account of what befell a young man appointed priest at a shrine in Phocis of Heracles 'the woman-hater' (403F–404A). The choice broke a rule by which, to avoid any trouble, an older man was selected as priest, being less likely to succumb to temptations of the flesh (see p. 174), for such a priest was required not to consort with a woman during the year of the appointment. But the young man, not wicked but ambitious, accepted the office although in love with a girl. At first he controlled himself and kept clear of her until, when he was resting after drinking and dancing, they met and he 'had his way with her'. Scared and confused, he consulted the god about his sin and received the oracular response, 'God allows everything inevitable'. Apparently a young man's inability to resist passion is a fact of life about which no one, not even a god, can do anything, and love's symptoms are well known – hesitant speech, flushes like fire, failure of vision, sudden sweating, irregular heartbeat, and, finally, distress, amazement, and loss of colour (*Demetr.* 38.4). A practical demonstration of love's 'sickness' is furnished by Cleopatra when she thought Anthony to be slipping from her grasp (*Ant.* 53.3–4), and a convincing act she certainly made of it.

Precautions are a good idea where young men are involved (cf. 12A–D), and precautions were taken by Antigonus when he discovered his son Philip eager to take up lodgings with a widow and her three attractive daughters. Summoning the officer responsible he asked, 'Will you not remove my son from so confined a space?' (182B and

Demetr. 23.4). Plutarch quotes Menander who refers to the self-discipline of some young men 'who bent down their heads and ate up their dessert', taking precautions and being too scared to spy when a pimp introduced some lovely (and expensive!) *hetairai* (133B). The young Crassus was once hidden away in a cave by a friend, who also supplied his guest with what youth enjoys, a pair of attractive slave girls (*Crass.* 5). It seems that, in the opinion of the elder Cato, slaves did the greatest wrong for the sake of sex (*Cat. Ma.* 21.2). Even a good soldier might be persuaded by love to abandon his duties, to go absent from camp, as did a soldier in the army of Fabius Maximus (195E–F and *Fab.* 20.4–6); the combination of being both a mercenary and a lover made it easy for a Bruttian appointed commander by Hannibal to change sides, and there were also the great gifts held out as an inducement (*Fab.* 21.1–3). There is, further, the story about a veteran soldier of Alexander the Great who attempted to join the ill or wounded, who were being repatriated to Macedonia (339C–D; see also 180F–181A and *Alex.* 41.9–10). Why? He was undoubtedly a stout warrior whose body was covered with wounds though there was nothing wrong with him now. Questioned by the king, the soldier confessed a passion for the *hetaira* Telesippa and would not be separated from her if she were sent back. Few, it seems, are likely to possess such strength of character when faced with a woman as to follow the example of Antiochus III, who removed himself at once from Ephesus on seeing the outstandingly beautiful priestess of Artemis, thereby eliminating temptation and the danger of committing an unholy deed (183F). As has already been said, since prevention is so much better than cure, it is advisable to anticipate trouble and to take necessary precautions; the amorous certainly ought to guard against the onset of passion as, to add even more examples, did the Spartan king Agesilaus and Xenophon's Cyrus (31C; for Cyrus see also 521F–522A and 1093C).

It would appear that Alexander the Great refused to see the wife of his defeated foe Darius though she was reputed to be devastatingly beautiful, but he did visit her elderly mother (522A; see also *Alex.* 21.1–6). Alexander, we read in Plutarch's biography of the Macedonian king, reckoned self-control more kingly than the defeat of his enemies (*Alex.* 21.7); and he also said that it was sleep and sex above all which made him distrust those proclaiming his godhead and made him realise he was mortal (65F; see also 717F) 'as if tiredness and pleasure arise from a single natural weakness' (*Alex.* 22.6). Certainly it is not to

Cimon's credit that he was entangled with many women (*Cim.* 4.3 and 8), while, as the lover of the *hetaira* Aspasia, the Athenian statesman Pericles went to the, by Greek standards, grotesque length of kissing the woman whenever he went out and came in from the agora (*Per.* 24.6). It needed a Cynic philosopher like Diogenes to comment ironically when he spotted the Olympic victor Dioxippus incapable of dragging his eyes away from a beautiful woman among the spectators: 'Do you see how our athlete is being throttled by a tiny little girl?' (521B). But the picture is not completely bleak: thus in Plutarch's version of the dinner of the Seven Wise Men, Mnesiphilus argues that the 'work' of Aphrodite is not intercourse but the result of intercourse – friendliness, longing, togetherness, and intimacy – for this is the goddess who produces harmony and friendship between men and women and who, by means of their bodies, through pleasure mingles and fuses together their souls (156C–D). And elsewhere it is claimed that the muse Erato, whose name, it is implied, is linked to the verb *eran*, 'to have sexual desires', when accompanied by reasoned persuasion, eliminates the mad, frenzied element in the pleasure which thus culminates not in violence and licentiousness but in affection and trust (746F). You can even joke with lovers though you had better be careful (633E–634A and *Ant.* 4.3), and the possibility of a 'good' *hetaira*, our prostitute 'with a heart of gold', is admitted (cf. Fr. 85). And so we have Timandra who did her very best to organize an appropriate burial for Alcibiades (*Alc.* 39.4), and the concubine of the Numidian king who was touched to see the handsome young Marius treated badly by the king; her pity eventually became love and Marius, when he saw she was motivated by something more serious than pleasure and lust (and there was no other way to escape!), accepted her help and got away with his friends (*Mar.* 40.5–6). But we are still left with a Plutarch closely approaching, if not actually reaching, the status of prig when it comes to sexual relations. What are we to make, for instance, of the comment which follows his statement that, according to Heraclides of Pontus, Solon did not require sons born to a *hetaira* to support their fathers? 'For the man who ignores the honourable state of matrimony is clearly taking a woman to himself not because of children but because of pleasure' (*Sol.* 22.4). Very different in content perhaps but not so very different in tone, and equally patronizing, is Plutarch's description of Pompey's wife Cornelia: 'She had many charms apart from those arising from her youth. She was excellently educated in letters, in the lyre, and in geometry, and was used to listening, to her profit, to philosophical discussion. She also had a disposition free from

that unpleasantness and pettiness which such studies encourage in young women' (*Pomp.* 55.1–2). The concluding words of this extract surely condemn Plutarch and make him a prime example of the male chauvinist pig. Another reference will leave no doubt, and this time it is a passage from Plutarch's essay on brotherly love and concerns the right attitude to adopt towards a brother's wife, a person to be revered as the most holy of all things sacred: 'If her husband honours her we should applaud him, if he neglects her we should share her annoyance, if she is cross we should calm her, if she makes some slight mistake we should exhort and help to reconcile husband and wife, and if you have a quarrel with a brother make your accusations to her and put an end to the complaint' (491D–E). The assumption that a woman can be manipulated in these ways, and is there to be manipulated, is really quite monstrous. Finally, there are those typically chauvinist jokes at the expense of women which, it is to be suspected, Plutarch thoroughly enjoyed repeating such as that said to have been aimed by Cicero at a son of Crassus thought to look like a man named Axius (= 'Worthy') and, therefore, really Axius' son: when this son had delivered a good speech in the Senate, Cicero was asked his opinion and replied in Greek, *axios Crassou*, that is 'worthy of Crassus' or, if the first word is taken as a proper noun, 'Axius the son of Crassus', a reference to the son's suspect parentage and so a gratuitous slur on Crassus' wife (*Cic.* 25.5). Even less subtle and no more humorous is Cicero's reputed response to Metellus Nepos when he was repeatedly asked 'Who is your father?' and Cicero replied, 'Your mother, in your own case, has made an answer to such a question rather difficult' (26.9). Nepos' mother, it need hardly be added, did not enjoy the best of reputations (26.10).

IV

The fifth question considered in the first book of Plutarch's 'Table-talk' is why is it said that Eros teaches a poet (622C–623D) and here we learn something about *erôs*, sexual desire. More information is at our disposal elsewhere in the writings of Plutarch. Stobaeus preserves in his anthology of excerpts (4.20.34 and 67–9 and 4.21.25) scraps of a treatise *Peri Erôtos* or 'On Sexual Desire' attributed to Plutarch but not listed in the Lamprias Catalogue, though inclusion in that compilation is no guarantee of a work's being either authentic or spurious (= Fr. 134–8). Fragments, inevitably, yield little more than desultory remarks and

seldom present an argument which is comprehensive or continuously developed; this is only too plain with the fragmentary remains of the *Peri Erôtos*. But let us consider what these fragments do have to offer. Commenting on a passage from Menander, an especial worshipper and celebrant of the god Eros, the author of the first fragment finds the force of passion rooted not in physical attraction or intercourse, though both may serve as an incentive to sexual desire; crucial for the couple involved, the lover and the loved, the active and the passive, is the right moment of time (Fr. 134). *Erôs* is not a question of judgement but, according to some, a disease or, in the opinion of others, in an ascending order of intensity, a passion, a madness, a divine and demonic excitement of the soul, or simply a god; typically, poets and artists depict Eros bearing a torch since the splendour of fire confers the greatest pleasure but its power to burn the greatest pain (Fr. 135). It is best to treat those suffering from *erôs* with understanding as if they are sick, and best from the beginning to avoid it, but if this is not possible, 'drive out the wild beast before it acquires claws and teeth' or you will find yourself in combat not with a child but with a full-grown evil. But what are the claws and teeth of Eros? Nothing but suspicion and jealousy. However attractive, Eros is wheedling and seductive, stripping you of livelihood, household, marriage, and authority; Eros is a riddle difficult of solution – 'what hates and loves, flees and pursues, threatens and begs, feels anger and pity, wishes to stop but doesn't wish to stop, rejoices and grieves most over the same thing, hurts and helps alike?' Lovers are a mass of similar contradictions and they express real but contrary emotions, so that, for example, they want to be rulers and endure being slaves. Hence this emotion is thought a madness (Fr. 136). Somewhat surprisingly, a further snippet claims that *erôs* is slow to develop and, less unexpectedly, slow to disappear; when the passage of time or reason causes it to cease, smouldering embers remain (Fr. 137). A final extract (Fr. 138) preserved by Stobaeus warns of the dangers of touching and seizing the beautiful, here actually males; even those standing well clear, according to Xenophon, may be affected 'for sight affords passion a hold' (see p. 170).

These fragments do not provide a systematic survey of *erôs* though they do repeatedly emphasize the dangers to be associated with sexual desire. If one is asked how great are such dangers, the obvious reply is 'extremely great indeed'. But we are in the fortunate position of being able to supplement the fragmentary material with the full discussion of a clearly complex emotion provided by Plutarch's version of Plato's

Symposium, his dialogue on *erôs* or the *Erôtikos* (748E ff.).[7] In the dialogue Autobulus, the son of Plutarch, reports to Flavian a conversation between a group of friends, including Plutarch himself, reputed to have been held early in Plutarch's marriage at a shrine of the Muses on Mount Helicon. A background to the discussion is supplied by the story of the young man Bacchon 'the handsome' and Ismenodora, a widow from Thespiae celebrated because of her wealth and family, and respectable as well (749C–F). Ismenodora clearly enjoyed the kind of reputation not shared by all widows in antiquity, who might well be the subject of disparaging comments (cf. *Cat. Ma.* 21.8) or thought, like the Widow of Ephesus (see Petronius, *Sat.* 111–12), to be only too ready to forget their first husband (but, for an exception, see *Cleom.* 1.1–2).[8] Although a widow, Ismenodora was still young and not unattractive. In arranging the marriage of Bacchon and one of her relatives, the widow had many meetings with the bridegroom-to-be and fell in love with him herself. Her intentions were strictly honourable, and she desired to marry and spend her life with Bacchon. There were, however, difficulties: Bacchon's mother was unhappy that Ismenodora was too grand for her son, and there was also, as some of Bacchon's friends observed, the discrepancy in age: Ismenodora was in her early thirties (cf. 753A) whereas Bacchon was an ephebe in his late teens (cf. 754E). Thus marriage norms – the man as the initiator and the older partner – were being totally reversed and Bacchon exposed to the ridicule of his companions, and ridicule was proving a more effective deterrent than serious objections – not that that should startle us in any way as the force of ridicule is very evident thoughout Plutarch's writings (e.g., *Dio* 39.3; *Cleom.* 12.2 and 26.2–3; *Sull.* 6.12 and 13.1; *Crass.* 26.4 and 32.3; and 10C). There is much truth in a remark passed in Plutarch's *Timoleon*: 'it is natural for most men to be more distressed by words than by wicked deeds, since *hybris* or arrogant behaviour is more difficult to tolerate than injury' (*Tim.* 32.2).

Plutarch's readers in antiquity must have felt the sort of suspicion to which the widow was always inclined to be exposed as a potential predator who fastened upon innocent young men as her victims, being herself already sexually aroused and sexually experienced. The story of Bacchon and Ismenodora is too good to drop and is exploited throughout the *Erôtikos*. Fresh warnings are given about the widow's wealth: 'she's a woman determined', we are told, 'to rule and command', and wealth is said to make women wanton, vain, and pretentious. Once again ridicule and sarcasm are deployed: if Ismenodora feels sexual desire for

him, let her act out the role of the true lover singing songs and crowning portraits of him (753B; for the role of the lover, see 455B and 759B). 'If she does really feel shame and is modest', an admittedly prejudiced speaker says, 'let her sit respectably at home and wait for serious suitors; a man would have to flee in disgust any woman claiming to be in love; in no way could he entertain the idea of a marriage based on such a lack of self-control' (753B). The case in support of Ismenodora is put by Plutarch when he joins in the discussion (753C ff.), asking whether we can really complain about the widow's love, wealth, beauty, youth, and birth. In fact even women who have been slaves can dominate husbands who are weak and, on the contrary, poor men of no distinction have married wealthy women and been in no respect compromised. In brief, it is dishonourable and mean to prefer a woman's wealth to her goodness and birth but, at the same time, stupid to reject it if added to goodness and birth. Age does not matter provided the couple are able to have children, and Plutarch believes Ismenodora to be 'in her prime' (754C). No one is his own master: what's so terrible about a sensible older woman directing the life of a young man? Such an assertion is made by someone who is to be suspected of having his tongue set firmly in his cheek, and equally ironic, and perhaps even more so, is what follows (754E–756A): a report that Ismenodora had organized her friends, both male and female, laid an ambush and had Bacchon abducted from the street, and carried him into her house where the doors were at once locked. Marriage preparations were put in hand and, despite protests that the laws of nature were being violated and women taking over the state, the dialogue concludes with the news that the actual marriage is on the point of taking place (771D). It is evident that this story of Bacchon and Ismenodora is one huge joke, so much so that, at the end, all are prepared to accept the marriage, even Bacchon himself, as is made perfectly clear when earlier Soclarus, another participant in the conversation, asks, with the suggestion of a smile, 'Do you think there have been a kidnapping and rape? Isn't this the excuse and stratagem of an intelligent young man who has escaped the clutches of his male lovers and deserted into the arms of a beautiful and rich woman?' (755C–D; cf. also 754E). But it is a joke tinged with a *frisson* of fear, a thrill at female domination of the male (cf., for example, 752E and 753D–F) or a reversal in the accepted relationship between man and woman, for a man, we read, must maintain his position and be no slave (754B). Reversal of norms characterizes this amusing story of love and violence which, however, finds deadly serious parallels in the

first two of the love stories related in the *Moralia*'s five brief 'Tales of Love' (771E–773B). Yet, at the same time, by its process of reversal Plutarch's *Erôtikos* does plainly delineate those norms – the respective ages at which man and woman should marry, the role of male and female during courtship and during marriage, and the qualities, however idealized, demanded of bride and, to an appreciably lesser extent, of bridegroom. Jokes fall flat unless underpinned by some degree of earnestness.

It can scarcely be expected that the views canvassed in the *Erôtikos*, a philosophical work, will represent common opinion. Particular, and extreme, positions are adopted: one speaker Daphnaeus, as the most favoured of the suitors of the woman Lysandra, understandably supports heterosexual love, but Anthemion and Pisias, both linked to Bacchon, though the former is much the more sympathetic to Ismenodora, advocate homosexual love; and Protogenes is even more vehemently anti-feminine. Arguments in support of their different positions are advanced with a vigour which may degenerate into violence. While Daphnaeus regards marriage as a sacred bond between man and woman (750C), Protogenes denies such a pair true love: marriage is necessary in order to produce children and so it must be recommended to the masses but this, he maintains, is not genuine love. We may need sex between female and male much as we need food but only in moderation. Actual *erôs* attaches itself to a well-formed, young soul and leads it through *philia* or affection to virtue. Love of a woman is an effeminate and bastard variety – the only legitimate love is that of boys (750C–751A). There is much more in the same vein – for example, *philia* is said to be beautiful but pleasure inferior and as for relations with young slaves, this species of *erôs* is just intercourse like sleeping with women (751B). All of this meets with an indignant rebuttal from Daphnaeus (751B–752B) for whom passion directed at boys and at women is one and the same; *erôs* and Eros cannot exist without Aphrodite or sex. But Daphnaeus' defence of marital love enrages Pisias (752B–C) who believes sex to be undoubtedly 'dirty', reducing us to the level of dogs, a remark reminiscent of those comments on the sexual habits of barbarians passed by Xenophon and others (see p. 172). According to Pisias, 'it's not decent for respectable women either to give or to receive *erôs*' (752C). It needs Plutarch himself to launch a full-scale defence of Eros (756A ff.), the deity without whom the work of Aphrodite is available for a drachma and without whose inspiration the favours of the goddess are weak and quickly satisfied (759E–F). And so on . . . However

philosophically adroit, or self-consciously clever, or replete with examples and quotations, this speech has little relationship to everyday life or thought, and becomes increasingly 'Platonic' (see 758D ff. and 765A ff.) and, therefore, increasingly less and less relevant to any consideration of Plutarch on the subject of sex as a fact of life rather than the subject of intellectual debate.[9]

NOTES

1. Jeffrey Henderson provides a concise account, and bibliography, of 'Greek attitudes towards sex' in Michael Grant and Rachel Kitzinger (edd.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome* vol. II (New York, 1988), 1249–63. Little profit is to be gained from France le Corsu, *Plutarque et les Femmes dans les Vies Parallèles* (Paris, 1981), but much more informative are Philip Stadter, '"Subject to the Erotic": Male Sexual Behaviour in Plutarch' in Doreen Innes, Harry Hine, and Christopher Pelling (edd.), *Ethics and Rhetoric: Classical Essays for Donald Russell on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (Oxford, 1995), 221–36 and K. Blomqvist, 'From Olympias to Aretaphila: Women in Politics in Plutarch' in Judith Mossman (ed.), *Plutarch and his Intellectual World* (London, 1997), 73–97. The latter considers the attitude of Plutarch's contemporary Dio Chrysostom in *Myth and Moral Message in Dio Chrysostom. A Study in Dio's Moral Thought, with a Particular Focus on his Attitudes towards Women* (Lund, 1989). The views of Latin authors on the topic of women (Tacitus, Suetonius, the younger Pliny) from the period of the Early Empire and, therefore, contemporary with Plutarch are discussed by Gunhild Vidén, *Women in Roman Literature*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia LVII (Göteborg, 1993) and, in summary form, in Jan Bouzek and Iva Ondřejová (edd.), *Roman Portraits, Artistic and Literary* (Mainz, 1997), 106–8; see also Catharine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 1993). An effective analysis of the way in which a woman might be judged by ancient authors, and the validity of the judgement, is provided → Elizabeth D. Carney, 'Olympias and the Image of the Virago', *Phoenix* 47 (1993), 29–55, who concludes: 'It is time to recognize the witchy, bitchy caricature of Olympias we have inherited from antiquity as the antique it is and put it where it belongs – in the attic' (55).

The Loeb Classical Library offers the most convenient text of the *Moralia* (1927–1976), including F. H. Sandbach's edition of the fragments (vol. 15, 1969 = Teubner, *Moralia* vol. VII, 1967), and of the *Lives*.

2. J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage: a Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (Oxford, 1964), 277.

3. For nudity and the Greek woman, see, most recently, the papers by Beth Cohen, John G. Younger, Nanette Salomon, and Aileen Ajootian in Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow and Claire L. Lyons (edd.), *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology* (London and New York, 1997), 66–92, 120–53, 197–219, and 220–42. Cf. also C. Nadia Seremetakis, *The Last Word: Women, Death, and Divination in Inner Mani* (Chicago, 1991): 'Nakedness implies the isolate. . . . Nakedness also evokes the cold, the damp, and winter. . . . The naked death is also a symbol of "poverty". . . . Nakedness as a contrasocial and as linked to solitary conditions implies the uncovered, the unsheltered, the outside, the abandoned, the unprotected. Uncovered flesh is embarrassing, as is the unattended ceremony. Both are the exposure of the inside to the outside' (76). Practical consequences are the subject of comment from Campbell: 'The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and ankles is never washed' (287).

4. Müller, *FHG* 2.259.

5. James Walvin, *Victorian Values* (Cardinal, 1988), 120.

6. Cf. Richard Saller, *G&R* 27 (1980), 69 ff.

7. An edition of the *Erôtikos* by Frederick E. Brenk is forthcoming in the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics, Imperial Library series. Brenk has already considered the dialogue in *Illinois Classical Studies* 13 (1988), 457–71.

8. On widows and their reputation, see Walcot, *SO* 66 (1991), 5–26.

9. Not without interest to the student of Plutarch on sex and women is 'evidence' presented by Paul Ferris in his 'twentieth-century history', *Sex and the British* (London, 1993): 'A. Dennison Light, editor of *Health and Vim* magazine, and devoted to fitness – he said the best time to conceive a child was between eleven and twelve in the morning, when people felt at their best' (116); 'Sir Kingsley Amis was once quoted as saying, "The end of the urge to have sex is an enormous relief. Someone, I think it was Sophocles, said it was like being chained to a lunatic"' (172); 'As for the sexual guilt that pornography was supposed to assuage, Dr Sim said bleakly that "if you take guilt out of sex, you take guilt away from society, and I do not think society could function without guilt"' (233); and, 'Woody Allen observed that "sex shouldn't be dirty, but it is if you're doing it right"' (279). The reason why I quote Ferris is to stress that there is nothing outlandish or bizarre in the general Greek, or in Plutarch's personal, evaluation of sex.

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TRAGICAL DREAMER: SOME DREAMS IN THE ROMAN HISTORIANS

By CHRISTOPHER PELLING

There are many ways of classifying dreams.[1] This paper is concerned with only one, perhaps the most fundamental: one which also – we are told – captures the most important difference between modern and ancient dream-interpretation. Ancient audiences were primed to expect dreams to be prophetic, to come from outside and give knowledge, however ambiguously, of the future, or at least of the otherwise unknowable present. This sort of dream is hard to distinguish from the 'night-time vision', and indeed it is sometimes hard with dreams in ancient literature to tell whether the recipient is asleep or not.[2] For moderns, especially but not only Freudians, dreams come from within, and are interesting for what they tell us about the current psychology of the dreamer: for Freudians, the aspects of the repressed unconscious which fight to the surface; for most or all of us, the way in which dreams re-sort our daytime preoccupations, hopes, and fears. This distinction between ancient and modern was set out and elaborated a few years ago by Simon Price;[3] it was also drawn by Freud himself.[4] At the risk of oversimplification, we could say the first approach assimilates dreams to divination, the second to fantasy – with all the illumination that, as we increasingly realize, fantasy affords into the everyday world, as it juggles the normal patterns of waking reality at the same time as challenging them by their difference.[5]

One must not overstate this contrast between ancient and modern. Ancient theorists too stressed that dreams can reflect the dreamer's current physiological and psychological state: the 'Hippocratic' medical work *On Regimen* 4 is devoted to such interpretations. We might still be tempted to think that dreams in literature are not so *interesting* when they are of that sort. Thus time and again we find dreams which *we* naturally analyse as revealing or crystallizing pre-existent psychological states, but which the ancient dreamers themselves found interesting for the divine instruction which they unhesitatingly assumed: for instance, Jerome's dream of his Lord ordering a flagellation to terrorize him into reading the meagre scriptural fare instead of those seductively great classical

texts.[6] The point is clearest in the distinction Artemidorus draws between *enhupnia*, dreams which spring from the dreamer's current predicament, and *oneiroi*, prophetic dreams which come from outside: one needs to identify *enhupnia*, but only to discount them in order to concentrate on the more interesting *oneiroi*.[7] At one point Artemidorus is quoting from his own experience, describing how he was bemused by the case of two men who kept dreaming of oral sex. It was only when he realized that was what the men actually did, that they were persons of unclean mouth, that he stopped worrying.[8]

That picture works well for Artemidorus; perhaps it just about works in the novel too, rich as that genre is in suggestive dreams. Quite often we find novelistic dreams which *might*, at least at first sight, reflect the dreamer's pre-existent thoughts and preoccupations. When Chariton's Callirhoe is in despair before her final court-appearance, she dreams back to visiting the shrine of Aphrodite as a virgin and then to her wedding-day with Chaireas, and that dream of earlier happiness is not hard to relate to her predicament; when Heliodorus' Thyamis dreams of Isis presenting Charicleia to him, it is easy to interpret it as a reflex of his interest in the girl.[9] But in the novel it usually becomes clear that there is more to it, and the dreams' narratological interest depends on our uncertainties, more or less skilfully exploited, about the ways in which they are going to turn out prophetic and true. Perhaps only one dream per novel proves *simply* to reflect the dreamer's psychological state.[10]

In this paper I shall ask whether Artemidorus' picture works for the historians too, and whether historiographic dreams are also most interesting when prophetic. I shall argue that things change, and in a similar rhythm in both Greek and Latin historiography. At first dreams do matter most for their prophetic content, but by the Roman empire both Greek and Latin authors are finding the reflection of the dreamer's current psychology an interesting register as well. Indeed, the distinction itself may not always work: we are often left uncertain exactly what sort of a dream we are dealing with; and there are also cases where a dream is a bit of both, carrying an irreducible external element *and also* illuminating the pre-existing psychology of the dreamer.[11] We might compare the development within the nineteenth-century Gothic novel whereby the 'demonic' – often in variations, more or less clear, of the Faustian myth – was at first an invasive evil force 'from without'; but increasingly authors tended to treat such strangeness as originating within the tempted or agonized human soul, or at least to encourage their readers to toy with that reading.[12] It is also typical of the second, more

internalized 'demonic' – what Tzvetan Todarov calls the 'uncanny' as opposed to the 'marvellous'[13] – to trade in uncertainty: the strangeness of the 'demonic' sensation or temptation is clear, but its origin and character are far more difficult to pin down. Todarov indeed specifies such readerly hesitation as a 'condition' for the fantastic, and emphasizes those cases where the reader's hesitation maps on to a similar hesitation on the part of a character in the text.[14] We have already noted a parallel between modern dream-interpretation and fantasy, and the analogy may extend to ancient dreams as well.[15]

There is only room to graze the Greek material. In Herodotus, divinely-inspired dreams are indeed the thing. It is not that he or his readers could have thought that all dreams are prophetic: it is always open to doubt, as the wise Artabanus doubts, whether a dream is prophetic or not.[16] And even if a dream is sent from outside, there may also be a danger that it is false. Narrator and audience had both read their *Iliad* 2, where Zeus sends his famous false dream to Agamemnon. But the one thing a reader immediately knows about a historiographic dream is that it must have been significant in some way, significant enough to have made it into the historical record. The reader would naturally infer that it belonged to the more interesting class of prophetic dream; and this will normally mean a *true* prophetic dream – at least, if it is not to turn out true, we are entitled to expect some further explanation of a complex divine background. The reader is left in a position of strange superiority over the characters. He or she may understand their doubts, but will also know more than they do: by unspoken complicity with the narrator, the dream is indeed going to prove significant, and the only dubiety in the reader's mind centres on *how* it is going to turn out true.

By later antiquity, things have changed – at least some of the time. Plutarch has many dreams which are still clearly prophetic, *oneiroi* rather than *enhupnia*: the Vestal dreaming of her own death, Cicero's dream of a great young man, then next day seeing a lad with the same features, Octavian; and a host of others.[17] But there are also dreams that seem clearly *enhupnia*, and these too carry interpretative significance as they illuminate the dreamer's psyche: Marcellus so obsessed with fighting Hannibal in single combat that he dreams about it nightly; Theseus so niggled by Heracles' exploits that he cannot get them out of his dreams; Brutus not being able to get dreams of killing Caesar out of his head. In several of these cases it seems to be Plutarch himself who has introduced the dreams – an extreme case of his typical 'creative reconstruction'.[18]

There are also several cases when we may be uncertain about the dreams. Take the dream of Marius (*Mar.* 45.5), which Plutarch explicitly relates to his macabre psychological state just before his death: thinking of all the new dangers and troubles ahead, he fell into terrible night-terrors, with the recurrent dream of a voice which says 'a lion's lair is dread, even when the lion' – his enemy Sulla – 'is away'. Does that come from outside or from inside? We could ask the same question of the dream of Sulla himself as he approached his death (*Sulla* 37.3). As he said in his *Memoirs*, completed only two days before his death, he had already been told by the prophetic Chaldaeans that he would die at the peak of his prosperity: then he dreamed of his son who had predeceased him, inviting him to cease his toilsome thoughts, for he would now live happily with his late wife and son in a new world. From outside or from inside? It certainly seems to matter that Sulla is himself anticipating and accepting his own death, and the dream reinforces the narrative's impression of an insight – calmly acquiescent in Sulla's case, turbulent in Marius' – into an approaching death.[19] In such cases, perhaps we need to deconstruct the 'outside or inside' distinction. We should be used enough to dual levels of explanation in Greek literature, human and divine, to accept that such dreams can *both* be a point about the fixed pattern of the cosmos, revealing the future, *and* expose a pre-existing psychological state.[20] What is clear is that we no longer have to limit ourselves to the 'from outside', *oneiros* register for the dreams to be interesting.

Or take the dream of Caesar on the banks of the Rubicon. He is uncharacteristically hesitant, his thoughts are torn this way and that as he thinks how great an enterprise he is undertaking; then, with a sudden impulse, he says 'let the die be cast', and bursts on across the river. With an enigmatic lack of causal connective Plutarch goes on:

> It is also said that, the night before he crossed, he dreamed a monstrous dream. It seemed to him that he was lying with his own mother – the unspeakable union.
>
> (*Caesar* 32)

Plutarch cares about this dream. He has transposed it by a little matter of twenty years from the setting given it by Suetonius and Dio, during Caesar's quaestorship in Spain in 69 B.C.[21] He also makes it darker than Suetonius and Dio, who both make it propitious, encouraging Caesar on to great deeds on the grounds that the 'mother' stands for the earth, mother of all things.[22] One aspect of the new darkness is intertextual. This new setting will recall Hippias' similar dream on the eve of

Marathon (Herodotus 6.107), and how disastrously *that* worked out for the hapless dreamer. But Plutarch's language anyway emphasizes that the dream is 'monstrous', or more literally 'outside the ordinances of human experience' (*ekthesmon*), and the union 'unspeakable'.

We surely relate the dream to Caesar's hesitation: but how? That lack of explicit causal connection leaves it an open question – just 'it is also said that . . .' Does Caesar's uncharacteristic lack of resolve spring from a godsent dream – would he have been as confident as ever if the dream had not come? Or, given that so many other Plutarchan dreams come from within, does the dream come from Caesar's inner worries, is it that he himself sees this as the monstrous significance of what he is doing? It may even be that the dream is to be taken as cementing the final resolve rather than the initial dubiety, as Brenk suggested.[23] The texture is beautifully uncertain: just as elsewhere in the pair *Alexander-Caesar* we are left uncertain what concern the divine is really showing for Alexander and Caesar – is Alexander really of divine parentage, or is it all a sham or a self-deception? Are Calpurnia's dreams really significant enough to delay the senate on the Ides of March? Here too it is important to our response that this might be an *enhupnion* instead of, or as well as, an *oneiros*. We are left as uncertain about its significance as Caesar himself must have been.[24] That is a particularly skilful way of placing us in his shoes.

And so to Rome. From very early, dreams were features of Roman historiography: they were included by Fabius Pictor, Gellius, and Coelius Antipater.[25] And from early, they were disputed. The Sullan historian Sisenna claimed that dreams were untrustworthy, hitting perhaps at his predecessor Coelius, perhaps at Sulla himself, who included many dreams in his Memoirs.[26] So Roman dreams are a site for contestation even before we reach Livy; and here we might also remember Cicero's *De Divinatione*, whose first book supports and second book attacks dreams along with other modes of divination. One item of agreement in a mid-eighties flurry of scholarly activity on *De Divinatione* was that, whatever the views of Cicero the man, the authorial persona does not unequivocally endorse either side, and this is a text of exploration, investigating and establishing the terms of the discourse;[27] a site for contestation, once again.

Livy himself is (characteristically, as we can now see from David Levene's treatment of other supernatural phenomena[28]) two-voiced on dreams. Sometimes he is sceptical, as when he treats Scipio Africanus'

shrewdly judged night-time visions.[29] But sometimes he does have the full-dress prophetic dream.There is the dream shared by both consuls that one army will lose a commander and the other a battle (8.6.9–16): that leads to the religious self-sacrifice (*devotio*) of P. Decius Mus (8.9). Then there is the dream of Hannibal, which we can compare with Livy's source Coelius Antipater, at least as Cicero quotes him. First Coelius (fr. 11 P. = Cic. *Div.* 1.49):

> The following too is found in the Greek history of Silenus, whom Coelius follows and who gave a most thorough narrative of Hannibal's career. Hannibal (he says), after taking Saguntum, dreamed that he was being called by Jupiter into a council of the gods; when he arrived, Jupiter ordered him to invade Italy, and gave him one of the assembly as his guide. He had begun the march, together with his army, under the guide's leadership; then that guide told him not to look behind him. He could not carry that through, and, borne away by desire, he had turned to look back: and he saw a vast, monstrous wild beast, twined around with snakes, destroying all the trees and shrubs and buildings wherever it went. Staggered, he had asked the god what such a monstrous thing could be. 'The devastation of Italy,' answered the god: 'go onwards, and do not worry about what is happening behind your back.'

Then Livy (21.22):

> There (on the banks of the Ebro), so the story runs, during the night a young man appeared to Hannibal, godlike in appearance. He came to say that he had been sent by Jupiter to guide Hannibal to Italy: so Hannibal should follow, and keep his eyes fixed upon him. Hannibal followed, at first nervously, without looking around him or behind him. But then a natural curiosity came upon him: what could be this thing which he was forbidden to look back on? He could not resist turning his eyes. And he saw behind him a snake of wondrous size, gliding onwards, and in its path a dreadful destruction of trees and bushes; behind the snake loomed a cloud, with a great crash of thunder. What could this massive thing be, he asked: what sort of sign was this? This was the devastation of Italy, he was told. He must continue onwards; he must ask no more questions; he should allow destiny to remain in darkness.
>
> Delighted at that dream, he proceeded to cross the Ebro . . .

Livy's first alteration of Coelius is the biggest: Coelius had Hannibal dreaming that he was summoned by Jupiter to a council of the gods, and ordered to invade Italy: only then was he given his guide. For Livy there is no question of Jupiter ordaining the war: that was decided on the human level, and Jupiter provides only the guide. Then it is Livy who specifies the river Ebro: Coelius has only 'after taking Saguntum'. Rivers, crucial things to cross, are evidently an ideal setting for portentous dreams: remember the Rubicon. Then Coelius has a wild beast enveloped by snakes, a Medusa figure: Livy has just the snake (so much better for causing ground devastation). Coelius too has no

following cloud or thunder, at least as Cicero quotes him. Nor does Cicero's Coelius have the final ominous 'he should allow destiny to remain in darkness', only a blander 'do not worry about what is happening behind your back'.

Levene argues that there is nothing negative in Livy's dream itself: it simply portends success, and Hannibal is thus far right to be 'delighted' – even though the reader again knows better than the participant, and notices that the dream has not promised ultimate triumph.[30] I am not so sure: perhaps we do also feel that Hannibal is missing something in the dream's signification, is over-sanguine in his pleased response. There is the looking around, with its hints of Orpheus (which is not to say that the final defeat will be a *punishment* for such a dreamed act of disobedience, only that this introduces a note that all will not be well).[31] There is that ominous 'allow destiny to remain in darkness'. And there is the wider narrative strategy of Book 21, whereby the formidable monstrousness of Hannibal portends both his initial successes (the formidable aspect) and his ultimate failure (the moral monstrousness). There need be no cosmic religious scheme here, only the artistic exploitation of moral sensibility familiar to anyone who has watched a war-film about Dunkirk. But if ultimate failure is already in our minds, we may be all the readier to sense a further hint of it here.

It remains uncertain how far we should relate the details of the vision to the later narrative. The devastation of Italy is explicitly presaged, of course: but is there also a hint of the later turning of the tables, as Rome emerges triumphant? Is it significant that Scipio Africanus, the ultimate victor, has his own snake-connections (26.19.7)? Or that devastation will later threaten Carthage as well as Italy (28.44.4, 29.29.3, 29.32.14)? Perhaps it is – but one must admit that this is only lightly stressed in the narrative itself. What would be aesthetically pleasing would be for the devastation to begin as an obedient follower and end as a relentless pursuer, causing Hannibal himself the same problems as it initially caused the Romans. That would give a real double edge. I wonder if there was something of that in Coelius or in the ultimate source Silenus; but it is hard to argue that this is a dominant theme in Livy. Still, at least we should note that it is Livy who introduces the double following, first the snake and then (not in Coelius/Cicero) the storm: and it is left uncertain who will be threatened by the storm. That may be one of the questions Hannibal is forbidden to ask.

The reader is invited to speculate on such things; but, speculation apart, the important point here is that the prophetic element is

irreducible. The interest in Hannibal's psychology focuses on his oversanguine reaction: he is simply 'delighted'. So psychology matters, but not in the sense that it may be generating the dream as well as reacting to it. This is sill an *oneiros*, not an *enhupnion*. We are in a world like that of Herodotus, not that of Plutarch's Caesar at the Rubicon.

Nor is this the world of Tacitus: but first a detour into the neighbouring genre of epic. Lucan's account of the battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.) is flanked by two dreams. The first is that of Pompey at 7.7–28, the dream of his sitting in serene triumph in his own theatre back in peacetime.

> On the night before the battle, the last happy hours that Pompey was fated to spend, he dreamed a pleasant but deceitful dream. He was in Rome, seated in the theatre which he had himself built, and heard his name enthusiastically shouted from every tier by an immense throng of fellow-citizens. It must have been the time of his first[32] triumph, many years previously, when he was still young and fresh from conquering the Spanish tribes on the Ebro: he had defeated in turn all the guerrilla forces which Sertorius, the Marian leader, brought against him. Order was now restored throughout the West and, though only a knight, he sat listening to the plaudits of Roman senators. His white peacetime robe exacted no less reverence than the embroidered robe of purple had done when he rode in the triumphal chariot.
>
> It makes no odds whether this dream came as an escape from the anxious apprehension that his run of victories had ended [lit.: Whether it was that his mind, anxious and concerned now that his good days were over, fled back to the times of happiness. . .]; or whether it was one more example of dream-contraries, the foretelling [lit.: his rest prophesied . . .] of sorrows under the guise of joys; or whether the Goddess Fortune, knowing that he would never again see Italy in waking life, granted him this delightful vision of home as a last favour. The sentries and trumpeters did well not to disturb him; his next night would be haunted by unhappy recollections of the day's fighting – nothing but war and war . . .
>
> (tr. Robert Graves)

When discussing Plutarch I suggested that the dream's nature was doubtful: here the doubtfulness becomes explicit. Perhaps this dream comes from outside, as in the last of Lucan's three possibilities ('the Goddess Fortune') and probably in the second ('dream-contraries'), though Lucan's language leaves open the possibility that Pompey's own sleepy consciousness generated this premonition ('his rest prophesied . . .'); or it may come from within, as in the first possibility, with his anxious mind rushing back to the happy days of old. Whatever it is, *enhupnion* or *oneiros* or both, it adds to the pathos of the doomed great man, and also to the macabre, defeatist atmosphere in which Pompey goes to battle.

'His next night' – in Latin, *crastina dira quies*, and we shall have reason to remember that phrase – may indeed be haunted by unhappy visions;

and not his alone. The same is true of the victors, as we find at the end of the book (7.760–84).

> That night . . . turf beds prepared for patricians were occupied by bloodstained plebeians; couches spread for kings, by roughs from the ranks; and some men lay down where their murdered fathers or brothers had last slept.
>
> Frantic nightmares haunted their sleep: all were obsessed with the wicked and cruel fighting in which they had taken part, their hands twitched ceaselessly as though still grasping swords. I am ready to believe that groans arose from the battlefield, that a miasma of death choked them, and that the ghosts of their enemies assembled to corrupt and darken the night air with Stygian terrors. Victory had demanded divine retribution [no 'divine] in the Latin]; no one could sleep soundly for the torches swung by the Furies and the hissing of snakes upon their heads [lit.: sleep brings upon them . . .']. Each man was haunted by a different ghost [lit.: each man is oppressed by the image of his own terror . . .], sometimes old, sometimes young, perhaps his brother, perhaps his father – but a whole spirit army crowded around Caesar's bed. He suffered as Orestes the Argive suffered from his mother's Furies (until purified by his sister Iphigeneia, priestess of Taurian Artemis), and his mind was no less disturbed that that of Pentheus king of Thebes, when Bacchus drove him mad, or than his mother Agave, when she came to her senses and found that she had torn him in pieces. All the swords drawn at Pharsalus, all the daggers that would be drawn in the Senate House when the day of vengeance dawned, were pointed that night at Caesar's heart, and the monstrous Furies scourged him without remorse. Yet he escaped the full punishment [lit.: how great the punishment meted out to him by his guilty mind . . .] because, while this horde of ghosts was invading his sleep, Pompey continued alive.
>
> ('translated' by Graves)

From without or within? In this case the inadequacy of the question is clear. This is *both*. Initially the dreams seem to come from the dreamers' bad consciences ('all were obsessed with the wicked and cruel fighting in which they had taken part . . .'); then the ghosts, the *animae* and the *manes*, come to seem more than figurative; yet still 'each man's terror' and Caesar's own 'guilty mind' remain important, in Lucan if not in Graves. With the first dream of the book, Lucan could separate out the interpretative possibilities; by now the swirling confusion of tortured psychology has moved beyond such neat divisions. With Plutarch we were tentative: *perhaps*, we said, a dream can both be external and reflect a pre-existing psychological state. Here we can drop the tentativeness.

And Tacitus? He does have one or two prophetic dreams, but one way or another they tend to be distanced from his central field of vision. The cult of Persian Hercules on Mt. Sanbulos features night-time appearances of the god (*Ann.* 12.13.3); 'they say' that Ptolemy founded the temple of Serapis after a dream (*Hist.* 4.83); but in each case we are dealing with peoples who live a long way away, of whom we know very

little. Even the day-time prophetic vision of Curtius Rufus is again in a distant land (*Ann.* 11.21, cf. Plin. *Ep.* 7.27).

When we are dealing with the élite and the court, the world seems rather different. One striking instance comes at the beginning of Book 16, the strange dream of Caesellius Bassus[33] – still distanced, as this man is a Carthaginian (more on this in a moment). He dreams of a great cave, filled with gold ingots: he sails to Rome, tells his story, adds a conjecture[34] that this is Dido's treasure, buried a thousand years before – and immediately there is a frantic response at Rome. Nero sends off representatives to collect the treasure, as if it were all absolutely certain: nor is it just Nero, for there is a frenzied increase in expenditure, with people counting on this new wealth. Eventually Caesellius, protesting that his dreams had never been false before, takes his own life.

This is not the first time that interest has fallen on the response to a dream: we remember the over-sanguine Hannibal. But the differences are clear. Here the dream is clearly false, and comes from within: Caesellius is batty, 'a man of disturbed mind' (*mente turbida*). The idea of Dido's treasure is not even part of the dream, but his own guesswork. And yet the impact is extraordinary. It is not where the dream comes from which matters, it is how it affects others.[35] This frenzied vision maps so perfectly on to the susceptibilities of the public, their preoccupation with wealth and luxury, easy money and easy living. Emperor and public are, as so often, playing the same game, they deserve one another; both are fertile ground for such battiness. Earlier dreams were important because they were true; now they are important because they are fantasy, but this fantasy is itself a historical point, sketching the nervy, unreal atmosphere of the court. And the contrast with the Pisonian conspiracy, immediately preceding at the end of Book 15, is suggestive. There too princeps and people did not know quite what to believe, clutched gullibly at straws. But there it was all much bloodier. No wonder escapism meshes with the mood of the age. There is a lot to escape from.

We noticed how many of Tacitus' dreams are distanced from our main view. Here too we begin not in Rome but in Carthage: Carthage, Rome's traditional enemy, in historiographical tradition the great military threat which kept Rome morally upright for so long. Now Carthage is the site, not of formidable military power, but of empty tomfoolery. Yet it can still infect Rome with something of its own character. Once again, dreams are made historically telling.

Two more dreams should be taken closely together. The first is the

dream of Caecina at *Annals* 1.65, when Caecina is being pressed by Arminius and the danger of re-enacting Varus' disaster is all too clear.

> Many things disturbed the night: the barbarians filled the depressed valleys and echoing glades with the sound of their celebratory feasting, their gleeful singing, their murderous roars. On the Roman side there were failing fires and broken words, and the men themselves everywhere lying by the rampart, wandering aimlessly around the tents, sleepless rather than watchful. The general himself was terrified by a dreadful vision in his sleep. It was the sight of Quintilius Varus smeared with blood and rising from the marsh: he thought he heard Varus calling him, and he refused to follow and pushed his outstretched hand away.
>
> (Tacitus, *Annals* 1.65)

'A dreadful vision': the Latin is *dira quies*, the same phrase as Lucan uses of the dreaming Pompey at Pharsalus. Here, from outside or from inside? The intertextuality with the Lucan passage may encourage us to ask. That was not merely a dream accompanying a day of decisive slaughter, but also a context where Lucan explicitly wondered whether Pompey's dreaming was self-generated or not. Here it is clear that we *can* make it self-generated if we choose. It is precisely the sort of dream which a man in terrifying danger might have: it has been stressed how much Varus is in everyone's minds.[36] But, though we can take it that way, the narrative leaves it unclear. Instead it hurries on to the fraught action of the next day, and then finally the escape the day after that. Eventually this dream too, like Lucan's, proved false.

The second of these dreams comes a year later, just before the final encounters between Germanicus and Arminius. Germanicus has just done his Henry-V-before-Agincourt incognito tour of the troops, hearing everyone say what a lovely boy he is; and an arrogant German shout has just primed everyone for action. They are spoiling for the fight.

> The same night brought a happy rest to Germanicus. He dreamed that he had just sacrificed, and his toga was spattered with holy blood; and he accepted another, finer one from the hands of his grandmother Augusta. He was strengthened (*auctus*) by the omen, and the auspices were also good: so he called the troops together . . .
>
> (Tacitus, *Annals* 2.14.1)

'A happy rest', *laetam quietem*: *quies* is not the most natural word to use in this sort of context (Goodyear has a lavish note deciding whether it can mean 'dream' or not[37]), but it aids the linkage between this and Caecina's earlier *dira quies*. The first dream presaged a dark crisis; this now presages the greatest success. The first was threatening; this one is taken by Germanicus to be wholly propitious. Even the detail fits: might

not that initial sacrifice and spattered blood point to the earlier reverses and losses, and suggest that they indeed constituted a 'sacrifice', playing an ordered part in the wider scheme of things by preparing for this 'finer' future?

What, though, do we make of the presence of Augusta? She is clearly crucial to the dream's interpretation: the verbal play *Augusta . . . auctus*, playing on the idea of 'increasing' or 'strengthening' inherent in her title, suggests as much. Yet Tacitus uses Livia Augusta very sparingly, and normally with a hint of the sinister. If even she is propitious, then Germanicus can indeed feel relieved: when Germanicus was first introduced, almost the first point was his 'nervousness at the unspoken hatreds of his uncle and his grandmother, hatreds whose causes were the more acute for being unjust' (1.33.1). But how propitious is she now, really? The Varus dream turned out false; how much of the truth will be captured by this its counterpart? We already know that Tiberius is plotting to remove Germanicus from his devoted legions and expose him to new challenges and dangers in the East, *ut . . . dolo simul et casibus obiectaret* (2.5.1). By a bold structural stroke, the first five chapters of Book 2 had established that looming plot, then left it hanging in the air as the backdrop to the German successes. And, when Germanicus does reach the East, Livia will play a role too, priming her crony Plancina to oppose the enemy Agrippina.[38] The dream may well be propitious – for the moment; but the mention of Augusta is enough to make the reader wonder whether there is not more to it, whether any goodwill from this sinister figure can be any more than transient. Admittedly, any thoughts along these lines should only be tentative. But still Germanicus' uncomplicated delight at the omen may not capture everything the reader captures – rather like Livy's Hannibal, once again.

From without or within? We may well ask, especially if we asked the same question about Caecina. But if we do, it is hard to be confident either way. If it comes from outside, then it provides divination parallel to that of the *auspicia* of the next sentence. But perhaps there is again more to it, here as with Caecina, especially given the interest in psychology and morale in the surrounding narrative. If so, the conclusions we draw for Germanicus' pre-existent mentality would fit well with impressions given elsewhere: perhaps the anxiety we saw at his introduction at 1.33, for here at a critical moment the question of Augusta's goodwill comes to his mind first: even more, the naïveté and the unworldliness, if the reader is sharper than Germanicus to realize that this dream leaves a good deal about Livia unsaid.[39] But the most

important point is the lack of narrative clarity on all these questions. We do not even know what *sort of* conclusions to draw, about the cosmos or Germanicus' psychology or both. This is as riddling to the reader as it would have been to the dreamer himself.

We began with a comparison with the Gothic novel; we may conclude with a parallel closer to home, Virgil's *Aeneid*. Take Dido's great dream at *Aeneid* 4.464–73.

> She kept remembering the predictions of ancient prophets that terrified her with their dreadful warnings, and as she slept Aeneas himself would drive her relentlessly in her madness, and she was always alone and desolate, always going on a long road without companions, looking for her Tyrians in an empty land. She would be like Pentheus in his frenzy when he was seeing columns of Furies and a double sun and two cities of Thebes; or like Orestes, son of Agamemnon, driven in flight across the stage by his own mother armed with her torches and black snakes, while the avenging Furies sat at the door.
>
> (trans. David West)

'From within', one would think, at least in large part: this is generated by Dido's own torment, what she is 'remembering', the thoughts of her husband, of what she has done and what Aeneas has done.[40] Still, this dream also mirrors that early dream of Sychaeus which came to Dido at 1.353–59, revealing his own death, the dangers, and the buried treasure. That dream came, at least predominantly, from outside, conveying information which Dido could not have possessed; yet the mirroring effect here encourages us to take the two dreams closely together.

The difference in their texture remains important, and we might well relate this to a wider pattern of the *Aeneid*, whereby the supernatural at first works in a more external and objectified way – the gods destroying Troy, Juno's storm, the Harpies, Hector appearing in a similar 'from outside' way to the sleeping Aeneas. Then as the poem progresses the real challenges focus increasingly on internal human psychology. By the end of Book 3 Scylla and Charybdis are felt as rather routine a threat, less chilling than in their Homeric prototype, whereas the real struggle will come 'from within' the tormented minds of Dido and Aeneas. Supernatural powers are still of course active, and the way in which outside and inside interact will often be elusive: we need only think of Allecto and Turnus in 7.406–74. But the internal register comes to be more insistent.

One way of putting the suggestions of this paper would be to claim a similar progression within the history of historiography, which first, with Herodotus in Greek or with Livy in Latin, focuses on dreams which

reveal something objective about the cosmos: the interest in psychology there lies largely in the dreamers' response to these more objectified, 'from outside', dreams. But later the focus shifts to the humans, and the psychology plays a part – but often an uncertain and enigmatic part – in generating as well as in responding to those dreams: and this too is historically illuminating, capturing the nervous fantasy of a Neronian court or the shaken resolve of a Julius Caesar.

A further conclusion concerns the role of the reader. I initially talked of the Herodotean reader's 'superiority' to the characters of his narrative: even if the prophetic significance of dreams could be doubted in real life, the reader is in no doubt that they will be significant *here*. With Plutarch and Tacitus the readers' position is different. Readers still know that the dream is significant: dreams interact with other aspects to conjure an appropriate atmosphere, confident, defeatist, or simply macabre. But time and again we have found ourselves uncertain exactly how the dream is working, whether it generates the depression or the confidence or whether it is generated by them. The reader has no more insight than the dreamer.

Duris of Samos criticized Ephorus and Theopompus for their deficient *mimesis* (*FGrH* 76 fr. 1). He must have meant that they failed to instil in the reader an appropriate literary equivalent of the emotions which the original participants could have felt. Duris was thinking above all of questions of stylistic propriety,[41] but we can draw analogies in content as well. If there is anything in the argument of this paper, the reader of historical dreams is repeatedly cast back into the events to feel something of the perplexity which afflicted the original actors, as they puzzled what to make of their night-time oddities. This is high-level *mimesis* indeed.[42]

NOTES

1. On ancient systems of dream-classification and the difficulty of reconciling one system with another, see now esp. Patricia Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton, 1994), 14–124, particularly 39–73, 77–91; also A. H. M. Kessels, *Mnem.* 4.22 (1969), 389–424, and E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, etc, 1951), 102–34.

2. For instance with the night-terrors of Aristomenes at Apul. *Met.* 1.11–14, where the uncertainty whether or not this is a dream contributes to a wider narrative play between reality and unreality. For similar uncertainties cf. E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im Alten Testament* (Basel, 1953), 8–12; J. S. Hanson, *ANRW* ii.23.2 (1980), 1407–9; and Cox Miller (n. 1), 133, 206, writing of 'a dubious twilight'.

3. S. R. F. Price, in *Before Sexuality: the Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (ed. D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler, and F. I. Zeitlin, Princeton, 1990), 365–87.

4. E.g. *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900: tr. and ed. J. Strachey, Harmondsworth, 1976, 59–

61, 170); 'Five Lectures on Psycho-analysis', in *Two Short Accounts of Psycho-analysis* (Harmondsworth, 1962: first published 1910), 61.

5. For this approach, cf.esp. Rosemary Jackson, *Fantasy: the Literature of Subversion* (London, 1988: first published 1981); Ceri Sullivan and Barbara White (edd.), *Writing and Fantasy* (London, forthcoming); and in an ancient context Cox Miller (n. 1). On the relation between dreaming, daydreaming, fantasy, and phantasy, see more fully H. Segal, *Dream, Phantasy, and Art* (London and New York, 1991), esp. 16–17, 30, 64–5.

6. Jerome, *Ep* 22.30.2–5, productively analysed by Cox Miller (n. 1), 210–31 as crystallizing Jerome's own unease (she speaks of the dream as 'detective of the heart's secret'); she brings out the way in which erotic imagery there illuminates a particular ascetic mode of figuring the human body.

7. On Artemidorus' distinction and the use he makes of it see Price (n. 3), esp. 371–2; J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (New York and London, 1990), 17–44; G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1994), 77–98; Cox Miller (n. 1), 77–91.

8. Artemidorus 4.59: cf. Price (n. 3), 374; Winkler (n. 7), 29, 38.

9. Chariton, *Callirhoe* 5.5.5, and Heliodorus, *Aethopica* 1.18.3–4; both passages are discussed by S. MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides: the Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1996), 34–6 and 78–81.

10. Thus MacAlister (n. 9), 71–3, in the course of a most illuminating discussion of the novelists' technique. Bowersock (n. 7) would put the figure much higher, but takes an uncomfortably reductionist view of the dreams' narratological function.

11. That may also be true of some of the novelistic dreams, such as those mentioned in n. 9: if we initially suspected that a dream might reflect the dreamer's state, that suspicion may be supplemented rather than displaced by increasing clarity about its prophetic quality.

12. On this 'progressive internalization of the demonic' see e.g. Jackson (n. 5), esp. 53–60; then the second half of her book is largely devoted to charting this process through individual authors. Addicts of an adjacent genre may also think of Obi-Wan Kenobi's words to Luke Skywalker in *Star Wars* (1977), 'A young Jedi knight by the name of Darth Vader . . . betrayed and killed your father'; by the end of *Return of the Jedi* (1983) we have grasped that Darth Vader *is* Luke's father, and the destruction was internal.

13. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: a Structural Approach to a Literary Genre* (tr. R. Howard, London 1973), esp. 41–57: cf. Jackson (n. 5), 24–32.

14. Todorov (n. 13), esp. 24–34, 76.

15. Above, p. 197. I pursue this question of focalization further in an article on 'Modern Fantasy and Ancient Dreams' in Sullivan and White (n. 5): cf. also n. 42 below.

16. So, rightly, S. R. West, *CQ* 37 (1987), 264. At Herodotus 7.16β.2 Artabanus suggests that dreams can simply reflect what one thinks about during the day. That idea was clearly familiar enough for Aeschylus' disingenuous Clytemnestra to make use of it at *Agamemnon* 892–4: she has been so agitated for Agamemnon's safety that she has dreamed about his imagined wounds – so she says. On Herodotean dreams in general, cf. P. Frisch, *Die Träume bei Herodot* (Meisenheim, 1968), with the scathing review of W. Marg, *Gnomon* 42 (1970), 515–7; I discuss Artabanus' scepticism in my paper in Sullivan and White (n. 15), and another pair of prophetic dreams, those of Astyages at 1.107–8, in *CQ* 46 (1996), 68–77.

17. Vestal dreaming of her own killing: *Rom.* 2.5. Cicero dreaming of young Octavian: *Cic.* 44.3–4. Host of others: e.g. Themistocles' elaborate dream of safety, *Them.* 26.3; Pyrrhus dreams of Sparta blasted by a thunderbolt, *Pyrrh.* 29.1–4; other interesting cases at *Per.* 3.3, *Cimon* 6.5 ~ 18.2–3, *Pomp.* 32.6, *Alex.* 18.6–8 and 41.5 (the last not exactly prophetic, but revealing unknown facts). On Plutarchan dreams in general see the discussions by F. Brenk in *Lat.* 34 (1975), 336–49, and *In Mist Apparelled* (*Mnem.* Supp. 48, 1977), 214–36; for creative reconstruction, Pelling in *Antonine Literature* (ed. D. A. Russell, Oxford, 1990), 19–52.

18. *Marc.* 28.4–5 (nothing on dreaming in the parallel account in Livy); *Thes.* 6.9 (no dreaming in the nearest parallels, Isoc. 10.23 and D. S. 4.59.1); *Brut.* 13.2 (does this then tie into the *Life*'s later discussion about visions and phantoms at 37.4?).

19. But there is more to the contrast than this: I discuss it more fully in Sullivan and White (nn. 5, 15).

20. As Brenk (n. 17) argued for such cases as Mithradates' dream at *Pomp.* 32, where the dream can illustrate the dreamer's anxiety as well as the irreducibly 'from outside' new information, and

Demetr. 19, Medius' dream of Antigonus' steadily diminishing success: 'The dream illustrates the curious characteristics of anxiety, prediction, and vision of the future which we find in so many dreams of the *Lives*' (*In Mist Apparelled*, 222). Hanson (n. 2), 1407, 1419 gives some other instances where a dream is particularly suited to the dreamer's preoccupations; in several the dreamer is also given otherwise unknowable information.

21. Suet. *Div. Iul.* 7.2 and Dio 37.52.2.

22. That emphasis might seem odd to us, but for Artemidorus too (1.79) dreams of mother-intercourse are a good sign for politicians and office-holders: this is because the mother signifies the native land, and in the dream is figured as obedient and willing. Artemidorus finds mother-intercourse dreams particularly complex to interpret, and variations of sexual position carry vast differences of signification. Cf. Winkler (n. 7), 37–8, 42; Bowersock (n. 7), 83–5.

23. Brenk (n. 17), *Lat.* 34 (1975), 346 = *In Mist Apparelled* 226.

24. Compare Dostoevsky's reaction to Pushkin's *Queen of Spades*: (cit. Jackson (n. 5), 27): 'You believe that Herman really had a vision . . . however, at the end of the story, i.e. when you have read it through, *you cannot make up your mind*. Did the vision come out of Herman's nature or was he really one of those who are in contact with another world, one of the evil spirits hostile to mankind?' That uncertainty is important to Dostoevsky's admiration of the work as 'a masterpiece of fantastic art'.

25. Fabius Pictor had a dream of Aeneas, apparently prophesying everything that happened to him: Cic. *Div.* 1. 43 = fr. 3 P., cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.55 = fr. 15 P. Then Coelius had dreams of Hannibal (Cic. *Div.* 1.49 - fr. 11 P.), Latinius (Cic. *Div.* 1.55 = fr. 49 P.), and C. Gracchus (Cic. *Div.* 1. 56 = fr. 50 P.); Gellius of Latinius (Cic. *Div.* 1.55 = fr. 21 P.).

26. Cf. Cic. *de Div.* 1.99 = fr. 5 P. (Cicero's 'Quintus' is indignant at Sisenna's line): discussed by E. Rawson, *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford, 1991), 381–2 (= *CQ* 29 (1979), 341). For the last of Sulla's dreams, see above, p. 200.

27. →: M. Beard, *JRS* 76 (1986), 33-→; M. Schofield, *JRS* 76 (1986), 47–65; N. C. Denyer, *PCPS* 211 (1985), 1–10.

28. D. S. Levene, *Religion in Livy* (Leiden, New York, and Köln, 1993).

29. 26.19.4, neatly and doubly picked up in his speech at 26.41.18–9.

30. Levene (n. 28), 45–7, relating the dream to Hannibal's recent piety at Gades (21.21.9).

31. Cf. W. Herrmann, *Die Historien des Coelius Antipater* (Meisenheim, 1979), 73–86, though he is inclined to make the outcome a punishment for that disobedience.

32. Graves in fact has 'last', but his footnote shows that he meant to print 'first' (Lucan's *primi*). Pompey's first triumph was in fact over the Numidians in 81 B.C., some time before he went to Spain in the seventies; and his theatre was not built till the late fifties in any case. But dreaming is like that.

33. The following two paragraphs abbreviate a discussion in my paper in Sullivan and White (nn. 5, 15).

34. The touch is delicious: this is only conjecture – as if the first part of his report, the dream itself, were somehow solid fact. The text is here doubtful, though the point is clear enough. Professor Woodman puts to me that we should read *ut coniectura demonstrat*, and regard this as part of the indirect speech. Thus Caesellius Bassus is made to explain 'this is Dido's treasure, as conjecture makes clear . . . '.

35. Notice also *Ann.* 11.4, one of the hapless Petra brothers suffers for having a dream ill-omened to Claudius; 2.27.2, Libo Drusus consults *somniorum interpretes*. In neither case are we encouraged to think the dreams are truly prophetic; if emperor and/or alleged dissident takes them seriously, the significant point is again that response, this impact on others rather than any truth in the dreams themselves.

36. The near re-enactment here of Varus' disaster is most suggestive: cf. e.g. A. J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography* (London and Sydney, 1988), 174. Arminius too cries that this is a second Varus delivered into his hands, 1.65.4. Tacitus may have finessed the detail of Varus' camp to bring it into closer contact with Caecina's: so Pelling (n. 17), 49 and n. 83.

37. F. R. D. Goodyear, *The Annals of Tacitus* ii (Cambridge, 1981) on 1.65.2. He regards the parallel at Lucan 7.26, discussed above, as crucial.

38. 2.43, 77, 82: then she and Tiberius do not go into public when the ashes of Germanicus return, something which made Tacitus most suspicious and inquisitive (3.2); at 3.15 and 3.17 Livia begs off Plancina (cf. 6.26). For Livia's continuing feud with Agrippina, cf. then 4.12.

39. I have discussed this unworldliness of Germanicus' characterization in *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition* (ed. T. J. Luce and A. J. Woodman, Princeton, 1993), 59–85.

40. Apollonius' Medea was so entranced by Jason's beauty that his image stayed in her mind in dreams and day-dreams, *Argon.* 3.442–58: again, 'from within'. The *Argonautica* is so important an intertextual referent for *Aeneid* 4 that the contrast of the two women's obsessions, in affairs which are by now so very different, adds a further dimension here.

41. → V. J. Gray, *AJP* 108 (1987), 467–86.

42. But that is not to say that the *mimesis* is carried through crudely, by having the reader's bemusement map simply or straightforwardly on to the dreamer's own experience: the reader's role is not (in Todorov's phrase) 'entrusted to' a character in this way (Todorov (n. 13), 33). Our writers are subtler than that: this is sharing of perceived experience, not of the perception itself. The relation of reader's dubiety and character's dubiety is in fact most complex and shifting. I discuss this more fully in Sullivan and White (nn. 5, 15). – This paper was first delivered to the Classical Association in Nottingham in April 1996, then in Lampeter in November 1996 and in Groningen in March 1997; I am grateful to all three audiences for lively discussion, and to Professor Tony Woodman for enlightening me on several aspects of the Tacitean passages.

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EROTIC DREAMS AND NIGHTMARES FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT*

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The history of erotic dreams, nightmares, and erotic nightmares offers a valuable opportunity to study how such dreams tested Western ideas about the self, desire, and self-control. Like Foucault, I find it more productive to analyse these dreams, and the struggles to introject them, as sites of self-making rather than of repression. Erotic dreams and nightmares have been inflected by various historical strategies of self-making, themselves produced by different regimes of knowledge such as Christian asceticism, medicine, or philosophy. Erotic nightmares still proliferate today in reports of alien abductions. A reason for this historical tenacity has been the ease with which the affective sensations of the erotic nightmare – terror and sexual arousal – have jumped between genres as various as monastic handbooks, medieval folk-tales, gothic fiction, and personal dreams. This study demonstrates the importance of historical perspective for the ability to identify and understand culturally elaborated ('culture-bound') syndromes.

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living (*Die Tradition aller toten Geschlechter lastet wie ein Alp auf dem Gehirne der Lebenden*).
>
> Marx, *The eighteenth brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

Erotic dreams have raised perennial questions about the boundaries of the self and the individual's ability to control and produce this self. Do erotic dreams result from divine intercession, an immoral life, or recent memories? Are they products of the self for which the individual dreamer may be held responsible? Or are they determined by a *force majeure* such as original sin, or human physiology?

The answers that various societies supply to these questions no doubt condition the ways in which people in different cultures and historical periods react to their experiences of erotic dreams. The Hadza of northern Tanzania publicly marked a boy's first nocturnal emission by decorating him with beads in exactly the same way as they decorated a girl with beads at the time of her first menstruation. Both occasions were unequivocally positive and celebratory (Woodburn, pers. comm.; see also Woodburn 1964: 269, 303, table 19, ill. 14). By contrast, the monks addressed in the fifth-century CE writings of John Cassian were instructed that:

* Malinowski Memorial Lecture, 1998

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> It [an emission] is a sign of some sickness hidden inside, something hidden in the inmost fibres of the soul, something that night-time has not produced anew but rather has brought to the surface of the skin by means of sleep's restorative powers. It [night-time] exposes the hidden fibres of the agitations that we have collected by feasting on harmful thoughts all day long (Cassian, *Institutions*, 6.11, trans. in Brakke 1995).

Granted the value or danger accorded to erotic dreams in different societies, it is not surprising that vastly different practical techniques have been formulated cross-culturally to cultivate intended results. In order to fend off erotic dreams Graeco-Roman doctors variously recommended sleeping on one's side, excluding warming foods from one's diet, sleeping with a lead plate in contact with one's testicles, or having intercourse in the dark so as to avoid mentally registering lust-provoking visual images that could later recur during sleep (Foucault 1986: 137ff.). By contrast, among the Umeda of Papua New Guinea a hunter intentionally slept on a net-bag scented with magic pig-hunting perfume (*oktesap*) in hopes of receiving the erotic dream that presaged a successful hunting expedition. Such erotic dreams held out the promise of real sexual consummation, which often followed after a kill was made (Gell 1977: 33).

Just how, and how successfully, such culturally prescribed bodily practices actually affect the subjective phenomenological apperception of dreams is a debated issue to which I shall return near the end of this article. I begin simply with the observation that the social construction of erotic dreams manifestly varies, cross-culturally and diachronically. In examining the historical nightmarization of the erotic dream within European history, I present a corollary to Foucault's thesis (1978; 1985; 1986) that sexuality increasingly became a site of 'subjectivation' (*assujettissement*) in the West. By this neologism he meant that sexual desire became the indicator of the truth about one's self, and thus a fundamental constituent of one's subjectivity. At the same time this sexuality was also a conduit for subjugation by social forces such as the Church or medical science that instructed how desire should be regulated. In volumes two and three of *The history of sexuality* Foucault frequently considered the evidence of dreams, particularly erotic dreams, and the challenges they posed to images of self-control in antiquity. Here, I track dreams into the Christian period and through the Middle Ages, thus proceeding into areas that Foucault would have covered more extensively had he lived to fulfil his original plan for the *The history of sexuality*.[1]

Medieval conceptions of erotic dreams, nocturnal emissions, and the dangers they posed to monks, clergy, and the Christian laity have been the subject of some excellent recent studies (Brakke 1995; Elliott 1999). And scholars of ancient Greece have paid increasing attention to erotic dreams and the codes for interpreting them (Grottanelli 1999; Winkler 1990a). But there have been almost no studies of the nightmare in antiquity save for two works from the early twentieth century. The German classical scholar Wilhelm Roscher traced the nightmare from ancient Greece through the Renaissance in a work entitled *Ephialtes* (1900). The other study, Ernest Jones's *On the nightmare* (1971 [1931]), was originally published as two articles around 1910. Both Roscher and Jones took for granted an erotic dream-nightmare complex already in classical antiquity.

In my view, the erotic dream and the nightmare were not systematically conjoined until the early Christian period, when the control of inner cupidity became a salient diagnostic of spiritual progress. At this time potentially pleasurable erotic dreams were demonized and fused with a particular, pre-existing conception of the asphyxiating nightmare to give rise to a nightmare-erotic dream complex.

Since the advent of psychoanalysis, the concept of 'repression' has often been applied to account for the erotic nightmare. Take for example the following orthodox Freudian statement by Jones:

> The psycho-analytical conclusion about nightmares is that the causative sexual wish – so evident in most erotic dreams – is subject to an exceptional degree of repression, the reason for this being that they always originate in an incestuous wish. The attacking animal, demon, or vague pressure really represents the parent. It is probable that the extreme classical form of nightmare occurs only in persons with a considerable masochistic element in their constitution (Jones 1974 [1932]: 113).

Terror and eros, for Jones, stood in tense complementary relationship and formed a continuum from exclusively erotic dreams at one pole, through gradations of erotic nightmares, to the other extreme where there was only terror (1971 [1931]: 42; 1974 [1932]: 111). All erotic dreams were incipient nightmares. Furthermore, since the Oedipus complex was universal, the same psychological tensions would generate erotic nightmares cross-culturally and trans-historically.

Of course Malinowski fought the battle over the universality of the Oedipus complex against the very same Ernest Jones who wrote *On the nightmare*. Many people assume that Malinowski had little sympathy for psychoanalysis, but he admired much in Freud's work (Malinowski 1962 [1923]; Stocking 1986). In *Sex and repression in savage society* (published in 1927) he certainly embraced the psychoanalytic concept of repression. But this seems to have been the psychoanalytic idea that he least understood. In *Sex and repression* he began by asserting that because the Trobrianders were unrepressed they did not have dreams at all (1965: 89). He then proceeded to argue (contradictorily) that if a dream of sex with one's sister was more disturbing than a dream of sex with one's mother, then this proved the existence of a matrilineal rather than an Oedipus complex (1965: 91).

Repression remains an area of misunderstanding between psychology and anthropology to this day. Few studies have attempted to clarify the viability of this term for anthropological research.[2] Below, I examine the psychoanalytic concept of repression by contrasting it with conscious and intentional acts of exclusion. Much of my historical evidence reveals people voluntarily attempting to repel unwanted thoughts. In Freud's terms they are 'suppressing' rather than 'repressing'.[3] Intentional self-making thus generated the erotic nightmare in many cases, although it must be granted that overarching religious, political, scientific, or other frameworks outlined the sorts of selves that people should ideally craft and the techniques to be used. The erotic nightmare consequently developed in the West as a culturally interpreted set of symptoms, verging on what anthropologists used to call a 'culture-bound syndrome' (Low 1985). The diachronic examination of the erotic nightmare

complex offered here might usefully remind those studying other culturally elaborated syndromes such as *latah*, *nervios*, or *koro* that these complexes are not permanent cultural badges, but symptoms of/in transition.[4] Each has its own current trajectory and velocity, which require historical contextualization. Thus, whereas for Marx history was like a nightmare, in my view the nightmare has a history worth exploring for what it might reveal about successive Western conceptualizations of terror, sexual desire, and the self.

Erotic dreams and nightmares

Clearly we need to decide on the definition of both erotic dreams and nightmares before we can proceed to identify their combination. The word 'nightmare' can be used to describe any unpleasant or terrifying dream that disturbs sleep, and by the end of this article I shall be using the term in this broad sense. I begin, however, in the ancient historical sections, with a more restricted conception of nightmare, namely, dream visions where the sleeper feels a weight on his or her chest and has accompanying sensations of dyspnoea, paralysis, and dread. Sufferers frequently stated that a person, an animal, or a demonic being caused these feelings by sitting (or jumping up and down) on their chest. The Swiss artist John Henry Fuseli's painting *The nightmare*, first exhibited in 1782 at the Royal Academy in London, gave this body of traditional ideas a compelling representation. A hairy demon perches atop a voluptuous woman laid out asleep on her bed as a wall-eyed horse pokes its head through the velvet drapes in the background.[5] (Fig. 1.)

There are grounds for calling this the 'classic nightmare' because the image of demonic pressure informs the current vocabulary for the phenomenon in a number of languages. In my epigraph, Marx's word for the nightmare is *Alp*, meaning 'elf', and it draws on the two usual German words for nightmare: *Alptraum* (elf dream) and *Alpdruck* (elf pressure). The words for 'nightmare' in other languages also convey this image: French *cauchemar* etymologically means 'oppressive fiend'; the *mar(e)* component meant variously a water monster, vampire, or just a ghost at various stages and in different registers of French (Gamillsches 1969). According to Dr Johnson's Dictionary the *mara* was 'a spirit that, in the Northern mythology, was said to torment or suffocate sleepers' (Frayling 1996: 8). Our word 'nightmare' comes from this Scandinavian source (Tillhagen 1960).

Numerous distinctions also need to be made in respect to the concept of 'erotic dream'. The criterion of erotic requires that the dreamer feel sexually stimulated, yet this is often difficult to establish in relation to historical dreams and their dreamers. In the relationship between dream imagery and erotic response, virtually any configuration is possible. In 95 per cent of cases penile erection in males and analogous genital excitation in females accompany REM sleep (Greenhouse 1974). Almost every dream is thus built upon erotic impulses.

Greek antiquity

In ancient Greek dream books sexuality displayed in dreams was usually read as diagnostic of more important issues (for the ancients) such as wealth



FIGURE 1. J.H. Fuseli, *The nightmare* (1781). Founders Society Purchase with funds from Mr. and Mrs. Bert L. Smokler and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence A. Fleischman. ©2000 The Detroit Institute of Art.

and social status (Foucault 1986: 33; Winkler 1990*a*: 27). For the second-century CE dream interpreter Artemidorus, the dream of sex with one's mother, for example, was not problematic, but rather a good dream for politicians. This was because the mother represented one's native country, and to make love is to govern the obedient and willing body of one's partner. The dreamer would thus control the affairs of the city (Artemidorus, *Interpretation of dreams*, 1.79). Hippias, a Greek traitor serving as the Persians' guide in the landing at Marathon, dreamt of sleeping with his mother and interpreted this to mean that he would return to Athens and recover power (Herodotus, *History*, 6.107).

Artemidorus divided dreams into two main categories: *enypnia* and *oneiroi*. *Enypnia* directly expressed current desires or bodily states. A hungry man dreams of eating, a lover of his/her beloved (Artemidorus, *Interpretation of dreams*, 1.1). As they predicted nothing, such dreams did not require the services of a dream interpreter. *Oneiroi*, on the other hand, were prophetic dreams produced by the soul, or possibly sent by the gods. There could thus be two kinds of sexual dream. One type merely indicated that the dreamer was 'in the mood', while the other employed sexual scenarios to convey prognostic information about entirely different matters. Artemidorus dispensed with *enypnia* in a couple of paragraphs, while devoting four chapters to sexual *oneiroi*.

As sexual *oneiroi* were not really about sex it is quite possible that they did not involve an erotic response in the dreamer. This arouses the suspicion that numerous manifestly sexual dreams from other contexts were similarly unerotic. Consider, for example, the following inscription from the healing shrine of Asclepius at Epidaurus recorded in the fourth century BCE to memorialize a dream by a female pilgrim from Messene: 'Sleeping here she saw a dream. It seemed to her the god came bringing a snake creeping beside him and she had sex with it. And from this children were born to her within a year, twin boys' (LiDonnici 1995: 115). The characteristics of the nightmare are arguably there alongside the erotic content. But perhaps the sex is nothing more than the metaphorical expression of contact with the god. In the absence of a dreamer's comment it is difficult to know which dreams were erotic or frightening, or both at the same time. We must look beyond myths and dream-books to ancient Greek conceptions of self and emotion.

In Aristotle's system of thought dreaming was situated in relation to perception. The difference was that in normal perception one submitted 'appearances' to judgement in order to decide whether something was or was not the case. The sun may appear to be the size of a penny but judgement enables one to decide that it is not really so small. During sleep, however, the capacity to judge is suspended with the result that the images presented to the sleeper's mind are automatically accepted as valid.[6] The only exceptions to this rule were rare instances when one somehow attained consciousness during the dream and judged a given appearance false (Aristotle, *On dreams*, 462a5). In the majority of cases, however, people reacted to dream images as if they had judged them and accepted them as real. This accounts for people's full emotional response within dreams because emotions inevitably ensue upon judgements. If we decide that a situation is frightening, or erotic, then we *are* frightened, or aroused.

Aristotle's teacher, Plato, understood dreams as more closely involved with individual character. He focused on dreams as a facet of his overall study of politics, since he considered that the credentials to govern others were first developed and proved in relation to oneself.[7] In Plato's view the soul (*psykhe*) was comprised of three parts: the rational mind (*nous*), high spirits (*thymos*, for example, anger, joy, courage) and the appetitive desires for food, drink and sex (*epithymia*) (*Republic* 441a). Self-mastery involved regulating these three components and integrating them under the command of reason. One recommended technique involved forging a strategic alliance between reason and the high spirits so that the appetitive desires were double-teamed. The education of the young through dancing and verse-recitation exemplified this strategy since the chorus songs fostered the growth of reason and knowledge in the intellect, while the music and dance calmed the high spirits with harmony and rhythm (Plato, *Republic* 441e).

All humans possessed the ability to control their appetites but not all of them exercised it. In any case, sleep presented a dangerous moment. While reason slumbered the way was open for the savage part of the soul to break free and express itself, especially if the person had indulged in excessive eating and drinking.

> I'm sure you're aware of how in these circumstances nothing is too outrageous: a person acts as if he were totally lacking in moral principle and unhampered by intelligence. In his dreams, he doesn't stop at trying to have sex with his mother and with anyone or anything else – man, beast, or god (Plato, *Republic* 571c).

Whereas men could overcome or at least moderate their responses to desires by internal mental effort, women were conceived to be fundamentally helpless victims of their insatiable sexual appetites (Dean-Jones 1992). According to ancient medical thought, female physiology precluded reason being exercised by women in the same way as by men. This was because the womb, the seat of her sexual appetite, was not under a woman's conscious control. It could move around in her body, even up to the head, where it could 'stifle those organs in which consciousness was thought to lie' (Dean-Jones 1992: 78). Thus women had no chance to succeed or fail in the fundamentally ethical arena of relating to their own sexual desire. They were denied the possibility of acting as moral agents (Dean-Jones 1992: 86).

The erotic nightmare in antiquity?

The ancient Greeks did not apparently expend much effort in analysing frightening dreams. Our best evidence for the ancient conception of the nightmare is the term itself, *ephialtes*. Etymologically it seems to mean 'to jump on top of' (Chantraine 1977). The first-century CE physician Themison of Laodicaea reportedly coined another name for the nightmare, *pnigalion* 'strangler, throttler'.[8] This is about all we have to go on.

Did it also have an erotic component? Roscher thought it did, on account of the identification between the god Pan and Ephialtes, but there was no clear indication that these Pan nightmares possessed an erotic dimension until Artemidorus, who wrote that:

> Ephialtes is identified with Pan but he has a different meaning. If he oppresses or weighs a man down without speaking, it signifies tribulations and distress. But whatever he says upon interrogation is true. If he gives someone something or has sexual intercourse with someone, it foretells great profit, especially if he does not weigh that person down (Artemidorus, *Interpretation of dreams*, 2.37).

Here, at last, all of the components of the erotic nightmare are present, but we are well into the Roman imperial period and Christianity had already begun to spread.

This, then, is the evidence for the erotic nightmare complex in antiquity. There is no reason to suppose that such nightmares would necessarily have been systematically recorded, but this is really very little. I do not wish to argue that the ancient Greeks never experienced erotic nightmares. Clytemnestra's dream of a snake biting her breast (in Aeschylus' *Libation bearers*, 523-54), or the general imagery of Euripides' *Bacchae*, suggest the contrary. But the ancient Greeks did not apparently develop a discourse about the erotic nightmare. They did not create a nosological category for it, or any other sort of denominated cultural classification. Erotic dreams and nightmares were apparently treated as two distinct phenomena.

This situation changed with the coinage of the Latin word *incubus* (a demon that 'lies/sleeps upon' the dreamer) around the beginning of the Common Era. The first meaning of *incubus* was simply 'nightmare' and it may have been a straightforward attempt to translate the Greek *ephialtes*. In rendering the idea of 'jumping upon' into Latin, however, the translators enmeshed it in a matrix of words that contained clear sexual connotations – for example, *concumbere* 'to sleep (with)' and *concubinus* 'concubine'. The erotic overtones in the word *incubus* would ramify in Christian conceptions of erotic dreams and nightmares, furnishing a good example of 'semantic contagion' (Hacking 1995*a*: 238). The coinage, several centuries later, of the term *succubus* to denote a demon that lay beneath the sleeper indicates how productive the erotic nightmare concept became. This proliferation of linguistic categorizations contrasts with the paucity of terms in Greek of the ancient period.

A marble relief (Fig. 2), datable only very generally to between the second century BCE and second century CE, encapsulates the uncertainties over the transition to the erotic nightmare during this same broad stretch of time.[9] On the one hand, the relief reveals a public acceptance of erotic imagery characteristic of Greek antiquity. A sleeping shepherd, his staff and bagpipe cast down by his side, is straddled by a winged figure – the symbol of the dream or its content in ancient Greek iconography (Boardman & La Rocca 1978: 159). On the other hand, the female figure, with her wings, and webbed feet, might be interpreted as a type of demon, possibly a siren. Pleasant dream, or terrifying assault of the noonday demon? We cannot know for certain what this shepherd is experiencing.

Refinements in moderation

Before coming to Christianity I would like to consider the later life of the classical idea of moderation (*sophrosyne*) as it was developed in the medical tradition and in schools of philosophy such as Stoicism. For those practising

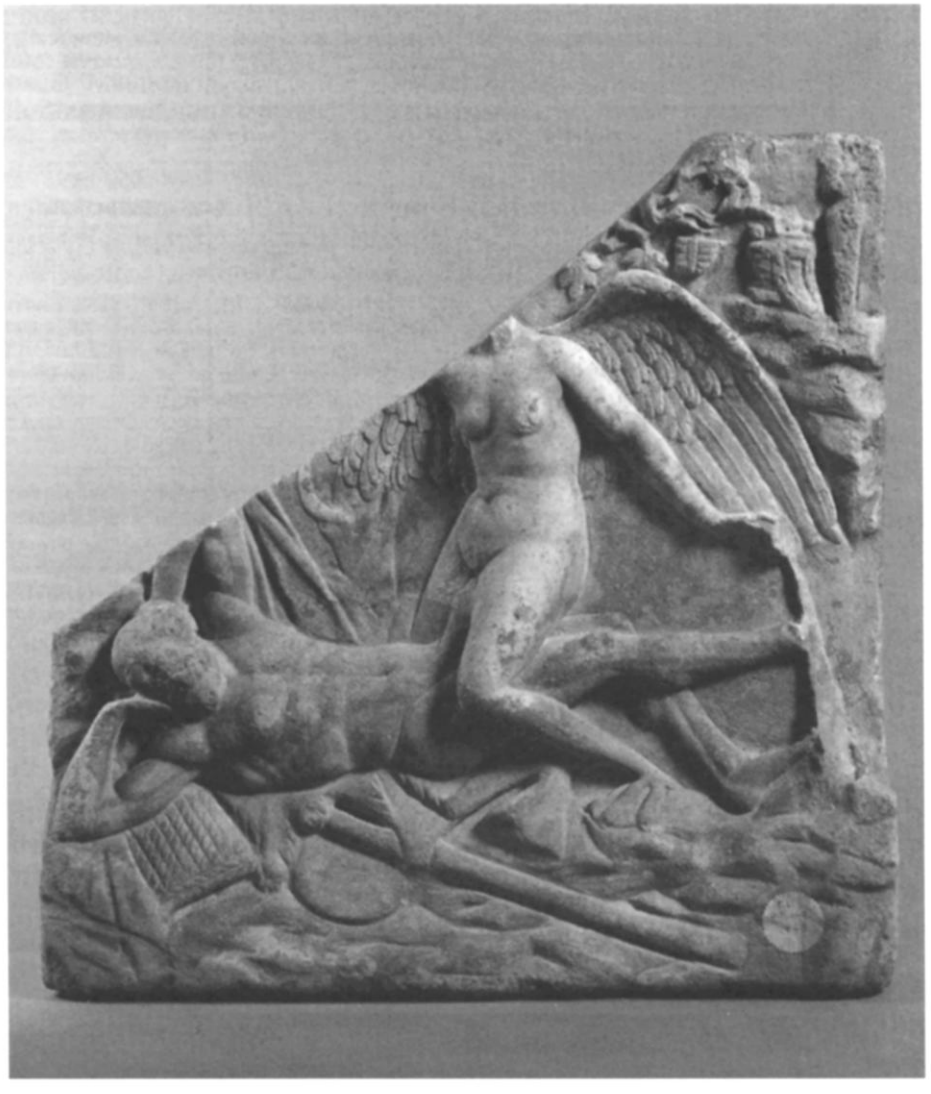


FIGURE 2. Old man and a siren. Fragment of a marble relief. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (08.34c). Reproduced with permission. ©Museum of Fine Arts. Boston. All rights reserved.

moderation sex was not problematic, so long as one kept the whole body in balance. Indulgence of the appetites was negotiable according to the age and gender of a person and the season of the year. Imbalances could be corrected by medically prescribed diet and exercise regimens. Sexual activity was only a concern if it took uncontrollable forms.

Some ancient doctors understood 'gonorrhoea' to be an involuntary emission of semen, and their term for this ailment, meaning literally 'the flow of seed', remains with us to this day. Nocturnal emissions were considered a variant of gonorrhoea, and in his survey of acute and chronic diseases Caelius Aurelianus contrasted the two.[10] Gonorrhoea could occur any time, without

imagery, while nocturnal emissions occurred only during sleep and as a consequence of imagining sexual intercourse through 'unreal images' (*inanibus visis concubitum fingat*) (*On chronic diseases*, 5.71.82). Unlike gonorrhoea, nocturnal emissions did not necessarily constitute an illness. They simply resulted from desire, which could arise either through regular sexual practice or through prolonged continence.

Caelius Aurelianus devoted a separate chapter to the nightmare (*incubo*) and it is found in a completely different part of the treatise on chronic diseases, near to the sections on epilepsy and madness. Like the nocturnal emission, he considered it an illness only if it occurred chronically. He mentions the fact that '[s]ome are driven into such a state by unreal images that they imagine they see the attacker urging them to satisfy a shameful lust' (*On acute diseases*, 1.3.56ff., my trans.). He thus described both the (erotic) nightmare and the erotic dream as physical responses to imaginings, but did not consider them necessarily to be signs of ill health.

The possibility that people might be able to respond differently to unreal figments of the imagination resonates with Stoic ideas developed during the last centuries BCE. Chrysippus emphasized the difference between impressions (*phantasiai*) resulting from the perception of real physical objects, and figments (*phantasmata*) produced by the imagination and occurring especially 'in people who are melancholic and mad' (Chrysippus, in Aëtius, *Placita*, 4.12.1-5: Long & Sedley 1987: 237). According to the Stoics, appetite, fear, distress, and pleasure comprised primary emotions – states not produced, but only suffered by the mind (Stobaeus 2.88, 8-90, 6: Long & Sedley 1987: 411). The term for emotion, '*pathos*' in Greek, could mean 'passion, affection' as well as a passive 'suffering'. Active control or passive submission to the emotions was precisely the issue. The early Stoics held that all passions were the results of judgements, and thus could be modified,[11] and their goal was to reach a state of *apatheia* (impassivity) in which one had eradicated uncontrolled emotional responses entirely, and thus eliminated passive suffering from one's life. If this were successfully achieved one could be happy, while those who neglected actively to confront the passions were – in latter-day terms – pathetic.

The mixed dream

Early Christian preachers such as Justin Martyr assimilated all of the pagan gods to 'demons' under the control of the Devil (Pagels 1988: 42). According to pagan cosmology, demons were not intrinsically evil, but they were biddable. The magical papyri of the last centuries BCE and first centuries CE reveal how people sought, through ritual incantations, to command demons to carry dreams to others. In one particular example, a man named Hermeias exhorts the demons to cause his unresponsive object of desire to lust for him, even when she is 'drinking, working, conversing, sleeping, dreaming, having an orgasm in her dreams, until she is scourged by you and comes desiring me'.[12]

Granted the prevailing association of demons with dreams in popular thought, Christians were counselled to distrust their sleeping visions as pos-

sibly satanic. Dreams thus came to be placed squarely on the negative side of a morally polarized universe. John Climacus, whose *Ladder of divine ascent* synthesized the ascetic tradition and became a handbook for monks, wrote: 'Devils often take on the appearance of angels of light or martyrs and they appear to us in sleep and talk to us ... And if we start to believe in the devils of our dreams, then we will be their playthings when we are also awake' (Climacus, *Ladder*, 3).

Beginning with Tertullian, the Church Fathers held that dreams could come variously from God, the Devil or the Soul (Tertullian, *On the soul*, 47). This tripartite scheme was apparently adapted from pre-Christian philosophical traditions. A look at the third-century BCE Alexandrian physician Herophilus' classification of dreams reveals that the erotic dream figured centrally in the transition from paganism to Christianity:

> Herophilus says that some dreams are inspired by a god and arise by necessity, while others are natural ones and arise when the soul forms for itself an image (*eidolon*) of what is to its own advantage and of what will happen next; and still others are mixed (*synkramatikoi*) and arise spontaneously (*ek tou automatou*) according to the impact of the images, whenever we see what we wish, as happens in the case of those who in their sleep make love to the women they love.[13]

The interesting part of this scheme is the third, or mixed category. In so far as people see what they inwardly desire in these dreams, they seem identical to *enypnia* – the physical state dreams discussed earlier.[14] Yet, this identification cannot be correct, since Herophilus pointedly differentiates them from the category of dreams produced exclusively by the soul. Mixed dreams have an exogenous element; they result from outside forces – the impact of images on the sleeper. These images happen to coincide with internal desires.

Herophilus' mixed dream, with its ready erotic exemplification, corresponded to the demonic dream in the Christian tripartite system (von Staden 1989: 310). Early ascetic theories of human nature and psychology reveal how monks understood demons to inspire erotic dreams. These accounts, presented by writers such as Evagrius and Cassian, possibly illuminate what Herophilus intended by the mixed dream. Certainly they take us deeper into the genesis of the erotic nightmare.

For Evagrius, who became a monk in Egypt around 382 CE, demons could manipulate an individual's previously acquired, emotionally charged momories to excite the passions, and set sinful thoughts in train. Thus evil thoughts were simultaneously exogenous and endogenous; demons activated what was already there. Evagrius conceded that disturbing thoughts would inevitably occur, even in the course of monastic life – such thoughts were part of the human condition. Sin set in only if one mentally entertained a thought for too long. As he expressed it: 'It is not up to us whether evil thoughts might trouble the soul or leave it in peace. What does depend on us is whether they linger or not, and whether they set the passions in motion or not' (*Praktikos*, 6). The goal was inner stillness, which Evagrius referred to by the familiar Stoic term, *apatheia* (Guillaumont 1971: 98ff.).

Evagrius named eight primary demons, the model for what would become the 'seven deadly sins' in Western Christianity. Each of these demons normally

attacked only one of the two vulnerable parts of the soul, the high-spirited or the sensual. Predictably, the demon of fornication (*porneia*) attacked the sensual part of the soul. According to Evagrius it

> compels one to desire 'remarkable' bodies; it violently attacks those living in abstinence in order to cause them to quit, convinced they will amount to nothing. And, soiling the soul, it inclines it to 'those acts' [obscene acts]. It causes monks to speak and hear things, as if some object were visible and present (*Praktikos*, 8).

As this passage shows, the battle with demons spilled over into the realm of dreams and (other) hallucinations where the power of the will to resist demons was weakest. Although demons could provoke erotic dreams and nightmares, these were normally two distinct types of dream (*Praktikos*, 21, 22, 54). The phenomenon of an erotic nightmare required a fusion of demonic domains that contravened the normal division. In such dreams the sensual part of the soul joined forces with the irascible to overwhelm the intellect. It was the opposite of Plato's ideal scenario of self-mastery where the intellect and the high spirits co-operated to overpower the appetitive part. In Evagrius' psychology the erotic nightmare was not excluded but rather given a powerful theorization. It was the exception that confirmed the rule.[15] The erotic dream was a mixed dream then, not only because external demons aroused internal thoughts, but also because it simultaneously affected the two parts of the soul.

If dreams were, indeed, controllable, then anyone who experienced an erotic dream was potentially culpable. John Cassian excused nocturnal emissions if they occurred to someone with a full stomach (Cassian, *Conferences*, 12.2). In such cases they were a simple physical fact of the body, and he allowed that it was 'natural' for emissions to occur as often as every two months, although three times a year was a more acceptable frequency (Cassian, *Institutions*, 6.20; *Conferences*, 2.23).

The sinfulness of erotic dreams and nocturnal emissions continued to be a topic of debate in ascetic 'anthropology' – as patristic theories of human nature and psychology are sometimes known – throughout the Middle Ages in both the Eastern and Western Churches (Elliott 1999; Fögen 1998). Excusable nocturnal emissions became sinful erotic dreams if one entertained them, allowed them to linger, and, most importantly, if one consented to them (Elliott 1999: 20). The way to fight the images and sensations of the mixed dream was to sever them with the knife of the will, withholding assent so that externally instigated images did not connect with bodily passions. Nocturnal emissions unaccompanied by visual imagery indicated spiritual progress (Evagrius, *Praktikos*, 55; Angelidi forthcoming).

From the monastery to the world

The account developed to this point presents the views of learned texts representing the ideas and practices of elite, free men in antiquity and a narrow subsection of monks and high clerics in the early Christian period. Their practices of self-cultivation may not have been shared by very many of their contemporaries, but their influence on subsequent generations has been enormous. If the ancient Greek ethic of self-moderation was explicitly elitist,

the Christian ethic became increasingly unified in conception and intended for all – men and women, young and old alike. I turn now to consider how the ascetically influenced Christian ethic of self diffused to the population at large and how the Christian laity was conditioned to view the erotic dream as dangerous and nightmarish.

In popular vocabulary the word *incubus*, as we saw, gave people a ready label for the erotic nightmare.[16] In the wake of Augustine's writings about concupiscence and original sin, the general term for demonic interference in a dream, '*inlusio*' (illusion), came to have automatically erotic overtones in succeeding generations (Elliott 1999: 20). Likewise, the term '*phantasma*', which Aristotle had used interchangeably with *phantasia* to mean a 'mental perception, image, or representation', came to mean a distorted – usually by demons – mental representation (Schmitt 1999: 278). If normal sensory perceptions were like water that flowed through a person, then memories could be likened to water that was stored and which remained clear. *Phantasmata*, on the other hand, were like stagnant water that had become cloudy, rank, and overgrown with algae.

How did these developments affect popular views of these matters? Certainly the laity were not expected to live up to the ascetic standards of the monks – this would have meant the extinction of Christian society – nor were they necessarily concerned by, or even able to comprehend, the high-flown arguments of theology. People in the world no doubt continued to have extra-marital sexual relations, dreams, erotic dreams, nocturnal emissions, and nightmares. But the Church did make attempts to regulate these phenomena. Early penitential books such as the Irish penitential of Cummean, composed in the seventh century after the model of Cassian's rules for monks, represented one such effort. This penitential is notable for its comprehensive distinctions among erotic deeds and thoughts.

> He who merely desires in his mind to commit fornication, but is not able, shall do penance for one year ... He who is willingly polluted during sleep, shall rise and sing nine psalms in order, kneeling ... He who desires to sin during sleep, or is unintentionally polluted, fifteen psalms; he who sins but is not polluted, twenty-four (Bieler 1963: 115; Asad 1993: 101).

The dissemination of prayer formulas comprised another area for ascetic influence on the development of mainstream Christianity. The expanding practice of bedtime prayers is of particular interest here (Le Goff 1988: 225). Early in the fifth century CE, Prudentius composed a hymn before sleep that included the following lines: 'If a man's stains of guilty conduct are few and far between, him the clear and flashing light teaches secret things; but he who has polluted and befouled his heart with sins is the sport of many a fear and sees frightful visions' (*Daily round* 6.49). And it concluded with the following exorcistic entreaty: 'The cross drives out every sin; before the cross darkness flees away; consecrated with this sign, the spirit cannot be unquiet. Away, away with the monstrosities of rambling dreams! Away with the deceiver and his persistent guile!' (*Daily round* 6.133).

Between the fifth and thirteenth centuries, the Church's mode of eliciting and forgiving lay sins altered. Initially, there was the brutally demanding office

of penance in which the penitent was excluded from the worshipping community (Asad 1993: 100). This person's sins and their on-going punishment were socially apparent. The practice of individual, private confession to a cleric gradually replaced penance until the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), when it was made mandatory for all. Later, the Protestants identified compulsory confession to lascivious clerics as a practice that increased rather than decreased general sexual excitation. In the reformed Church confession would have no place. Each individual would be responsible for his or her own actions in the face of God. This was not an easy option, but rather the beginning of an inworldly asceticism. In Weber's famous formulation, asceticism 'now ... strode into the market-place of life, slammed the door of the monastery behind it, and undertook to penetrate just that daily routine of life with its methodicalness, to fashion it into a life in the world, but neither of nor for this world' (1991 [1904-5]: 154).

Just as the new order of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations got underway in the sixteenth century, so, too, did the witch-hunts. The judicial system became a means to contravene the new space of private conscience that the reformers had begun to stake out. Officials asserted greater power than ever to interrogate individuals about their inner thoughts, convictions, and fantasies. These witch trials frequently involved accusations that men and women attended sabbaths at which they had sex with the Devil. The witch-hunting manuals developed an elaborate picture of *incubi* that attacked women and *succubi* that copulated with men. According to the *Malleus maleficarum* (Kramer & Sprenger 1970 [1486]: 41ff.), such erotic episodes occurred more frequently to women since they were more feeble, credulous, and less self-controlled than men.

These various developments continue the story of erotic dreams and self-control begun in antiquity, a contention that emerges more clearly if we closely consider the tenth-century *Canon episcopi* (Lea 1939: 38; Russell 1972: 292). This text urged priests to eradicate demonic sorcery from their parishes. It also alerted clerics that some women, 'seduced by illusions and phantasms of demons (*daemonum illusionibus et phantasmatibus seductae*), believe themselves, in the hours of night, to ride upon certain beasts with Diana, the goddess of the pagans' (Lea 1939: 178). In such cases, priests were instructed to teach that these beliefs were false delusions of the Devil. The *Canon episcopi* conceded that women did undergo demonic molestation but only 'in their spirits' (*cum solus eius spiritus*). The problem, from the Church's point of view, was the exuberant folk credulity aroused by these tales, and the laity's apparent inability to distinguish imagined from real experiences. Thus the *Canon episcopi* emphasized that

> [w]hile the spirit alone endures this [demonic manipulation], the faithless mind thinks these things happen not in the spirit, but in the body. Who is there that is not led out of himself in dreams and nocturnal vision, and sees much when sleeping that he has never seen when waking? Who is so stupid and foolish as to think that all these things which are only done in spirit happen in the body ... (Lea 1939: 179).

Uncertainty over 'the imaginal'[17] thus lay at the centre of European witchcraft.

Renaissance theologians had to decide whether witches' transformations, flights, and sabbaths were merely dreams, and if so, whether the individuals

involved none the less merited prosecution for believing them. The issues begin to look very much like those posed by the desert Fathers. The difference between the first ascetics and the laity during the witch craze was that earlier a (male) individual had largely been left to monitor his own spiritual failures. Later (male) clerics decided this matter on behalf of (female) individuals. Torture and capital punishment replaced internally imposed humility and renewed ascetic effort as responses to erotic dreams.

The matter of the reality of witchcraft, and the responsibility for dream visions, was never uniformly decided throughout the main period of witch-hunting, that is, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Carlo Ginzburg (1983) reveals how the authorities resolutely ignored statements by Friulian villagers that they fought demons 'in the spirit', while their bodies were at home, asleep. The accused called themselves *benandanti* (good-doers) and imagined that their practices were fundamentally Christian. Under the duress of long interrogation, however, the *benandanti* changed their stories and confessed that they had consorted with demons 'for real'.

The *benandanti* told mainly of fighting against malevolent forces in order to safeguard the community's harvest, and it is possible that many 'witches' stories' were, likewise, not particularly sexual. The inquiring authorities, however, assumed that witchcraft must involve sexual acts with the Devil and thus they pushed the stories in that direction through questioning. Judges showed a particular interest in the issue of whether the intercourse with the devil was voluntary or forced, frightening or pleasurable (Kramer & Sprenger 1970 [1486]: 114; Lancre 1982 [1613]: 200-1). Whether or not actual erotic nightmares or erotic dreams had occurred to the accused, there was a likelihood that erotic nightmare scenarios would occupy a conspicuous place in the final confession.

Freud once rhetorically asked, 'Why are [the witches'] confessions under torture so like the communications made by my patients in psychic treatment?' (Ginzburg 1990: 150; Roper 1994: 245). The answer would seem to lie in the shared conviction in the importance of an underlying libidinal impulse. This sexual *Urszene* could be uncovered through confession, although both psychoanalysts and inquisitors faced a besetting uncertainty as to whether these received confessions were truth or fantasy (Ginzburg 1990: 151).

In this section I have retrained attention on the persistent factor of dreams, particularly demonically distorted dreams (*phantasmata*), at the heart of the European witchcraft phenomenon. My contention is that dreams, erotic dreams, nightmares, and erotic nightmares all occasionally figured in witchcraft cases. The effect of the threatening manuals for prosecutors, and of the prosecutions themselves, was to funnel even innocuous dreams into an erotic nightmare formulation, thereby further defining and maximally diffusing a category of experience that first arose in the context of early Christian asceticism.

Philosophers and doctors

After a series of dream visions in 1619 convinced him to pursue philosophy as a vocation, Descartes returned to dreams to illustrate the proof of existence in his *Meditations on first philosophy* (1984 [1641]). In the first two *Meditations*

he posed the radical question: 'What if I do not exist at all, but am, rather, the figment of a dream?' He replied that, whereas in a dream he could not possess awareness that he was thinking, in a normal state of consciousness he could possess such an awareness. Meta-cognition thus established the grounds of reality as opposed to fantasy. Hobbes also assumed this distinction in contending that demons were 'but idols or Phantasmes of the brain, without real nature of their own distinct from human fancy' (Hobbes 1957 [1651]: 398; chap. 44; see also 423, 432; chap. 45). Although this view had been expressed already in the *Canon episcopi*, it increasingly became a fundamental supposition in science and philosophy.

Medical doctors also produced numerous exclusively physical explanations for dream phenomena. Beginning with Aristotle, melancholics had never ceased to be prime candidates for disturbed dreams. Now sceptical doctors like Weyer (1991 [1583]: 232) attributed *incubus* experiences to 'phlegm and melancholia', while Burton linked it to eating 'black meat' such as hare and venison in his *Anatomy of melancholy* (1927 [1620]: 190). In one case, a woman's claim to have borne the devil's baby was medically diagnosed as a case of chronic constipation and its final relief (Lea 1939: 1470).

Between 1650 and 1850 no fewer than twenty-five tracts were written about the nightmare by doctors and scholars (Jones 1971 [1931]: 14). In this period, the term *'incubus'* went from denoting an independent demonic being to denoting an objective set of physical conditions. Certainly the word 'nightmare' also began to lose vital reference to the supernatural 'mare' spirit contained in its etymology. Physical and medical explanations naturalized both the erotic dream and the nightmare, although there was still sporadic support for the idea that external spirits produced dreams.[18]

The amalgamation of erotic dreams and nightmares which had begun in the first centuries CE now started to come apart. Medical tracts from the post-witchcraft period considered the nightmare to be characterized primarily by dread and a feeling of suffocation. Erotic sensations might accompany this, but they were marginal. A Royal Navy doctor named Waller mentioned 'priapism' as a symptom of the nightmare in a very brief Latin passage, as if the subject were embarrassing (1816: 25). His assertion that males suffer nightmares more frequently than females indicated the appropriation of 'incubus' as a nosological category unfettered by Church misogyny. Like Waller, MacNish (1830: 73, 124ff.) also focused on the feature of sleep paralysis as characteristic of the nightmare and speculated on asthma, angina, and indigestion as possible causes. Erotic dreams came to be placed in a separate category centring on masturbation, the subject of two treatises in 1760 (Jaccard 1975: 11). Erotic dreams involved a form of mental masturbation, *delectatio morosa*, and became a subject for the emergent discipline of sexology (Ellis 1936 [1898]; Kinsey, Pomeroy & Martin 1948).

This is not to suggest that people no longer experienced erotic nightmares. Just like the ancient Greeks in the period preceding the formulation of the erotic nightmare complex, people in the Enlightenment period did, occasionally, feel 'Desire with loathing strangely mixed'.[19] Without the buttress of official belief in witchcraft, however, the complex began to disintegrate into two separate experiences. Without a background of shared cultural concepts, and lacking a concise vocabulary to express the synthetic combination, the

erotic nightmare experience entered into a phase of 'hypocognition' (Levy 1984: 227). Levy's term enables us to avoid the Whorfian assumption that lack of a lexeme indicates a corresponding lack of appreciation or perception of a given object. The basic sensations continued to be subjectively felt but could not easily be expressed.

Undoubtedly there was now an element of repression (in the psychoanalytic sense) behind the hypocognition of the erotic nightmare. Its discursive disappearance reflected an unwillingness, and ultimately an inability, to bring the phenomenon to conscious awareness. This tense, repressive silence was qualitatively different from the silence around the erotic nightmare in classical Greek antiquity. A millennium and a half of Christian teaching had rendered the erotic nightmare problematic, even though science had momentarily dissolved it.

In the Victorian period, public morality increasingly suppressed the representation of the erotic. The Obscene Publications Act of 1857 indexes this sense of public decorum, as does the coinage of the term 'pornography' from venerable ancient Greek roots.[20] Indeed, erotic artworks from the ancient world, particularly the recently excavated frescoes from Pompei, were among the factors provoking these public reactions. The offending penchants of the ancients were accommodated by the foundation of secret museums such as the British Museum's 'Secretum', established in 1865, or the 'Gabinetto degli osceni' created earlier at the Museo Borbonico in Naples (Kendrick 1987: 11). Erotic dreams were similarly relegated to their own secretum.

Malinowski's erotic nightmare

Malinowski's diaries, kept during his fieldwork between 1914 and 1918, and never meant for publication, afford a rare perspective on the male management of desire during the immediately post-Victorian period. By day he resisted the attractive local girls, while under the mosquito netting at night he recollected past relationships with women in Europe and Australia.[21] The diary chronicles the near-penitential burden which he undertook in order to realize his ambitions as an anthropologist. Malinowski coped with thoughts that he variously terms 'impure', 'lecherous', 'sensual', or 'erotic' and reconciled himself to the 'metaphysical regret' that 'You'll never fuck them all' (1967: 114; Torgovnick 1990: 227). He followed a regime of Swedish gymnastics, dosed himself with arsenic and quinine, and swore off reading novels, realizing that

> [p]urity in deeds depends on purity of thought, and I resolve to watch myself right down to the deepest instincts ... I can repress occasional violent whoring impulses by realizing that it would get me nowhere, that even if I possessed women under these conditions, I would merely be sloshing in the mud. The most important thing is to have a strong aversion for sloshing in the mud (onanism, whoring, etc.). And to seek out everything that builds up such an aversion (1967: 181).

Malinowski, of course, established extended fieldwork as a rite of passage on the way to achieving full status as a social anthropologist. Such fieldwork involves combating the same deadly sins such as despondency, self-regard, and

sensuality which had been identified by the early Christian ascetics. The move off the verandah might just as well have been a move into the desert.[22] Anthropologists who could resist the demons of temptation emerged transfigured as professionals; they achieved an 'ultimate mastery of things' (Malinowski 1967: 175).

Malinowski had abandoned Catholicism at an early age. His asceticism did not grow out of any active religious faith on his part, although it can, perhaps, be traced back via Weber's in-worldly asceticism to early Christian monasticism. A stronger case can be made for regarding psychoanalysis as the continuation of religious confession in a deconsecrated, medical format. Psychoanalysis adapted the formalized Catholic rite and applied it to the deepened idea of inner conscience that Protestantism had fostered (Foucault 1978: 68; Webster 1995: 350). The analyst prompted the patient to search his or her memory for pathogenic secrets the disclosure of which led to cathartic healing. A secular therapy, psychoanalysis fitted the needs of a secularizing educated middle class. When Malinowski first read Freud as a teenager it is reported that 'he felt that he was a complete case of the Oedipus situation' (Wayne 1985: 532). The following dream, recorded on 8 June 1918, near the end of his last stint of fieldwork, further reveals the degree to which he had internalized Freud's categories:

> *This morning I woke early (I did not sleep very well and had two horrid ... dreams).* In the first one, which was of a Freudian type, feeling of sinfulness, evil, something loathsome, combined with lust – repulsive and frightening. What does it come from? And this feeling of wickedness, which rises to the surface (1967: 290, ellipsis indicates 'extremely intimate observations' omitted by the editor).

This dream occurred just before the news of his mother's death reached him in the Trobriands, and just as he was deciding definitively to drop Nina Stirling (NS) and become engaged to Elsie Masson (ERM). Earlier he explicitly (1967: 245) associated his love for ERM with 'feelings of child for mother (*vide* Freud's theory)', and he had dreamt that his mother reproached him for not marrying NS (1967: 202). These two clues might support an interpretation of this dream along the orthodox psychoanalytic lines laid out by Jones – an erotic nightmare produced by the repression of incest desires. Malinowski himself accepted it as a dream of the 'Freudian type', but I think an alternative interpretation is possible.

Whereas Jones would emphasize unconscious phantasy and its repression in the production of this nightmare, I would argue that it resulted more straightforwardly from conscious fantasy and its suppression.[23] It is continuous with Malinowski's sensuous daytime thoughts, his commitment to sexual abstinence out of loyalty to his fiancée(s), and his repeated self-excoriations for having such thoughts at all. His erotic nightmare is the result of his own autoterrorization in the cause of ambitious self-making. The power of this self-making impulsion is apparent already in his next diary entry, recorded some two weeks later. Malinowski reports that he is hard at work, 'almost indifferent in relation to grief'. Furthermore: 'external ambitions keep crawling over me like lice. *F*[ellow of the]. *R*[oyal]. *S*[ociety]. – *C*[ompanion of the]. *S*[tar of]. *I*[ndia]. – *Sir*'. He also contemplates his entry in *Who's who* (1967: 291).

Self-making or repression?

Dreams appear to be fundamentally involuntary events – they just occur. Like the death of a parent, or first orgasm, they expose the individual to powerful novelties that must somehow be accommodated in the psyche and personality. The psychoanalysts Abraham and Torok (1994) have termed this transformation of the self in the face of striking internal and external events 'introjection'. Their usage departs from the traditional psychoanalytic sense of this term as the reinternalization of something that was initially within the psyche but subsequently projected outside it (Crapanzano 1977: 12). Abraham and Torok relativize repression as but one form of disturbance in the process of introjection. They emphasize, as I also contend, that these disturbances do not necessarily arise from childhood experiences, or from inherited instincts. They may result directly from current individual life situations (Rand 1994: 11).

Malinowski's diaries, like the comprehensively analysed inner desires of the early monastics, reveal conscious strategies for dealing with consciously perceived desires and images. Signs of sexuality are suppressed but, unlike repression, this is a voluntary privation on the way to what is perceived as a more important undertaking – the making of the self according to a chosen 'aesthetic' (Foucault 1985: 253). All self-making involves selective suppression and this volition can, evidently, carry over into dreams. Just as the everyday thoughts and actions of Plato's democrat made for calm dreams, so Malinowski's cultivation of 'pure thoughts' was also a means of preventing unwanted lewd eruptions in fantasies or dreams. His strategy was entirely consistent with the teachings of the high Victorian doctor William Acton that 'if [a] man has allowed his thoughts during the day to rest upon libidinous subjects, he finds his mind at night full of lascivious dreams' (Marcus 1966: 24). In such cases the principles of one's waking life personality are applied during sleep; the action of suppression carries over into dreams.

The history that I have presented above uncovers a perennial supposition that the phenomenological dream could be altered by force of will and self-preparation. Christian ascetic writers, for example, explicitly extended Stoic techniques for judging waking perceptions to the monitoring of one's reactions to images in sleep. Bedtime prayers against demonic dreams presented another attempt to suffuse sleep with the force of will. And the penitential of Cummean, which assigned different penances to someone who 'desires to sin during sleep' and someone who 'is willingly polluted during sleep' (Bieler 1963: 7), evidently assumed that dream contents were subject to volition.

Aristotle, as we saw, considered consciousness during dreams a rarity and, until recently, most dream researchers shared this view. Standard definitions of the dream (Hadfield 1954: 17; Rycroft 1981: 7) followed Descartes in considering it to occur independently of, and uncontaminated by, conscious will. Lucid, or conscious, dreaming, where people achieve consciousness in the dream, has thus usually been explained as a phenomenon of waking (Rechtschaffen 1978: 100).

In the last twenty years, this consensus has been shaken not only by dream laboratory demonstrations of lucidity (LaBerge 1985), but also by the apparent success of manuals and workshops that teach people how to gain

consciousness in their dreams (e.g. LaBerge & Rheingold 1990). Evidently, then, dreams can be subject to intentional designs, even at the deep level of their first realization. The techniques for achieving lucidity are neither mysterious nor excessively demanding. Many report their first lucid dream experiences after merely learning about the idea (Green & McCreery 1994: 114).

The effect of lucid dreaming in the service of achieving a vision of self offers a plausible mechanism by which erotic dreams could go from non-nightmares to nightmares and back again over the last two and a half millennia. In *The interpretation of dreams*, Freud (1953 [1900]: 572) remarked that one good feature of conscious dreaming was that it allowed one to alter disturbing dreams while they were still in process. If a dream led one into a sexually stimulating situation, he suggested, the dreamer 'can think to himself, "I won't go on with this dream any further and exhaust myself with an emission; I'll hold back for a real situation instead."' A negative perception of erotic dream thoughts thus leads to their foreclosure. In the ascetic 'anthropology' of the early Church, erotic 'thoughts' (*logismoi*) were held to be demon-inspired. Excluding them thus often took the form of a dramatic battle against demons. The juxtaposition of conscious will and non-consciously controlled desires in these dreams furnishes yet another reason for considering them 'mixed' dreams.

Of course, the same initial erotic dream could take a completely different turn depending on the current self-making project of the person who has it. Patricia Garfield, the author of books entitled *Creative dreaming* and *Pathway to ecstasy* (1974; 1979), reported that about two-thirds of her lucid dreams had sexual content, and about half culminated in orgasm. Her intentional cultivation of these climactic conclusions represents a project of self-fulfilment exactly the converse of those encouraged by early ascetic practice, Victorian precepts, or the immediate post-Victorian inner worlds of Malinowski and Freud.

One further illustration of the unproblematic cultivation of erotic dreams is the manufacture and use of statues representing 'otherworld mates' by the Baule of Côte d'Ivoire (Ravenhill 1996). Both men and women can commission the carving of these small statues and a night of the week is set aside when one sleeps alone in order to have dream encounters, including erotic experiences, with these idealized otherworld beings. The bodies of the females are accentuated, while the clothing, indicating status, of the male statues is more emphasized (Figs. 3, 4). This reveals the fantasy features most appealing to male and female dreamers respectively. These dream experiences with otherworld mates apparently serve as a complement to, and at the same time a release from, one's real life partner and the normal social world. The Baule example provides one last illustration of how dreams may be continuous with, and expand upon, current waking fantasies of the self. This is a dimension that reliance on the psychoanalytic term 'repression', which emphasizes dreams as distorted products of a discontinuous unconscious, might cause one to miss.

Conclusion: viral history

From the rise of Christian asceticism until the Enlightenment, the erotic nightmare complex, the incubus to give it its salient indigenous term, lay upon

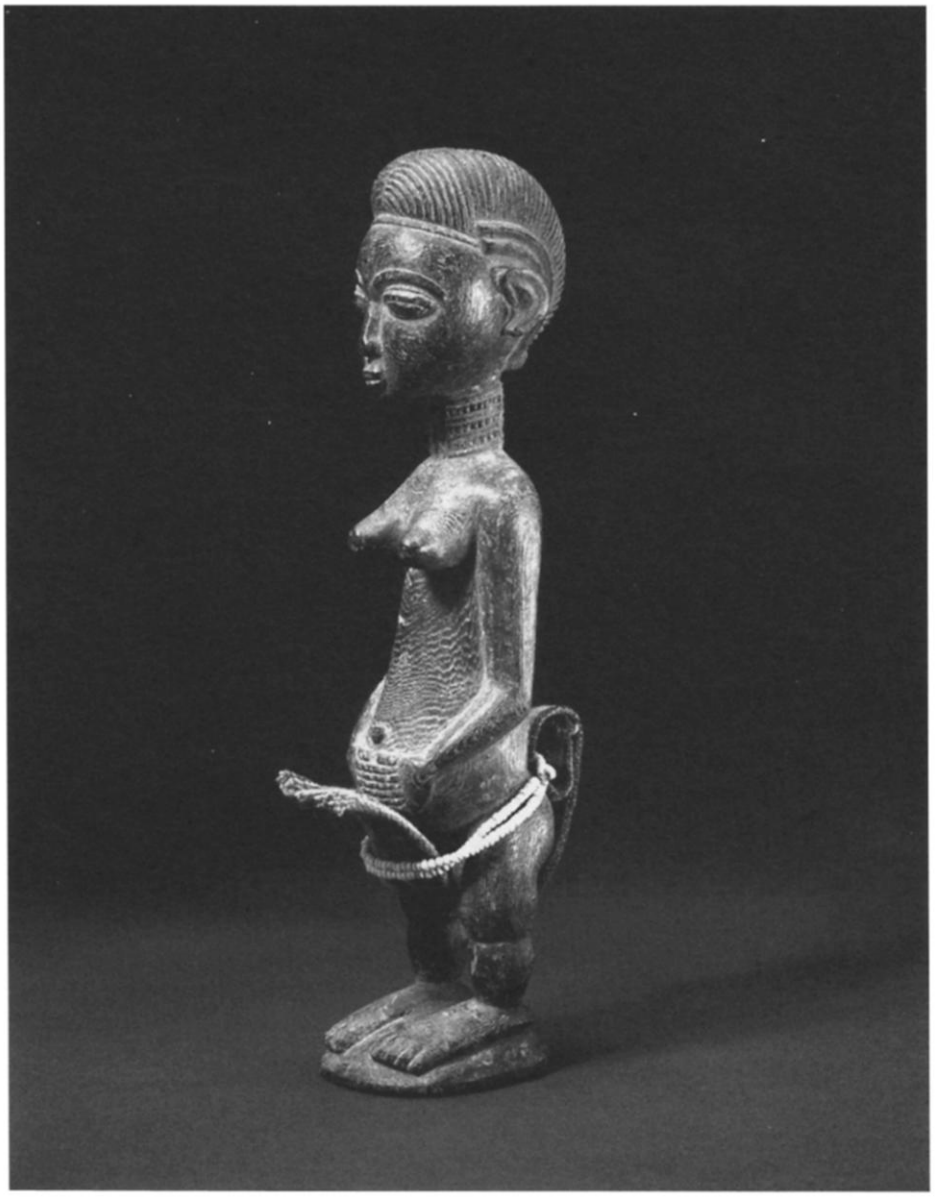


FIGURE 3. Statue of an otherworld woman (*c.* 1920). Courtesy of the Fowler Museum of Cultural History, UCLA (Ravenhill 1996: 49).

the brain of Western societies. Naked evidence of one's own lust posed a problem and the introjection of erotic dream experiences was consequently fraught. The popular cultivation of orgasmic dreams today would seem to suggest the end of the erotic nightmare, but the matter is not so simple. Recent developments suggest that the erotic nightmare might be headed for a more mainstream revival. In order to account for this I must take one brief step backward before going forward.

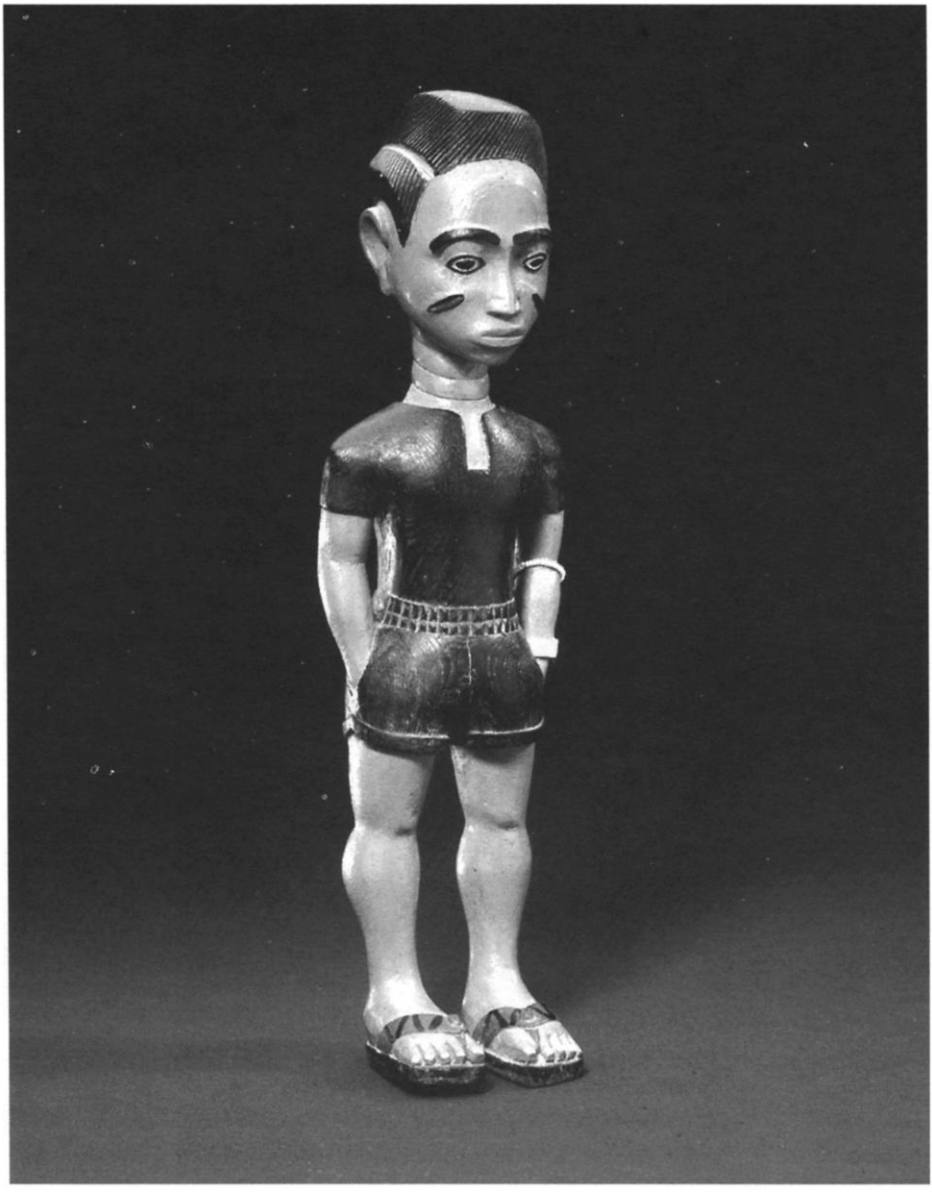


FIGURE 4. Statue of an otherworld man (*c.* 1965). Courtesy of the Fowler Museum of Cultural History, UCLA (Ravenhill 1996: 47).

At the moment when science and philosophy had almost completely subdued the animate, demonic nightmare, the romantics revitalized it in a sort of backlash against the tyranny of reason. On holiday in Switzerland, a select company that included Lord Byron, his personal physician John Polidori, Percy Shelley, and his soon-to-be wife Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin regularly gathered around the fireplace. Confinement by unseasonably cold weather and perpetual rainstorms brought boredom, which they countered by reading

aloud from a volume of German folktales in French translation. They then turned their energies to composing their own horror stories. Byron's tale about a vampire ('A fragment', 1816), Polidori's appropriation of it (*The vampyre*, 1819) and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) all arose from this contest. Only eighteen years old at the time, Mary Shelley could not think up an idea until one night she had a waking dream, which she described in her introduction to the 1831 reissue of *Frankenstein* (Shelley 1993: 196). In this dream she saw Dr Frankenstein bringing his monster to life. Another famous horror story of the nineteenth century, Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, also took form in a dream. Stoker's diaries reveal that his idea for this novel derived from an actual nightmare in which he envisioned a girl trying to kiss him, not on the lips, but on the neck (Frayling 1996: 68).

Conceptions of the erotic nightmare gained power and unity in the genre of gothic horror fiction and through Fuseli's famous painting, which also drew on his personal dream experiences.[24] In time these works of art and fiction were transmuted into twentieth-century films with an even wider diffusion. Horror stories and films preserve precisely the spellbinding, terrifying 'grip' often felt in the erotic nightmare (Todorov 1973: 25, 32). Gothic horror thus re-poses the problem of the imaginal from the opposite direction of the dream. In it the fictional converts into a personally felt emotional experience, while in the case of nightmares one struggles to classify a personal emotional experience as fiction ('It was *only* a dream'). The felt phenomenology of the medieval incubus thus evidently jumped from the category of personal dream into the realm of fiction just as it began to lose credence as a specific kind of dream experience in educated circles.

The process of dismembering the erotic nightmare seems to have been largely completed by the late twentieth century. The psychiatrist Mack (1970: vii, 224) doubted that nightmares had any direct relation to eroticism and he rejected Jones's repression of incest aetiology as too narrow (Hufford 1982: 130). A large sample of nightmares collected in the Boston area did not reveal any sexual content (Hartmann 1984: 61). The term incubus itself was retained by Broughton (1970) to refer to night terrors occurring in NREM deep sleep, but the broad public seems to have grown completely unfamiliar with the term (Jarcho 1980: 253). In 1996 Reebok launched a women's training-shoe named 'Incubus' and it was a full year, and over 50,000 unit sales later, before anyone pointed out that the incubus was a demon that molested women in their sleep.

It appears, however, that having migrated into fictional genres, many of the elements of the erotic nightmare have now begun to re-enter the domain of non-fictional human experiences in accounts of alien abduction. What began in the 1940s as periodic sightings of 'flying saucers' has developed into an increasing number of more detailed reports of closer encounters with aliens. The very first alien abduction incident gives an idea of this emergent category of experience. In 1957 a twenty-three-year-old Brazilian named Antonio Villas-Boas was forcibly taken aboard a UFO by five aliens. There, according to his account (Matheson 1998: 40ff.), he was drenched in a strange viscous liquid and a blood sample was taken from his chin before he had sexual intercourse with one of the aliens. He described her as attractive but emitting grunting noises that left him with a 'disagreeable impression',

as if he had been with an 'animal' (Matheson 1998: 43). Many further abductions have since been reported and they often begin with the victims in bed, perhaps asleep, when a feeling of paralysis comes over them (Bryan 1996: 18).

Numerous abductees believe that they might be dreaming the events, or that they occur in an intermediate phase between fantasy and normal consciousness. The researchers often discount these opinions and treat the events as real, much as the inquisitors did during witch accusations. These abduction accounts are very various, but they frequently involve a feeling of dread, terror, and paralysis. Clinical invasions of one's reproductive system are frequently accompanied by mixed feelings of pleasure and horror. Women, who constitute the majority of abductees, report that the aliens perform something called 'mindscan' on them, which produces feelings of love for the aliens and the wish to submit to them. Sometimes the aliens induce rapid sexual arousal, even orgasm, although victims report this as an unpleasant experience (Jacobs 1992: 106).

The example of alien abductions carries my account up to the present, and probably some distance into the future. It dispels any urge to consider the history of erotic dreams as a progressive mastering of the frightening imagery modulating the experience of sexual desire. Although alien abduction accounts resemble the Genesis 6 story of the union of mortal women with the sons of God (also known as the 'Watchers'), or the operation of medieval *incubi* and *succubi*, this history does not document a steady continuity for the erotic nightmare. The dream, or nightmare, presents an attractive model for historical process because it conveys the idea of compulsion. One is borne along, gently in a dream, brutally in a nightmare, just as one is carried along in the stream of historical events, unable to step outside it. Yet this image does not apply in this case precisely because of the ruptures in the discursive appearance of the erotic nightmare. Nor does it seem satisfactory to label its periodic re-emergence as 'cyclical'. This image of mechanical regularity is too thin and unilluminating. What needs to be captured in the case of erotic nightmares is the manner in which a particular bundle of emotions and sensations has been preserved even through transformations of genre.

The erotic nightmare has mutated and 'wandered' because, as Hacking suggests (1995*b*), social classifications of human experience are bound to stimulate reactions in the people so classified. They may embrace the description of their experience, or hyper-conform to it; but even if they reject it, they often subsequently reinvent it with a new name (Hacking 1995*b*: 374). The migration and mutation of the erotic nightmare across genres resembles the history of a virus that passes back and forth between species, even undergoing long periods of latency, before bursting out again. Mary Shelley captured this process of infection when, awakening from her dream, she immediately realized its potential for the ghost story she had been trying to compose. '"I have found it! What terrified me will terrify others; and I need only describe the spectre which had haunted my midnight pillow"' (1993: 196). Precisely this sort of transmission across social contexts (for instance, from medieval folk-story to witch prosecutor's manual, to gothic novel or psychoanalytic theory) seems to have ensured the erotic nightmare's survival.

As Lévi-Strauss (1963: 217) asserted in the case of retellings of myths, subsequent narrations of the erotic nightmare (no matter how analytic) become further bearers of it.

The idea of a viral history is purely analogical; the incubus may be rhetorically and physically contagious, but it is not a pathogen like HIV. This study of the erotic nightmare complex does, however, supplement Sperber's (1985) 'epidemiology of representations' by calling attention to the role of feelings and emotions in the spread of ideas. The diachronic transmission of the erotic nightmare depended perhaps more on the transfer of a powerful bundle of affect than on the reception of cognitive ideas. Representations of the erotic nightmare have indeed transformed as they went from individual minds to collectively available media and back again, as Sperber envisaged (1985: 75). Distortions in transmission do not, however, account for the full dynamic of the erotic nightmare. Clearly the various internal rules of specific domains of thought (asceticism, medicine, philosophy, fiction, psychiatry) acted as crucibles of cultural historical change. Early Christian ascetics sought to eliminate erotic dreams as part of a quest for spiritual perfection. Renaissance inquisitors multiplied the number of erotic nightmare scenarios by flushing out, or imputing, such dreams in order to secure convictions. Post-Enlightenment doctors broke erotic dreams and nightmares into discrete constituent units in order to treat them therapeutically. And the stories of present-day abductees proliferate and gain added complexity as they meet with enormous public interest and occasional monetary reward. Transfer from one to another social context has thus subjected the erotic nightmare to radical yet highly unco-ordinated conceptual escalations or contractions. This account alerts us that the erotic nightmare may currently still exist, and also that an historical approach is necessary in order to locate it.

NOTES

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Passages from classical and patristic authors are cited by internal textual division, so that the passage may be located in any edition or translation of the work.

[1] Foucault had long planned a fourth volume in his *History of sexuality*. Provisionally titled *The confessions of the flesh*, it would have dealt centrally with early Christian asceticism.

[2] Johnson (1998) represents an exception.

[3] Freud already distinguished conscious suppression (*Unterdrückung*) from unconscious repression (*Verdrängung*) in *The interpretation of dreams* (1953 [1900]: 606-7; Laplanche & Pontalis 1973: 438).

[4] For an overview of these and other 'culture-bound syndromes', see Simons and Hughes (1985), who also include sleep paralysis (the classic nightmare) as one of the syndromes.

[5] Freud had a reproduction of Fuseli's *The nightmare* hanging in his consulting room at Berggasse 19 (Frayling 1996: 10). The picture was a gift from Ernest Jones, who used it as the frontispiece for his book *On the nightmare* (1971 [1931]). For an excellent study of the classic nightmare, see Hufford (1982).

[6] In this respect dreamers are comparable to the mentally ill, who mistake hallucinations or delusions for reality. Aristotle explicitly makes this comparison (*On dreams*, 460b15) and later philosophers also regularly contrasted dreaming with madness (Pigeaud 1983).

[7] Erotic dreams were tests of what Foucault termed 'governmentality' – the ethical basis of the right to govern (1997). The life of Gandhi furnishes a clear illustration. In his final years Gandhi slept in the same bed as young women, claiming to be testing his ability not to become aroused. He was quoted as saying, 'If I can master this, I can still beat Jinnah' (Erikson 1970: 404; Alter 2000).

[8] In Paulus Aeginetus page 30[b], cited in Roscher (1900: 18, 112-13).

[9] I thank Jeremy Tanner for his discussion of this relief.

[10] *On acute diseases* and *On chronic diseases* are attributed to the fifth-century CE Latin writer, Caelius Aurelianus. These texts are, however, believed to be Latin translations of Greek treatises by the second-century CE physician, Soranus.

[11] Seneca (first century CE) later modified the Stoic position to hold that there were certain 'first movements', such as shuddering when splashed with cold water, or experiencing sexual arousal (*On anger*, 2.1-3), that could never be subject to mental control and thus were not passions, but just a physical 'impulse of the body' (*corporis pulsus*). I thank Richard Sorabji for his observations drawn upon here (see also Sorabji 1997: 200).

[12] *Greek magical papyri* XVIIa; in Betz (1986: 253). For more on demons sending (erotic) dreams, see Eitrem (1991) and Faraone (1999).

[13] Found in the first-century CE author, Aëtius, *Placita*, 5.2.3; text and translation in von Staden (1989: 386).

[14] Galen considered erotic dreams as textbook examples of the category of dreams that reflected an individual's physical state: 'men full of sperm will imagine that they are having sexual intercourse' (*On diagnosis from dreams*, in Oberhelman 1983: 46).

[15] The sin of accidie (boredom, despondency) – also known as the noonday demon – provides one example of a demonic thought that allied the irascible and sensuous parts of the soul and 'suffocated the intellect' (Evagrius, *Praktikos*, 36). Evagrius considered accidie 'the heaviest of the demons' (*Praktikos*, 12). I thank George Calofonos for his discussion of these ideas.

[16] An indication of the currency of the term may be found in Augustine's *City of God*, 15.23.

[17] My use of this term perhaps differs somewhat from its use in Jungian circles and elsewhere (cf. Tedlock 1987: 3). I use 'imaginal' to refer to a state of consciousness in which one has the impression that what one is witnessing is absolutely 'real' and independent of one's mind, although one is, in fact, only imagining it. The term 'imaginary', by contrast, implies an awareness, even in the moment of imagining, that what one beholds is only a product of one's imagination. Dreams, visions, hallucinations, and apparitions are, generally, experienced imaginally and then subsequently accounted for as imaginary.

[18] Andrew Baxter's *Enquiry into the nature of the human soul* (1737) attributed frightening dreams to external spirits because, he reasoned, the soul would not frighten itself (Ford 1999: 178).

[19] Coleridge, 'The pains of sleep' (1816). In Coleridge (1912: 390).

[20] 'Pornography' appears for the first time in Webster's *Dictionary* of 1864 (Kendrick 1987: 13).

[21] Malinowski's daytime erotic thoughts often concerned the local women but, as Tedlock has pointed out (1994: 289), these women never figured in the dreams he recorded.

[22] Unlike Christian ascetics, however, anthropologists receive little preparation for the psychosexual travails of fieldwork. In his *Diary* Malinowski thus inadvertently broached important issues that have only recently begun to be discussed within the profession (Kulick & Willson 1995; Markowitz & Ashkenazi 1999; Wengle 1988).

[23] Susan Isaacs distinguished 'fantasy' (conscious daydreams, fictions, etc.) from 'phantasy' (the primary content of unconscious mental processes). See Hook (1979; 1994). Laplanche and

Pontalis (1968: 11) disputed Isaacs's distinction, although elsewhere they make it clear that Freud conceived phantasy, and primal phantasy, as possibly archetypal, phylogenetic inheritances (Laplanche & Pontalis 1973: 315, 332).

[24] According to Fuseli: 'One of the most unexplored regions of art are dreams, and what may be called the personification of sentiment' (Tomory 1972: 181). He painted *The nightmare* fresh with the disappointment of having been turned down in his proposal for the hand of Anna Landolt. On the obverse of the original canvas Fuseli had begun to paint the portrait of a young woman, possibly Anna (Powell 1972: 60). Fuseli's obsession with Anna is made over into her erotic nightmare desire for him (as incubus).

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Rêves érotiques et cauchemars depuis l'antiquité jusqu'ici

Résumé

L'histoire des rêves érotiques, des cauchemars et des cauchemars érotiques offre une occasion précieuse d'étudier comment de tels rêves ont mis à l'épreuve les idées occidentales sur le soi, le désir et la maîtrise de soi. Comme Foucault, je considère qu'il est plus productif d'analyser ces rêves, et les difficultés de leur introjection, en tant que sites de constuction de soi plutôt qu'en termes de répression. Les rêves et cauchemars érotiques ont été infléchis par plusieurs stratégies historiques de fabrication du soi, produites elles-mêmes par différents régimes de savoir tels que l'ascétisme chrétien, la médecine ou la philosophie. Les cauchemars érotiques continuent à proliférer dans les récits d'enlèvements par des extra-terrestres. Une raison pour cette ténacité historique a été l'aise avec laquelle les sensations affectives des cauchemars érotiques – terreur et excitation sexuelle – sont passées d'un genre à l'autre parmi des genres aussi divers que les manuels monacaux, les contes médiévaux, la fiction gothique et les rêves personnels. Cette étude démontre l'importance d'une perspective historique afin de pouvoir identifier et comprendre les syndromes qui sont élaborés culturellement (ou 'syndromes culturels spécifiques').

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The Rise of Eunuchs in Greco-Roman Antiquity

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IN THIS ARTICLE I would like to show that eunuchs gradually gained prominence in Greco-Roman society from the second to fourth centuries C.E.[1] In so doing I would like to add fresh material to recent discussions of this period's sexuality—discussions illuminating a curious and fascinating shift in sexuality from ancient to more modern views.[2] A brief

[1] I will use the term "eunuch" in its broadest sense, referring to all the sexually altered or asexual men of the period under discussion. The term originates in the guarding of the harem, as a "bed-guard" (Greek: *eunen echein*). Some definition of "Greco-Roman" culture is needed here: I will briefly say that, by the late second century C.E., the melding of the Greek language and its rich intellectual background with Roman legal and political structure forms the foundation of this culture and thus the name. I will add that the influence of Egyptians, Hebrews, Persians, and the many other less well known peoples of the Roman east (e.g., Nabataeans/Arabs) seems enormous to me. Because of the process of cultural integration begun by Alexander and consummated by the Roman empire, and because of the gradual fade in the city of Rome's importance in the second to fourth centuries, it becomes difficult to cull out what is "Roman" or "Greek" or "Egyptian" in this period. One example will have to suffice: Apuleius, whom I will cite below, was apparently born and raised in Africa, later educated in Carthage, then Athens, then Rome, and yet his novel, *The Golden Ass,* attempts to win us over to the cult of the Egyptian goddess Isis. Can we call him "Roman" since he wrote in Latin? For now I will call him a product of "Greco-Roman" civilization and hope for a better term to come along in the future.

[2] The two most significant sources of this discussion are Michel Foucault, *The Care of the Self,* trans. Richard Hurley (New York, 1986); and Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988). David Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York, 1990), presents a useful summary: "From all this recent work on the history of sexuality a certain picture is starting to emerge. Its details are extremely sketchy, and there are large gaps on its surface, some of which perhaps will never be filled in. But let me attempt to convey my impression of

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look at the literary texts of the first and second centuries C.E. will disclose the variety of eunuchs and sterile men who began to gain attention in this period. In fact, the evidence of the eunuch's place in the high and late empire speaks strongly enough to challenge commonly held assumptions about Greco-Roman patriarchy—or perhaps just to force us to refine our understanding of it.[3] I will briefly outline the history of the rise of eunuchs to prominence and point out the problems that this phenomenon presents to our understanding of the ancient world.

As a preface to this article I will point out that eunuchs provide us with an unusual opportunity to detach ourselves momentarily from the modern political landscape in our efforts to sketch ancient life. It is no secret that the relatively recent attention accorded to homosexuality in public discourse has inspired intensive study into ancient "homosexuality" and, in turn, into more sophisticated study of ancient sexuality in general. But throughout the discussion of the history of sexuality there has lurked a political subtext that those who study ancient sexuality are attempting to "defend" or "promulgate" modern homosexual practices by proving that human sexuality is differently "constructed" by different cultures. Because eunuchs are not a modern cultural phenomenon, I can hope that the study of ancient eunuchs will stimulate a discussion less preoccupied with modern political issues and more focused on the fascinating difficulties of understanding the life of ancient Greek- and Latin-speaking peoples.

It is necessary to begin by defining in ancient terms who these eunuchs were—knowledge almost wholly absent today.[4] Once the subject of this article is clear, I will chronologically document the introduction

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it. Homosexuality and heterosexuality, as we currently understand them, are modern, Western, bourgeois productions. Nothing resembling them can be found in classical antiquity. A certain identification of the self with the sexual self began in late antiquity; it was strengthened by the Christian confessional. Only in the high middle ages did certain kinds of sexual acts start to get identified with certain specifically sexual types of person" (p. 8). For examples of recent work on sexuality in the Roman empire, see Judith P. Hallett, "Female Homoeroticism and the Denial of Roman Reality in Latin Literature," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 3 (1989): 209–27; and John Boswell, *Same Sex Unions in Pre-modern Europe* (New York, 1994). A good place to become familiar with the ongoing debate on method within the fields of history of sexuality, classics, and feminism is Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus* (Oxford, 1992), esp. in her preface and bibliographies. I am indebted to her.

[3] The term "patriarchy" has been stretched beyond recognition in the last few decades—see Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (Oxford, 1986), p. 239, for a succinct and precise definition. For an overview, see Richlin, pp. xvii–xviii.

[4] See Ernst Maass, "Eunuchos und verwandtes," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 74 (1925): 432–76, who gathers an impressive array of linguistic evidence in defining the variety of Greek and Latin terms for "eunuchs."

of eunuchs into the Greco-Roman world. We are fortunate that the ancient jurists have left us exact definitions of asexual men in antiquity.[5] Roman law presents us with a precise catalog of eunuchs in the high empire, though its foreign terminology burdens us with some need for extrapolation. The inheritance law divided eunuchs into four categories: *spadones, thlibiae, thladiae,* and *castrati,* of whom all but the castrati could pass on an inheritance—the legal essence of Roman patrilinearity. The last three terms seem to refer to processes of sexual mutilation. *Thlibiae* in Greek refers to the "pressed."[6] *Thladiae* refers to the "crushed."[7] And *castrati* in Latin refers to those whose gonads (and possibly penis also) were surgically detached from the body. The digest itself states: "*Spado* is the generic name under which those who are *spadones* by birth as well as *thlibiae, thlasiae* and whatever other type of *spado* exists, are contained."[8] These *spadones* are contrasted with castrati: "It has been discussed if he who cannot easily procreate can leave an heir. Both Cassius and Iavolenus write that he can, since he can take a wife and adopt a son. Labeo and Cassius also write that *spadones* are able to have an heir since neither their age nor their sterility are an impediment. But Julian follows the opinion of Proculus that one who is castrated cannot take an heir, which ruling we follow."[9] Therefore it seems that the crushing and pressing were procedures somehow not associated with the more drastic castration. This leaves three groups: those born without

[5] I depend heavily in this section on the Paully-Wissowa *Realencyclopaedia der Altertumswissenschaft,* s.v. *Spado.* The translations are mine.

[6] See the early second-century medical writer Soranus *Gynecology* 2.40.5: "If the testicles are bruised (*thlibomenoi*), sometimes they retract into the upper parts, sometimes dissolve and thus some boys become cryptorchids, others eunuchs." This use of the verb *thlibein* ("to press" or "to bruise") as causing a boy to become a eunuch may give us a clue to the process involved in creating *thlibiae.*

[7] Most that we know of *thladiae* (also spelled *thlasiae*) comes from the Hebrew tradition, e.g., the fountainhead of all Hebrew discussion of eunuchs, Deut. 23:1: "He whose testicles are crushed [i.e., a *thladias*] or whose male member is cut off [*apokekommenos* in Greek] shall not enter the assembly of the Lord" (Revised Standard Version). Philo, the celebrated writer of first-century Alexandria, expounds on this teaching in several writings (*Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis* 3.8.3, *On Drunkenness* 213.2, *On the Migration of Abraham* 69.4, *On Dreams* 2.184), throughout which the name for those with crushed testicles is *thladiae.* But most interesting for our discussion is his *Special Laws* 1.325: "It begins with the men who belie their sex and are affected with effemination, who debase the currency of nature and violate it by assuming the passions and the outward form of licentious women. For it expels those whose generative organs are fractured or mutilated, who husband the flower of their youthful bloom, lest it should quickly wither, and restamp the masculine cast into a feminine form."

[8] Justinian *Digest* 50.16.128. I consulted Theodor Mommsen, Paul Krueger, and Alan Watson, eds., *The Digest of Justinian,* 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1985), 4:944. This excellent edition contains an English translation on the facing page.

[9] Justinian *Digest* 28.2.6. See Mommsen, Krueger, and Watson, eds., 2:820.

strong sexual characteristics, those "moderately" emasculated, and those surgically emasculated. These legal definitions of course did not arrive until the flowering of written corpora of laws in the high empire. As will be seen, the earlier Romans would not have discussed eunuchs so dispassionately.

The central problem for an understanding of Roman eunuchs originates in the strong Roman sense of nature, and their sharp definition of what is natural and unnatural. It will come as no surprise to those familiar with the Romans that they were not initially fond of the practice of castration. Since my goal is to demonstrate the development of the eunuch's prominence in Greco-Roman culture, it will be useful to start at the beginning and sketch out the Roman resistance to this age-old institution.[10] After this resistance is discussed, the rise of eunuchs can be covered in its appropriate context.

Roman religion since time immemorial had worshipped the father's generative power in the *genius* of the paterfamilias, or the fertility principle behind the whole household.[11] Since the Romans thought that the survival of the family, and hence the society, relied not only on the fertility of the father to generate children (or exploitable labor for the farm), but also for his fertility to infuse the crops, cattle, sheep and swine, this *genius* demanded the highest status. The Roman state in turn developed its system of rule through *patres* or fathers based upon the importance of the *paterfamilias* for survival. The terminology was retained right into the time of Augustus (and throughout the principate) who claimed the title "father of the fatherland" (*Pater Patriae*) upon consolidating power in 27 B.C.E. The foundation of this concept of "father" seems to be deeply rooted in the fertility or potency of the father. If this potency is the root of the Roman conception of power, we would expect the Romans to banish such an impossible "pater" as a eunuch from access to power or prestige.

And this is, of course, how the historical Romans reacted. For instance, when they accepted Cybele into the state cult in 204 B.C.E., the senate apparently refused citizens the right to participate in the rites of the mother goddess as her castrated priests: that is, they could not imagine allowing a Roman to be castrated—a procedure necessary for initiation in the priesthood of Cybele.[12] Catullus's poem number 63 presents

[10]The institution of eunuchs goes far back in the history of the Middle East as, e.g., Deut. 23:1 (see n. 7 above) shows in the Hebrew tradition. Most of the leading civilizations of the area seemed to have had eunuchs.

[11]See Kurt Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960): "Damit ist auch die Herkunft des Wortes Genius geklärt: es bezeichnet den, der die Fähigkiet zum Zeugen besitzt, die als die spezifische Manneskraft gefasst wird" (p. 103).

[12]See Livy 29.14 for the induction of Cybele into the Roman state religion.

the experience of castration for the priesthood of Cybele. In this striking poem the mutilated initiate himself expresses regret at his action and thus probably speaks for many Roman males in articulating their collective castration fear.[13] Finally, as the number of eunuchs apparently increased enough to demand imperial attention, Emperor Domitian declared all castration illegal within the boundaries of the empire.[14] Whether he did this out of fear of their ambiguous sexuality, out of a sense of conventional Roman morality, or out of concern for the depopulation of the empire, he left us no record.[15] We are left to ponder his motivation.

A curious strand of Roman discourse seconded Domitian's disapproval of eunuchs.[16] Several authors of satirical bent dwelled on a sexually threatening aspect of eunuchs. Medically it can be explained that a eunuch, if castrated after puberty, would lose fertility but retain sexual desire and the capability to gain erection and enjoy genital pleasure.[17] According to our sources these eunuchs would even have exorbitantly heightened sexual desires. In this satire attacking the conduct of Roman wives, Juvenal seems almost to fear eunuchs' "virility":

There are girls who adore unmanly eunuchs—so smooth,
so beardless to kiss, and no worry about abortions!
But the biggest thrill is one who was fully-grown,
a lusty black-quilled male, before the surgeons
went to work on his groin. Let the testicles ripen
and drip, fill out till they hang like two-pound weights;
then what the surgeon chops will hurt nobody's trade but the barber's.
(Slave-dealers' boys are different: pathetically weak,
ashamed of the empty bag, their lost little chickpeas.)
Look at that specimen—you could spot him a mile off,
everyone knows him—displaying his well-endowed person

[13] See T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and His World* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 198–206, for a fuller discussion of Catullus and Cybele.

[14] I consulted Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Graz, 1955), p. 637, for a detailed documentation of Domitian's law.

[15] Brown, *The Body and Society* (n. 2 above), p. 6, gathers persuasive evidence that the state was very interested in maintaining its population. He cites A. R. Burn, "Hic breve vivitur," *Past and Present*, no. 4 (1953), pp. 1–31; Bruce Frier, "Roman Life Expectancy: Ulpian's Evidence," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 86 (1982): 213–51; as well as the arguments to the contrary by Keith Hopkins, "On the Probable Age Structure of the Roman Population," *Population Studies* 20 (1966): 245–64.

[16] See also Celsus (e.g., *De medicina* 4.31), a medical writer, and Pliny the Elder (e.g., *Naturalis historia* 11.269), an encyclopediast of sorts, who discuss eunuchs with familiarity in the middle first century.

[17] See Galen *De usu partium* 4.190.16 for a discussion of this medical phenomenon.

at the baths: Priapus might well be jealous. And yet
he's a eunuch. His mistress arranged it. So, let them sleep together—
yet I wouldn't bet on a handsome, passionate youth
with his first beard sprouting to better that performance.[18]

Clearly eunuchs were both well known in Rome by Juvenal's time (early second century B.C.E.), and perceived as randy, if the poet's lines were to be effective. The outrage here, though embellished, concerns the flagrant infertility of eunuchs (and their sexual partners)—a theme that could easily have been heard in the discussions of the third-century C.E. senate. Thus Juvenal's response fits well into the Roman tradition that highly values male fertility. According to this tradition it is "unnatural" for women to enjoy sex without potential procreation. Thus it seemed doubly unnatural for men, the very loci of Roman fertility, to provide this sterile pleasure.

Martial (40–104 C.E.), a well-known composer of epigram by the time of Domitian's reign, affirms Juvenal's opinion:

It used to be a game to fool around with our holy marriage,
a game also to mutilate pitiful males.
Caesar, you prohibit both and so do well by future generations
whom you order to be born legitimately.
Now as long as you reign there will be neither eunuch nor adulterer:
but before—the times!—the adulterer was a eunuch.[19]

Though there is a clear attempt to flatter Domitian in these lines, there is also a point. If the poem were to make sense to its audience, there would have to be a presumption among Romans that eunuchs were involved in adultery. This suspicion of adultery would follow Juvenal's opinion that these sterile men represented the married woman's best birth control, therefore eunuchs must have been enjoying sex with married women. We can never know whether or not eunuchs were widely involved in adultery in the late first and early second century. Nevertheless, it is apparent that Romans disapproved of eunuchs at the time.

It could, however, be argued that these satirists are merely exaggerating for humorous purposes. For example, Quintilian, a sober and respectable court rhetorician under Domitian, states in his section on the rhetorical usefullness of jokes the following: "I will add another example [of humor caused by the unexpected] although out of respect to its

[18] Juvenal *Saturae* 6.366–78. This satire suffers from problems in the textual transmission. I am following the translation of Peter Green *Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires* (London, 1974), who discusses the problems on pp. 55–60.

[19] Martial *Epigrammata* 6.2.

author I withhold his name: 'You are more lustful than a eunuch,' where we are surprised by the appearance of a word which is the very opposite of what we should have expected."[20] Quintilian's sentiment contradicts what Juvenal and Martial say by implying that eunuchs have very little libido. Could it be that Juvenal was joking in the manner described by Quintilian? If Quintilian were in fact representing a common Roman opinion, then we could explain the jokes in the satirists as attempts to surprise their audiences with unexpected sexual scenarios.

I do not think, however, that Quintilian's statement can hold enough weight to subvert the satirical passages, especially that of Juvenal. Quintilian presents himself as somewhat stuffy and prudish throughout his book on education.[21] Furthermore, we can suspect that he lived the sheltered, distant life of the courtly elite, rarely even meeting with anyone who would be acquainted first-hand with the behavior of a eunuch. The other authors of the time, and especially those closer to the "streets," as Juvenal and Martial repeatedly characterize themselves, describe eunuchs as lascivious. Most important, Martial was in no position for absurd joking when he addressed the poem quoted above to Domitian himself, an emperor who legislated against eunuchs.

A later author, Apuleius, leaves us a different view of eunuchs: that they solely desired anal penetration and, thus, took on the Roman feminine sexual role, that is, that they were "effeminate." His novel *The Golden Ass* recounts the adventures of a man turned into an ass. In the section of interest to us, he has been sold to a group of castrated eunuchs serving as priests of Cybele. In this passage the chief eunuch has just bought the ass and brought him back to the other eunuchs. The narrator is the ass:

> As soon as he reached the threshold, he cried out, "girlies, troop up and spy the darling slavelet I've bought you." The girls, however, turned out to be a band of eunuchs, who at once began squeaking for delight in their splintering harsh womanish voices, thinking that it was really a man brought home trussed to do them good service. When they saw their mistake (not a stag as proxy for a virgin, but an ass for a man) they turned up their noses and sneered at their chief, saying that this wasn't a servant for them but a husband for himself. "But please," they added, "don't keep the

[20] Quintilian *Institutio oratoria* 6.3.64.

[21] See, e.g., ibid., 2.2.14, where he commands all teachers to separate the older boys from the younger boys, not only to prevent sexual encounters, but especially to prevent the suspicion of these. Could the unnamed joker in his passage above have been Domitian? Could Quintilian have missed the point of the emperor's line? It is difficult to resist these speculations.

pretty beast all to yourself. Make sure to share him with your little lovey-doves."[22]

Even if we allow for the almost fantastical imaginings proper to comic literature, this passage would have little point if there were not a general belief throughout the empire that eunuchs were effeminate and enjoyed anal penetration immoderately. At the beginning of the novel the narrator calls attention to the fact that he is not only not Roman but did not learn the Latin language until adulthood. And yet his calling attention to the feminine failings of eunuchs sounds quite Roman; he implies that eunuchs, just like Roman women, have an immoderate desire for sterile sex. It is reasonable to conclude from this that this stereotype of eunuchs, though differing somewhat from those depicted in the poetry of Juvenal and Martial, also existed outside of the city of Rome.

Another non-Roman voice contemporary with Apuleius discusses eunuchs: Lucian, the Greek humorist who left us a comic dialogue called the *Eunuch.* This short piece will require a full summary due to its inherent importance for our discussion. One of the characters in the dialogue tells of a courtroom battle between two philosophers, Diocles and a eunuch Bagoas (both names are deliberately fictitious) as to who will take over the leadership of the Peripatetic school in Athens (as well as the 10,000 drachma salary dedicated by the emperor Marcus Aurelius).[23] Diocles charges that Bagoas "is neither a woman nor a man, being a eunuch, rather synthesized, mixed, monstrous, outside of human nature" (47.6). After this standard attack on eunuchs, we are told by our narrator: "At first he [Bagoas] blushed and was quiet and stared stupidly because of shame and cowardice—which are common traits in eunuchs, but at last he piped up in a slight, effeminate voice and said that Diocles wasn't being fair excluding eunuchs from philosophy in which study even women took part. There was Aspasia and Diotima and Thargelia, and in addition that Academic eunuch from Gaul, who recently had been so highly considered by the Greeks."[24] At this point a member of the jury joins in and counters that a philosopher needs his whole body and especially a beard, which presumably a eunuch would lack. A second juror defends Bagoas, who then defends himself by claiming that eunuchs are good teachers since they cannot corrupt the students. A third (probably

[22] Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 8.26.

[23] Bagoas seems to have been a conventional name for Eunuchs in ancient literature (Ovid *Amores* 2.2.1; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 3.41), probably based on a bold and notorious Persian eunuch of that name (Diodorus Siculus 16.47.4).

[24] Lucian *Eunuch* 47.7. I have used the translation of A. M. Harmon, *Lucian* (Cambridge, MA, 1936), 5:331–45, though I have freely adapted it.

our narrator) is said to bring an ironic conclusion to the debate. This juror has heard that Bagoas was caught in the act of adultery, and defended himself in court by protesting that he was a eunuch. The result was that it was suggested to fetch a prostitute and see if Bagoas could "consummate his marriage." The dialogue ends on the point that the one thing clearly necessary for philosophy is the ability to perform sexual intercourse.

This dialogue shows that Lucian and his society were confused about or hostile toward eunuchs. Lucian could be satirizing eunuchs, or satirizing the stupidity of the masses, or satirizing the institution of philosophy in his period (most likely), or some combination of these, and yet all targets satirized would still represent a view held by these groups, albeit exaggerated or at least exaggeratedly outspoken. Nevertheless, all of the previous confused and conflicting views of eunuchs are summarized in Lucian's dialogue: that they are lecherous and adulterous (the two were often considered synonymous by the ancients); that they were lacking in desire and incapable of erection (the second juror thought eunuchs could not have sex with their students); that they were effeminate (note how Bagoas defended himself by pointing out that women had been philosophers and then tosses in a eunuch at the end of the list); and that they were unnatural. We can tentatively conclude that this array of opinions represented the Greco-Roman view in the late first and second centuries C.E.

It is interesting that the eunuch referred to in Bagoas's speech (the one from Gaul) was probably Favorinus of Arles, a court favorite of Hadrian. This popular eunuch of the second century was also attacked for adultery by a high-ranking Roman official.[25] What makes his case different from the stereotyped discourse of the satirical tradition is that Favorinus was a eunuch by birth.[26] Philostratus, the great chronicler of second-century cultural life, states the following: "He came from Western Gaul. . . . He was born two-natured, a hermaphrodite, which was shown in his appearance; for even when he grew old he had no beard; it was evident too from his voice which sounded thin, shrill, and high-pitched, with the modulations that nature bestows on eunuchs

[25] See Philostratus *Vitae sophistarum* 8.489: "He was so ardent in love that he was actually charged with adultery by a man of consular rank."

[26] See H. J. Mason, "Favorinus' Disorder: Reifenstein's Syndrome in Antiquity?" *Janus* 66 (1978): 1–13, for an interesting modern discussion of the sophist's condition, as well as an overview of modern medical categories of asexuality. More recently, Ann Fausto-Sterling, *Myths of Gender* (New York, 1985), has delved into the phenomenon of asexuality. The standard reference on Favorinus is Adelmo Barigazzi, *Favorino di Arelate: Opere: Introduzione testo critico e commentario* (Florence, 1966).

also."[27] Since no other source contests Favorinus's adultery, we can at least assume that ancient society accepted it as normal that a born eunuch was capable of committing adultery. On the other hand Philostratus quotes Favorinus as saying the following: "There are three paradoxes in his life: though he was a Gaul he led the life of a Hellene; a eunuch, he had been tried for adultery; he had quarrelled with an Emperor and was still alive."[28] As was the case with the satirical testimony quoted above, we are left in a quandary when reading this passage. Philostratus in one line can assume that we, his audience, will have no difficulty believing that a eunuch could be ardent in love, and at the same time quote the eunuch as saying that it is a paradox that a eunuch could be tried for adultery. That is, a eunuch was an ardent lover and yet physically incapable of adultery. We must conclude that in these first discussions of eunuchs there was still a good deal of confusion about their sexual capacity as well as a broad spectrum of opinion toward them ranging from acceptance to hostility. Nevertheless, the only consistent pattern is that eunuchs threatened Greco-Roman values.

The most interesting aspect of this Favorinus of Arles involves his third paradox, his relationship with the emperor Hadrian. It appears that Favorinus was the first eunuch intimate with the highest circles of power in the Mediterranean, the first publicly visible eunuch, and through his immense popularity a watershed figure in the history of eunuchs in Rome.[29] The conflict of Favorinus with Hadrian is one that the eunuch himself is joking about.[30] We are told that the emperor appointed Favorinus to a high-ranking priesthood and that Favorinus attempted to

[27] Philostratus *Vitae sophistarum* 8.489. There apparently was a good deal of discussion in this period on how one could identify various sexual types including eunuchs. See Maud Gleason ("The Semiotics of Gender: Physiognomy and Self-Fashioning in the Second Century C.E.," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World,* ed. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin [Princeton, NJ, 1990], pp. 389–415), who investigates this discourse in detail. One of the best-known authors in this genre is Polemo, a rival and critic of Favorinus, who attacks Favorinus. See Richard Förster, *Scriptores physiognomici Graeci et Latini* (Leipzig, 1893), 1:162 ff. Polemo goes so far as to say, "I am quite certain that eunuchs are corrupt in their lusts and well versed in every effeminate vice. . . . No one is more accomplished in vice than he who is born without testicles" (pp. 162, 164), remarks that are clearly directed toward Favorinus. On the rivalry between Favorinus and Polemo, which was said even to divide the senators against each other in Rome, see Philostratus *Vitae sophistarum* 8.490–91.

[28] Philostratus *Vitae sophistarum* 8.489.

[29] Eunuchs were known in earlier courts than that of Hadrian. For instance, Sejanus, the notorious adviser of Tiberius, was said to have paid an extravagant sum for a particularly appealing eunuch (see Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7.39.129). Nevertheless, these were slaves and apparently closer to concubines than cabinet members.

[30] See Fergus Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 64–65, who disagrees with Dio that Hadrian was hostile to Favorinus.

refuse the honor on the grounds that a philosopher was exempt from such public duties. Hadrian is said to have been prepared to call the eunuch a sophist, but before he could do so, Favorinus accepted the office rather than suffering the perceived insult at the hands of the emperor. Philostratus goes on to say: "The emperor had acted thus merely for his own diversion, for by turning his mind to philosophers and sophists he used to lighten the responsibilities of Empire."[31] A further sense of this diverting relationship between the two can be found in another ancient anecdote: "Once a word used by Favorinus was criticized by Hadrian. Favorinus yielded, which provoked some very agreeable amusement. He was wrong to concede to Hadrian, his friends charged him, over a word which reputable authors had used. 'You don't give me good advice, my friends,' said Favorinus, 'when you don't allow me to believe the man who possesses thirty legions to be more learned than anyone else.'"[32] This jocular familiarity with the emperor won the talented eunuch unusual notoriety.

But Favorinus's chief claim to fame was his speaking, which was considered unique, and which we can assume is related to his unusual sexuality.[33] Philostratus tells us: "When he delivered discourses in Rome, the interest in them was universal, so much so that even those in his audience who did not understand the Greek language shared in the pleasure that he gave; for he fascinated even them by the tones of his voice, by his expressive glance and the rhythm of his speech. They were also enchanted by the epilogue of his orations, which they called 'The Ode,' though I call it mere affectation, since it is arbitrarily added at the close of an argument that has been logically proved."[34] Here we see a man whom the Romans could clearly perceive as a eunuch, and yet whom they embraced as a great entertainer. Perhaps as a Gaul, he was seen as an acceptable practitioner of the "Asiatic" style of speaking he clearly exploited. Perhaps his sexual differences played only a small role in his success as a professional sophist. Whatever the reason, he seems to have conquered the distaste that Roman men felt for eunuchs, even if he did so only as a curiosity. Furthermore, by maintaining a close friendship with the emperor he may well have paved the way to power for eunuchs after him.

[31] Philostratus *Vitae sophistarum* 8.490. I have used Wilmer Cave Wright, *Philostratus and Eunapius* (London, 1992), for the translations of Philostratus, though I have freely altered these to make my points.

[32] *Historia Augusta*, Hadrian 15. I have used the translation of Anthony Birley, *The Lives of the Later Caesars* (London, 1976), although I have made various alterations.

[33] All of Favorinus's extant work has been collected by Barigazzi, but two of his speeches have been translated into English in H. Lamar Crosby, *Dio Chrysostom* (London, 1946), 4:1–47 (no. 37) and 5:89–115 (no. 66).

[34] Philostratus *Vitae sophistarum* 8.491–92.

The first politically powerful eunuch in the empire, a precursor to the court eunuchs of the fourth-century emperors, was a high-ranking official under Caracalla named Sempronius Rufus. In the year 214 C.E., Dio Cassius, who was a Roman senator at the time, tells us: "That which was the most disgraceful to and unworthy of both the Senate and the Roman people happened, when we had a eunuch to domineer over us. He was a native of Spain, Sempronius Rufus by name, and his occupation was that of sorcerer and juggler, for which he had been confined on an island by Severus [the previous emperor Septimius Severus]."[35] If we sift out Dio's strong opinions here, we see for the first time an emperor openly conferring official power, in this case power over the whole city of Rome while he was on campaign, to a eunuch. But Dio's reaction to this new power structure is not unique—it is the expected Roman reaction: How could someone without procreative capability rule over the senate? In spite of Dio's protests, the precedent was set and would be picked up later by Diocletian and his followers far more consistently than Caracalla could have known.

It is necessary to point out here that the increasing influence of mystery religions played a role in the acceptance of eunuchs into Greco-Roman culture. We have already seen examples of Cybele and her castrated priests, and this cult apparently continued to grow, especially in Rome and the west. But at the same time Christianity was effectively divorcing itself from Judaism and creating its own novel sexual ethic. Probably the most celebrated eunuch of antiquity was the ante-Nicene Father Origen whose most famous (infamous) action was his youthful self-castration.[36] There are those who would deny that Origen ever did such a thing, and yet the evidence of the period overwhelmingly confirms that self-castration was not uncommon for Christians in this period.[37] Christianity was spreading the ancient ascetic principles of the east to Rome and probably played no smaller role in establishing the eunuch throughout the region than did the cult of Cybele.

By the fourth century the eunuch was well established as a powerful figure close to the emperor. So powerful were they that Ammianus Mar-

[35] Dio Cassius 78.17. The translation is an altered version of Ernest Cary, *Dio's Roman History* (London, 1927).

[36] Brown, *The Body and Society* (n. 2 above), pp. 161–77, has a fascinating discussion of this important church father. Origen was inspired by a literal reading of Matt. 19.

[37] See Henri Crouzel, *Origen,* trans. A. S. Worrell (San Francisco, 1989), pp. 8–9. See also Henry Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 109–12, who comments on both the commonness of castration among Christians and the Church's banning of eunuchs from the priesthood at the Council of Nicea. Brown, *The Body and Society,* p. 168, cites Aline Rousselle, *Porneia: De la maitrise du corps a la privation sensorielle* (Paris, 1986), pp. 158–64, for a catalog of self-mutilation.

cellinus, the great chronicler of pagan Rome's twilight, felt compelled to state: "It is disgust with these creatures [eunuchs] and their like that leads me to praise the early emperor Domitian, who, though he was unlike his father and brother and disgraced his memory by acts which merit undying detestation, nevertheless distinguished himself by one most welcome measure. He forbade under threat of severe penalties the castration of any boy within the bounds of the Roman jurisdiction. If he had not done so who could have endured the resulting swarms of eunuchs, since we can barely tolerate them in small numbers."[38] Ammianus is upset here with the machinations of Eusebius, the chamberlain of the emperor Constantius II. Though his rhetoric forces him into fantasy—How could Domitian ever have enforced a law against castration?—the historian documents for us both the enduring Greco-Roman distaste for eunuchs and the surprising rise to power this class achieved.

Ammianus's coeval Mamertinus rises to an even more ardent tone in his panegyric for the emperor Julian (361–63), blasting the flagrant immorality of Constantius's court: "There were those who made themselves acceptable to the emperor through the most base means, enticing him with continuous flattery, and winning him with bribes. They not only tried to solicit men, but even mere women; and not just women but even eunuchs whom either their birth or physical mutilation have cast out from citizenship in either sex as though they were banished from human society. Thus the most illustrious and ancient personages of the empire were forced to flatter the most infamous and degraded members of the imperial court."[39] This last statement clarifies the Greco-Roman view of eunuchs. In the ancient hierarchical perspective, we see that men of old family are on top, with low born men below, women below them, and eunuchs are stuck at the bottom as not even sharing in humanity. A patriarchy would demand paternity as a criterion for power and, thus, cast off women and children as unsuitable to positions of leadership. We see here that more is at work in Greco-Roman society than patriarchy. Our ancient witnesses have not only banished eunuchs from power but have also seemingly demoted them to the lowest rank of society where their "unnatural" bodies could dwell below the dangerous sexuality of women and the immaturity of children. Nevertheless, in spite of the sentiments of our witnesses, eunuchs did gain power, and this will present us with several interesting problems.

It will be helpful to summarize the historical outline here before

[38] Ammianus Marcellinus 18.4. Translation is taken from Walter Hamilton, trans., *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Later Roman Empire (A.D. 354–378)* (London, 1986).

[39] Mamertinus *Julian* 18. I have used the edition of Eduard Galletier, *Panegyriques Latines* (Paris, 1955), which has helpful notes and a French translation.

launching off into the problems the evidence presents. The Romans from time immemorial were hostile to eunuchs, apparently because they worshipped and had high esteem for male fertility. For hundreds of years they legislated against castration; during this time authors such as Catullus, Juvenal, and Martial criticized various aspects of eunuchs. Those from outside Rome, such as Apuleius and Lucian, also joined the Romans in criticizing eunuchs, even though these sexually altered men were gaining broad popularity, especially the watershed figure of Favorinus. By the early third century a eunuch, Sempronius Rufus, had held high political power. And by the middle of the fourth century (under Constantius II) eunuchs had seized such positions of power that writers who served under Julian (emperor 361–63), especially Ammianus and Mamertinus, felt the need to excoriate their corruption. As most of the witnesses cited were hostile to eunuchs, I would conclude that asexual men were perceived as threatening or repulsive to the existing values. In spite of this hostility several eunuchs took power.

It will be a more difficult venture to interpret this surprising phenomenon from a modern theoretical stance. I will point out what I perceive to be three important problems of interpretation. The first problem is implicit in my presentation of this brief history. If the foundation of Roman patriarchy rested on the father's procreative power, and if we concede that the Greco-Roman Mediterranean was patriarchal (as almost all do), then how are we to account for men who have no procreative power, men whom Mamertinus characteristically defines as less human even than women, rising to the highest circles of power and fame? If women were understood to be inferior to men, how could humans who were both considered effeminate and unnatural outstrip both women and other fully functional men in the society? To add to this problem we have seen that most of our literary discussion of eunuchs disparages them, thus indicating that there was no obvious shift in patriarchal attitudes during the period under consideration. How could the Greco-Roman patriarchy make such an unexpected innovation?

To this first problem I would like to respond with a brief discussion of another strange, and potentially related, phenomenon in the early empire, the almost flaunted effeminacy of several emperors. Caesar's passive sexual relations with the Bithynian king Nicomedes, whether historical or not, were at the center of many of the contemporary discussions of Caesar's ability to lead Rome. We would expect that such a "disgrace" would disqualify him from the highest power, and yet it did not. Caesar's careful propaganda of sexual dominance may have outweighed his youthful affair with Nicomedes, but nevertheless the originator of one-man rule in Rome was also the first famous Roman who was openly decried

as a "faggot" (*cinaedus*).[40] Tiberius's well-known escapades with little boys would fit into the accepted model of Roman dominance,[41] but Nero, perhaps the most popular of the Julio-Claudians among the masses, is said to have "worn the bridal veil" (*nubere*) and consummated his single-sex marriage in the feminine role in front of witnesses.[42] The popularity of such androgyny can be easily understood by students of modern popular culture.[43] Perhaps the perceived androgyny of eunuchs appealed to the same crowds who so dearly loved Nero's antics that they continued to spot him throughout the empire for the next century.[44]

Second we need to look at the relationship between biology and anthropology. Though it is helpful to separate discussion of sexuality from evocations of "nature" and to use the more versatile concept of "construction of sexuality,"[45] in the case of eunuchs we are forced to face the

[40] See Eva Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World* (New Haven, CT, 1992), pp. 156–64, for a full list of ancient citations on Caesar's sexuality.

[41] See A. E. Housman, *Classical Papers* (Cambridge, 1972), 3:1180, n. 2 (quoted in Wiseman [n. 13 above], p. 11, n. 34), who seems to have been the first (1931) to call attention to the sexual ethics of ancient Rome: "Scilicet non facile qui Pauli Tarsensis et ludaeorum norma uti a pueris adsueverunt opinionem mentibus comprehendunt quae, ut Catullo et Martiali, ita nunc cuivis de plebe Siciliensi vel Neapolitana penitus a natura insita est, obscaenos fellatores et cinaedos, pedicones et irrumatores non obscaenos esse." (Surely those who from childhood have been accustomed to the ethics of Paul of Tarsus and the Jews cannot easily grasp the opinion that, as it was in Catullus and Martial, even now is deeply ingrained by nature in any Sicilian or Neapolitan: men who allow themselves to be penetrated are obscene, while those who penetrate are not obscene.) I must note that my English is not capable of the wit and subtlety of Housman's Latin, which is carefully sprinkled with dazzling puns and untranslatable vocabulary.

[42] See Tacitus *Annals* 15.37. See also Cantarella who argues: "What appears to emerge from the popular reaction to the 'deviancy' of the powerful is a sort of claim for personal autonomy, a confused and possibly subconscious desire to gain recognition, even in the midst of derisive laughter, for a very important principle: even a passive homosexual—the crowd seems to say—can be a man. Even if he is not Caesar; even if he is not Augustus" (p. 164). She lists a good deal of interesting evidence. Ramsey Macmullen, "Roman Attitudes to Greek Love," *Historia* 31 (1982): 484–502, discusses the early emperors and their problematic sexuality.

[43] The calculated androgyny of Michael Jackson comes to mind in this context.

[44] I am extrapolating here from the testimony of Suetonius *Life of Nero* 57, and once again thinking of a modern example who has earned Neronian popularity, Elvis Presley.

[45] See Halperin (n. 2 above): "The distinctive contribution which the English publication in 1978 of the first volume of Foucault's *History of Sexuality* made to subsequent work can be simply, if baldly, put: Foucault did for 'sexuality' what feminist critics had done for 'gender.' That is, Foucault detached 'sexuality' from the physical and biological sciences (just as feminists had detached 'gender' from the facts of anatomical sex, of somatic dimorphism) and treated it, instead, as 'the set of effects produced in bodies, behaviors, and social relations by a certain deployment' of 'a complex political technology.' He divorced 'sexuality' from 'nature' and interpreted it, instead, as a cultural production" (p. 8). Hal-

interaction of these two forces: most often the eunuch's sexuality is first created by a surgical procedure, then, once biology has altered the individual's sexuality, the society creates roles and a "construction" for him. We cannot neatly detach the two as we have so successfully done since the pioneering ideas of Foucault appeared. How do nature and culture collide and interact in the life of eunuchs? How does a society like that of the Roman Empire go about constructing a new (neuter) gender and sexuality for itself? Will it simply combine the ideas it already applies to feminine and masculine? Will it create whole new categories? Will it rethink its traditional constructions of gender and sexuality?

A third problem has to do with historical interpretation. How can eunuchs be fitted into the existing formulations of the late empire and Middle Ages? For instance, both Michel Foucault and Peter Brown, probably the two most important historians of sexuality writing on the Greco-Roman period, argue that sexual renunciation was increasing in the Roman Empire.[46] And yet we have seen that the satirical tradition of this period not only did not see eunuchs as ascetic but, rather, saw them as the most "lecherous" and sexually active of human beings as well. How can those who are perceived as libertines gain prestige in a world

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perin may have understated the feminists' role in detaching sexuality from nature. See, e.g., Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford, CA, 1974).

[46] See Foucault (n. 2 above): "A whole corpus of moral reflection on sexual activity and its pleasures seems to mark, in the first centuries of our era, a certain strengthening of austerity themes. Physicians worry about the effects of sexual practice, unhesitatingly recommend abstention, and declare a preference for virginity over the use of pleasure. Philosophers condemn any sexual relation that might take place outside marriage and prescribe a strict fidelity between spouses, admitting no exceptions. Furthermore, a certain doctrinal disqualification seems to bear on the love for boys. Does this mean that one must recognize, in the schema thus constituted, the lineaments of a future ethics, the ethics that one will find in Christianity, when the sexual act itself will be considered an evil, when it will no longer be granted legitimacy except within the conjugal relationship, and when the love of boys will be condemned as unnatural? . . . The question is important, and it has a long tradition behind it" (p. 235). Foucault seems to oppose Brown's focus on Christianity. For instance, Brown implies that sexual renunciation began with a Christian act of defiance against the sedate imperial culture: "By refusing to act upon the youthful stirrings of desire, Christians could bring marriage and childbirth to an end. With marriage at an end, the huge fabric of organized society would crumble like a sandcastle, touched by the 'ocean-flood of the Messiah.' These were the views of exact contemporaries of Galen and Marcus Aurelius. Their implications could hardly have been more appalling to the pagan elites of Rome and the Aegean, and more calculated to upset the average married householder in any Mediteranean or Near Eastern community" (*The Body and Society* [n. 2 above], p. 32). In either case, both historians see an ethics of renunciation beginning in the first and second centuries and coming to fruition in the fourth and fifth centuries—the very time that eunuchs, who were considered extremely sexually incontinent as well as unnaturally effeminate, were rising to prominence.

in which strict control over bodily functions is becoming a central value? How could eunuchs who were already despised by traditional society gain power when the new austere values also rejected them?

It might be countered that the mystery religions and especially Christianity fostered castration as part of sexual renunciation.[47] But in fact the Christians forbade self-mutilation and resisted its practice (no matter how much they admired it).[48] We are left with several groups sharing possible influence on the sexuality of the period: the educated pagan members of society trying to cut back on casual sex for health reasons (Foucault) and censuring eunuchs for their lasciviousness; the Christians renouncing sex and reproduction (Brown) but also renouncing eunuchs; the cult of Cybele promoting a small class of eunuchs as priests; and the general population indulging as usual in both pleasure and procreation as well as finding eunuchs novel and entertaining (the case of Favorinus). How can these disparate forces of historical influence be synthesized into a clear picture of sexuality in the Greco-Roman world, a picture that includes the anomalous image of the eunuch?[49] These seem to me to be the salient problems posed by this research.

[47] See Brown, *The Body and Society,* pp. 428–32, who reminds us how radical the stance of practicing sexual renunciation was in the empire. Most Christians apparently were not practicing it with the enthusiasm that their spokesmen would indicate.

[48] See the church historian Eusebius's comments on Origen's self-mutilation in the *Historia ecclesiastica* 6.8. Hostile Christians apparently criticized Origen's castration throughout his life. See also Chadwick (n. 37 above), p. 112, who mentions the Nicene Council's restrictions on eunuchs for ordination to the priesthood.

[49] Peter Brown, "Bodies and Minds: Sexuality and Renunciation in Early Christianity," in Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin, eds. (n. 27 above), p. 480, borrows a useful image from geology. He describes the complexity of historical influence in the cosmopolitan and splintered high empire as similar to plate tectonics. Several floating masses may shift into each other and form a continent, but this happens slowly and gradually. Meanwhile this new continent itself may be shifting elsewhere.



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RITUAL BROTHERHOOD IN ROMAN AND POST-ROMAN SOCIETIES

By BRENT D. SHAW

A singular merit of John Boswell's provocative *Same-Sex Unions* has been to refocus the attention of a wide range of scholars from differing disciplines on the significance of manuscript sources for *adelphopoiesis*, a Christian ceremonial in the eastern Mediterranean for the 'making of a brother'.[1] It seems fair to say that the balance of scholarly opinion has rejected his claim that these rites were, in effect, marriage ceremonials for men.[2] The ceremonials seem to have

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[1]I would like to express my gratitude for the critical acumen of my fellow laborers, Elizabeth Brown and Claudia Rapp. Their forebearance with primitive draft versions of my paper was a paradigm of endurance; their questioning of matters of substance and rejection of error, models of scholarly dispassion. Thanks are also due to Peter Brown and to the members of the Late Antique Seminar of Princeton University for their critical remarks and suggestions made at the presentation of a paper on the subject in March of 1996. I would also like to note the assistance and advice offered by Keith DeVries, Lois Drewer, Gabriel Herman, Nenad Ivic, Shauna Shaw, Gonda Van Steen, Joel Walker, and an anonymous reader for *Traditio*. I also note the hospitality of the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton) during all stages of research and the writing of this essay.

[2]Boswell, *SSU*. In addition to the studies and short-titles cited by Elizabeth Brown (n. 1 of the Introduction above), please note the following:

Blockley = Roger C. Blockley, ed. and trans., *The Fragmentary Classisising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, 2 vols. (Liverpool, 1981–83).

Bruns and Sachau, *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch* = Carl Georg Bruns and Eduard Sachau, eds., *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert aus den orientalischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1880; repr. Aalen, 1961).

HF = Bruno Krusch, Wilhelm Levinson, and Walther Holtzmann, eds., *Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis Historiarum libri X*, 2nd ed., MGH SSRM, 1 (Hanover, 1937).

FIRA^2 = *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., ed. Salvatore Riccobono et al., (Florence, 1972).

Jussen, *Patenschaft und Adoption* = Bernhard Jussen, *Patenschaft und Adoption im frühen Mittelalter. Künstliche Verwandtschaft als soziale Praxis* (Göttingen, 1991).

Koschaker, "Adoptio in fratrem" = Paul Koschaker, "Adoptio in Fratrem," in *Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobono nel XL anno del suo insegnamento*, vol. 3 (Palermo, 1936), 359–76.

Michaelides-Nouaros, "Peri tês adelphopoiias" = Georgios Michaelides-Nouaros, "Περὶ τῆς ἀδελφοποιίας ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ," in Panagiotes I. Zepos, Georgios Michaelides-Nouaros and Georgios Simonetos, eds., Τόμος Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοπούλου ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξακοσιετηρίδι τῆς Ἐξαβίβλου αὐτοῦ (*1345–1945*) (Thessaloniki, 1952), 251–313.

Nallino, "Divieto Romano" = Carlo Alfonso Nallino, "Intorno al divieto romano imperiale dell'affratellamento e ad alcuni paralleli arabi," in *Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobono nel XL anno del suo insegnamento*, vol. 3 (Palermo, 1936), 321–57 = ch. 13 in M. Nallino,

been used to create a ritual brotherhood in which one man 'adopted' another as his 'brother'. This still leaves a large question to be considered: precisely what kinds of social institutions or arrangements did these rituals seek to confirm? I propose to investigate this problem in the context of evidence relating to the social structures of Roman and post-Roman societies, both to elucidate the social bonds reflected in the rites of *adelphopoiesis* and to suggest why this peculiar type of personal attachment is strikingly absent from the annals of western Roman imperial society.

The general absence of 'adoptive' or 'made' brothers in the literary sources that describe Roman social relations was noted long ago by Charles du Fresne, *sieur* du Cange.[3] Expanding on his assertion that such arrangements did not exist in the Roman world, Du Cange suggested that this was "parce qu'elles ne pouvoient estre fondées sur aucune des raisons qui ont introduit l'usage des adoptions."[4] Though technically true, Du Cange's answer still begs the question of why the Romans did not find other means to confirm the brotherhood. If it was simply the fact that the Roman law of adoption did not apply to the creation of such a bond, then why was a new legal mechanism not invented to ratify it — if, indeed, such a personal attachment was pervasive in the society of the time? The question as to why ritual brotherhood has left so little trace in the records surely precedes questions concerning the presence or absence of legal forms in which such a formal relationship might be expressed.

Du Cange noted that the known examples of ritual brotherhood tended to be reported from among "the barbarian princes of the northern frontiers." He explained the peculiar location of the phenomenon by arguing that the adoption of another man as a brother or a son was undertaken not to promote legal

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ed., Carlo Alfonso Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, vol. 4: *Diritto musulamo, diritti orientali cristiani* (Rome, 1942), 585–631 [cited from the reprint edition].

Pitra, *Analecta* = Jean-Baptiste Pitra, ed., *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1876–91; repr. 1966–67).

Rallês and Potlês, *Syntagma* = Geôrgios Alexandros Rallês and Michaêl Potlês, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων . . . κ.τ.λ., 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–59; repr. Athens, 1966).

Zepos and Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum* = Iohannes Zepos and Panagiotes Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*, 8 vols. (Athens, 1931; repr. Aalen, 1962).

Some of the views expressed here first appeared, though in much abbreviated form, as a review of John Boswell's book under the title, "A Groom of One's Own?" *The New Republic* (18 and 25 July 1994): 33–41.

[3] Du Cange, *Glossarium latinitatis* (Paris, 1668; repr. 1938), 10: 67–70. Two of the succeeding 'dissertations,' nos. 22 and 23, also contain relevant materials.

[4] Ibid., 67.

succession to property, but rather for reasons of amity and mutual protection.[5] Although Du Cange did not compose a separate 'dissertation' on *adelphopoiesis*, his lemmata on that word and related ones in his Greek dictionary show that he identified the 'making of a brother' (*adelphopoiesis*) with the 'adoption' of a man as one's own brother.[6] I think that Du Cange was right about the fundamental motives and causes for the peculiar temporal and spatial location of the attested cases of ritual brothers. In the investigation that follows, I suggest that this institution was more frequently found in the context of less formally organized and less centralized power relationships, such as those found in the interstices between the Greek *poleis* of the classical and Hellenistic periods and in the post-Roman societies of the early medieval West, or inside state structures characterized by less formal or less 'rationalized' relationships of amity. Because the evidence relating to the phenomenon is so patchy, the following analysis will necessarily focus on individual cases.

Adelphopoiesis signifies a type of ritual kinship, the creation of a relationship equivalent to that of a biological sibling. For two men artificially to become brothers is a distinctive act that should not be confused with analogous relationships of fictive friendship that are similar in mode or effect.[7] Ritual brotherhood strongly overlaps with other types of artificial kinship that imitate species of biological kinship, such as the creation of a new son or daughter by adoption or the creation of supplementary parents by godparenthood.[8] Ritual brotherhood is sometimes, although not always, separate from other ritualized types of amity in which one person becomes a 'made' friend of another (a *philos* in Greek, an

[5] Ibid., 67: "Il est indubitable que l'origine de ces adoptions soit en fils, soit en frère, ne doit pas estre puisée dans le droit romain, mais dans une pratique et dans un usage qui s'est observé de longtemps parmi les princes barbares et septentrionaux."

[6] Du Cange, *Glossarium graecitatis*, s.v. ἀδελφὸς πνευματικὸς, ἀδελφοποιητός, ἀδελφοποιΐα-ἀδελφοποίησις, ἀδελφοποίησις, ἀδελφοπιστία, ἀδελφότης πνευματικὴ, ἀδελφοσύνη, ἀδελφότης, 1: 23–25, where he glosses ἀδελφοποιία and ἀδελφοποίησις as *adoptio in fratrem*.

[7] A simple typological point that was emphasized long ago by Johannes Kohler, "Studien über die künstliche Verwandschaft," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 5 (1884): 415–40, at 434–35. Having dealt with artificial connections formed by various types of adoption in the first part of his paper, he continues: "An zweiter Stelle steht, gleichfalls mit der verschiedensten juristischen Wirkung, die Verbrüderung, die Blutbrüderschaft, die Adelphopoiie" (434).

[8] Gabriel Herman, "Le parrainage, 'l'hospitalité,' et l'expansion du christianisme," *Annales ESC* 53 (1998), forthcoming, on the continuity between the Greek and Roman social practices of *xenia* and *hospitium* and Christian godparenthood; cf. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship*; Jussen, *Patenschaft und Adoption*; and idem, "Le parrainage à la fin du Moyen Age. Savoir publique, attentes théologiques et usages sociaux," *Annales ESC* 47 (1992): 467–502. *HF*, 10.27 provides a good example drawn from a social context that I shall be investigating in what follows.

amicus in Latin).[9] And these types of ritual relationships must further be distinguished from the widely documented practice of Christians of using models of kinship to interpret their relationship to God as their father and to each other as brothers and sisters.[10] This separation of ritual brothers (siblings, more generally) into distinctive types is made for analytic purposes, since the bonds of ritual kinship, including those of ritual brotherhood, were always locked into wider networks of social and economic relations that determined their function and valence in any specific situation.[11]

Although ritual brotherhood had much in common with adoption, it was not possible in the Roman law to create a brother by adoption. The technical words for adoption found in Greek legal documents of the Roman period from the eastern Mediterranean, however, reveal a strong terminological resemblance with the later terms for *adelphopoiesis*. In the Greek papyri from Roman Egypt, for example, the terms for adoption are based on the word *thesis* (θέσις) that signified the 'making' of such a person: for example, *huiothesia* (υἱοθεσία) meaning the 'making' of a son.[12] The artifically created son is also called a 'made' person, a *thetos* (θετός). In Greek-speaking lands outside Egypt, the usual words for adoption were derived from the verb *poiein* (ποιεῖν) meaning 'to make' or its passive form *poieomai* (ποιέομαι) 'to be made': thus the verbs *teknopoiesasthai* (τεκνοποιήσασθαι) meaning 'to be a made child' or *huiopoiesasthai* (υἱοποιήσασθαι) meaning 'to be a made son'.[13] The neologisms for the 'making' of a brother (ἀδελφοποίησις, ἀδελφοποιέω), which appear for the first time around the mid-fourth century in the explication of biblical texts, were modeled on existing terms for adoption.[14] The Christian model was provoked by the artificial

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[9] Gabriel Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge, 1987), remains the pathbreaking study on the subject for the world of antiquity.

[10] For example, Wayne A. Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality* (New Haven and London, 1993), esp. 170–72; and Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York, 1987), 324–25, and their references to modern studies (very few, alas). A thorough study of the practice is urgently needed.

[11] William A. Christian, *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (Princeton, 1972; rev. ed. 1989), 177, for the triangular configuration in which these power relationships are represented.

[12] Marek Kurylowicz, "Adoption on the Evidence of the Papyri," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 19 (1983): 61–75; the Egyptian evidence is the best data for the everyday practice of adoption in the Roman world.

[13] Ibid., 61, n. 3.

[14] The earliest of these is Athanasius *Orationes contra Arianos iii*, *Or.* 2, 62.26 (PG 26, 280; A.D. 339); followed by pseudo-Chrysostom *De caeco et Zacchaeo* 35 (PG 59, 605); and *Epitimia 73*, 5.1 (Pitra, *Analecta*, 4: 461–64); for the Christian metaphor of adoption, see James M. Scott, "Υἱοθεσία: the Greco-Roman Institution and the Semantic Field," in *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of υἱοθεσία in the Pauline Corpus* (Tübingen, 1992), 3–57; G. H. R. Horsley, "καθ' υἱοθεσίαν," *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, no. 88 (Melbourne, 1987), 173. Otherwise, the earliest example of a term

kinship bond established by baptism that made each person an adopted child of God and therefore the sibling of all other Christians.[15] The concept of a 'made' person who was created artificially by analogy with one who was biologically procreated was therefore the essential meaning of the words 'made' son, brother, daughter, or sister.[16]

Along with difficult, overlapping typological distinctions, another problem for any historical analysis of *adelphopoiesis* is that isolated historical documents present unusual problems of translating meanings, and meanings couched within meanings. A single example drawn from the texts of the Byzantine prayer books (*euchologia)* and from the *adelphopoiesis* ceremonials will have to suffice. In the various prayers and ceremonials for the 'making of a brother' the two men are encouraged 'to love each other' and to live all the remaining days of their lives 'without hatred' (ἀμισήτοι) and to live *askandalistôs* (ἀσκανδαλίστως).[17] The secular meaning of a *skandalon* can only be properly divined by understanding the social norms, the behaviors, and the power networkings of the

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close to ἀδελφοποίησις is the word ἀδελφοθετία found in a decree recorded on a bronze plaque concerning the Sicilian Greek polis of Entella: Laurent Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile: contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire grec colonial* (Paris and Rome, 1989), no. 206, 257–65 (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 30 [1980], no. 1119), 306–7, perhaps dating to the third century B.C.

[15] Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God*, esp. his general conclusions at 267.

[16] So matters have remained to the present day, especially in the context of the much stronger personal power relationships that exist outside the penumbra of the institutional apparatuses of state and society. Henry Hill recollects of his life in the American 'mafia': "The only way to guarantee that I'm not going to get ripped off by anybody is to be established with a member, like Pauli [viz., Paul Vario]. Somebody who is a made man. A member of a crime family. A soldier. Then, if somebody [messes] with you, they [mess] with him, and that's the end of the ballgame. Goodbye.": Nicholas Pileggi, *Wise Guy: Life in a Mafia Family* (New York, 1985), 55; for further notices of these 'made' men see 117–19; the artificial kin linkage thus created is conceived as potentially more significant than a biological father-son relationship (75: Pauli was Henry's 'real' father); the same terms are used in the Italian and Sicilian dialects of the 'old' mafia in Italy, see, e.g., Pino Arlacchi, *Men of Dishonor — Inside the Sicilian Mafia: An Account of Antonino Calderone*, trans. Marco Romano (New York, 1992), 51, 68–69: creating a 'made' man is a way of renewing 'the family.'

[17] The text of the four manuscripts reported by Boswell, *SSU*, 345–47, 351–63, reads:

(i) καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους ἀμισήτως καὶ ἀσκανδαλίστως πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν (Grottaferrata Γ.β. II);

(ii) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαφυλαχθῆναι τὴν ἀγάπην ἀμίσιτον καὶ ἀσκανδάλιστον μέχρι βίον ζωῆς αὐτῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν (Vaticanus Graecus 1811 [1147]);

(iii) δῶς αὐτοῖς χάριν τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους, ἀμισήτους καὶ ἀσκανδαλίστους εἶναι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῶν . . . ἀνάδειξον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καταξίωσον ἀσκανδαλίστους αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν μεθοδιῶν τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν αὐτοῦ πνευμάτων . . . (Sinai 966);

(iv) δὸς αὐτοῖς, Κύριε, τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους ἀμισήτους καὶ ἀσκανδαλίστους εἶναι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν (Mt. Athos Panteleimon 780).

persons involved in the ceremony. If *skandalon* means 'ambush' then the wording of the ritual would seem to indicate that it was concerned with reconciling potential personal enemies; with preventing men who would otherwise be hostile to each other from setting traps for one another.

These basic observations suggest a social context for ritual brotherhood in which central political power was weak, with the consequence that the settlement of serious disputes by personal violence was normal. Such a violent society would be like that of post-Roman Gaul as reported by Gregory of Tours. Gregory has frequent recourse to the word *scandalum* and related terms.[18] Although the words do sometimes indicate a shameful moral wrong, such instances are rare when compared with the normal meaning in Gregory, which is manifestly that of physical aggression against another. Typical examples of what is commonly thought of as a 'scandal' in this society range from a solitary attack by one individual on another, such as a stepmother physically abusing her stepson, to an outbreak of war between two large ethnic groups, such as that which occurred between the Alemanni and the Suevi in Galicia in the first decade of the fifth century.[19]

Gregory also used *scandalum* to refer to embittered quarrels and feuds between two men and their respective followers. When the inhabitants of Carcassonne forcibly ejected king Guntrum's men from the city, it was a *scandalum*.[20] When envoys sent to Guntrum by his nephew Chilperic threatened "to split open the heads" of Guntrum and his brothers, and when the king responded by having rotten horse dung flung on their heads as they departed, this, too, was a 'scandal'.[21] A *scandalum* usually involved some combination of physical threats and actual harm, like kidnapping, the destruction of property, or even assassination and murder.[22] A classic scandal described by Gregory of Tours involved a feud between two families that ended with the loss of the lives of all members

[18] Denise St.-Michel, *Concordance de l'"Historia Francorum" de Grégoire de Tours*, 2 vols. (Montreal, 1984), 2: 912 (thirty-two instances). The word has both a Christian hue of moral wrong and a secular sense used to describe violent social relationships in a highly disintegrated society. It is not found in the vocabulary of the classical historians from Tacitus to Ammianus Marcellinus. Gregory of Tours, however, is not alone in the latter usage for the society of his time; it is also found in the sermons of Caesarius of Arles (e.g., *Serm.* 13.3; 19.3; 35.4; 35.5; among seventeen cases).

[19] *HF* 3.5 and 2.2 (see 3.27 for one of the rare 'moral' usages); the translations that I have consulted seem to be strongly influenced by the modern English connotations of 'scandal' and so fail consistently to catch the central place of physical violence, and the atmosphere of feuding and ambush, that are the manifest basis of Gregory's usage.

[20] Ibid., 8.30.

[21] Ibid., 7.14.

[22] Ibid., 2.36; 4.12; 4.28; 6.10; 6.22; 8.13; and 10.4, for some examples.

of both families.[23] In describing the artificial kinship arrangements that were undertaken to neutralize these hostilities, such as Guntrum's baptism of his nephew in order to 'create a son' for himself, Gregory refers to *scandalum* as the principal danger to be overcome.[24] So, too, the detailed descriptions of the personal agreements that counted as 'treaties' in this world, including the 'brotherhood' (*caritas*) formed at Andelot between kings Guntrum and Childebert in 587, emphasize *scandala*, the dangers of ambush and assassination, as the main threats that these agreements were meant to countervail.[25] In discussing the nature of the *amicitia* that he had forged, Guntrum was concerned about the atmosphere of suspicion that prevailed between himself and his nephew Childebert; he voiced the hope that he could also mediate the *scandalum* or bitter feud that existed between his other nephew, Lothar, and Childebert.[26]

In order to establish more clearly the historical context in which sentiments of brotherly love are invoked in the creation of ritual brothers, one might begin with a preliminary hypothesis that certain types of social organization are concatenated with different types of emphasis placed on personal power. Social systems, like kinship, that privilege direct personal linkages as their primary mode of organization, are more likely to interpret power in personal terms. Societies in which personality is itself a significant force in creating the main power systems must be distinguished from those in which institutionalized forms of power define and maintain the social order — as in the cases of the Greek polis or the Roman state in the periods of their fullest development.[27] Social systems that fundamentally empowered personal linkages would be more likely to preserve records of ritual brothers or sisters, whereas in more institutionalized societies these personal arrangements would exist, if at all, in social situations beyond the purview of the state, and would therefore not tend to receive much attention in the formal texts produced by the high culture's literary elites.

A standard encyclopedia entry by James Hamilton-Grierson on the historical

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[23] Ibid., 10.27.

[24] Ibid., 10.28.

[25] Ibid., 9.20: the agreement is struck "ut omnia quae undecumque inter ipsos scandalum poterant generare, pleniori consilio definirent." Compare the earlier case of A.D. 533 (3.15) where the agreement between Theuderic and Childebert was founded on oaths that they would not attack each other. They took hostages to ensure that their promises would be kept. Despite these arrangements, a new *scandalum* broke out. Note that in the Latin of the time *caritas* was often understood to signify *fraternitas* or 'brotherhood'; on how the one term came to substitute for the other, see David, "Sur les traces," esp. 114–15, 116.

[26] *HF* 9.20: "Tamen si eum scandalizat illud, quod legatos Chlotharii nepotis mei suscipio: numquid demens sum, ut non possim temperare inter eos, ne scandalum propagetur?"

[27] Brent D. Shaw, "Tyrants, Bandits and Kings: Personal Power in Josephus," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 176–204; and idem, "Josephus: Roman Power and Responses to It," *Athenaeum* 83 (1995): 357–90.

and ethnographic evidence concerning the formation of ritual brothers noted long ago that "not infrequently we are supplied with full details of the ceremonies performed, while we are left wholly in the dark as to the legal incidents of the bond. In other cases, we are told what is its operation, but not a word is said as to the ritual accompanying its formation."[28] This is precisely the problem that bedevils interpretation of the best evidence on ritual brotherhood from the classical and late antique Roman worlds. For example, although there were surely many gestures, such as the sharing of arms and the drinking of blood, involved in the formation of this male bond, a wide range of sources outside the *adelphopoiesis* texts seems to indicate that the most significant bodily gestures connected with the formation of ritual brotherhoods were the handshake (or ritual embrace) and the kiss. In theory, two Roman men could have employed some or all of these gestures to aid in the forming of a bond of ritual brotherhood. But gestures such as these are never reported as part of the formation of artificial sibling links between men who lived in the core areas of Roman society during the period of the efflorescence of imperial state power. Instead, rituals like these are normally portrayed as assisting in the formation of close connections between men in 'primitive' early Rome or in non-Roman 'barbarian' societies at the periphery of the empire. The gestures are therefore reported as part of social relationships either in the early formative phases of Roman society or in societies on the frontiers of the Roman Empire. In an imagined primitivism, Livy envisaged the beginnings of Roman society as traced back to the close personal bonds forged between Latinus and Aeneas. The grasping of right hands was the vital sign of the trust in a future friendship between the two men. Following the handshake, Aeneas entered into the *hospitium* of Latinus, and the relationship was sanctioned publicly by the joining of the two households by the offer of Latinus's daughter to Aeneas in marriage.[29] By the late republic and early empire, however, the practice of two Roman men becoming ritual brothers, if it had ever existed, could not even be imagined in literary fictions about early Roman social relations. Vergil and Livy labeled such ritual male bonds as species of *hospitium*, *amicitia*, or *clientela*, but they provide no information about the ritual itself.

Ritual brotherhoods of the type we are considering did exist at the time when Vergil and Livy were writing, but were to be found in the 'barbarian' societies beyond the northern frontiers of the Roman Empire. Thus Caesar reports that artificial sibling relationships were formed between the Gallic Aedui and the

[28] Hamilton-Grierson, "Brotherhood (Artificial)," 857–71, at 869.

[29] Livy *Ab urbe condita* 1.1.8: "Dextra data fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam; Aenean apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio: ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in matrimonium data."

Romans, with the result that the Romans and the Aedui treated each other as 'brothers'.[30] It was this *fraternitas* to which the emperor Claudius later appealed when he wanted to persuade senators to grant the Aedui the right to hold office in the Roman state.[31] The propensity of the Gauls, the Germans, and other men of the northern frontiers to form fraternal bonds is also reported in an ethnological text on 'otherness' attributed to the Syriac nobleman and philosopher Bardaisan (Bardasanes) of Edessa, which Eusebius includes in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*, a text probably written by 'pseudo-Bardasanes' in the later third century. Using the existence of strongly divergent customs amongst 'barbarian' and civilized peoples as a means of arguing against the universalizing claims of astrology, the author illustrates his argument with examples of marital and sexual mores. Speaking of the Gauls, he notes:

> Among the Gauls, the young men marry each other (*gamountai*) with complete freedom. In doing this, they do not incur any reproach or blame, since this is done according to custom [law] amongst them. For it is not possible that all the men in Gaul who make these ungodly assaults on each other do so because they were all born under the same sign. . . .[32]

In translating his synopsis of Bardaisan's argument, Eusebius reiterates that this type of male bonding is a defining cultural characteristic of the Gauls; just as it was a defining cultural practice for the Greeks to exercise in the nude and for Romans to dominate other people, so it was normal for young Gallic men 'to marry' each other.[33] The original Syriac text of pseudo-Bardaisan makes the claim explicit:

> In the countries of the north . . . in the lands of the Germans and those of their neighbors, handsome [noble] young men assume the role of wives [women] towards

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[30] Caesar *BG* 1.36: "si id non fecissent, longe eis fraternum nomen populi Romani afuturum"; 1.44: "Quod fratres a senatu Aeduos appellatos diceret."

[31] Tac. *Ann.* 11.25.1: "Datum id foederi antiquo et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant."

[32] A striking text not noted by Boswell, *SSU* (or by the studies upon which he depended), but one that deserves to be brought into the general argument, is Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 6.10.27: παρὰ δὲ Γάλλοις οἱ νέοι γαμοῦνται μετὰ παρρησίας, οὐ ψόγον τοῦτο ἡγούμενοι διὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμον. καὶ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστι πάντας τοὺς ἐν Γάλλιᾳ οὕτως ἀθέως ὑβριζομένους λαχεῖν ἐν ταῖς γενέσισι . . . . *Eusèbe de Césarée, La préparation évangélique,* livres V.18–36; VI, trans. Edouard des Places, *SC* 266 (Paris, 1980), 222. The translator provides women for the Gallic youths to ravish ("En Gaul, les jeunes gens servent des femmes en toute licence . . . les Gaulois à ne pas servir de femmes"). But the verb *gamêo* is in the passive voice and its meaning is explicit; there is no mention of women in the text, and the sense of moral outrage that surrounds the other cases discussed by Eusebius would be nonsensical if the young men were just 'servicing' women. In fact, Eusebius's Greek is faithful to the Syriac original (n. 34 below).

[33] Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 6.10.35: καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκάζει ἡ γένεσις . . . τοὺς Γάλλοις μὴ γαμεῖσθαι . . . .

> other men, and they celebrate marriage feasts. This is not considered shameful or disgraceful amongst them, because their customs [laws] permit the practice. But it is not possible that all the men who live in Gaul, and who are disgraced by this shame, were those who were born when Mercury was in conjunction with Venus in the house of Saturn, in the field of Mars, and in the signs of the Zodiac of the west — since it is written that men who are born under these astral influences will be reviled as shameful and treated as if they were women.[34]

Pseudo-Bardaisan thus retails a practice of forming close ritual bonds amongst males on the northern frontiers whom he broadly labels as 'Germanic' — indeed, specifically among them and not among other peoples, as he is at pains to point out. To outsiders, like pseudo-Bardaisan, the intense nature of the bonds, as well as the manner in which they were ritualized, made them seem like a kind of marriage. The connections were also reputed to involve a sexual component that men like pseudo-Bardaisan regarded as shameful.

The only explicit examples of ritual brothers in Greek and Latin sources are indeed ones like these that are attested for societies on the northern frontiers of the empire or in the post-Roman societies that emerged in the process of the disintegration of Roman power in the West. The kinship connections amongst the elites of the Roman state in the West in this period are known for some thousands of individual cases. The data relate to persons connected with various court circles, both Roman and 'barbarian', and hence they offer some detail on how these powerful persons negotiated their interpersonal dealings. Where literary and documentary records on them survive, such connections were ordinarily cemented through intermarriage and, on rarer occasions, by adoption, but not by any kind of ritual brotherhood. The problem is created by the nature of the surviving evidence: ritual brotherhoods were likely to have been struck between men located at more modest levels of power, or in the context of the domination of a different type of state power (one dominated, for example, by strong 'vertical' relationships of amity). Instances of ritual brothers that have survived in the existing literary sources are therefore rare, if only because the authors of the narratives did not have an interest in such local behavior.

One of the rare recorded descriptions of the brotherhood bond is found in Gregory of Tours. He reports under the year 587:

> After having murdered Chramnesindus's relatives, Sicharius formed a pact of great friendship with him — they loved each other with such affection that they often

[34] Han J. W. Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of the Countries: Dialogue on Fate of Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen, 1965), 48–49; Victor Langlois, ed. and trans., *Le pseudo-Bardesan. Le livre de la loi des contrées*, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5.2 (Paris, 1872), 73–94, at 86; for the Syriac text, see François Nau, *Bardesanes: Liber Legum Regionum = Patrologia syriaca* 1.2 (Paris, 1907), 490–658, and his *Le Livre des Lois des Pays*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1931); the text is thought to have been written by Bardaisan's pupil Philippus: see Javier Teixidor, *Bardesane d'Edesse. La première philosophe syriaque* (Paris, 1992), 86–102.

> took their meals together and slept together in the same bed. One day, towards evening, Chramnesindus was having his supper prepared and invited Sicharius to dine with him. Sicharius arrived and the two men sat down together to eat. Sicharius became drunk with wine and began to hurl words of abuse at Chramnesindus. In the end, he is reported to have said, "My dearest brother, you owe me a lot of thanks for murdering your relatives. Since I made recompense to you for what I did to them, you now have plenty of gold and silver in your house. If this settlement hadn't strengthened your affairs a bit, you'd still be bare and needy." When he heard Sicharius's words, Chramnesindus took them bitterly. "If I don't avenge my relatives," he said to himself, "I won't deserve to be called a man, but rather a weak woman." As soon as the lights were put out, he split Sicharius's head in two. . . . Chramnesindus stripped the clothing from Sicharius's body and hung the corpse on a stake in his fence . . . he then fled to the district (*pagus*) of Bourges from which his own relatives came. . . . Tranquilla, Sicharius's wife, abandoned her children and her husband's property in Tours and in Poitiers, and went to join her own relatives in the village (*vicus*) of Pont-sur-Seine. There she married again. Sicharius was only about twenty years old when he died.[35]

The text is rich in implications for gender and power. The story is connected to a narrative about a feud involving two families in Tours that Gregory began earlier under the year 585.[36] The feud was sparked by the inadvertent killing of a priest's slave in the midst of Christmas celebrations. Sicharius felt obliged to intervene on the priest's behalf because of his ritual friendship (*amicitia*) with the cleric. His violent intervention led only to further killing, including the followers of Chramnesindus. Gregory finally intervened as mediator, frequently invoking divine injunctions to make peace. But the feud continued with violence involving the families, relatives, friends, and dependents of both men. An end to the fighting was finally negotiated and "both parties swore an oath that they would never make further trouble against each other."[37]

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[35] *HF* 9.19: "Bellum vero illud, quod inter cives Toronicus superius diximus terminatum, in rediviva rursum insania surgit. Nam Sicharius, cum post interfectionem parentum Chramsindi magnam cum eo amiciciam patravisset, et in tantum se caritate mutua diligerent, ut plerumque simul cibum caperent, ac in uno pariter stratu recumberent, quadam die coenam sub nocturno tempore preparat Chramsindus, invitans Sicharium ad epulum suum . . . ad extremum dixisse fertur: 'Magnas mihi debes referre grates, o dulcissime frater, eo quod interficerim parentos tuos. . . . Haec ille audiens, amaro suscepit animo dicta Sichari, dixitque in corde suo: 'Nisi ulciscar interitum parentum meorum, amittere nomen viri debeo et mulier infirma vocare.' Et statim extinctis luminaribus, caput Sichari seca dividit. . . . Chramsindus exanimum corpus nudatum vestimentis adpendit in saepis stipite. . . . At ille . . . Vosagensim territurii Biturigi pagum expitiit, in quo [et] eius parentes degebant. . . . Tranquilla quoque, conjux Sicharii, relictis filiis et rebus viri sui in Toronico sive in Pectavo, ad parentes suos Mauriopes vicum expetiit; ibique et matrimonio copulata est. Obiit autem Sicharius quasi annorum viginti."

[36] Ibid., 7.47.

[37] Ibid., 7.47 fin.: "Tunc datum ab aeclesia argentum, quae iudicaverant, accepta securitate conposuit, datis sibi partes invicem sacramentis, ut nullo umquam tempore contra alterum pars alia musitaret. Et sic altercatio terminum fecit."

Here is a classic example of a 'made' brother. The two young men address each other as 'dearest brother', claim great affection for each other, eat together, and sleep with each other in the same bed.[38] Yet the explicit gender content of the story cautions against reading its words in too modern a sense. Sicharius was married, and had a wife and children. It was also by the standard honor code of vengeance and violence that he judged his own standards of manhood and virility. The bonds of ritual brotherhood and the benedictions offered by the local bishop might well be very powerful, but neither was worth maintaining when set against the insults of Sicharius. These aspects of the male bond would suggest that there were real constraints on the possible gender content of the ritual brotherhood that limited its parameters to quite traditional canons of 'being a man' and 'being a woman' in the brutal post-Roman society of the Franks. The defining social context is that of personal violence and feuding in Frankish society.[39] Here, ritual brotherhood is a bond formed between men who were potential enemies and had every reason to be quite suspicious of the traps and ambushes that one would prepare for the other. The problem for the historian is that the brotherhood of Sicharius and Chramnesindus is a solitary instance, and one not paralleled in the earlier literature of the high Roman Empire — the level and types of social interaction being reported were presumably beneath those that would be considered as historically worthy of memory by a Tacitus or an Ammianus.[40]

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[38] These characteristics are precisely replicated in a fictional ritual brotherhood described by the Serbian novelist Janko Veselinovic: Kretzenbacher, *Rituelle Wahlverbrüderung*, 15–16.

[39] Gabriel Monod, "Les aventures de Sichaire. Commentaire des chapitres xlvii du livre vii et xix du livre ix de l'*Histoire des Francs* de Grégoire de Tours," *Revue historique* 31 (1886): 259–90; John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, "The Bloodfeud of the Franks," in *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History* (London, 1962), 121–47, at 139–42; Ralph W. Mathisen, "The Final Resolution: Aristocratic Options in Post-Roman Gaul," in *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies for Survival in an Age of Transition* (Austin, 1993), 132–43, at 141.

[40] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. William R. Trask (Princeton, 1957/1971), 77–95, at 84; cf. 85: "An earlier antique author, then, would not have treated this story at all"; and 87: "A scene, then, which no antique historian would have considered worth representing, Gregory represents in a most graphic manner." Auerbach's claim is only partially true, and depends on the relationship of the historian to the power system. It is certainly not true of Herodotus, who does retail colorful stories about such fictive kinship rituals — see, e.g., Hdt. 1.74.6 (Medes and Persians), 4.70.1 (Skythians). I would also have to dissent from Auerbach's essentializing claims about 'barbarian psychology' in which he presents the persons involved as having no consciousness of past and future, and hence no consciousness of the true meaning of their own social institutions: "It seems that the two had honestly become such close friends that, their consciousness being alive only to the passing moment, it never occurred to them how unnatural and dangerous such a friendship really was." Quite the reverse, such a friendship was not 'unnatural' by any reasonable standards of the society concerned, and the participants were surely well aware of its relationship to danger.

However common ritual brothers might have been amongst the Gauls and the Germans, Roman men were averse to this type of personal power in the formal structures of their own state and society. The ritual and the bond were re-read in order to turn the relationship into a formal diplomatic one between the men or the social group concerned and the Roman state: the men became 'brothers' of the *populus Romanus*. The upward 'seepage' of ritualized relationships like brotherhoods to the level of the state tended to occur in periods when Roman central state power was weak and the state was not dominated by its institutional apparatuses. As a rule, therefore, ritual brotherhood was an exceedingly rare phenomenon in the civic heartlands of the empire. But there is a peculiar historical conjuncture that can provide the historian with a glimpse of the considerable significance that bonds of ritual brotherhood could have before they were finally 'trumped' by the formal institutions of a restored state.

The occasion was the ritual bonding of the men, all from Danubian frontier lands, who formed the so-called 'First Tetrarchy': Diocletian, Maximianus, Constantius, and Galerius.[41] The famous statuary groups of the four dynasts, one now found at St. Mark's in Venice and another in the Vatican, in which each man is portrayed ritualistically embracing the other, are perhaps the most striking contemporary iconographic representations of the formation of their ritual brotherhood. Given the attestation of ritual brotherhoods in the Danubian regions from which the men originated, the type of personal link they used to form their *junta* is both logical and significant. In forging their mutual bond, Maximianus was adopted by Diocletian. Since the ritual was that of adoption, most scholars have simply postulated that Maximianus was adopted as Diocletian's son.[42] The evidence of the literary sources, epigraphy, and the papyri, however, is decisive. Maximianus was not adopted as Diocletian's son, but rather as his *frater*. Indeed, Maximianus's position as fellow 'Augustus' or partner of Diocletian corresponds directly with his adoption as Diocletian's 'brother'.[43]

As we shall see, the formation of such a bond was illegal in the Roman law of the empire over which Diocletian ruled; perhaps more ironic and paradoxical is the fact that Diocletian himself (and close to the time that he adopted Max-

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[41] For citation of the relevant primary evidence on their origins, see Timothy D. Barnes, "The Careers and Families of Emperors," in *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 30–46.

[42] So William Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie, 1. Guerres et réformes (284–300)* (Paris, 1946), 64–65, echoing many others, and followed by many others since; but he is refuted, correctly, by Frank Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie. Improvisation oder Experiment in der Organisation monarchischer Herrschaft*? (Berlin and New York, 1987), 44–47.

[43] P. Lond. 710 (A.D. 287); Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 8.1: 'frater eius [sc. Diocletiani] Maximianus'; *Pan. Lat.* 6 (7).15.6: 'ab eo [sc. Diocletiano] fuerat frater adscitus'; see, further, *Pan. Lat.* 7 (6).9.5; 6 (7).15.2; 11 (3).7.6–7; and 7 (6).11.2.

imianus as his 'brother') issued a rescript confirming the illegality of the practice. Given the violent frontier society out of which Diocletian and his peers emerged, however, such legalities, for the moment, came second to their need to deploy the most powerful means they could to form dependable personal bonds of trust.[44] The formation of a ritual brotherhood by adoption not only clashed with Roman law concerning adoption, but also with imperial ideology, which had, over centuries, portrayed the adopted successor of the emperor as his *filius*. With the stabilization of the Tetrarchy and institutionalization of the new regime, therefore, it is not surprising that the brief appearance of this peculiar frontier relationship ceded to types of imperial images and kinship relationships that were more concordant with the traditional institutions and practices of the Roman state.

From a Roman perspective, the bonding of the Tetrarchs as adoptive 'brothers' was an exception.[45] Accounts of ethnic groups located along the northeastern frontiers of the Roman empire, generally called 'Skythian', describe relationships of ritual brotherhood as typical of these societies.[46] Relationships struck between 'Skythians' and leaders of the late Roman state were themselves marked by personal symbolic ties and by the typical gestures that were part of forging personal, contractual relationships.[47] The historian Priskos reports a typical case involving an agreement concluded in 451 between an enterprising Christian bishop from Margus in Moesia and various 'Skythian' chieftains. "When they had given the bishop their right hands (*dexia*) and sworn oaths for the things promised, he returned to the lands of the Romans with a great military force under his command and acquired the city of Margus for the Skythians."[48] Typical

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[44] Modern day historians remain puzzled over the reasons for the use of the 'adoption of a brother' mechanism by Diocletian and his colleagues, and for its subsequent abandonment in favor of a father-son ideology. Being unaware of the social practice of ritual brotherhood, they attempt to interpret the significance of the bond from a central Roman perspective. But the problem is not so much one of Diocletian 'experimenting' with various alternatives or 'keeping his options open' (Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 45), as it is one of an evolutionary development. After the Danubian big men had seized control of the state, they eventually adopted its ways.

[45] *HF* 2.12; 3.15; 5.16, 38, 49 fin.; 7.38. Note that all the salient acts and rituals are found in similarly structured societies at an earlier date in the eastern Mediterranean; see Shaw, "Tyrants, Bandits and Kings" (n. 27 above), esp. fig. 1, 203.

[46] The term 'Skythian' is deliberately anachronistic and 'classicizing' among the writers of the period. The peoples to whom they are referring could be Tervingi, Greuthungi ('Goths'), Alans, Heruls, Taifali, Gepids, Sarmatians, and other transdanubian peoples of the time.

[47] Dietrich Claude, "Zur Begründung familiärer Beziehungen zwischen Kaiser und barbarischen Herrschern," in Evangelos K. Chrysos and Andreas Schwarcz, eds., *Das Reich und die Barbaren* (Vienna and Cologne, 1989), 25–56.

[48] Priskos, frg. 2 (Dind. 280–81) = Blockley, frg. 6.1 (230–31): οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πάντα ποιήσειν τὰ ἀγαθά, εἰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἄγοι ἐς ἔργον ὑπόσχεσιν. δεξιῶν τε καὶ ὅρκων ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις δοθέντων, μετὰ βαρβαρικῆς πολυπληθίσας ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαικὴν ἐπάνεισι γῆν . . . .

of more elaborate 'ethnographical reports' on Skythian society, however, is the description contained in the work entitled *Toxaris* or *On Friendship (philia)* that was composed by the second-century Greek writer Lucian.[49] It is a fictitious dialogue between a Greek called Mnêsippos and a Skythian named Toxaris on the subject of 'friendship' (*philia*) between men.[50]

Mnêsippos begins with examples of friendship (*philia*) between men in the Greek societies of his world. The friendships enabled them to achieve what Mnêsippos sees as extraordinary acts of altruism. Such accomplishments included marrying an ugly wife without a dowry, giving money to the daughter of a friend on her marriage, and sharing a period of temporary imprisonment. When the Skythian Toxaris gives examples of male *philia* in his own society, however, he begins by noting that the Greeks "have no great occasions at all" on which to display their *philia* (that is to say, 'friendship' in the sense in which he, a Skythian, understands the relationship) because the Greeks live in conditions of 'profound peace' (*eirene batheia*). The Skythians on the other hand are constantly involved in war and fighting. The words of Toxaris are worth quoting because they provide a clear description of the sort of ritual brotherhood recorded in the later rituals of *adelphopoiesis*:

> First of all, I wish to tell you how we make our friends. It is not through sharing strong drink (like you people do), nor because a man has shared cadet training with us (*synephebos*), nor simply because he's our neighbor. No. When we see a brave man capable of achieving great things, it's then that we all become eager to get close to him. And just as you behave when you are trying to get married, we think it right to behave in this same way in forming friends — wooing them at great length and with much effort, and doing everything to ensure that we do not lose their friendship and are rejected. Then when the decision has been made to accept someone as a friend (*philos*), an agreement is made and a great oath is sworn that we will live together and, if necessary, even die for each other. We actually do this. For when we have cut our fingers, let the blood drip into a cup, dipped our sword points into it, and then, together, both at the same time have raised it to our lips and have drunk, there is nothing that happens afterwards that can possibly break the link between us. We are allowed to enter into three such alliances at most, since we think that a man who has [too] many friends (*polyphilos*) is like common and adulterous women, and we consider that the strength of his friendship is no longer the same when it has been split between [too] many loyalties (*pollai eunoiai*).[51]

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[49] Christopher P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986) for the cultural background of Lucian, esp. 56–58, specifically on the *Toxaris*; Michaelides-Nouaros "Peri tês adelphopoiias," 269–72.

[50] David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge, 1997), with reference to earlier studies.

[51] Lucian *Toxaris*, 37; cf. Herman, *Ritualized Friendship*, fig. 7 for a pictorial representation of the rituals that involved drinking from a common cup.

Of course, this is a distorted 'colonialist' fiction — a Greek writer trying to imagine 'what the barbarians do' — and therefore a literary interpretation of the realities of Skythian life. But there is enough in the account to suggest that the fictional Skythian speaker is referring to an intense social bond formed between powerful men coping with the lack of formal institutions in their society and with the violence that pervaded it. He likens the actions undertaken by Skythian men in forming the bond to the sorts of rituals used by the civilized and peaceful Greeks in wooing the women whom they seek as wives. Skythian 'friendship' is not marriage itself, since most of the men already have wives and children. Toxaris's third story of such an alliance involves three men who assist one of their friends in his pursuit of a marriageable woman.[52] Toxaris states that these alliances were formed mainly for personal protection and for the deployment of violence: staging raids, laying ambushes, seeking vengeance; protecting herds, pasture lands, and wagons; and defending one's community. He gives examples of how the ritual link enabled men to marshal the resources of relatives, kin, and other friends in order to assemble whole armies, and to use the power of blood rituals, compacts, promises, and exchanges of tokens as a way to control resources vital to their survival.[53]

Ritual Brotherhood and Adoptive Kinship

A difficulty with any analysis of ritual brotherhood is that other forms of artificial bonds — ritual friendship, adoption, and coparenthood — overlapped so strongly with that of ritual brotherhood that the terminological boundaries between them were not always clearly distinguished. For example, the rituals of adoption could be used primarily to create close collateral links between the natural and adoptive parents rather than to establish a kinship link between the adoptive parent and the child. Because the adoption produced a link between two persons that was structurally homologous with that of siblingship, the natural parents and the new artificial parents (i.e., the coparents) were closely linked to each other as kin and as equals. When the link involved two men, the relationship produced was akin to that of a ritual brotherhood.

An example of the use of adoption as a means by which Roman and non-Roman men of power could be joined for political and military purposes is provided by the adoption of the younger son of a fifth-century Frankish king (Merovech?) by the Roman general Aëtius. In a succession crisis following the father's death, the elder son called on Attila as his ally, while the younger son appealed to Aëtius. The historian Priskos reports of this younger son:

[52] Lucian *Toxaris*, 44–55.
[53] Ibid., 7, 35–36, 39, and 63.

> This son was the one whom I saw at Rome when he was on an embassy to the city. He did not yet have a beard, but his blond hair was so long that it cascaded over his broad shoulders. Aëtius made him his adoptive son (*thetos . . . pais*) and, together with the emperor, showered him with gifts and sent him away in friendship and alliance.[54]

Arrangements between two men, whereby each would treat the other's sons as his own, are also known, but they seem to derive mainly from peripheral regions of the empire during periods when the central authority of the Roman state was in an advanced state of disintegration. In rural Brittany in the 560s–570s, two chieftains, Macliavus and Bodicus, "swore an oath to each other that whoever outlived the other would take care of the dead man's sons as if they were his own."[55] Such arrangements, which effectively made the men artificial coparents, were primarily found in violent marchlands of the empire. Occurring in a milieu of pervasive suspicion and threats of violence, these artificial relationships were intended to supplement existing family connections: both men were married and had sons.[56] In this case, Macliavus violated the oath on Bodicus's death, which led to a long and violent feud between the two families — more precisely, between the sons once held in common. The lateral associations of adoptive kinship, ritual coparenthood, and ritual brothering suggest the need to understand adoption and adoption terminology in the Roman world within the larger context of all three artificial kinship links.[57] This is especially necessary where the writers of our literary histories might well misunderstand or misconstrue the balance or overlap between the three forms of artificial kinship.

At the highest levels of the Roman state, adoption was a strategy frequently

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[54] Priskos, frg. 16 (Dind. 329–30) = Blockley, Book 5, frg. 20.3 (306–7); ὃν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην εἴδομεν πρεσβευόμενοι μήπω ἰούλου ἀρχόμενον, ξανθὸν τὴν κόμην τοῖς αὐτοῦ περικεχυμένην διὰ μέγεθος ὤμοις. θετὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀέτιος ποιησάμενος παῖδα καὶ πλεῖστα δῶρα δοὺς ἅμα τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ τε καὶ ὁμαιχμίᾳ ἀπέπεμψεν. Note that Aëtius was already an *amicus* or ritual friend of the Huns (*HF* 2.8).

[55] *HF* 5.16: "In Brittanis haec acta sunt. Macliavus quondam et Bodicus Brittanorum comites sacramentum inter se dederant, ut, quis ex eis superviveret, filius patris alterius tamquam proprius defensaret."

[56] The region was one of endemic banditry, even when measured against the violent standards of Merovingian society; see *HF* 9.18.

[57] Consider Christopher Boehm, *Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies* (Lawrence, Kan., 1984; repr. Philadelphia, 1987), 137: the report of an artificial brother-making ceremony in Montenegro in 1890 (typical of many ethnographic field reports): "This did not conclude the ceremony. After the feast the godfatherhoods and blood-brotherhoods had to be concluded, and we discover that great blood-brotherhoods are relationships in which the same men become simultaneously blood brothers and godfathers to one another. The point of creating these ritual kinship ties, between men who were not kinsmen by blood, was perfectly obvious to the Montenegrins. It was to cement positive bonds between members of two clans . . . ."

employed by the imperial family to ensure the devolution of power and property.[58] Among ordinary persons, the evidence, though surprisingly scant, indicates that adoption was used for much the same purposes.[59] But the problem is complicated by the fact that even within the empire itself there were strongly divergent practices in the forms and the aims of adoption. There is, for example, little overlap between the institution of adoption as attested in the papyri of Roman Egypt and the Roman legal institution of adoption in either of its forms (*adoptio* or *adrogatio*).[60] A passage in the so-called Syro-Roman lawbook, a compilation reflecting local customary practices in the late and post-Roman Near East, indicates that, however illegal the practice might have been in classical Roman law, adoption was used to form a 'brotherhood' for the purpose of maintaining familial property.[61] This evidence agrees with the Egyptian data on adoption. That is to say, there existed local mechanisms for forming artificial kinship links in provincial regions of the empire that were customarily practiced even though they were not countenanced by the Roman law.[62]

While taking note of these unusual local practices of adoption in the empire, the historian must also seek to understand the status of an artificial linkage of brotherhood by adoption in the Roman law. Only two sources in the entire corpus of the Roman law use the term *frater adoptivus*. One of the texts is a response by the second-century jurist Julianus, recorded as part of a definition of the kin who were eligible to inherit in intestate succession. Julianus states that cognate ties acquired through adoption are broken by a change in civil status. He offers an example: if a brother suffered the diminution of his civil status within one hundred days of his adopted brother's death, then he would not be able to obtain possession of his

[58] For a survey of the evidence, see Marcel Henri Prévost, *Les adoptions politiques à Rome sous la République et le Principat* (Paris, 1949).

[59] The data are scant, probably because 'fosterage' arrangements were preferred to those of strict adoption. On the institution of the *alumni/ae* see H. S. Nielsen, "*Alumnus*: A Term of Relation Denoting Quasi-Adoption," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 38 (1987): 141–88; Jane Bellemore and Beryl Rawson, "*Alumni*: the Italian Evidence," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 83 (1990): 1–19; for the evidence from the Christian period, the survey by Henri Leclercq, "*Alumni*," *DACL* 1 (1907): 1288–1306, is still valuable.

[60] Kurylowicz, "Adoption" (n. 12 above), 72–75; the Roman laws governing the practice of adoption in the East are *Dig.* 45.1.132 (Paul); and *CJ* 8.47.4; 4.19.13; 8.47.6 (rescripts issued by Diocletian on adoption date to his travels in the eastern provinces in A.D. 293–94).

[61] Bruns and Sachau, *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch* 2: 114 (§ 127 from the Syriac text); 144 (§ 126 from the Armenian text), and commentary, 2: 254–57 (§ 86); the lost Greek original dates to ca. 476–80; the surviving Syriac version, made in Mesopotamia, dates to the eighth century. The Greek text is a modern retroversion from the Syriac.

[62] Another example of the adoption of a brother that has not yet (to my knowledge) been discussed is found in the *Controversiae* of the Elder Seneca (*Controv.* 3.3). Once again, the details of the case suggest an eastern or Greek social practice rather than a Roman one.

adopted brother's property.[63] It is clear from the wording of the response, which deals with the ability of fraternal siblings to inherit property, that the jurist is speaking of a sibling who is one's 'adopted brother' because he has been adopted by the father of one's own family — not because any sibling adopted him as a brother.

The other legal text is a response by the Severan jurist, Paul, which states that someone can legally institute an heir by making the oral declaration: "Let this man be heir to me," if the person is present and can be pointed out. Attached to this general ruling is a more specific one stating that if a person is not one's 'real' brother but is someone "who is cherished with brotherly affection," such a man can still be instituted as heir and called 'brother'; the designation of the person as heir will still be valid.[64] Here too, there is no doubt that the term 'adopted brother' is used in an ordinary sense to mean a male sibling who has been adopted by one's father. The only other place where the term *frater adoptivus* is used is Paul's *Sententiae*. Paul is dealing with the default regulations governing intestate succession, and with the rights of consanguineous relations. Paul states that "*consanguinei* are those persons born from the same father, even if from different mothers, and who were in the father's power at the time of his death, even a brother who has been adopted (*adoptivus quoque frater*), as long as he has not been emancipated, and even those who have been born after the death of the father or who can demonstrate just grounds."[65]

These are the sum total of references to 'brotherhood' in an adoptive mode, either real or figurative, within the boundaries set by the Roman law for Roman society. There is no indication of the existence of a formal, legally recognized institution of adult men being able to form liaisons with each other as 'brothers' for any purposes by the mechanism of adoption. The one clearcut use of the term 'adopted brother' is a reference to a sibling (albeit an artificial one) who had been adopted by a man's own father.

The whole body of the law does, however, contain another explicit reference

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[63] *Dig.* 38.8.3 (*Unde Cognati*): *Iulianus libro vicensimo septimo digestorum*: "Capitis deminutione peremuntur cognationes, quae per adoptionem adquisitae sunt. Igitur si post mortem verbi gratia fratris adoptivi intra centensimum diem adoptivus frater capite deminutus fuerit, bonorum possessionem accipere non poterit, quae proximitatis nomine fratris defertur: praetorem enim non solum mortis tempus, sed etiam id, quo bonorum possessio petitur, intueri palam est."

[64] *Dig.* 28.5.59 [58].pr (*De Heredibus Instituendis*): *Idem libro quarto ad Vitellium*: "Nemo dubitat recte ita heredens nuncupari posse 'hic mihi heres est.' cum sit coram, qui ostenditur. 1. Qui frater non est, si fraterna caritate diligitur, recte cum nomine suo sub appellatione fratris heres instituitur."

[65] Paul (from the fourth book of his *Sententiae*) = *Collatio* 16.3.15: "Consanguinei sunt eodem patre nati, licet diversis matribus, qui in potestate fuerint mortis tempore: adoptivus quoque frater, si non sit emancipatus, et his qui post mortem patris nati sunt vel causam probaverunt."

to the practice of making a brother by adoption.[66] It is found in a rescript issued by the emperors Diocletian and Maximianus in answer to the petition of one Zizo. The emperors' response was as follows:

> It is not possible for anyone [even] amongst foreigners to make a brother for himself by means of adoption. Although you say that your father wished to do this, he was in error. Therefore, the governor of the province will take care to have restored to you that portion of the inheritance which that man (against whom you have petitioned us) took for himself on the grounds that he was instituted heir [by your father] as your father's adopted brother.[67]

This is a clear attestation in the law — though, it must be emphasized, the only one — of the practice of 'making a brother' by means of adoption. There are several things that are notable about the text. First, the main concern of the laws with the practice (and hence the matter of dispute that brought it before the emperor) was its connection with the maintenance and transmission of property. Second, the practice is attested not in the civil core of Roman imperial society, but on its frontiers "amongst foreigners" (*peregrini*). The Roman emperors correctly denied its legal validity for the purposes of inheritance and the devolution of property; one could not 'make a brother' in the Roman law by the mechanism of adoption. Further, the emperors ruled that they would not recognize the validity of this peculiar practice if any external peoples appealed to them to recognize the legal force of their local custom.[68]

What was the context in which Zizo's father and a third party were involved in an adoptive brotherhood? There are two circumstantial indicators of the social locus for the custom. The rescript to Zizo, issued on 3 December 285, was preceded by others from places along the Danube as the emperor Diocletian made his way to Nicomedia, which he reached on 20 January 286. The most probable location from which this rescript was issued, then, was somewhere in the two Moesias.[69] Then again, Bruns, Tamassia, and others have observed that the name

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[66] Among the most important studies are those by Tamassia, *L'affratellamento*; Nallino, "Divieto romano"; and Koschaker, "Adoptio in Fratrem."

[67] *CJ* 6.24.7 (Impp. Diocletianus et Maximianus AA. Zizoni): "Nec apud peregrinos fratrem sibi quisquam per adoptionem facere poterat. Cum igitur, quod patrem tuum voluisse facere dicis, irritum sit, portionem hereditatis, quam is adversus quem supplicas velut adoptatus frater heres institutus tenet, restitui tibi curae habebit praeses provinciae."

[68] Olga E. Tellegen-Couperus, *Testamentary Succession in the Constitutions of Diocletian* (Amsterdam, 1982), 66–70.

[69] Koschaker, "Adoptio in Fratrem," 373; on the dating see Barnes, *The New Empire* (n. 41 above), 50 ("Imperial Residences and Journeys"): on 2 November 285, Diocletian was at Civitas Iovia and Sonista, and in early December was surely further to the east; for political context, see Simon Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, A.D. 284–324* (Oxford, 1996), 115 and 174; Anthony M. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1994), 154–55, attributes the drafting of the constitution to the *magister memoriae* Gregorius who was old-fashioned and provincial in his attitudes, and who was also responsible for the constitution on bigamy (*CJ* 5.5.2).

Zizo is probably of Slavic origin (although the claims about the nomenclature are far from certain).[70] Indeed, the most striking similarity of name is provided by the powerful Sarmatian chieftain called Zizais, who is mentioned three times in Ammianus Marcellinus's account of the violent operations of Roman armies along the middle Danube, in the region of modern day Belgrade.[71]

Diocletian's rescript was included in the ninth-century Byzantine legal code, the *Basilika*. The *Basilika* speak of a form of "brotherhood established through adoption" by persons living outside the Roman Empire. The phrase used in the *Basilika* of *adelphotês dia theseôs* (ἀδελφότης διὰ θέσεως) is usually glossed by terms like *adelphopoiia* (ἀδελφοποιία), *adelphopoiesis* (ἀδελφοποίησις) or *adelphosune* (ἀδελφοσύνη) in later sources.[72] The *Synopsis Basilicorum* from the tenth century repeats this reading of the imperial rescript. Both sources accept the emperors' earlier legal position, namely, that no one could legally make a brother by adoption and that the legal consequences of the act for inheritance were therefore null and void.[73] Later legal commentaries make clear that, so far

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[70] *FIRA*², vol. 2, Leges saeculares, no. 86 (*Libri Syro-Romani interpretationem A. C. Ferrini confectam, castigavit iterum edidit novis adnotationibus instruxit J. Furlani*), 780; cf. Bruns and Sachau, *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch*, 2: 257, on which see Koschaker, "Adoptio in Fratrem," 373, and Nallino, "Divieto romano," 597, no. 1. The name in Lucian's dialogue, Σισίννης, is a normal Greek one (not Slavic): see Peter M. Fraser and Elaine Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1987), 408 (Σισίννιος) and Wilhelm Pape, rev. Gustav Eduard Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3rd ed. (Braunschweig, 1884), 1400; close analogues to Zizo are found in the region of Arabia: a place named Ζίζα in Arabia Petraea (Ptol. 5.16.6); and, in one MS variant, a phylarch of the Arabs in the time of Alexander Jannaeus named Ζίζος (Josephus, *AJ*, 13.384): see ibid., 446.

[71] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, 17.12.9 (A.D. 358 in operations around Sirmium): Zizais was a tall and handsome *regalis*; 17.12.20; 17.13.30 (Constantius appoints him king); Liselot Huchthausen, " 'Thrakerreskripte' aus dem *Codex Iustinianus*," *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici: Historia* 13 (1979): 7–20 opts for a Thracian origin for the petitioner.

[72] *Basilicorum libri LX*: Series A, vol. 5 (textus librorum xxxv–xlii), 35.13.17, ed. Herman Jan Scheltema, Nicolaas van der Wal, and Douwe Holwerda, 8 vols. (Groningen, 1953–88): 5 (1967), 1620; cf. the earlier editions of A. Fabroti and C. G. E. Heimbach, eds. (Leipzig, 1833–70): 3 (1843), 606; and Zepos and Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*, 5: *Synopsis Basilicorum* (Athens, 1931; repr. Aalen, 1962), 28, p. 64: Μηδὲ παρὰ ξένοις τοῖς ἔξω Ῥώμης οἰκοῦσι διὰ θέσεως ἀδελφότης συνιστάσθω. Κἂν τις ὡς ἀδελφὸς προσληφθεὶς κληρονόμος γραφῇ, ἐκπιπτέτω τῆς κληρονομίας. Καὶ ὅτε οὐκ ἔξεστίν τινι εἰς θέσιν λαμβάνειν ἑαυτῷ ἀδελφόν· εἰ δὲ προσληφθῇ κληρονόμος, ἐκπίπτει.

[73] *LX Librorum ΒΑΣΙΛΩΝ: id est universi iuris Romani, auctoritate principum Romanorum Graecam in linguam traducti. Ecloga sive Synopsis*, ed. J. Leunclaim (Basel, 1575), 35.13.15, p. 347 = Zepos and Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*: 5: 28, Σ 'c', p. 64: Ἐδεήθη τις βασιλέως, ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν εἰς θέσιν ἑαυτῷ ἀδελφόν, καὶ τελευτῶν ὡς ἀδελφὸν ἐνεστήσατο κληρονόμον αὐτόν. Καὶ λέγει ἡ διάταξις· Οὐκ ἔξεστί τινι λαβεῖν εἰς θέσιν ἑαυτοῦ (λεγ· ἑαυτῷ) ἀδελφόν, καὶ δυνατὸν ἀποσπᾶσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μέρος τοῦ κληρονόμου (λεγ· τῆς κληρονομίας). δύναμαι καὶ γράφειν κληρονόμον τὸν πρὸς ὃν ἔχω σχέσιν ἀδελφικήν, μετὰ τῆς κυρίας προσηγορίας ἀδελφὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζων. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀπὸ τοιαύτης σχέσεως, ἀλλὰ

as the lawyers were concerned, the main purpose for making such a brotherhood was to create an heir, or a person who could share in one's property by inheritance. As such the laws forbade the arrangement.[74] The basis for rejecting the legal validity of the act that is emphasized in these laws, and repeated in the later legal scholia on them, is that adoption 'imitates nature'. Since nature does not produce siblings by procreation out of oneself, it follows that the creation of a brother by adoption is not possible.[75]

The problem that historians face in interpreting the everyday realities to which the legal texts refer, however, is a lack of contemporary descriptions of these adoptive brotherhoods. For such quotidian realia, the historian is tempted to draw on much later historical sources, such as the legal questions reputedly put to Chomatenos, archbishop of Ochrid in the early thirteenth century, and the 'replies' (ἀποφάνσεις) attributed to him.[76] In one case a soldier named Alexander, who was an adopted or 'made' brother (συνέστη διὰ θέσεως ἀδελφότης) of a fellow soldier named Chydros, wished to take as his wife the daughter of another soldier named Basos. Basos was the biological brother of Chydros. Alexander wished to know if the proposed marriage was forbidden because the man was the brother of his 'adopted' or 'made' brother Chydros (ἀπὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι θετὸν ἀδελφόν). Chomatenos replies that the proposed marriage is not forbidden or illegal since the institution of ritual brotherhood was not legally recognized in the first place, and therefore could have no legal impact on inheritance. Chomatenos quotes the terms of the law in the *Basilika*, and adds in comment that, "since the making of a brother (ἡ ἀδελφοθεσία) is forbidden by all our sacred laws," it cannot form an impediment to the proposed marriage. He states that too close an actual kin relationship (συγγενεία) — one formed either by an already existing close kinship connection (ἐξ ἀγχιστείας) or by actual blood-descent (ἡ συγγενικοῦ αἵματος) — would indeed be an impediment to marriage. But the only artificial kin relationships that Chomatenos is willing to

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κατὰ πλάνην ὡς ἀδελφὸν αὐτὸν ἔγραψα, ἡ ἔνστασις ἀκυροῦφται.The scholia to the *Basilika* are categorized as 'old', dating to the eleventh century, and 'new', dating to both the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The heading for this scholion is περὶ ἀδελφοποιίας.

[74]Zepos and Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*, 5: 28, Σ 'a', p. 64: Τοῖς μὴ συγγενέσιν οὖσι δηλονότι. ὡς οὖν παρὰ τοῖς συγγενέσιν οὐ κεκώλυται ἡ κατὰ θέσιν ἀδελφότης· εἰ γὰρ τις ξένον τινὰ κατὰ θέσιν ἀδελφὸν ὄντα γράφῃ κληρονόμον ἀδελφόν ὀνομάσας, οὐ ποιεῖ κληρονόμον διὰ τὸ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάσαι, ὡς τοῦ νόμου τούτου κωλύοντος τὴν κατὰ θέσιν ἀδελφότητα.

[75]Zepos and Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*, 5: 28, Σ 'b', p. 64: Ἡ θέσις μιμεῖται τὴν φύσιν. οὐδεὶς δὲ ἑαυτῷ γεννᾷ ἀδελφόν.

[76]Zepos and Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*, 7: II(*), pp. 503–4. The discussion is headed: Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς νόμος δεκτὴ ἡ ἐκ διαθέσεως ἀδελφότης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ γαμικὰ συναλλάγματα ἐμποδοστατεῖ. Since the whole text is too long to cite in its entirety, the critical Greek terms are included in the discussion in the text above.

contemplate are ritual descent relationships established either by holy baptism or by an adoption made properly "according to the holy canons and sacred laws." He specifically states that all other forms of ritual kinship are forbidden, that they have no standing in the law, and are therefore without legal effect. Chomatenos then repeats the classic formulation of the Roman law that artificial kinship mimics nature. One can procreate a son (hence the acceptability of adoption), but one cannot procreate a brother. Therefore 'made' brothers are not legally recognized.

The case brought before Chomatenos is interesting on several counts. It shows, once again, that such ritual brotherhoods were formed and were regarded as 'real' by the men who formed them — in this case, notably, by two armed men. These men, therefore, had genuine concerns about marriage prohibitions that might stem from these ritualized relationships.[77] This is so whether or not the ritual brotherhoods were actually recognized by the law (they were not) or by the church (they were not, as Chomatenos explicitly states in his detailed commentary on the case). The place of sentiment in all this is difficult to explicate, but the weight of the existing evidence suggests a context similar to that of the 'Skythian' ritual brothers in Lucian. Chomatenos's case involves a man who is contemplating a marriage with a woman, and there is no countervailing evidence to indicate that the existing ritual brotherhood envisaged a bigamous relationship between Alexander, his prospective wife, and his ritual brother Chydros. The reasons for forming the ritual brotherhood clearly lay elsewhere. But the only explicit concern the Byzantine laws have with such personal liaisons is with their implications for *kleronomia* — problems that they might generate in the inheritance of property. That is to say, the civil law, like the canonical, tended to confine its interests in ritual brotherhood to its own limited and peculiar concerns. Since the two men were soldiers, however, the pervasive violence and feuding in the area of Greece in which Chomatenos was archbishop was probably not without relevance to whatever concerns these men might have had with inheritance and defense of property.[78]

The general import of these examples, however few they might be, is to confirm the existence of a practice within certain non-Roman populations — those living on or beyond the northern frontiers of the empire — to form artificial brother-

[77] A concern for which legislative provision had to continue to be made; see Leo, *Novellae*, 24: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ γαμεῖν τὰ τέκνα τὰ φυσικὰ τὰ θετά· φιν· τοιγαροῦν καὶ θεσπίζομεν, μηδαμῶς ἐξεῖναι τοὺς οὕτως ὑποβεβηκότας τὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὄνομα πρὸς τὸ τῆς συζυγίας ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδελφότητος μεθαρμόζεσθαι. See Zepos and Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum*, 1: *Novellae et Aureae Bullae Imperatorum post Iustinianum*, 86–87.

[78] Chomatenos's rulings therefore provide insights into this aspect of the society as well: Ruth J. Macrides, "Killing, Asylum, and the Law in Byzantium," *Speculum* 63 (1988): 509–38, at 519–20 and esp. 533–34.

hoods, either by adoption or by acts that were analogous to adoption.[79] The main region in Europe where such ritual brotherhoods have been pervasively reported is the region for which the rescript of Diocletian was issued, the same one on which the Byzantine legal compilations offered comment, and the same one to which the documents from the Orthodox church applied: the Balkans and adjacent lands.[80] As European ethnologists and proto-anthropologists of the nineteenth century probed the 'savage frontiers' of their own continent, principally its Slavic and Greek borderlands with the Ottoman empire, they reported rituals and ceremonials by which persons created artificial kin, including brothers, to provide better protection for themselves and to increase their ability to harm others. Based on these reports, as early as 1910 Hamilton-Grierson was able to give a synoptic recount of some of the blood-sharing rituals that were associated with the ecclesiastical ceremony.[81] The results of such bonds were very strong, creating effective kinship links between the ritual brothers that were considered bars to intermarriage (e.g., to the sister of one's ritual brother). Precisely as in the brotherhood agreements in the rescript of Diocletian, in the Byzantine legal commentaries, and in the *adelphopoiesis* ceremonials of the Orthodox church, these relationships were supplementary to and different from marriage. The reasons for the formation of the bonds of artificial kinship were connected with the prevalence of primal forms of social organization in the face of the weakness of effective central state power and the concomitant power of interpersonal and interethnic forms of violence. These circumstances produced the need to solidify property and power by marshaling the resources of personal connections — to increase one's own power through kinship and artificial kin relationships and to defuse potential threats by these same means.

Another problem connected with ritual brotherhood is that of understanding the elements of gender and sexuality that were entailed by the relationship, and specifically, given the intensity of the male bond being formed, the possible homoerotic elements in it. For analytical purposes, it is perhaps best to keep the

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[79] I concentrate on the northern frontiers, since it is here that ritual brotherhoods are most extensively attested in the existing sources. They doubtless existed elsewhere among other societies dominated by segmentary lineage systems, as among the Arabic peoples: see Carlo Alfonso Nallino, "L'Affratellamento e l'Islamismo," in "Divieto Romano," 614–29; and in the Axumite kingdom of Ethiopia: see Yuri M. Kobishchanov, *Axum*, trans. Lorraine T. Kapitanoff (University Park, Pa., 1979), 107, for a typical case. Abreha, the rebellious head of the Himyarite kingdom in southwestern Arabian peninsula, and Ella Asbeha, the king of Axum, were reconciled as 'blood brothers' (ca. A.D. 545). Ella Asbeha himself had earlier (ca. A.D. 524–25) become the godfather of Sumafa Ashwa, the very man in the Himyarite kingdom whom he had been sent out to destroy (ibid., 101–2).

[80] Hamilton-Grierson, "Brotherhood (Artificial)," § 32–43 (= "iii. The institution among the Southern Slavs").

[81] Ibid., 865, citing Ciszewski, *Künstliche Verwandtschaft*, 33–35, 60–68.

phenomena of ritual brotherhood and sexuality separate — otherwise, there is the danger that certain types of male homosexual relationships may automatically be assumed to be instances of *adelphopoiesis* where there is simply no evidence to sustain the assumption. The problem is especially difficult because evidence on the possible erotic content of relations between ritual brothers in Greco-Roman antiquity is extremely scarce.[82] Certain ritual sibling relationships must have entailed strong emotive feelings, some of which must have been erotic. But even if they existed, were such sentiments necessary to the formation of ritual brotherhoods? The main difficulty, again, is that the evidence on sentiments shared by ritual brothers in antiquity is so sparse. One of the few cases that explicitly connects particular types of emotional sentiments with bonds of ritual brotherhood comes from the coparenting, ritual adoptive, and fictive kinship arrangements reported by Procopius.[83] The pertinent case is his account of a ritual brotherhood formed between an unnamed Armenian strongman and the Armenian king Arsaces, where sentiments between the 'made' brothers were indeed rather intense. Arsaces asserted that the feelings he had for his ritual brother exceeded any of the other emotional attachments of his lifetime.[84] But the report is singular and does not offer much detail.

What Can We Know?

In the Roman and late antique periods, isolated examples of artificial brothers — such as those recounted by Ammianus Marcellinus, Gregory of Tours, pseudo-Bardaisan, and Lucian — can be found, but with some difficulty. They are rare, relative to other forms of natural and artificial kinship. Marriage remained by far the normal means of forming most connections of kinship; only occasionally was recourse had to links created through the ritual kinship instruments of adoption and baptism. And there are no known instances of artificial brother

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[82] For example, Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995), 556–57, strongly suspects a case of *adelphopoiesis* based on a text that only mentions a condemnation of male homosexuality: Joseph A. Munitiz, ed., *Nicephori Blemmydae Autobiographia sive Curriculum Vitae necnon Epistula Universalior*, *CCG* 15 (Turnhout, 1984), 1: 19–21 (pp. 12–13).

[83] Procop. *Wars*, 1.2.12–15; 1.3.5–7; 1.3.17; 5.29.42–43; 6.1.14; 7.32.6; 7.36.23; 7.36.28; 7.34.44; 8.2.18. A detailed case is the Sasanian monarch Kavad's attempt in A.D. 518 to form a close bond with the Byzantine emperor Justin by the device of coparenthood — through Justin's adoption of Kavad's son, Khusro. The link was never consummated, since the Roman emperor's advisers objected to the pretended adoption as incompatible with the legal forms of Roman adoption (1.11.6–29). The divergent ethnic, social, and legal customs only produced hostility: Khusro could not understand why the adoption could not take place, and so he took the Roman rejection as a mortal insult (1.11.29).

[84] Procop. *Wars*, 1.5.12–40; on the nature of the intense personal sentiments between the two men, see 1.5.35–40.

arrangements outside the membership of the so-called first 'Tetrarchy'.[85] The problem for the modern-day historian is to discern the types of human relationships that are reported in the surviving sources. In Gregory of Tours we are fortunate in having a contemporary witness to a post-Roman society in which the degree of disintegration of the central state, and the replacement of the authority of the law by dominant personal relationships based on a brutal *Zwangsrecht* is so advanced that there is a greater probability that the chronicler will record what we want to know. Even here, however, only the Sicharius-Chramnesindus episode is sufficiently localized — a miniature drama at Tours in which Gregory himself was involved — that we benefit from the reportage. Where Gregory's history raises its perspective to the stratum of the central court, historians lose the necessary local coverage. Even at this higher level, only a stroke of good fortune provides us with the details of an artificial kinship arrangement like baptismal adoption. It is because these cases were contemporary with Gregory that he happened to note them. For earlier periods, he reports nothing comparable.[86]

The overriding problem for the modern historian is, therefore, one of contextual meaning. Whereas it is possible to construct arguments concerning the secular and public consequences of ritual brotherhoods, the possible sexual and erotic elements of such relationships remain largely hidden. One could argue from the dossiers of the anthropologists that certain homoerotic behaviors are sometimes associated with specific social structures for which comparable types can found among the peripheral societies of the Roman Empire. But I know of no texts that would permit historians actually to make the connection with reasonable probability for the high Roman Empire or for any society in the early post-Roman west. Further, one can state as a certainty that the Roman state, to the end, rejected the legality of such arrangements. The case of the eastern Orthodox church is more ambiguous. From the eighth to eleventh centuries there certainly existed ecclesiastical rituals that, however much church authorities might later condemn them, were used, and continued to be used, to confirm the relationship of ritual brotherhood.

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[85] Alexander Demandt, "Der spätrömische Militäradel," *Chiron* 10 (1980): 609–36; with modifications and additions in idem, "The Osmosis of Late Roman and Germanic Aristocracies," in Evangelos K. Chrysos and Andreas Schwarcz, eds., *Das Reich und die Barbaren* (Vienna and Cologne, 1988), 75–85.

[86] Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship*, 163 n. 2, specifies the sixteen times that Gregory mentions baptismal kinship arrangements. All but one, Lynch notes, are contemporary with Gregory; he knows virtually nothing about the practice before his own time. The one earlier example he does record (that of Clovis) clearly has exceptional force, because of Clovis's extraordinary stature (but, even so, at only three generations from the event, Gregory does not even know the name of the king's baptismal sponsor).

Ritual brothering or *adelphopoiesis* remained, it seems, a rather irregular and occasional practice at the core of a Roman society that was dominated by complex organizational networks. These institutional structures tended to depress considerably the demand for a type of dangerous personal bond that was fixed by threatening rituals and ceremonials. Still, our analysis in this paper might assist in the identification of ritual brothers amongst men who are simply called 'brothers' in our historical sources, especially in frontier societies along or outside the periphery of the Roman Empire. Social power in these frontier societies encouraged the formation of ritual brotherhoods as a means of facilitating both aggression and protection against aggression. In these circumstances, men who are called 'brothers' in our sources may be biological siblings or they may be collateral kin (e.g., cousins), but the possibility that they might be ritual brothers cannot now be dismissed.

A few examples of these possibilities can be culled from the text of Ammianus Marcellinus. In detailing the often violent relations between Roman frontier forces and German ethnic groups along the Rhine, Ammianus sometimes notes that the head of a German ethnic group is the 'brother' of the head of a neighboring group with whom he cooperates. Although such men may have been biological brothers or cousins, the possibility that the bond was a ritual one cannot simply be discounted.[87] The evidence concerning these 'brothers' provokes comparison with the pseudo-Bardaisan's comments on male bonds among 'the Germans' and the practices associated with blood brotherhoods among Germanic peoples widely attested in early medieval sources.[88] Similarly, when Ammianus recounts the details of the 'rebellion' of the north African chieftain Firmus in 372/73, he names seven different 'brothers' who were heads of various ethnic groups located in widely separated regions of the Grande Kabylie and adjacent mountain zones.[89] These men may have been cousins or other collateral kin, but they may just as well have been ritual brothers.

In another instance from the marchlands of the Empire we can be certain that this was the case. In recounting events on the northern frontier in 372, Ammianus

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[87] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae* 14.10.1 (A.D. 354); 16.12.17 (A.D. 357); 21.3.4 (A.D. 361): the *fratres* Gundomadus and Vadomarius; 18.2.15–17 (A.D. 359); Macrianus and Hariobaudus are *fratres*, indeed *germani fratres*.

[88] Hellmuth, *Die germanische Blutsbrüderschaft*. Hellmuth purposefully limits his purview to the role of 'blood' in the brothering rituals, but he imposes this limitation mainly because the oral-based literary sources upon which he depends highlight blood-sharing as the formative ritual. This perspective dominates these texts, however, because the authors viewed the elements of the rituals from a non-Christian or 'pagan' perspective. Hellmuth's decision to focus on the blood-sharing ritual, therefore, tends to mislead; the bond and the rituals are certainly those of ritual brotherhood.

[89] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, 29.5.

notes the case of one "Festus quidam Tridentinus" who was bound to one Maximinus by a bond of brotherhood. This Festus is none other than the man who later wrote the historical *Breviarium*.[90] Ammianus reports that he was "accepted in a bond of brotherhood by Maximinus and loved by him as a companion and a social equal."[91] Although Festus was, according to Ammianus, "ultimi sanguinis et ignoti," from a border town in Raetia, his career was enhanced after he formed the bond of brotherhood with Maximinus, a man who came from the same frontier background. Maximinus was born at Sopianae in the late Roman province of Valeria (eastern Hungary), and was descended from Carpi tribesmen who had been settled on the Roman side of the Danube by the emperor Diocletian.[92] It cannot be accidental that we learn of another ritual brother from the Balkan borderland societies of the Empire.

The ethnographic and early modern historical evidence relating to the Greek and Slavic cases of ritual brotherhood is decisive for how we interpret ancient texts. The evidence reveals that, in the greatest number of attested cases, artificial brotherhoods were formed for purposes of protection, defense, and armed aggression in a disintegrated social order in which the threat of violence and physical force was a real and ever-present danger. Ritual brother arrangements only tended to be noted by legal authorities when these authorities thought that the civil law might have some concern with the legal consequences stemming from them. The ecclesiastical services, rituals, and prayers were similarly located at the juncture where the worlds of local secular power and religious authority happened to intersect. One can therefore understand the declared disinterest of the lawyers in the institution of ritual brotherhood, and the consistent hesitancy of the church to become formally involved in approving such a potentially dangerous relationship, no matter how pervasive it may have been.

The civil law and ecclesiastical sources, if read in isolation, are therefore potentially misleading, as privileged but partial indicators of a much more widespread social practice. More seriously, they can lure us into reading a social

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[90] *PLRE*, 1, s.v., "Festus (3)," 334–35.

[91] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae* 29.2.22: "Festus quidam Tridentinus ultimi sanguinis et ignoti, in nexum germanitatis a Maximino dilectus ut sodalis et contogatus, decernentibus fatis ad orientem transgressus est ibique administrata Syria magisterioque memoriae peracto bona lenitudinis et reverentiae reliquit exempla, unde regere Asiam proconsulari potestate exorsus velificatione tranquilla, ut aiunt, ferebatur ad gloriam." Some of the MSS have 'Festinus' as the man's name, but his career shows clearly that it is Festus that is meant. The 'inus' ending on his name must have resulted from dittography of the 'Tridentinus'. The Latin mimics the terms of biological kinship descent; cf. Apul. *Met.* 2.3: when Lucius meets his kinswoman (*parens*) in Thessaly, she tells him: "Parentis tuae non modo sanguinis, verum alimoniarum etiam socia, nam et familia Plutarchi ambae prognatae sumus, et eandem nutricem simul bibimus, et *in nexu germanitatis* una coaluimus."

[92] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae* 28.1.5; cf. *PLRE*, 1, s.v., "Maximinus (7)," 577–78.

institution from their perspective as primarily concerned either with affective, spiritual bonds or with the devolution of property. The primary reason for this deflection of meaning was the self-interest of their authors (lawyers and ecclesiastics) that encoded their limited concerns with the practice of ritual brotherhood. To understand the practice, historians will have to be content with an erratic scattering of primary data, along with hypotheses derived from comparative ethnography. Though not a pervasive practice in institutionally dominated polities, ritual brotherhood was commonly found in ethnic groups along the periphery of the empire, whose main organizing principles were those of kinship and amity. It has simply escaped the coverage of the existing written sources.

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